



**The impact of land assembly for social housing development
on spatial restructuring: Case study of the Aloe Ridge social
housing project in Msunduzi Municipality**

Fulufhelo Nyadzani 221117143

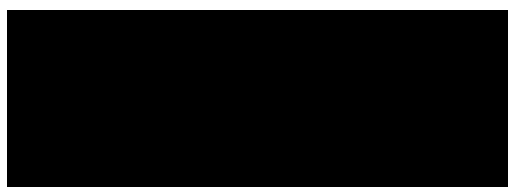
**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the academic
requirements for the degree of Master in Housing, College of
Humanities, School of Built Environment and Development Studies,
at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.**

2023

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that any additional work done by other persons has been acknowledged properly by means of referencing. I also declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for any other degree or examination in any university or tertiary institution.

Student's name: Fulufhelo Nyadzani



Signature: _____

Date: 30/11/2023

Supervisor: Pro. Lovemore Chipungu

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“Gems cannot be polished without friction, nor man perfected without trials”

Seneca

This has been a journey drenched with delight and tribulations, and without the support and encouragement of those dear to me, the completion of this project would have been improbable. This study is the realisation of a long unfulfilled dream; one contemplated in the early years of my academic learning and which emanated from the desire to refine my understanding and knowledge of the myriad fascinating sociological phenomena critical in the rise and fall of civilization’s structures. When comprehending such critical occurrences, the knowledge acquired from such academic endeavours must be used to honour a debt to society by continuously improving these vital systems.

This great journey was made possible by a multitude of great and wonderful people along the way. I dedicate this study to my parents, Libunyu Ndivhuwo and Khathutshelo Nyadzani, for instilling in me the desire to seek knowledge and the mental fortitude to persevere when trials are encountered. They also instilled the belief that self-improvement is a goal that must continuously be sought, and that the process imparts the capability to wield knowledge for the betterment of one’s state.

Guidance must be sought when conceding the possibility that one lacks experience. As such, boundless gratitude must be conferred to my academic supervisor, Professor Lovemore Chipungu, for his counsel throughout the project. His counsel illustrated his incredible grasp of the academic field and the interplay it has with governance, policy implementation, and society in general. The support and encouragement he displayed throughout the process highlighted the commitment he has to his students, and for that I am grateful.

With great humility and sincerity, the researcher hopes to impart the knowledge and findings of the project to society. Furthermore, he hopes to stoke and feed the fire for the pursuit for academic enlightenment. The conservation of momentum principle states that energy must be infused into the system for it to continue advancing, and the desire to advance and action are required for progress to transpire.

ABSTRACT

Determined to untangle the spatial conundrum orchestrated by the Apartheid government, the African National Congress (ANC) led a myriad of government instituted programmes to address the spatial inequality that continued to subjugate low-income class communities and left them in intolerable living conditions within urban centres. The Social Housing Programme was envisioned as one of the promising measures with which to address the lack of low-cost rental stock. This programme was furthermore viewed as a facilitator of spatial restructuring by enabling the marginalised and spatially deprived communities' access to prime housing locations and afford tenants access to commercial and social opportunities. Discourse on the effectiveness of the Social Housing Programme in tackling spatial restructuring within urban centres has amassed over the last ten years, however, propelled by the limited impact that social housing projects have had as a social mobility tool to uplift the poor. The research sought to analyse the factors impeding the ability of the Social Housing Programme to fulfil one of the core mandates of the state; to reverse the spatial imbalances engineered during the Colonial and Apartheid periods. The research utilised a mega social housing project, the 'Aloe Ridge Social Housing' project located in Pietermaritzburg, to assess the limitations of the Social Housing Programme. The research utilised the Right to the City concept, Location and Smart Growth theories as the foundation for the provision of adequate housing to comprehend the intricate systems of locational choice of the housing projects and to map potential solutions to address the urban centres' inefficiencies. The study approached data collection and analysis by employing a mixed-method approach. It utilised respondents from the Aloe Ridge Social Housing project and key informants from the public sector responsible for housing and planning to measure the outcome of the project. The outcome of the data collection noted the positive attributes of social housing in the provision of suitable housing to the low-income community, however, the spatial analysis indicated minimal integration with the main commercial nodes, while the land market and grant limitations hindered the acquisition of suitable land for housing. The study recognised the importance of supporting inclusionary housing to improve housing access, while advocating for the review of restructuring guidelines, subsidy readjustment and introduction of incentives and penalties to stimulate the land assembly process.

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ACRONYMS

| | |
|----------------|--|
| AHA: | Affordable Housing Activation |
| ANC: | African National Congress |
| ASGISA: | Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa |
| BEPPS: | Buit Environment Performance Plans |
| BNG: | Breaking New Ground |
| BRT: | Bus Rapid Transit |
| CBD: | Central Business District |
| CDE: | Centre for Development and Enterprise |
| CoGTA: | Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs |
| FFC: | Financial and Fiscal Commission |
| GEAR: | Growth, Employment and Redistribution |
| HAD: | Housing Development Agency |
| IDP: | Integrated Development Plan |
| IRPTN: | Integrated Rapid Transport Network |
| IUDF: | Integrated Urban Development Framework |
| MTSF: | Medium-Term Strategic Framework |
| NASHO: | National Association of Social Housing Organisations |
| NMT: | Non-Motorised Transport |
| NTCSP: | National Treasury Cities Support Programme |
| NUA: | New Urban Agenda |
| SACN: | South African Cities Network |
| SALGA: | South African Local Government Association |
| SDG: | Sustainable Development Goals |
| SDF: | Spatial Development Framework |
| SHRA: | Social Housing Regulatory Authority |
| SOE: | State Owned Enterprise |
| RDP: | Reconstruction Development Programme |
| RSA: | Republic of South Africa |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| SPLUMA: | Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act |
| TOD: | Transit Oriented Development |
| UN: | United Nations |
| UNDP: | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNS: | Urban Networks Strategy |

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO URBANISATION AND HOUSING PROVISION

1.1 Introduction to Urban Housing Challenges

Everyone who lives in an urban environment is (consciously or not) affected by its planning and design (Srikanth, Chin, Bouffanais, and Schroepfer, 2022). The 2030 Agenda on Sustainable Development echoes the importance of urban centres' performance in accommodating more than half of the world's population, and further notes that the figure will increase by two-thirds by the year 2050 (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], 2015). The Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) (RSA. Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs [CoGTA], 2016a) states that with such levels of urbanisation, urban centres are incubators of poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and infrastructure and livelihood inequalities. The IUDF (RSA. CoGTA, 2016a) estimates that over 60 per cent of the South African population already resides in urban areas and suffers from the same urbanisation forces experienced across the globe.

Continuous influxes to urban areas and prevalent urban poverty have increased the need for housing provision with the aim to address the concept of adequate housing and the potential to mitigate the socio-economic conditions linked to urbanisation. Housing sits at the nexus of numerous societal problems, and as a result, social housing is uniquely poised to address important issues beyond merely providing shelter (Baiocchi, 2022).

Though faced with challenges of urbanisation, South African cities have to contend with the remnants of Apartheid, delayed urbanisation and political transformation (South African Cities Network [SACN], 2004). The dual forces of urbanisation and the Apartheid legacy have contributed immensely to the implementation of housing policy and the attempts to bridge the socio-economic divide in existence within South African cities. McKenna (2019) posits that the scale of the housing demand due to the historical supply inadequacy and urban migration has placed immense pressure on land demand and the supply of basic service infrastructure.

In observing urban settlements, Buckley, Kallergis and Wainer (2015); and UN-Habitat (2013) note that a new discourse has been raging on the global stage concerning how population growth should be accommodated; either through expanding urban centres or densifying more aggressively. Turok (2016) asserts that the contestation between urban expansion and compaction is not a new phenomenon in South Africa as it is perpetuated by the non-existence of an approved urban land management policy, and it has resulted in competing ideologies.

Turok (2014) advances that a critical discourse is vital to unravel the nature of the spatial planning and public housing provision in South Africa. He adds that the process of transforming the physical structure of a city must incorporate planning that prioritises affordable housing and economic opportunities and fosters employment opportunities in proximity to poor communities. The contestation of the urban form has immense sway on public housing provision and the efforts made to fulfil the mandate bestowed on the government by Section 26 of the South African Constitution to provide adequate access to housing to all citizens (RSA, 1996).

1.2 Background

Tomlinson (2002) concurs with the assertion that the current ANC-led government inherited cities that perpetuated and mirrored the Apartheid era's inequalities. McKenna (2019) observes that the segregated, decentralised nature of South Africa has resulted in an increased demand for low-income housing due to the country's history of inadequate housing supply and the massive population influx to urban areas. According to Manomano, Tanyi and Tanga (2016), the post-Apartheid government advocated for a social developmental approach, replacing the exploitative and discriminatory nature of the Apartheid government that sought to subjugate the black population. The approach was envisioned to tackle, amongst others, the housing backlog and expedite land release as part of the land reform programme.

The National Development Plan (RSA, 2011) surmises that South African cities are highly fragmented, and that limited progress has been achieved in reversal of the inherent unsustainable growth patterns. The RSA Department of National Treasury (2011) established that no appropriate model has been devised to address the spatial challenges and continued marginalisation of the poor is thus still prevalent.

Housing provision and spatial restructuring are intertwined and as such, an integrated approach is necessary to address the continued lack of affordable quality housing and spatial equality. The Social Housing Programme introduced by the Breaking New Ground Policy (RSA. Department of Human Settlements [DHS], 2004) is viewed as a housing delivery mechanism capable of addressing the provision of low-cost rental stock, performing a catalytic role in stabilising areas of urban decay, and prompting urban regeneration and urban restructuring through economic, social, and spatial integration.

Turok and Visagie (2021) identified three critical ways in which social housing promotes integration; through locating housing for the poor close to job opportunities and public facilities, and through the creation of a supportive living environment. The urban restructuring policy mandate

for social housing is unique across all housing provision mechanisms established through the National Housing Code (RSA. DHS, 2009), but this programme is restricted to urban areas to facilitate urban settlement restructuring. In order to achieve the alluded to social housing objectives, suitable urban land is a prerequisite. Manomano et al. (2016) add that the location of housing projects on such suitable land is critical for their overall if they are to benefit the beneficiaries' by fostering their socio-economic empowerment.

Spatial configuration of urban forms has the potential to improve access to critical social services and opportunities or it can subjugate poor communities to further poverty. According to Mahajan (2014), in a highly unequal country like South Africa, the land market tends to confine the poorest communities to leftover land that no one else wants on the periphery of towns and cities, far from jobs, schools and other opportunities. The Human Settlements Committee (2015) notes that research indicates that the majority of South African citizens travelling on public transportation spend 2.5 times longer travelling as compared to Europeans and twice as long as their American counterparts. Storper (2013); and the World Bank (2009) argue that social housing in close proximity to critical nodes improves the efficiency and quality of the interactions between enterprises, and generates productivity gains.

1.3 Problem Statement

Harrison and Todes (2016) observed that the South African urban form is socially, environmentally, and financially unsustainable, as Apartheid and the current government's low-cost housing provision have facilitated a sprawling and racially segregated form. The support for urban restructuring in South Africa carries a deeper sense of meaning due to the plight created by the Apartheid government's segregation mandate. Spatial inequality ramifications enforced by a draconian and oppressive legislative framework left unimaginable scars on the South African urban form. Aigbavboa (2016) argues that the pre-1994 Apartheid state worked to entrench its land tenure system and endeavoured to limit the availability of land for non-white citizens.

South Africa's democratic dispensation gave rise to efforts to reimagine an urban form that is efficient and serves the inhabitants' needs and desires. The government's position on redressing the inherited inefficient and unsustainable urban spatial form is executed through multiple restructuring tools, and amongst these is the Social Housing Programme. The National Association of Social Housing Organisations (NASHO) (2012) notes that social housing has the capacity to actualise local authorities' goals to densify and provide compact development in urban areas while minimising the need for infrastructure investment.

Scheba and Turok (2021) note that social housing can be a potent tool with which to bridge the divide in cities through provision of quality rental accommodation for low- and middle-income households; yet there is also limited evidence of its impact on the surrounding neighbourhoods, including the attraction of complementary public and private investment to spur on areas of development. However, the urban restructuring mandate endowed to the Social Housing Programme has been demoted to a secondary objective/priority behind the provision of affordable rental units. The increasing housing backlog has heightened the need to fast track affordable housing provision and the spatial restructuring objective of social housing has been deemed secondary and now continues to receive less focus.

Gerber (2018) states that land availability and administration continue to be a thorn in the process of facilitating the delivery of sustainable human settlements. Land is a scarce resource, while access to housing is a universal basic requirement for every individual. The availability and provision of suitable land for housing is critical in the housing implementation value chain. The implementation of housing provision requires readily available land to address the continuous rising national housing backlog and the dependency of housing provision on land availability presents a conundrum for all stakeholders involved in the process. In responding to the land challenge, the role of land provision to achieve urban restructuring is becoming increasingly significant. The challenge in providing suitable land limits the potential of social housing to support urban restructuring.

Having outlined the primary objective of social housing in South Africa and the historical context of urban planning, the research seeks to understand the impact of social housing projects towards supporting spatial restructuring in urban centres and to assess the factors that are pivotal to the successful implementation of the spatial restructuring mandate of social housing. The study seeks to test the Social Housing Programme against the objectives set out in the Social Housing Policy (RSA, 2003).

1.4 Research Aim

- The aim of the research is to assess the role of land assembly for social housing implementation in order to achieve spatial restructuring.

1.5 Research Objectives

- To assess the factors influencing land assembly for social housing.
- To assess the existing guidelines and legislative framework for spatial restructuring.
- To evaluate the role of the key players in spatial restructuring.

- To explore the spatial impact of social housing on its beneficiaries.
- To examine the impact of social housing on the surrounding areas.

1.6 Research Questions

The research questions permit the research to expand the attributes of which the research ought to focus on. It provides the scope of the research and the aspects that the study ultimately needs to address.

1.6.1 Main research question

What role does land assembly for social housing play to provide support for the spatial restructuring that is intended to improve the livelihoods of social housing beneficiaries and communities in close proximity to social housing projects?

1.6.2 Subsidiary research questions

- What are the challenges hindering the successful implementation of land assembly for social housing?
- What are the existing guidelines and legislative framework for spatial restructuring?
- What is the role of the key players in guiding spatial restructuring?
- What are the spatial impacts of social housing on the beneficiaries of the social housing?
- What are the socio-economic benefits of social housing for the surrounding areas?

1.8 Research Structure Overview

The research structure overview provides a guide that the study will follow in the process of responding to the study aim, objectives and questions crafted to respond to the research problem. The overview offers a preview to the components that the research will cover in the process of assessing land assembly for social housing matters and their influence on spatial transformation.

Chapter One: Outlines the introduction to the study while providing the background, problem statement and the approach to the study. The introductory phase sets the atmosphere of the project at it relates to the linkage between housing provision and spatial challenges in South Africa. The background further provides the role of public housing and spatial restructuring initiatives in supporting sustainable human settlements. The problem statement expands on the challenges being encountered by the Social Housing Programme and the influence of land assembly on spatial restructuring matters.

Chapter Two: The researcher analyses three main theories that find resonance with social housing; Right to the City concept, Location Theory and Smart Growth Theory. The Right to the City concept advocates for neglected and marginalised urban citizens, and their rights to access adequate services and resources. Location Theory, with its origin in industrial location distribution, offers an insight into the attributes that influence housing location and the interrelationship between land markets and transportation. Lastly, the Smart Growth Theory offers the researcher a modern perspective and approaches to address urban settlements' challenges, including the promotion of urban efficiency. The chapter further analyses precedent studies that provide alternative perspectives, approaches, and implementation methods that can be customised to improve the state of South Africa's Social Housing Programme.

Chapter Three: This articulates the complex historical context of South African land and housing provision. The researcher analyses how public housing provision and land ownership in urban areas are intertwined and the influence of the legislative and policy framework on housing and spatial planning. The research dives into the importance of different spheres of government, state owned enterprises, and private entities on land assembly for social housing. The chapter further assesses the governance of social housing through accredited institutions and the influence of local government in social housing projects.

Chapter Four: It provides insight into the research data methods and techniques that were utilised throughout the study. The research employed the mixed-use approach to data collection, utilising both quantitative and qualitative methods. Data was collected utilising the tools of mapping, questionnaires, observation, and interviews. The chapter outlines the purposive sampling method used in the selection of the study area and the challenges associated with the research methods that were selected to gather the relevant data associated with the planning and implementation of the Aloe Ridge Social Housing Project. Further insight was acquired through the beneficiaries' experiences, the local municipality and the provincial Human Settlements Department's contributions and the Capital City Housing institution's involvement in the project.

Chapter Five: This chapter expands on the delineated study area's characteristics and the Msunduzi Local Municipality's historical background of land management, spatial planning, and housing provision. It analyses the socio-economic outlook of the municipality against the backdrop of the existing spatial and housing policies. It also provides the context for the challenges influencing social housing provision and the associated impacts on the communities.

Chapter Six: The chapter deliberates on the data gathered through the utilisation of questionnaires, key informants' interviews, focus group interviews, observation, and mapping. The data was organised into quantitative and qualitative data to improve the categorisation of the findings. Furthermore, the research analysis tools of Microsoft Word and Excel and the Stata statistical package were employed to analyse the sub-sets of data gathered towards improving the understanding of the realities of the social housing sector. The process was done to test the validity of the research problem against the data acquired from those impacted and familiar with the researched phenomenon.

Chapter Seven: It provides potential solutions to the challenges identified during the data gathering process that can be applicable to the study area. The recommendations are based on the approaches, models and strategies evaluated in the precedent studies and the reviewed literature on social housing and spatial restructuring. The proposals are intended to improve the functionality of the Social Housing Programme in a bid to facilitate inclusive urban forms. The chapter also outlines the overview of the study and the lessons learned. It further provides insight into whether the study's objectives were met and outlines the recommendations to address the shortcomings identified. It provides a comprehensive outlook on the entire research approach and outcome while outlining the role the study has in improving the existing knowledge on social housing.

1.9 Chapter Summary

The chapter discussed the problem which the researcher identified and outlined the need for the research to be conducted. It provided the foundation on which the subsequent chapters are built by establishing the parameters of the study through the articulation of the research aim and objectives and the critical questions. The research is centred on assessing the importance of land assembly and its influence on the contribution of social housing to spatial restructuring efforts. It seeks to expand on the land assembly process, the existing guidelines and the legislative framework for spatial restructuring, the stakeholders in spatial transformation, and social housing's influence on beneficiaries and their surrounding communities. Finally, the chapter detailed the structure of the research that comprises of seven sequential chapters.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE ON SOCIAL HOUSING AND INCLUSIVE CITIES

2.0 Introduction to theoretical framework and literature on housing and inclusive cities

The chapter focuses on reviewing the concepts of housing and inclusivity. It further offers an analysis of the various concepts that underpin the role performed by governments in social housing projects while addressing challenges faced by urban centres. The Right to the City concept and the Location and Smart Growth Theories are advanced to provide the accurate theoretical framework with which the challenges of access to housing and spatial efficiency can be framed. Together, they provide the justification for the inclusive approach to urban settlements and access to housing by all urban citizens. The chapter provides a detailed assessment of selected precedent studies on social housing projects and they are utilised to benchmark the standards and norms for social housing. The chapter measures the contributions made by social housing towards the grander target of socio-economic emancipation through spatial restructuring, and also measures the shortcomings thereof.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

The chapter discusses the concepts that guide the research parameters. The defined concepts permit for universal comprehension of the study's limitations and boundaries when gathering and assessing the data. The chapter provides an understating of the research's intent when dealing with complex matters of adequate housing, spatial restructuring, and social housing, and further allows for the contextualisation of the concepts within the South African housing and spatial planning environment.

2.1.1 Definition of the concepts

It remains critical to define the scope of the study in terms of the utilisation of different terms, phenomena and scenarios that might not be universally constant. The concepts will help set the context and the approach deployed to analyse the Social Housing Programme, the spatial restructuring principles, and the land assembly processes. Articulation of the various concepts is essential for comprehension of the focus of the study, and will provide the researcher and readers with guidance on the study's limitations and the latitude which the researcher is willing to take.

2.1.1.1 Adequate housing

The Habitat Agenda (UN-Habitat, 1996) defines adequate housing as access to adequate and private space, security of tenure, structural stability, adequate basic infrastructure, basic services, suitable

environmental quality, and locations in fairly close proximity to work and basic facilities. UN-Habitat (2008) outlines the key characteristics of the right to adequate housing, in that adequate housing contains freedoms and that housing should be construed as more than just a structure or four walls. The right to adequate housing should manifest as a form of protection against forced evictions, arbitrary interference, and the ability to choose one's residence. Additionally, adequate housing warrants access to opportunities that will improve or maintain livelihoods. The right to adequate housing must include the availability of services, an adequate location, and accessibility to specific needs.

Adequate housing should be viewed in the broad vision of a social ladder or social mobility (McKinsey Global Institute, 2014a). Housing is a facilitator of mobility up the social ladder and this requires responsive programmes directed towards supporting both existing housing and new housing projects. The programmes must outline short- and long-term objectives that reflect the respective communities' aspirations. Adequate housing can manifest the aspect of social mobility in the form of rental housing, and cities can also aim to provide affordable rental options and transitional housing as part of the social ladder (Ho & Wong, 2009). The provision of rental options to the poor can improve access to opportunities and better services necessary to uplift lower-income households. Baiocchi (2022) infers that social housing has the capacity to occupy a space in the configuration of the existing segregation of communities, persistent racial and social exclusion, and the pursuit for social cohesion.

2.1.1.2 Spatial planning

Healy (2004) defines spatial planning as a proper understanding of the physical structure of an urban area and the forces shaping it; orientating goals expressed through policy statements; a framework of principles outlining concepts, projects, and programmes; and an inspirational future vision. Spatial planning refers to major changes in the economy, physical layout, and social relations of a city region. These changes are often long-term changes that involve the rebuilding of a city's architecture, infrastructure, demography, and so forth (Schafran, 2018). Spatial planning can be differentiated from land use planning by its ability to foster long-term strategic visions, bring together and integrate policies, support sustainable development, and improve cooperation between stakeholders and society (Nadin, 2007).

2.1.1.3 Spatial restructuring

According to the SACN (2017), spatial restructuring is closely associated with the concepts of spatial compacting and integration of the city. The purpose of spatial restructuring is to reengineer inefficient urban forms that promote spatial exclusion and unsustainable development trends. It is generally undertaken with the intention of creating a productive economy that can actively provide and support employment and limit the cost of conducting businesses. It is also undertaken to provide citizens with convenient access to quality services at minimal cost. Spatial exclusion and inequality have the catalytic potential to amplify the negative impacts of basic services delivery, housing, and access to employment opportunities. The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) (2022) argues that spatial transformation must be supported by efficient travel times for commuters travelling to work, and affordable land and housing that promotes inclusive urban centres. Spatial transformation must ensure that there is access to socio-economic opportunities and urban centres for true integration to be achieved.

The major changes underlining spatial restructuring can be effected through compact development, wherein the urban settlement footprint is tightly contained. The containment of the urban area is devised to reduce the distance between activities, thus lowering the cost of living and/or of conducting business. The densification method can be utilised to advance spatial restructuring by increasing the densities of urban settlements and the range of land uses available. Population density is defined in terms of the number of people per km², and the increase in population thresholds is devised to reduce the distance between activities. Besides lowering the cost of living or of conducting business, this increase in population density also creates an environment where the government can provide basic services more efficiently and cost effectively. The spatial integration approach focuses on infill development and employment of transport, information and communication technology (ICT), and economic opportunities to minimise the impact of poorly planned urban centres on the disadvantaged communities. The utilisation of spatial targeting is effective when dealing with particular geographical areas targeted for revitalisation, such as corridors and precincts.

2.1.1.4 Spatial integration

Comtois (1986) argues that the social process contains the continuation of social, political, and ideological practices that encompass the economic bias of society and the perpetuation of various interactions between space, actors, and institutions. The social integration conundrum is closely associated with class struggle. The exercise of economic, social, political, and ideological power

determines the utilisation of space for production and social endeavours. The development of socio-spatial conflicts in concentrated geographic areas correlates with the quality of the space available.

Integration is distinguishable by three dominant forms; sectoral, territorial, and organisational integration or co-operation (Kidd, 2007). Comtois (1986) defines spatial integration as a process that is evaluated in terms of movement and change, and further deduces that spatial integration consists of an often-hidden attribute in geography of modernisation called the practice of space. This practice of space assumes the existence of a political aspect in spatial planning and that the complexity of socio-spatial differentiation must be viewed in the mutual causality of society and space.

In exploring the application of integration, Healey (2006); and Kidd (2007) formulated a framework of signifiers for integration: participation and cooperation when integrating stakeholders and initiatives; spatial scales in the redistribution of power and decentralisation; horizontal integration of adjoining areas; policy design for the integration of programmes, policies and strategies; and policy design and implementation (integration of policy and action). Van Straalen (2012) infers that when dealing with the holistic and complex nature of planning, integration has emerged as a suitable tool to foster the planning required. It involves various stakeholders, inter-dependent spheres of government, and varied discourses and implementation approaches.

2.1.1.5 Social housing

Pohl and Badenhorst (2001) define the primary purpose of the Social Housing Programme as the provision of essential housing services by non-profit social housing institutions at cost to people with limited financial means through the provision of rental stock, and rent-to-buy stock. The rental stock is financed by private institutions at a stipulated rate to supplement public finances and is centered on cooperation between public and non-government sectors.

Fluchtmann, Plouin and Adema (2020) deduce that there are two social housing systems, classified as universal or targeted systems or models. The universal model caters for the broader population while the targeted model focuses on specific segments of the population, primarily low-income and the vulnerable populations. Scanlon, Fernández Arrigoitia and Whitehead (2015) observe that the application of social housing programmes have left little distinction between the universal and targeted systems. There has been a transition to targeted models for those social housing systems that were initiated as universal systems, reducing the distinction between the two predominant models.

In dissecting the anatomy of social housing, Alison (2004) notes three types of social housing institutions: Tier 1 umbrella institutions that primarily provide property management services, for a fee, to other smaller institutions. Their mission tends to be the servicing of collective tenant organisations. Tier 2 social housing institutions that develop, own, and manage their own rental stock without any intermediary associations. They deal directly with their tenants. Tier 3 social housing institutions that have been established by tenant groups as a mechanism to acquire and manage their own housing.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This section elaborates on the critical theories that guide the development of social housing within urban landscapes. It provides justification for the establishment of a social housing programme through the Right to the City concept and outlines vital locational characteristics that are indispensable when selecting sites for housing projects. Additionally, it describes the modern approach in developing and supporting sustainable human settlements through the Smart Growth Theory. The chapter also summarises the relevant precedent studies on social housing and urban spatial restructuring, and provides alternative social housing models, spatial restricting strategies, and policy, administrative and legislative frameworks that can be applicable to the South African landscape.

2.2.1 Right to the City concept

Popularised by sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre in 1968, the Right to the City concept describes the development of cities and treatment of citizens. This concept emerged from the social conditions of the post-World War II French cities and was influenced by the writings of Karl Marx, specifically his critique of the state (Purcell, 2013). Harvey (2012) asserts that Lefebvre's Right to the City concept is both a cry and a demand; a cry to counter the social ills that urban life offers and a demand to address the crisis by generating an alternative form of urban life.

The cry and demand that Harvey (2012) referenced further encompasses the right to participation and appropriation by the citizens of the city. Expanding on the two concepts, Brown and Kristiansen (2009); and Kofman and Lebas (1968) state that participation provides citizens with access to decisions that produce urban space, while appropriation encompasses the right to reclaim and utilise or redevelop new urban environments that meet inhabitants' needs.

2.2.1.1 Universal rights of urban citizens

Brown and Kristiansen (2009) argue that the Right to the City paradigm advocates for civil rights and responsible debate on urban policy, while further advancing the commitments of Article 25 of the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948) which recognises the right to adequate housing. According to Shaw (2003), the universal recognition of human rights is centred on the unrelenting advancement of the United Nations' framework on inclusive urban settlements. The UN's declaration is irreplaceable as it advances the protection of the marginalised and unempowered through ratifications. Assessing the challenges of urban dwellers, UN-Habitat (2006) recognises the impact of globalisation on cities' economic potential when assessing the challenges faced by urban dwellers, as well as the human and environmental cost of growth, as it is evident in the increasing rate of slum dwellings and environmental pollution.

The right to adequate housing does not require governments to build housing for the entire population (Affordable Housing Activation [AHA], 2021). The right to adequate housing can be realised through indirect and direct approaches: through the creation of legislations and policies that foster conducive housing environments; subsidies and schemes that cater for the poor; and through the creation of an efficient and appropriate legal, institutional, and regulatory environment that supports housing processes.

2.2.1.2 Spatial justice within the Right to the City concept

Brown and Kristiansen (2009) posit that the Right to the City concept is a tool for urban advancement and the inclusion of all urban citizens, and these are achieved through inclusive recognition and participation in the affairs of the city. Such rights allow citizens to reclaim the city by defining their needs. Kofman and Lebas (1996); and Lefebvre (1968) postulate that the Right to the City concept must recognise the idea that a city is a public place of social interaction and exchange, that diversity must be encouraged in such public spaces, and that diversity nurtures competing interests about the shape and form of the city.

Camila (2015) alludes that the democratic dimension of the Right to the City concept finds resonance within spatial justice, which is an extension of social justice. Spatial justice refers to more than just another element of social justice, fundamental to the concept is the consideration of the geographical dimension in the production and reproduction of justice/injustice (Soja, 2009). Fainstein (2010) observed that during the 1990s, scholars began to be more explicit about the concept of justice, and centred on a communicative rationality, recognition of diversity, and a just city. The challenges tackled through urban justice correlate with spatial inequality and access to

affordable housing. Urban justice provides a theoretical perspective that outlines the universal need for efficient cities that serve every segment of the population. Peppercorn and Taffin (2013) notes that housing finds its expression in the Right to the City movement through these two principles: the right to housing and freedom of choice, which require sufficient supply of housing, in quantity and quality, as well as in diversity of tenure and social mix.

2.2.1.3 Operationalization of the Right to the City concept

The global south countries have, over the years, endeavoured to implement the Right to the City concept. Huchzermeyer (2018) refers to Brazil's City Statute of 2001 and Ecuador's 2008 Constitution as examples of the operationalization of this right. According to Serageldin (2016), Brazil's statute pledges to social inclusion with its acknowledgement of the importance of urban land to advance social functions, and it does this through prioritisation of social value over market value. These legislative frameworks provide modalities that outline approaches to urban and rural settings and the governments' responsibility to achieve the rights. They also acknowledge the challenges related to the increasing rate of urbanisation, and the lack of available land and financial resources.

2.2.1.4 Critique of the Right to the City concept

The Right to the City concept encompasses a myriad of rights entrusted to the urban citizenry, ranging from access to basic services, housing, security, participation, economic access, and political empowerment. The broadness of the concept/movement has led to a lack of focus on the priority of these rights for urban citizens, and has given rise to competing interests and limited resources directed towards tackling all rights afforded to the citizens of cities.

2.2.2 Location Theory

Location Theory postulates that locations or properties in close proximity to areas of business and good infrastructure, of good environmental quality and in close proximity to public transport and transport routes command a higher price than those at a greater distance (Boshoff, 2013). Capello (2011) explored Location Theory and deduced that it seeks to elucidate the impact of space on the distribution of activities, that there are a multitude of variables that influence individual activities' locations, and importantly, that it elucidates the functional distribution and composition of activities in space. Deakin (2012) summarises Location Theory as the exploration of the space effect on the composition of economic activities in the quest for desirable spatial interaction.

The origins of Location Theory can be traced to Von Thünen (1826), who deduced agricultural land prices, while Alonso (1964); and Wingo (1971) dealt with the location of industries within the urban landscape. Deakin (2012) argues that the Location Models are influenced by land economics and the optimization of land allocation while seeking to generate favourable spatial interactions. Kopczewska, Kopyt and C'wiakowski's (2021) perspective on Location Theory and its ability to determine firms' locations is based on the optimisation of firms seeking to maximise their profits. The locational choices are based on proximity to the city centre, activity type, and the transport costs incurred by the firms as a result of their location.

Chan (2011) concedes that spatial dimension matters are complex, and the concept of a spatial outlook, credited to Tobler and Waldo (2004), states that all things are universally related, however, closer things are more related than those distant from one another. Chan (2011) thus asserts that spatial dimensions need to be adhered to when analysing the spatial configuration of activities. To expand on the spatial dimension, Chan (2011) utilises the concept of a neighbour to demonstrate the importance of proximity or spatial separation; he explains that the benefits acquired by neighbours are relative to the abilities or resources they possess. In this case the neighbours are the households and their places of employment. Van Heerden, Karsten, Holloway, Petzer, Burger and Mans (2022), in their analysis of the Location Choice model, add that the distance to economic centres is determined as a critical variable and the time required for travel plays a major role in households' decisions on location. That is, they will prefer to live nearer to the places of employment as this will save them time and money. Those variables, supported by high-density formal urban layouts, are synonymous with European cities where residential and employment locations are in fairly close proximity to one another. In the global south, however, the places of employment are often concentrated far away from residences, and this forces households to commute above average distances to employment opportunities.

While observing the Location Theory, Chan (2011) stresses the importance of location determinant factors, namely the various economic, geographical, technological, political, and social factors pertinent to the area being considered for location. The locational choice of an individual is mainly determined by the activities carried out daily pertaining to work, shopping, and the affordability of that particular area. Their choice is often also influenced by technological advancements in terms of the service infrastructure (transport, water and electricity) available in the areas, and political factors which emanate from the administrative institutions governing the land and development matters (This includes land use regulations and land rights administration). Lastly there are social factors

that also have an influence on an individual's locational choice. These include segregation, centralisation, and decentralisation of communities, as these affect the reach of the infrastructure and administrative services being rendered and sought.

2.2.2.1 Land value and transport influence on Location Theory

Looking at the Location Theory from a purely industrial angle, the choice of housing location for a family is rooted in the trade-offs between transportation costs and other expenditures and values. Kopczewska et al. (2021) observe that the link between business, housing locality and pricing abides by similar spatial indications and outcomes as the link related to density, agglomeration, spatial segregation, access to vital services, and the impact of globalisation on local markets. The location of transportation facilities and transportation technology determines the relative location or accessibility of places, according to Deakin (2012). Deakin (2012) further argues that with all else being equal, location at the centre minimises transportation costs, while the land values are highest at the centre, due to the inability to offer options and cost reduction mechanisms to both businesses and households.

The impact of mobility on locational choice cannot be disregarded when contemplating a space's viability. Mobility refers to the travel costs from demand locations to supply locations (Park & Goldberg, 2021). Mobility influences aspects such as the time spent parking, waiting in traffic, and travelling which are interlinked with affordability. Limited mobility restrains landowners' transport choices and thus influences the production of unequal social and economic opportunities.

2.2.2.2 Housing Location Theory

The foundation of the Housing Location Theory, theorised by Alonso (1968), is based on the profit optimisation approach, which utilises the rent curves for specific land-use types (housing, commercial, and industry) within the city. Kopczewska et al. (2021) note that city stakeholders within residential, commercial, and industrial districts endeavour to improve their position through expedient and efficient access to the city within their available budgets. The theory advances that centrally located land within the city is more expensive than peripheral land and the ability to access such land is based on financial factors.

The financial viability factor assumes that business establishments can invest more compared to households and that rich people can afford to be located on the periphery. Housing Location Theory notes that the accessibility to utilities is a concern of the poor since businesses and high-income earners have the resources and capability to reside anywhere they wish. While evaluating decisions

on residential locations, Straszheim (1987) outlines the influence of the urban structure on housing prices. These urban structural components include the city's spatial footprint, housing priorities, access to services, efficient densities, and the ability of the residential households to afford suitable land for housing.

The AHA (2021) platform posits that the location of social housing is critical as it determines the socio-geographical justice of an urban area and it recognises that job opportunities, accessibility, transportation, urban facilities, green areas, and services are not usually situated proportionally to the number of people living in a city or a neighbourhood. The location of social housing, if not comprehensively evaluated, subjects the beneficiaries to poor socio-economic conditions and restricts them from utilising their social housing as a ladder for upward social mobility.

2.2.2.3 Critique of Location Theory

Kopczewska et al. (2021) allude to the criticism that the classical model of Location Theory has received over time due to its focus on the micro-economy and rationality. They assert that non-economic factors such as social standing, access to resources and information and individual desires are critical when determining locations and that the classical model excludes such factors. Classic Location Theory provides for a geographic analysis to determine the most convenient locations for activities but provides limited consideration of the socio-political characteristics associated with the location. The political influence on land matters is critical when assessing and accessing suitable locations, while the influence of development policies might restrict certain locations within specified zones and thus limit the number of locations available in the area under consideration.

2.2.3 Smart Growth Theory

Shrivastava and Sharma (2011) categorise smart growth as concerned with managing growth in city centres to decrease the urban sprawl and creating compact, transit-oriented, walkable, bicycle-friendly land uses, including neighbourhood schools, complete streets, and mixed-use developments with various ranges of housing choices.

Smart Growth was first introduced in the 1990's as a planning theory, and it focuses on promoting compact, walkable urban centres and reducing urban sprawl. Chen, Jue, Xu and Wang (2017); and Litman (2022) allude that Smart Growth is underpinned by accessibility and mobility. It offers a higher degree of accessibility to the city in order to reach desired goods, services, and activities by reducing the distance between common activities such as home, work, schools, and services.

Backhouse (2015) notes that utilisation of the Smart Growth Theory leads to smart cities and it employs human intelligence to address the challenges that emanate from cities to achieve better living conditions.

Observing smart cities, Backhouse (2015) articulates three criteria that distinguish the Smart Growth Theory's approaches and functionalities from those of other planning theories: infrastructure-based services which employ information and communication technologies to improve governance; business-led urban development that focuses on providing infrastructure to attract specific businesses and industries; and social inclusion, learning and development orientated towards meeting community needs.

Shrivastava and Sharma (2011) observed that the local sphere of government performs a critical role in the implementation of smart growth through development policies and zoning regulations, and directs new development to specific areas. Litman (2022) identified strategies utilised as tools to achieve smart growth, including encouraging infill development to encourage new development within already developed areas rather than in new greenfield areas, urban growth boundaries, restricting urban fringe development, improving travel options by promoting pedestrian, non-motorised infrastructure, and public transportation.

Smart Growth Theory's applicability to housing developments pertains to the need for convenient location of services in relation to housing developments. In order for a housing development to serve its beneficiaries efficiently, supplementary services and amenities must be provided with some degree of accessibility. This will improve the livelihoods of those in the community while reducing the transport and environment related costs.

Social housing can be utilised as a tool to achieve the principles of Smart Growth, and the social housing policy (RSA, 2003) advocates for social housing to be utilised to promote urban regeneration and spatial restructuring. Those elements are being promoted through infill development and densification and by promoting social housing developments along development corridors in order to capitalise on the agglomeration of the economy.

The South African Smart Cities Framework (RSA. CoGTA, 2016b) describes certain conditions critical to the implementation of smart cities principles. The pre-conditions for becoming smarter require comprehension of the state's current ability and furthermore the existence of enablers to implement smart city technologies. Those enablers include institutional and organisational arrangements, existing digital infrastructure, the capacity of government officials and community involvement.

2.3 Literature Review of Social Housing and Spatial Restructuring

This section focuses on the international discourse on social housing and spatial restructuring. It outlines international guiding policies and principles for the provision of sustainable and inclusive urban settlements. It discusses the paradigm shift in the perspectives on housing provision in the global north and south countries, and reviews the role of governments in public housing provision and in extension of social housing. Moreover, it assesses various approaches to spatial restructuring of urban centres in pursuit of inclusive and efficient urban forms.

2.3.1 Global urbanisation and inclusive urban settlements

UN-Habitat (2011) acknowledges that Africa is rapidly urbanising, even though it is still predominantly rural in comparison to the rest of the world. On average, it is estimated that an extra 40,000 people will be accommodated in African cities every day over the next 15 years. This significant influx of the population into cities due to rural-urban migration unfortunately has unintended consequences on the governance of the urban centres and the provision of basic services. Zadeh, Moulaert and Cameron (2021) explain that rural-urban migration has a significant impact on housing demand, in that the rapid increase of population threatens the sustainability of urban centres, as informal and low-quality housing production is used to counter the growing demand for housing. The proponents of urbanisation, Turok and McGranahan (2013); and Revi and Rosenzweig (2013), posit that there are also potential gains to be acquired from urbanisation as it promotes economic growth. Miller (2014) advises that urbanisation's link to economic growth is contingent on efficient population density distribution and improvements to infrastructure while providing opportunities by raising productivity through economies of scale, technological advancements, and skills transfer. Moreover, it can be utilised as a vehicle for social transformation and improved inclusion through innovative investment in human settlement development. Malik and Wahid (2014) observed the possible dangers in economic and social development if urbanisation is restricted, due to the direct correlation between urbanisation and economic development.

There are many presumed benefits that can be gained through efficient management of the rapid population transition to urban areas, but Locke and Henley (2016) state that in reality, unplanned urbanisation has resulted in urban centres that have become unsustainable and this has had a significant impact on the poor and vulnerable. The shortage of social services and the continuous increase in housing backlogs and under resourced settlements has exacerbated the urbanisation challenges and impacted inclusivity. UN-Habitat (2015b) also noted issues regarding unplanned urbanisation and further announced that the perceived challenges of rapid and unplanned

urbanisation include ineffective municipal governance and broader political and economic issues, related to the lack of revenue from such areas for governments and weak urban institutions.

2.3.1.1 Global agenda on urban exclusion

The World Bank (2015a) terms exclusion in urban areas as multidimensional, as it includes spatial, social, and economic factors which manifest in a multitude of forms such as geographic segregation, discrimination, and lack of access to opportunities. Urbanisation has heightened the impact and increased the reach of these dimensions over poor urban citizens.

Focusing the lens on spatial exclusion, the World Bank (2015b) notes its close association with a myriad of intra-urban inequalities in urban neighbourhoods as it deals with the lack of accessibility to land for housing and infrastructure for social and basic services. Land availability dictates the effects of spatial exclusion in the form of high prices and rapid appreciations which outperform average income increases worldwide. Land effects have cascading implications on local governments as they utilise land for the most pressing social needs rather than for lucrative purposes, and this then erodes the inclusionary impact of land due to cost constraints. The constraints in the supply of suitable land are also associated with non-progressive development regulations, lengthy administrative processes for land development and land speculation practices.

When addressing the root cause of exclusion, there are potential entry points for investments aimed at facilitating inclusion. These include affordable land and housing, access to basic services and infrastructure, the inclusion of marginalised groups, progressive economic development strategies, investment in data management, proactive investment in urban planning, and capacity building. The aforementioned strategies' capability to address the exclusion in urban areas demonstrates the complex and multidimensional nature of the factors that influence the continuous exclusion of certain segments of the population and prevent them from enjoying the opportunities and comforts accessed by the privileged.

2.3.1.2 Global approach to inclusive urban development

The AHA (2021) platform advances that governments have to address the housing challenges, and in order to do this they are required to intervene on various levels which include legislative, administrative, policy or spending priorities. Understanding of the housing environment and the targeted population is paramount when tackling housing provision. Serageldin (2016) argues that historically, urban society has always been stratified and somewhat hierarchical due to economic and political dynamics that assemble people within groups and manipulate the availability of resources. With such a perception of urban society, Serageldin (2016) defines the concept of

inclusion as a multidimensional web of interconnected factors that reinforce one other, and when these factors are negative they interact to trap people in the unbearable space of poverty and marginalisation. Working towards fostering the relationships and connections between the aforementioned factors can lift people out of their social exclusion.

Inclusion can manifest in a variety of traits that affect the social, spatial, and environmental dimensions. The understanding of the interdimensional influence of this attribute on the overall functioning of urban centres must not be viewed through a restrictive lens when focusing on the spatial dimension's contribution to inclusive cities. Rather, a holistic approach must be utilised in order to formulate effective and site-specific mechanisms to bring about inclusion.

The influence that spatial configuration has on urban centres to support the inclusiveness of human settlements is becoming evident. Acioly (2018) notes that strong legal and urban planning provisions that acknowledge the right to adequate housing (as outlined by the New Urban Agenda) are critical for the cultivation of spatial inclusion and access to affordable and inclusionary housing. Such policy advancements have the potential to mitigate against poor communities being driven to peripheral locations that are commonly underserved or to land that is not suitable for human habitation.

Spatial dimension is a cornerstone of social inclusion, and it deserves more attention than it usually receives (Serageldin, 2016). In advancing the importance of spatial consideration, Serageldin (2016) additionally notes that when directing and managing development, consideration ought to be directed towards access to infrastructure and basic public services as they all have significant spatial ramifications for the intended targets, especially those within poor communities. Capello's (2011) assessment of the spatial dimension is that the functionality of the economic system is influenced by space in terms of geographical location, accessibility, the spatial proximity to resources and their influence on transportation costs and transactional costs.

2.3.1.3 An approach to inclusive urban forms

According to UN-Habitat (2001), an inclusive city stimulates growth with equity by accommodating all citizens irrespective of their economic status, gender, race, ethnicity, or religion and it creates a conducive environment for accessing the social, economic, and political opportunities that a city has to offer. The Asian Development Bank (2016) advocates for inclusive urban infrastructure development which is an integrated methodology of providing infrastructure and access to services through targeted investments that are sustainable, resilient, accessible, and affordable. Inclusive urban infrastructure development has two components to it, namely: policy and planning, which

determines the agenda for development; and sectoral assessment which evaluates the needs, options, and priorities within sectors for the purpose of developing an integrated investment programme.

2.3.1.3.1 Multi-sectoral approach to inclusive cities

It is paramount that recognition be given to the importance of comprehending the multi-faceted conundrum of creating inclusive cities. The World Bank (2015b) states as an institution, its financial support must be multi-dimensional in order to tackle the challenges of exclusion. The World Bank (2015b) has recognised the importance of linking inclusion policies and strategies to financing tools such as results-based financing, which is aimed at eradicating and reaching out to the marginalised populations. An institutional and policy framework that provides direction and leadership that creates an enabling environment and encourages inclusive cities is critical, however the financial dimension is highly relevant for the creation of cities that are capable of eradicating exclusion.

A critical dimension of inclusiveness is the right to adequate housing for urban dwellers. The Sustainable Development Solutions Network (2014) notes that the right to adequate housing remains unrealised for a distressing number of urban dwellers, especially for the poor, the vulnerable, and special needs groups (migrants, persons with disabilities, older persons, women, youths, and other marginalised groups). It remains an unreachable goal that is more imaginable than reachable.

The realisation of these universal human rights is impeded by a number of factors that act as barriers to the marginalised and reinforce the existing and growing lines of exclusion in urban centres. UN-Habitat (2017) has categorised these barriers to inclusion and the first barrier to the provision of adequate housing is an economic one, as the cost of housing acquisition impacts and severely limits the ability of households to access adequate and affordable housing. The second obstacle constitutes is the welfare and housing regimes related to land acquisition. There are land legal impediments to land acquisition and institutional frameworks lack the capacity to support vulnerable groups in their quest for land and housing. Thirdly, there are social barriers that are associated with discrimination against certain marginalised groups.

2.3.1.4 Measuring inclusion in urban centres

The World Bank (2015b) conducted an extensive analysis of the factors that influenced inclusion in urban settlements and how much these factors impacted communities. Access to affordable land, housing and services, and economic opportunities formed the core of the measurables that determined the level of inclusion. These were broken down into their simplest form to guide stakeholders in their mission to eradicate exclusion. Access to basic services and housing, land availability, the money spent to access services, government support provided for access to housing,

and urban planning laws and regulations were the critical attributes used to measure excluded citizens' level of access to services. The availability of employment, income, household size, skills, spatial access to jobs, and the receipt of government support represented the ability of citizens to access opportunities.

The World Bank (2015a) identified a pattern of urban management in which strategies and interventions had limited recognition of excluded groups, and the lack of recognition in several of those strategies impacts some groups more than others. The residential patterns, social networks, occupational concentrations, and social norms have a significant influence on the outcome of urban spatial configuration and the marginalisation of underprivileged communities. The attributes measure the capability of governments to support inclusive programmes and citizens' ability to capitalise on the opportunities available to them.

2.3.2 International policy commitments to inclusive cities

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights marked a great accomplishment in the fight for universal access to adequate housing. The declaration enshrined in multiple international human rights instruments sought to advance the protection of basic and fundamental human rights, including the right to housing as a mechanism to improve adequate living standards. The successive United Nations conferences on human settlements (Habitat I, II & III) established a framework for human settlements' development that responded to the concept of human rights, in particular the right to housing. While Habitat I formulated and introduced direct housing provision by the state, the second and third conferences modified the initial approach in response to evolving housing and human settlement challenges (UN-Habitat, 2015a; 2015b).

The UN-Habitat position paper (2015b) acknowledges the role played by the previous policy in tackling human settlement challenges. The new global approach to housing stands on the shoulders of policies like the Vancouver Declaration for Human Settlements (1976) that introduced a new approach by focusing on direct state provision of public housing. The policy was based on a heteronomous approach. The 1996 UN-Habitat conference in Istanbul ushered in a new outlook on housing provision by advocating for deregulation and reduction of the direct role of governments in housing provision. This policy approach was informed by the neo-liberal theory of allowing the market to regulate the provision of housing, and it was introduced as a response to the inability of governments to mass produce adequate housing for the poor. This resulted in minimal provision of mass housing projects and focused instead on joint private-state public housing ventures. Lee and Singh (2022) argue that the reduced role of governments in direct housing provision might have

been a misstep since some governments never truly embraced their enabler role, and this impacted largely the segments of society that required the most assistance.

2.3.2.1 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in support of sustainable settlements

UN-Habitat (2015b) defines an inclusive city as a city that promotes growth with equity and it is a place where everyone, regardless of their economic means, gender, race, ethnicity, or religion is enabled and empowered to participate in the social, economic, and political opportunities that cities have to offer (UN-Habitat 2004). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of 2014 were conceived in an effort to standardise the universal goals of development aimed at improving the living conditions of poor. They paved the path for inclusive development and improved on the unfulfilled Millennium Development Goals' targets.

SDG 11 aims to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable, and has a target ensure access for all to adequate, safe, and affordable housing, and to basic services. Central to Goal 11 is the promotion of sustainable development approaches to address urban forms that respond to the exclusion traits of urbanisation and where social housing qualities are viewed as capable of supporting inclusivity.

2.3.2.2 New Urban Agenda (NUA) to combat the effect of urbanisation

Goethert and Director (2010) caution that the world has 20 years to construct enough urban housing to equal the total amount that has been built over the past 6,000 years. This indicates the sheer demand and scale required to maintain a sustainable supply of adequate housing. Rapid urbanisation has expedited the need to increase urban housing provision and governments are compelled to be innovative in addressing the challenge. The New Urban Agenda (UN- Development Programme, 2015) was developed to actualise Goal 11 of the Sustainable Development Goals that were adopted in 2015. UN-Habitat (2019) notes that the New Urban Agenda was created to provide direction on matters of urban planning, design and the legal frameworks to capitalise on the positives of urbanisation.

The African Union and the African Union Commission adopted Agenda 2063 in support of the New Urban Agenda and to respond to African urbanisation challenges. The McKinsey Global Institute (2014a) notes that more than 1.6 billion people live in substandard housing and the African region is highly affected. The Agenda 2063 50-year plan addresses the urbanisation challenges within the African landscape while taking into account the constraints of limited financial resources and capacity.

According to UN-Habitat (2019), the New Urban Agenda (NUA) is sensitive to climate induced migration and seeks to promote an inclusive urbanisation model that recognises the challenges experienced by urban centres, the places of origin of migrants and the migration process during transit. UN-Habitat (2015b) identifies three of the NUA's foundations on housing matters: Housing is inseparable from urbanisation; housing is a socio-economic development imperative; and systemic reforms, strong states and long-term policies are a formula to prompt access to adequate housing for all. Furthermore, the New Urban Agenda recognises the significance of the Right to the City and the intertwined mandate to support inclusive cities. Bringing the Right to the City discourse to the global agenda includes several rights central to the NUA's mandate.

2.3.3 Distinction between the global south/north countries in terms of housing provision

A fundamental distinction or categorisation between the global south and north's socio-economic characteristics is vital in order to comprehend the localised factors that influence inclusion. Schindler (2017) recognises that the lines between north and south are likely even blurrier today, however, southern cities exhibit the following three tendencies that are dissimilar to their northern counterpart cities. The first tendency revolves around the disjuncture between capital and labour and this is evident within southern urbanism which has significant influence on the drive towards transformation. Secondly, the arrangement and development of southern cities is discontinuous, dynamic, and contested. Thirdly, the political economy and materiality are always already co-constituted in southern cities, albeit with weak supportive institutions.

2.3.3.1 The global south's housing provision

Aalbers (2015) notes that the global south's housing systems have deviated from the privatisation and financial methodologies utilised in the global north, and in various cases the global south's housing systems comprise of the pre-modern or post-Fordist system. Aalbers (2015) attributes such distortion of the global south's housing system to the instability of property rights, market disturbances due to state-created rents, corruption, and institutional incapacities.

Zadeh et al. (2021) observed that since the categorisation of the world into the global south and the global north there have been significant improvements in the housing systems and regulatory frameworks, particularly in the global south. There are more democratically elected governments paving the way toward tackling social exclusion, informality, and socio-political calamities. The application of welfare policies from neo-liberal market-oriented economic policies has been the basis for public housing provision, in that governments have performed a significant role in housing provision for the poor. This has occurred mainly following the realisation that market forces cannot

meet the demand for housing and housing market disturbances always lead to the exclusion of marginalised communities.

2.3.3.2 The role of the state in providing social housing in the global south

Aalbers (2015) notes that the traditional definition of social housing that is often utilised is based on the experience of Europe under Fordism. It involves the following elements: it is provided by the state or other distributive agencies; it includes the construction of housing; and it targets the disadvantaged whose needs cannot be met in the private housing market. These elements have limited relevance to social housing in the global south context.

According to Lee and Mason (2012), the state performs a minimal role in social housing provision in the global south. The scale of those living below the poverty line and the scale of the informality negate the need for social housing and instead require the state to focus on the upgrading of sites and services and other forms of self-help housing, while the global north employs an approach that relies on direct implementation of social housing through construction of new dwellings and renovation of existing buildings. Furthermore, the provision of social housing in the global north targets the poor working class, while in contrast in the south the beneficiaries of social housing are mostly those from privileged groups.

2.3.4 Developmental state

Lee and Mason (2012) define a developmental state as part of capitalism, mostly located in the global south, and mainly concerned with advancing the primary goal of economic growth by the state. The goal is achieved through increases in incomes, political legitimacy, social solidarity and the production and consumption of goods. Holliday (2000) posits that developmental states abide by productivism principles, through their actions of sacrificing social policies to strengthen economic growth, and social policies are developed to serve the economic objectives of the states.

Housing for developmental states is an interesting domain as it can be used to assert authority through control of land allocation and its influence on urban development (Leftwich, 2007). Housing has the capacity to improve the socio-economic conditions of a state, though utilisation of the housing construction sector as the stimulus for economic growth. Khan (2004) concedes that housing programmes at times fail to stimulate economic growth in a developmental state as a result of market distortions by the state, instability of the property rights, incentives for rent seeking, corruption, and the absence of democracy. This leads to failure of the developmental state's ambitions. The developmental states are largely situated in the global south, where the colonial

impact, high unemployment, and resource-based economies have restricted the advancement of nations and massive government intervention is required to boost the conditions for socio-economic growth.

Steytler, De Visser and Mettle (2020) note that the South African Constitution provides three critical components in its advancement of its developmental state agenda: sustainable service delivery; social and economic development; and the prioritisation of basic needs. Furthermore, the Constitution mandates local government to promote social and economic development.

2.3.5 Spatial restructuring to advance sustainable urban forms

Turgut and Sismanyazici (2011) surmised that the process of social and spatial restructuring comprises of socio-economic attributes and the politics of policy development. The socio-economic attributes are, for instance, consumption patterns, demographic structures, economic elements, impacts on land and housing markets, new housing developments, and transportation costs. The urban transformation process generally aims to improve the socio-cultural, economic, and physical characteristics of a site (Turgut and Mutman, 2011).

Bikam (2016) notes that there is a lack of determination in spatial planning and development projects to channel development to growth points and major transport corridors, so there is a need to assess the success of development directed towards city centres and the utilisation of a top-down development approach. Bikam (2016) further advises that spatial restructuring should be implemented by focusing on a limited number of priority nodes and corridors where agglomeration and desired densities can be supported. The corridors and nodes must be identified and prioritised through the spatial development frameworks.

2.3.5.1 Transit oriented development (TOD) and employment decentralisation

Burke, Li and Dodson (2011) allude to Transit Oriented Development (TOD) as an effective approach towards shifting transport and land use arrangements in cities to support increased public transport usage. However, they note that an increase in resistance by inner- and middle-suburban neighbourhoods to increased residential density has hindered the effective implementation and utilisation of TOD, though there is evidence of its influence on travel behaviours, including improved transit ridership. The advantages of TOD are that it increases public transport use and reduces distance travelled, while opposition to it centres around regulatory barriers, market demand and community resistance to the developmental concept.

Oranje (2014) argues that TOD requires key factors if implementation is to be successful, namely: the pre-existence of economic viability which can function as an anchor for the envisaged development; the adherence to stipulated development timeframes to ensure the TOD model is successful; a feeder system that connects with the main trunk line to ensure that the necessary thresholds are reached and that viability of the public transport system is achieved; access to land for residential and commercial developments to reinforce the corridor with complementary mixed uses and densities; and political leadership's support of the TOD model.

Employment decentralisation proposes a shift of approach towards the provision of economic opportunities in close proximity to residential neighbourhoods. Burke et al. (2011) surmise that employment decentralisation as a spatial restructuring tool has garnered minimal attention in recent decades, despite its potential to reorganise the urban form and transport/land use patterns. The positives of planned employment decentralisation comprises of a decrease in motor vehicle utilisation and congestion. Resistance to employment decentralisation emanates mainly from the public sector's unwillingness to embrace relocation from the established economic bases to secondary nodes.

2.3.5.2 Spatial plans

Turok (2014) argues that spatial transformation targets will remain unreachable if the spatial plans produced continue to be incapable of articulating the vision of the government. Such plans lead to the conception of projects and programmes as mechanisms that react to events and opportunities without working toward an ultimate goal. The spatial plans must incorporate land development processes and action plans for peripheral locations. They must stimulate growth through development mandates and the employment of restructuring zones that incentivise and marshal resources for special housing or spatial transformation projects. Spatial plans are supposed to utilise the identified areas of potential, including but not limited to corridors, precincts, restructuring zones, catalytic projects, urban edges, mixed-use nodes, nodal developments, economic activity zones, urban renewal/regeneration, and infill developments.

Currently, the trend is the employment of catalytic projects to facilitate spatial restructuring. Turok (2014) observes that in order for spatial transformation to be effective, there must be meticulous coordination of the various supplementary infrastructure. This maximises the government's investment, which acts as the pillar for the initiative. The catalytic projects can take the form of mega housing projects which provide exponential benefits to the residents and act as a pull factor

for other supplementary services. Attracting private investments and improving the spatial configuration of the urban settlements makes it possible for low-income communities to reside in cities that continue to be highly unequal in the distribution of and access to resources.

2.3.6 Global land and housing

The McKinsey Global Institute (2014b) estimates that 440 million households will experience housing challenges by 2025, and 106 million of these will be urban households. Achamwie and Danso-Wiredu (2021) concur that housing provision for the low-income groups is a global challenge and urban centres are struggling to provide adequate housing for the poor. Housing is, however, a pre-condition for human survival and a socio-economic development imperative (UN-Habitat, 2015b). According to Lee and Singh (2022), housing as a tool for social alleviation is complex and its development without consideration has economic, social, cultural, physical, environmental, and financial ramifications.

The AHA (2021) notes that housing and residential use can consume more than 70 per cent of the land cover in cities, and advances that the sustainable future of cities will depend on the availability and affordability of housing to accommodate the needs and rights of their growing populations. In identifying potential catalysts for inclusion, the World Bank (2015a) acknowledges that land is a fundamental building block that enables the urban poor to access other services and to build assets. Strategically located land in pursuit of affordable housing is imperative to promote access to services and economic opportunities for the urban poor. Additionally, a fine balance exists between affordability and adequate housing, as it is interlinked with the concept of housing that is produced by the housing sector and what is needed by communities. The housing market and government policy governs the supply side of housing while the socio-economic conditions of communities dictate the demand for housing.

The locational aspect of housing cannot be separated from the provision of infrastructure for social services. According to the World Bank (2015b), the application of inclusion strategies when formulating infrastructure plans and service provision has the potential to minimise spatial segregation and improve the quality of life of all urban residents. UN-Habitat (2016) concedes that there are limited policies capable of supporting social and spatial inclusion and assisting with the reversal of the global trend of unsustainable, low-density, fragmented, and exclusionary urbanisation. Acioly (2018) posits that in reality, the promotion of policies that increase the supply of serviced land at scale, accessibility to affordable housing finance, and targeted subsidies that

support well-located housing developments and improve the regulations that discourage urban sprawl and encourage land development within the urban core can reinforce the principles of inclusiveness.

The McKinsey Global Institute (2014b) argues that governments and state-owned entities are substantial landowners in cities and the potential of this available land is not fully utilised. It is further noted that governments perform minimal inventory their land holdings to identify land suitable for disposal. An efficient approach to identify, coordinate, and assemble such land in preparation for housing projects is paramount to keep up with demand levels. The McKinsey Global Institute (2014b) recommends alternative approaches for the acquisition of suitable land within urban centres, such as land pooling or land readjustment by assembling numerous parcels, land-sharing schemes which allow the landowners to retain low yielding land while developing the strategic parcels for human settlements, and land swaps which allow for exchanges of parcels in the city.

2.3.6.1 African housing provision and land supply

Achamwie and Danso-Wiredu (2021) acknowledge that housing challenges for the poor are more pronounced in Sub-Saharan Africa. Cartwright, Palmer, Taylor, Pieterse, Parnell, and Colenbrander (2018) note that African cities' populations will continue to rise despite the lack of government support, so it is essential to develop the urban areas strategically in the face of rapid urbanisation. The African Ministerial Conference on Housing and Urban Development (AMCHUD) was held in 2010 to discuss ways to improve the administration, management, and access to land equity (UN-Habitat, 2011a). The conference focused on developing a framework for sustainable settlement development in an urbanising landscape. The following declaration was drafted to reinforce the continent's commitment towards sustainability: African countries are committed to facilitating housing reforms in the face of urbanisation and will embark on producing housing opportunities to scale to eradicate informality.

Cartwright et al. (2018) remark that the emergence of the National Urban Policies (NUPs) from the New Urban Agenda is essential for Africa as these policies provide greater coherence on the way forward, add legitimacy to authorities and create an environment where power can be shared by the government, state-owned enterprises (SOEs), civil society and the private sector. Cartwright et al. (2018) add though that it is imperative that these NUPs be tailor made/adapted for the African

landscape where the spatial incoherence of cities undermines agglomeration effects and competitiveness and contributes to the high cost of the urban services. The policies comprise of urban governance elements that have been missing in the management of urban centres.

UN-Habitat (2011a) observes that while there are fundamental barriers impeding Africa's progress in the process of adequate housing provision, significant strides have been made to address the demand for land and housing. Insufficient urban land supply for housing, compounded by maladministration and cumbersome regulations, has been one of the critical barriers to adequate housing provision. Housing provided through the formal market is unaffordable by the majority of Africans, and housing finance systems in Africa remain undeveloped and seldom cater to the low-income communities.

2.3.7 Housing policy development

UN-Habitat (2011b) infers that housing should be understood as a holistic and multi-dimensional concept that represents the physical environment, and with that assertion the key inter-dependent components of land, infrastructure, finance, labour, and building materials must be recognised when observing housing dynamics. UN-Habitat (2011a) notes that the key components of housing dynamics are shaped by the legal, regulatory, and institutional frameworks within which they operate. Moreno-Monroy, Gars, Matsumoto, Crook, Ahrend and Schumann (2020) report the impact of national housing policy instruments on the urban form and housing affordability as both diverse and complex. It is further argued that because of this housing complexity, national governments must be compelled to devise policy instruments that are capable of responding to localised housing needs and challenges while still being considerate of the overall housing market.

UN-Habitat (2017) cites the rigid mix-use zoning regulations, lack of access to financing, lack of land management tools, lack of adequate legal frameworks, and lack of incentives for the provision of social rental housing as the major causes of social housing policy failures. Zoning regulations have the capacity to promote or restrict development and with the promotion of mix-use development, the inability of land use schemes to accommodate high density development has been closely associated with sprawling urban forms and the allocation of peripheral sites to the low-income groups. The financial barrier that restricts the low-income groups from accessing credit, mortgages and collateral impedes their accessibility to adequate accommodation and limits the allocation of housing subsidy options to the poor. Rising costs of land in urban areas provide limited options for the poor while the utilisation of land speculation withholds viable land that can be used

for the production of accessible and adequate housing. Efficient functioning of the housing markets requires the creation of enabling policy environments through progressive policy frameworks.

2.3.8 Rental housing

The AHA (2021) acknowledges that a sign of a functional housing sector is its ability to provide appropriate and affordable housing, and overall provision of housing choices and opportunities at the right scale. UN-Habitat (2009) emphasises that rental housing may only be a partial answer to urban housing problems, but it is an important housing option to maintain a well-functioning housing market that caters for all household income groups. Furthermore, the advancement of the rental sector relies on local economic and political conditions and regulatory frameworks which can be unique for every city. Zadeh et al. (2021) acknowledge that social housing has performed a limited role in the overall provision of public housing in the global south, constituting only 10 per cent or lower of the total housing stock. UN-Habitat (2011c) states that increasing resources directed at rental subsidies should be considered a viable approach as there is a growing need to support rental housing as a strategy for low-income households.

UN-Habitat (2012) advances that a greater degree of attention must be directed towards the rental housing market as an effective strategy for adequate housing provision for low-income households. This can be achieved by channelling resources to rental subsidies rather than focusing on uncontrolled urbanisation. Serageldin (2016) notes that global north countries have various rental assistance programmes that have been in operation for a long time and incorporated into integrated housing policies, while in the global south there is a high demand for rental housing. The unmet demand due to the low supply of housing in the global south is associated with the high prices of urban land and the significant number of lower-income households in the region, according to Serageldin (2016).

Kumar (2021) surmises that rental housing is integral to well-functioning cities as it provides affordable and well-located rental housing to low-income families and migrants, and the rental housing market is influenced by and responds to local conditions as it reflects the demand resulting from local employment opportunities. It can also be exclusionary along economic and social lines and finally, it is shrouded by insecurity as a result of government policies since it is highly reactive to and negatively influenced by oppressive planning policies and processes. Such sensitivity to external factors requires constant intervention from the government in that it should create a conducive rental sector that is flexible in this changing environment as a result of responsive policies

2.3.9 Social housing

Kholodilin et al. (2022) note that social housing is distinct from rental housing and home ownership. Blackwell and Bengtsson (2021) define social housing as rental housing that is provided on the basis of meeting housing needs and not primarily in order to make profit for the landlord. Lundgren (2019) expands on the meaning of social housing by outlining five criteria associated with social housing systems, namely: the nature of the beneficiaries targeted, the nature of tenure, the main social housing provider, and financial assistance mechanisms.

Social housing is predicated on the belief that meeting households' basic need for shelter can help promote positive life outcomes for low- and moderate-income families (Weje, 2018). Malpass (2008) infers that social housing's ability to integrate socio-economic and spatial components of society can be an efficient tool with which to address the socio-economic needs of modern society. Cloete, Venter and Marais (2009) note that there has been increasing political pressure to supplement the existing resources directed towards social housing as the limited amount of affordable housing stock available struggles to keep up with the demands of the flexible workforce.

Zadeh et al. (2021) recognise the diversity of social housing across countries in terms of ownership models, the institutions managing construction, rental prices, the funding or subsidy stream, the type of tenure, and the objective of the social housing provision. Morris (2017) reports that globally, social housing has been funded and managed by local, state, or national governments, but it is increasingly becoming managed and owned by non-profit housing providers. Zadeh et al. (2021) provide the social responsibility perspective of social housing and refer to it as the emergence of a greater, non-market force in the housing system wherein households or individuals, independent from market forces or regulated market conditions, are provided with the resources to uphold a socially acceptable standard of living in decent homes. Baiocchi (2022) refers to social housing being a valuable tool in addressing the global housing crisis as it decommodifies housing with the reduction of costs and the ability of the private sector to control access to this housing.

2.3.9.1 Social housing origin

Zadeh et al. (2021) argue that the historical origin of social housing can be traced back to European 19th century philanthropy and non-state religious foundations' housing provision. The 20th century then saw the rise of mass government housing provision as interventionist policies became prominent and there was a surge of rebuilding following the extensive housing destruction that occurred during World War II. Cloete et al. (2009) expand on this to add that the severe shortage of

housing due to WWII caused governments to intervene in the functioning of the housing market and the provision of affordable adequate housing.

Housing provision for all through subsidised rental housing then became prominent in furthering the approach towards welfare policies, but this ultimately became too expensive for governments. Zadeh et al. (2021) refer to the subsequent emergence of neo-liberal market ideologies as the cause of the decrease in governments' provision of public housing as the mass housing production became associated with increasing financial burdens on the states.

Morris (2017) observes that in numerous countries the proportion of social housing to the total housing stock declined due funding cuts and limited building of social housing. But Kholodilin et al. (2022) note that, long thought a relic of the past, the ongoing housing affordability bottleneck has once again placed the social housing agenda back in the political domain as the world moves away from house ownership policies after the experience of the global financial crisis.

2.3.9.2 Social housing components

According to Morris (2017), historically, social housing has performed a significant role of adequate housing provision to low-income older people unable to access homeownership. However, Kholodilin et al. (2022) express that social housing is only but a cog in a complex housing system with a welfare state consisting of budget-neutral tenancy, fiscal exemptions, and homeownership subsidies. Social housing intervention can manifest in three main forms: regulation; linkage to public policies; and subsidies and direct provision of social housing through public bodies or publicly owned companies. Demonstrating how a welfare state influences housing, Kholodilin et al. (2022) identified determinants of social housing provision. The GDP dictates the scale of the social housing provision; social housing policies should be pro poor; it can be utilised as a complementary tool to rent regulation; and governments with stronger redistributive mandates can implement social housing on a larger scale.

2.3.9.3 The benefits of social housing

In its articulation of the benefits of renting, UN-Habitat (2011c) outlines the advantages as the freedom of staying mobile and moving to where employment opportunities are without being tied down by regular house payments. Secondly, renting provides a sense of flexibility in the management of household budgets, allowing for relocation to cheaper houses in times of financial need. Thirdly, it provides a stable platform for households that are not in a position to commit on long-term financial obligations and lastly, it allows for households to save or invest in buying land or building a house or business.

UN-Habitat (2004) surmises that renting affords households four critical opportunities: mobility, flexibility, freedom, and remittance. UN-Habitat (2011c) defines the factors that contribute to good rental accommodation as access to jobs and public services, and proximity to places of employment, transport, schools, health care locations and social support systems.

Rental housing allow for flexible responsiveness to tenants' mobility patterns.

2.3.9.4 Role of social housing in addressing the housing backlog

UN-Habitat in 1989 called the rental sector a forgotten sector and concluded there was a need for government to modify their housing policy approach to promote more rental housing strategies. Rental housing markets are influenced by, and respond to, local economic and political conditions and regulatory frameworks, and operate very differently from city-to-city (UN-Habitat, 2011a).

Osman and Abdalla (2011) posit that urbanisation factors the arrival of new migrants can be associated with people searching for academic and employment opportunities. Their move to cities may be temporary or permanent, but regardless of the length of stay they require rental housing within the formal and informal sectors. Rental housing may only be a partial answer to urban housing problems, but it is an important housing option – especially for the urban poor, and particularly in situations where people are not ready or able to buy or build houses of their own (UN-Habitat, 2011c).

2.4 Precedent studies on social housing projects

The nature and occurrence of rental housing varies considerably between countries (Gilbert, 2015). The scales of the social housing projects range from state-to-state and are determined by the underlying policies and target markets. While design, location, and funding models vary, the main objective to provide adequate affordable rental housing remains consistent. The studies provide an understanding of the various initiatives undertaken across the globe and provide insight into housing developments subjected to varied socio-economic, political, and environmental forces. An open view of the varied approaches employed is required to comprehend the magnitude of the various forms of social housing implementation processes. Precedent studies allow absorption of the experiences by those who have operationalised social housing programmes for the better part of a generation. They provide foresight on possible efficient mechanisms that can be customised for various environmental conditions. The lessons drawn from such extensive projects are invaluable

as they allow measuring of the potential shortfalls and positive outcomes of the Social Housing Programme.

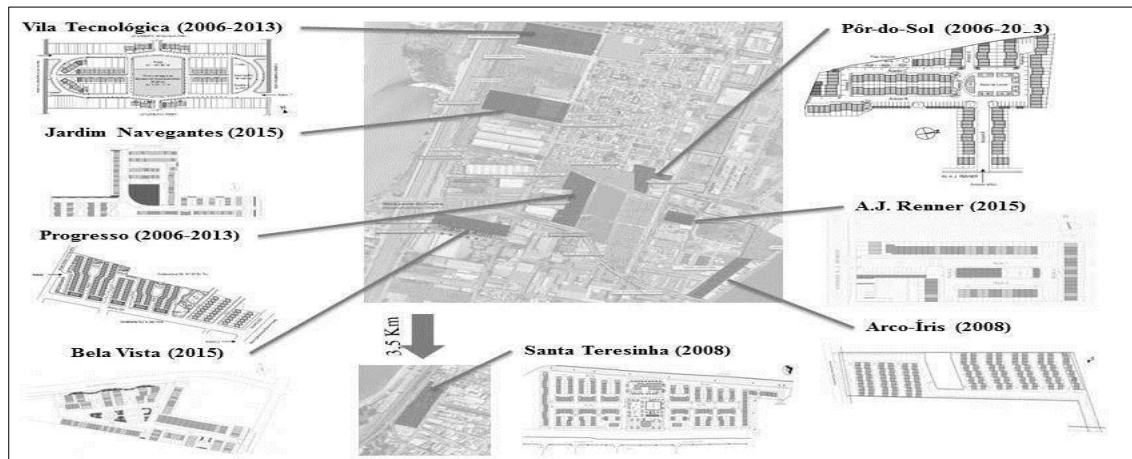
Testing of the effectiveness of the South African housing policy and the Social Housing Programme's outcome requires a comparative analysis of various international social housing projects with similar purposes, scales, and deliverables. The precedent studies are intended to draw lessons that can be customised to the south African housing landscape, with the goal of improving the current level of policy implementation through identification of gaps and positives that should be reinforced. It allows the research to weigh the factors that will influence project success or hinder policy implementation. Precedent studies are vital for the evaluation of the successes and shortfalls of the South African social housing policy implementation. They will afford the researcher and policy implementers the opportunity to rectify potential problems and supplement the existing knowledge.

2.4.1 City Entrance Integrated Programme (CEIP), Brazil

According to Miron and Formoso (2010), the City Entrance Integrated Program was an urban project intended to support urban restructuring in Porto Alegre City in Brazil. It employed the concept of an integrated housing programme through the merging of five projects for the same neighbourhood: road infrastructure, environmental recovery, housing, social work, and planning. The project was planned to accommodate 3775 families who were residing in informal settlements around the city. This holistic approach to the provision of social housing has had success in integrating the city's spatial form while affording access to economic opportunities for the marginalised communities. Delsant et al. (2017) state that the programme was intended to provide suitable accommodation for irregular settlements that did not have adequate urban infrastructure and offered insalubrious conditions to its inhabitants. The CEIP's aim centred on regenerating the city and providing accessibility and environmental recovery.

Miron and Formoso (2010) noted that the aim of the social housing project was to promote the inclusion of poor communities into the formal city by means of community participation, work, and income generation. Furthermore, they pronounced that the attributes of the social project's urban infrastructure services contributed to the community's satisfaction, though there were concerns regarding their fulfilment of their obligations to pay taxes and bills and difficulties in adapting to the design of the housing units.

Figure 2.1: City Entrance Integrated Programme



Source: Luciana et al. (2015, p. 243)

Figure 2.1 denotes the extent of the project composition and relationship it has with Porto Alegre City. The centrality of the project locations provides valuable access to the potential beneficiaries to economic and social benefits. Delsantea et al. (2017) argued that the project achieved the core goals of infrastructure improvement, extensive participatory practices, and social and economic care for local residents, however, a lack of political support and constant changes in the urban policies on long-term regeneration projects slowed down the delivery process of the projects.

2.4.2 The Waterfront of Boston Harbour (USA)

The city introduced an inclusionary zone by changing the zoning regulations and mandating developers to allocate rental space to facilitate affordable housing development (Andoni, 2018). This initiative was implemented by reserving percentages of the units developed for affordable housing, placing constraints on the number of affordable units built in alternative locations, and making cash payments to housing funds. The programme was envisioned to provide affordable rental accommodation to the low-income group within thriving city districts. The programme entrusted a significant social responsibility in the provision of affordable housing and thus reduced the government's burden of responding to all housing challenges.

2.4.3 Barcelona, "La Marina", Spain

Calavita and Mallach (2010) assert that some cities in Spain have inclusionary requirements mandated on all developments through land development rights, and 30 per cent of the floor-area in any residential development must be reserved for affordable housing. The La Marina in Barcelona is a 143-hectare brownfield site near the city centre that was envisioned for inclusionary density

housing. A bonus of this approach (for the government) was that the majority of the project was funded by private developers, as it required infrastructure additions and compensation of the existing landowners. Portions of the property were donated for public uses, and the developer provided half of all the residential units at affordable prices. The project comprised of 6,000 affordable and 6,000 market-priced units, and to accommodate this high number of units the floor area for the units was increased from 1 to 2.3.

2.4.4 San Pablo Project, Seville, Spain

The Aura Strategy is an intervention method focused on the regeneration of neighbourhoods or obsolete urban fabrics with a high level of architectural, urban, or socio-economic vulnerability (Herrera-Limones, Hernandez-Valencia and Roa-Fernandez, 2021). The Aura Strategy is a European Union programme aimed at regenerating neighbourhoods that have experienced a decline in their architectural, urban, and socio-economic attributes and the regeneration is achieved through reconfiguration of the existing buildings for social housing while also considering the climate and energy consumption. The demand for affordable housing is constantly increasing and addressing the housing shortage while also addressing urban regeneration has become imperative for governments.

The San Pablo Project is located in the San Pablo district in the city of Seville. The area was selected utilising a study of the spatial vulnerability patterns of the city, which outlined the level of employment and housing needs. The socio-economic conditions, inclusive designs, safety and security, mobility, and urban infrastructure available were also utilised as guidelines for the selection of the appropriate locations and buildings to create the sustainable social housing projects.

The project was based on overhauling the existing buildings in residential neighbourhoods, with the purpose of regenerating the city. The project comprised of an integrated approach to planning, which included the design and construction of the social housing units with complementary infrastructures and green open spaces. The existing social facilities and its centrality within the city offered potential tenants a high degree of mobility and access.

Herrera-Limones et al. (2021) add that the benefits of the project included the incorporation of new technologies into the buildings, which advanced the city's commitment toward smart growth. Utilisation of the existing buildings reduced the cost of the overall programme, and the introduction of street furniture and open spaces created a lively neighbourhood. Improvement of the social facilities assisted in improving the inclusion of the poor, and renovation of the decaying and

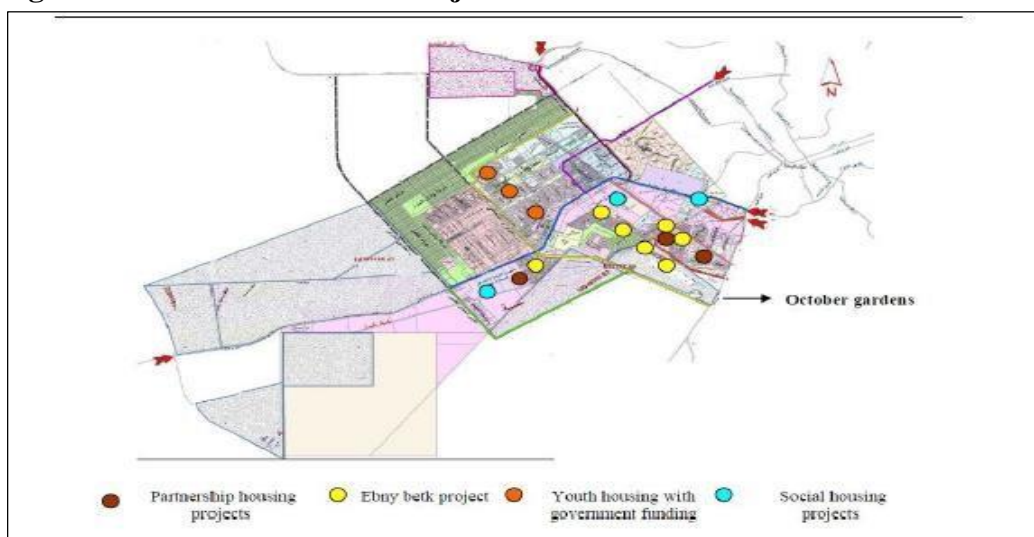
underutilised buildings improved the quality of life for the local residents and the state of the city at large.

2.4.5. Degla Gardens Project, October Gardens in Six October City, Egypt

According to Abd-Elkawy (2020), October Gardens, located in Egypt, forms part of the southern expansion of Six October City. It comprises of different levels and types of housing, including social housing. The project area is a one-hectare site which comprises of various housing typologies, open spaces, and services. The secondary services include shopping centres, clinics, fast food restaurants, sports, and other social amenities. The provision of transportation linking the areas and other economic nodes is a top priority.

Developed by a private developer, development incentives performed a significant role in the financing, regulation, and construction of the project. The private sector has become as key role player and complements the government's development goals in terms of housing matters, due to the government's limited financial resources to provide social housing. This partnership has been achieved with the promise of a set of incentives. The incentives range from formally disposed of public land, tax incentives, financial assistance, and land use management and development regulations for the housing projects. The October Gardens project's incentives also include a land donation from the government which has further lowered the development costs of the project, thus allowing the housing institution to charge the end users lower rental rates.

Figure 2.2: October Gardens Project



Source: Abd-Elkawy (2020, p. 110)

Figure 2.2 spatial reference of the housing project location relative to the existing commercial node of the city. The concept shows the application of spatial restructuring that has long lasting benefits to the intended communities. It further provides a template on integrated development process that can yield long term benefits without compromising the agenda of addressing increasing housing backlogs. However, there challenges associated with the incentive scheme include balancing the needs of the state and the private sector, the need for land use regulations to facilitate the scheme, and the risk that this density scheme might sacrifice the rental space provided for profitability. The positives of the scheme are linked to the optimisation of resources and reduction of the government's fiscal responsibility for housing.

2.4.6 Lessons from the precedent studies

When evaluating the various social housing models in operation across the globe, what is evident is the utilisation of integrated housing programmes that focus on the provision of social housing projects in conjunction with the necessary social infrastructure that makes the projects sustainable and effective at integrating the low-income communities into the amenities and opportunities that the urban centres offer. However, such massive long-term projects require immense political capital to sustain them and this is difficult to sustain in order to keep the projects' implementation progressing when political officers change over time.

The increasing interest in inclusionary housing regulation symbolises the shifting discourse in the understanding of the social responsibility between governments and the private sector. The realisation of governments' limited resources to meet and curb the demand for adequate and affordable housing has necessitated the shifting of responsibility for social housing provision to developers. The shared responsibility models allow the introduction of mixed-income residential units to accommodate those who would otherwise not afford prime locations. The success of inclusionary housing regulations is attributed to the incentives and penalties that are offered and imposed by the governments to ensure compliance and cooperation by the private housing sector.

Social housing as a tool to support the urban regeneration of certain neighbourhood has been used as a conduit for urban improvement. The introduction of new housing projects in areas where infrastructure investment has been minimal has shown the potential to reenergise neighbourhoods; improving the provision of public amenities and stimulating the micro economies of such precincts. The precedent studies unveiled the realities of the various social housing programmes' implementation models. The undertaking laid bare the various methodologies executed by the various government in the pursuit of affordable and accessible social housing. What underpins the

various models assessed is the employment of various mechanisms, from incentives to penalties and strategic partnerships between the government and private developers. But above all, the introduction of inclusionary housing has become the flagship of social housing provision.

2.5 Chapter Summary

The conceptual framework provided the theories and models appropriate for interpreting the social housing conundrum while the literature reviewed provided an understanding of the social housing and land assembly systems across various countries. The theories underpinning social housing provision and spatial restructuring note the dire need to consider factors to the provision of housing structures. These include the dire need to attain spatial clarity on the impact of social housing on the urban centres' characters, clarity on the land markets that restrict the acquisition of prime land for low-income housing provision, and the administrative processes necessary for efficient land assembly processes and sustainable human settlement practices. The chapter uncovered significant gaps and differences between the global north and south's social housing models and implementation processes. Different states utilise different social housing models, depending on the needs of their urban centres, the resources available and the level of participation by the private sector.

CHAPTER THREE: SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIAL HOUSING AND SPATIAL RECONFIGURATION PERSPECTIVE

3.0 Introduction to housing and spatial planning in South Africa

The chapter analyses the responsibility of the South African government in the provision of social housing. It provides the historical context of housing provision and the spatial planning approach in South Africa, and an understanding of the implications of the suppressive Apartheid policies on the country's urban centres. Arising from the past policies is a social obligation to the disadvantaged, and this is acknowledged in the South African Constitution as a mandate of the government to its citizens. This mandate is critical as it dictates that the government must address the harsh continuation of the socio-economic inequality amongst the marginalised population. The commitment to fulfil this social obligation entrusted to the government has manifested in a myriad of interventions across multiple sectors since the dawn of the new democracy. The current government remains ineffective in eradicating the triple challenge of unemployment, inequality, and poverty. Affordable and adequate housing is a major frontier that has seen significant government investments in resources in attempts to quell the socio-economic challenges of an unequal society and elevate the standard of living of the majority in accordance with international and national housing commitments and sustainable human settlements principles.

3.1 Historical Account of South African Housing and Spatial Planning

Strauss (2019) avows that spatial segregation denotes a significant dimension of the historical development of the South African urban settlement patterns which are deeply rooted in colonial oppression. Ile and Makiva (2019) assert that the Apartheid system's exclusion of the black African population from acquiring public housing has contributed to the inequality in the country, and the repercussions of this still persist today.

The *High-Level Panel Report on the Assessment of Key Legislation and the Acceleration of Fundamental Change* (National Assembly of South Africa, 2017) notes that South Africa's statute framework is a narration of the country's history of conquest, domination and racial segregation. The panel concludes that the imposition of the former draconian statutes manifested in the form of a spatial outcome littered by segregation and deep inequities across space. Myeni et al. (2020) claim that the aggressive approach taken to enforce the segregationist and suppressive laws by the former

Apartheid government paved for the way for the racially and spatially segregated human settlement patterns still evident.

The architects and executors of Apartheid operated with enthusiasm to dictate the racial hierarchy over land. This created a dual economy that reserved land, economic opportunities, education, and services for whites, while locking black people out of the central economy and perpetuating the circle of poverty.

Table 3.1: Apartheid housing and land legislation

| |
|---|
| <p>Natives Land Act No. 27 of 1913: The Act formally introduced a legislative guideline for racial segregation of the South African land system. It prohibited black Africans from possessing or renting land outside of designated reserves. Approximately 7% of the land in the country was reserved for the black majority.</p> |
| <p>Housing Act No. 35 of 1920: It was developed to provide guidance on housing provision. It empowered municipalities to build and manage housing in poor African areas and was permitted under the central government's control through the Central Housing Board. However, the provision of housing was skewed towards poor whites and sidelined all other races.</p> |
| <p>Native Urban Areas Act No. 21 of 1923: This was enacted to remove excess black Africans from urban areas. It was developed as influx control legislation to regulate the presence of Africans in the urban areas. The local authorities were empowered to establish African locations on the periphery of formal white urban neighbourhoods and industrial areas. The forced relocations and tight movement controls promoted the formation of a highly unequal spatial settlement development pattern.</p> |
| <p>Bantu Authorities Act of 1951: The Act's mandate was to restrict black people from residing in urban areas and it utilised the establishment of homelands to be governed by traditional authorities. The homelands' inhabitants forfeited their citizenship and political privileges as South Africans and were forced to carry passports to manoeuvre to areas outside the homelands.</p> |

Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950: The Act was intended to split racial groups into different spatial areas by forcing physical separation through the creation of different residential areas for each race. It further placed restrictions on land ownership and occupation in accordance with racial groups, and this meant that Africans were not permitted to own or occupy land in white areas.

Additionally, the Act facilitated the establishment of homelands which were African ethnic enclaves situated in scattered and unwanted rural areas. Devised as a mechanism to slow down the rural-urban migration of black Africans, the homelands were granted limited self-rule, and this resulted in cutbacks in the government's responsibility for service provision.

Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951: This Act afforded various avenues for the government to evict and remove those residing in areas classified as squatter settlements, mostly located in urban areas, and to relocate the squatters to designated areas/resettlement camps. The removals afforded the central government another discriminatory population control mechanism.

The Physical Planning Act No. 88 of 1967: This empowered the state with total control of planning matters through the provision of guidelines to local authorities on the development of master plans. Such plans provided the template for spatially segregated development and permitted the Apartheid state to manage the black urban townships.

The Black Laws Amendment Act of 1963: It conferred powers to the state to detain without trial people suspected of political crimes and to hold them for 90 days without access to a lawyer. It further tightened the government of black people outside the Bantu states, as they required permission from the state to access urban areas for employment purposes. The central government consolidated power by proclaiming itself the final arbiter in local authority matters concerning black population residential locations and planning.

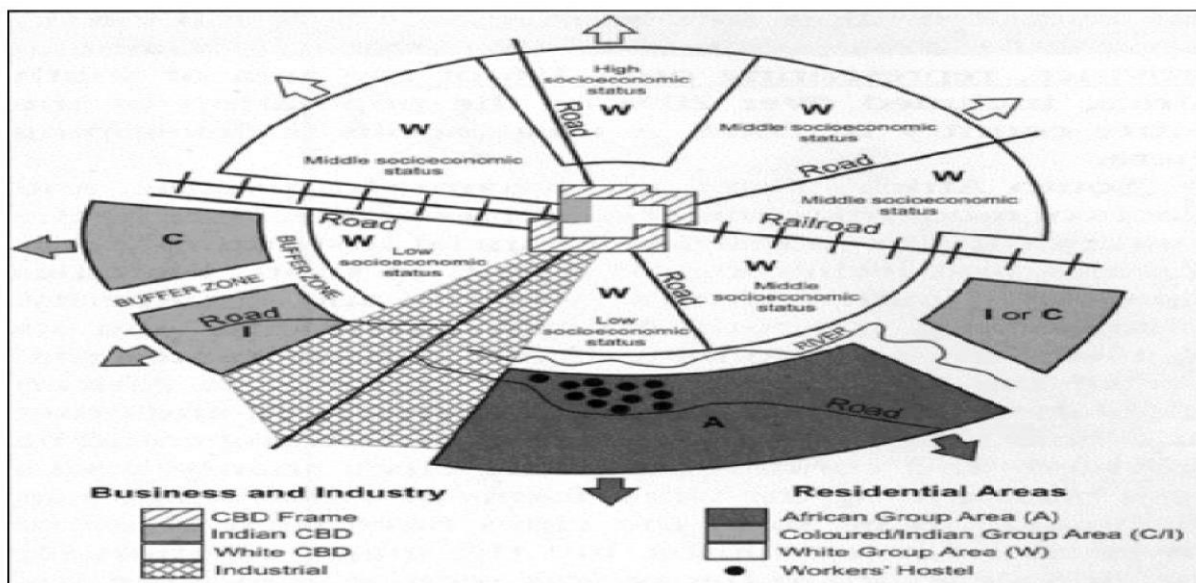
Source: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/> (n.d.)

The legislative framework of the Apartheid government centralised power and removed public participation in decision-making processes. Such mechanisms became the norm and restricted the black population's access to social amenities and economic opportunities. The legal apparatus enabled the harsh treatment of the majority of the population by the government, and this manifested in a myriad of avenues in a number of sectors including housing, the economy, spatial planning, freedom of movement, and basic services provision.

The guiding principle envisioned by the Apartheid government for the black townships was to create a space where the black population had limited livelihood options, and the urban settlements were preserved for the betterment of the white minority population. The townships were viewed foremost as harbours for the cheap temporary labour necessary for the upkeep of the pristine white suburbs, and the manufacturing and mining sectors. In that sense, the Apartheid government perceived townships as not worthy of the investment needed for social amenities and prioritised the enforcement of barriers and mechanisms to limit close interaction between the African townships and the white suburbs. The mandate for racial segregation emanated from the legislative framework in Table 3.1 and manifested in the Apartheid City Model depicted by Figure 3.1.

The aggressive implementation of the various segregationist laws by the Apartheid regime led by the National Party facilitated the emergence of human settlement patterns characterised by different race groups in different locations Myeni and Okem (2020) state that the Apartheid state employed housing as a political tool to further their segregationist agenda. The Apartheid government resorted to preventing African people from accessing housing in towns and cities and simultaneously ensured tight control over increases in housing stock for Africans residing in cities (Thomas, 2010). Walker (2017) further substantiates that the Apartheid government's utilisation of repressive policies of urban influx control, population relocation, and the tribalisation of local administration in the reserves maintained control of the urban spatial form. The Apartheid City Model reinforced the segregated nature of African townships with limited housing opportunities. Confined to mostly unsuitable land, the settlements were afforded limited public housing and were heavily policed in terms of the Native Urban Areas Act, no 21 of 1923.

Figure 3.1: Apartheid City Model



Source: Davies (1981, p. 61)

The persistent need for control over the black population in urban centres led to the establishment of the Apartheid City Model shown by figure 3.1, that segregated the population along racial lines. The urban centres became synonymous with the physical barriers implemented to prevent cohabitation by different races. The Apartheid City Model further restricted access to economic opportunities for the black majority who were located predominately on the periphery of the urban areas.

3.2 Human Settlements Challenges post-1994

Urban development and the current human settlements policy continue to identify the persistent trio of problems that arose as a result of the Apartheid geography (National Planning Commission, 2011). According to Turok (2011), South African cities have two distinctive identities and this requires strategic resource allocation and direction on where and how to encourage density and the instruments required to facilitate such densification. Mtantato (2011); and Turok (2011) observe that South African population densities are still relatively low when they are compared to other developing countries, and this continuously limits the ability of the low-income population to continuously improve their livelihood strategies.

Turok (2018) associates the struggle in addressing the spatial imbalances with the government's indecisiveness in its approach to spatial divides. The Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE) (2017) reveals that the issues of space, place and territory have not received the attention they

deserve since 1994. Minimal consideration has been given to internal population shifts, despite their significance in income mobility. Turok (2016) argues that when developing human settlements, minimal consideration is directed towards the efficiency of the households (travel costs and distances to work); the wider economy's efficiency (transport costs and congestion from urban sprawl); and the fiscal implications for the urban municipalities. The Financial and Fiscal Commission (FFC, 2012/2013) estimates that the resultant low-density urban sprawl costs the country's economy about R6.4 billion annually.

Dugard, Clark, Tissington and Wilson (2016) concede that despite the Constitutional Court's reference to the importance of location in housing cases such as the Blue Moonlight case brought before the court in 2011, and the acknowledgement by housing policies of the significance of housing locations, inadequate attention to locational issues regarding public housing still exists. According to Turok (2018), a perceivable threat exists within South Africa's policy and regulatory framework as it continues to locate poor people on cheap and inaccessible land as opposed to places with stronger economies.

3.2.1 South African urbanisation

The National Treasury Cities Support Programme (NTCSP) (RSA. NTCSP, 2018) recognises the unstoppable nature of urbanisation in the local and international arenas, and projects that 80 per cent of the South African population will be living in urban areas by the year 2050. It also states that the prosperity of the country will be determined by how well this urbanisation is managed. The South African Cities Network (SACN) (2016) notes the importance of migration governance and policy planning and the influence they possess over the demographic composition of urban centres, as these affect service and infrastructure provision. The RSA NTCSP (2018) recognises that in order to capitalise on urbanisation, South Africa's urban economic growth should be a priority as it is a mechanism with which to promote spatial integration and job opportunities and to facilitate planned densification.

The population influx measures in urban areas instituted by the Apartheid government resulted in delayed urbanisation, as South African cities pre-1980s urbanised at a much slower rate compared to other global cities. Post-1994 the easing of movement restrictions saw rural-urban migration increase rapidly. The freedom of movement also resulted in what academics have called the 'bright light syndrome', which consists of urban migration in search of greener pastures. The SACN (2016) observes that the urbanisation process is fuelled by households relocating to cities in search of

employment and various other opportunities, and that the inner-city areas also act as arrival areas for migrants from other countries. However, the relocation is not always embraced by the cities and migrants' positive contributions to the cities are barely recognised. The RSA NTCSP (2018) notes that a complication of urbanisation is the continuous production of inadequate urban spaces as a result of the legacy effects of the country's spatial form and due to shortcomings in the government's programmes and policies.

Turok and McGanahan (2013) argue that for urbanisation to be beneficial in developing countries, their governments have to provide supportive policies, markets and infrastructure investments, a supply of available land, and they have to remove barriers to rural–urban and intra-urban mobility. Supportive policies and investments are futile if there is no proper linkage between land use and transportation planning to direct affordable access and appropriate densities and connect urban citizens to employment opportunities, markets, essential services, and political representation.

3.2.2 Spatial justice and transformation agenda

Transformation is a long-term endeavour, and it requires the undoing or reversing of deep-rooted and complex practices and attitudes (Joseph and Sebina, 2014). According to Williams (2000), transformation requires the restructuring of physical space to realise spatial justice. Mthembu (2019) adds that the principle of spatial justice in the *Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act No. 16 of 2013* can be utilised to justify the expropriation of land in the pursuit of spatial equality.

The *National Development Plan 2030* (RSA, 2011) declared that settlement patterns must respond to the needs of communities and consider the broader social, environmental, and economic interests by building denser, liveable cities and towns. Gardner (2018) cites the White Paper on Human Settlements as significant in its articulation of strategies to align human settlement development with economic strategies, transport strategies, refinement of the spatial targeting tools, promotion of densification, coordination of investment in social infrastructure, and access to suitable land for human settlement.

The Republic of South Africa (RSA) (2011) acknowledges the existence of national guidelines for the formulation of Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) that provide some understanding of integration as a concept and distinguish between functional integration and socio-economic integration. Du Plessis (2014) describes the national guidelines for integration as promoting the walking-distance principle as they advocate that at least 50 per cent of all urban activities should

be within walking distance (approximately 1,000 m in 20 min.) of where people live. However, Du Plessis (2014) further notes that without understanding, the importance of the integration concept in policy documents and its subsequent translation into practical terms remains unclear.

The SACN (2017) notes that the South African spatial transformation agenda must be guided by the principles of social, economic, and institutional integration. Such anchoring principles must strive to improve urban settlements by increasing urban densities, improving public transport, creating sustainable settlements, reducing travel times, creating resilient and inclusive settlements, and preventing urban sprawl.

Pieterse, van Niekerk, van Huyssteen, Maritz, le Roux and Mans (2016) allude, however, that in the advancement of spatial transformation, political interference and patronage has diluted the impact felt by the poor communities. The interruption of strategic plans at times as a result of leadership changes or limited investment commitment to the vision has affected the transformation efforts.

3.2.3 Compact urban development and Transit Oriented Development TOD

In South Africa, compaction is imperative for spatial restructuring and the dismantling of the physical characteristics of the Apartheid city (FFC, 2013). Stock and Burton (2001) analysed compact city implementation and asserts that it is based on the facilitation and densification of the urban environment and that a strong public transportation system is essential to promote inclusive growth without relegating the non-motorised transport agenda to the periphery. The FFC (2013) concedes that there is substantial evidence of a disjuncture between the advocacy of the compact urban form policies and the implementation of the existing spatial plans. Furthermore, they recognise that the compaction policies cut across different sectors, with no inherent linkages restricting the intended outcome of creating efficient spaces. The Commission discovered that misalignment of the municipal budgets assigned for implementation programmes designed to foster compact urban forms has diverted the spatial restructuring agenda.

The RSA NTCSP (2018) notes that Transit Oriented Development is based on mixed-use development, vibrant nodes, transport corridors, and access. Moreover, it requires economic density and spatial matching to be effective. The government, through the Department of National Treasury (2011), developed Built Environment Performance Plans (BEPPs) for metros and secondary cities as tools to articulate strategies on nodal densification and investing, higher intensity corridors and support of infill development.

Compact urban form and Transit Oriented Development must be accompanied by the agglomeration of activities to create functional and sustainable cities. Urban planning should generally aim to achieve the agglomeration effects that make firms and workers more efficient and productive (RSA. NTCSP, 2018). The power of agglomeration through density and connectivity permit people and firms access to a higher degree of opportunities, while supporting effective provision of infrastructure and services.

3.2.4 Infrastructure and service access in South Africa

Van Heerden et al. (2022) offer a critical distinction between having access and the level of access in matters of service delivery. The former measures the ability of households to reach a point of interest, while the latter examines the choices available. This distinction is vital in matters of policy formulation and subsequent implementation, as an accurate depiction of the status quo creates the foundation to provide lasting solutions. Karsten (2022) adds that investment in the multi-dimensional nature of accessibility is paramount to promote inclusiveness,. The approach recognises supply, demand, and mobility as the basis for calculating spatial accessibility.

In sprawling urban landscapes, private transport becomes the dominant form of transportation, further excluding the lower class which is dependent on public transport to access opportunities. Gauteng Province (2020) acknowledges the benefits of public transport, however notes that South Africa's public transport services are often unreliable, unavailable, infrequent, or do not cover a large enough area of a city to connect all households to opportunities. The National Treasury Cities Support Programme (RSA. NTCSP, 2018) observes that though public transport is still used extensively in South Africa, it was designed using a monocentric model based on a 'hub and spoke' approach. With the evolving urban form and a new polycentric model, the current network is no longer efficient enough to service the working class and transport them to multiple economic nodes within a geographical area.

The SACN (2016) acknowledges that due to the spatial composition of South African cities, investment in urban public transport networks and systems is vital to mitigate the spatial marginalisation of the urban poor residing on the periphery of large cities. The Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system, viewed as a tool to promote integration through universal access to transportation and the support of transit-oriented development, has been implemented throughout major South African cities. However, Harrison and Todes (2016) regard the operationalisation of the BRT system

to be highly inefficient as it has failed to address the needs of the poor as it is too expensive for them to afford it.

Klein, Klug and Todes (2012) postulate that the urban spatial form is highly influenced by the provision of infrastructure and this further impacts the sustainability, efficiency and inclusiveness of cities and local areas. While analysing the influence of infrastructure in reshaping cities, Klein et al. (2012) further observe that infrastructure departments tend to ignore spatial plans, due to the state's failure to provide sufficient infrastructure and the private sector subsequently taking charge of infrastructure provision.

The National Treasury Cities Support Programme (RSA. NTCSP, 2018) discovered that there is pressure on municipalities to expand network infrastructure to cater for urbanisation was massive, especially the provision of services to the indigent and lower-income households for free or at a reduced charge. Intensified by stagnant economic growth, the provision of the mandated basic services has become underfunded or unfunded.

3.2.5 Land reform on urban land

Politically, 'land reform' implies that the state ought to be actively addressing land inequalities (Mkhize, 2014). Land reform therefore consists of three main pillars, namely restitution of land rights, redistribution of land rights, and improving the security of a wide range of tenure forms (van der Walt & Pienaar, 2012). Gibson (2009) defines land reform as a system comprised of interventions meant to transform the patterns of land ownership, utilisation, and tenure systems to empower those impacted by land dispossession after the enactment of the *Natives Land Act, No. 27 of 1913*. According to Mkhize (2014), land restitution and land redistribution in urban areas take two primary forms: government-subsidised housing (in lieu of redistribution) or financial compensation (in lieu of restitution of land). Mkhize (2014) recognises that the application of urban land reform is missing the profound impact of the socio-economic status of the urban residents.

The explicit notion of 'urban land reform' has only recently received attention in the post-Apartheid policy agenda (RSA, 2019). The SACN (2015) uncovered that the urban land debate is one of the most neglected but influential issues in post-Apartheid South Africa. Despite the existence of different views in the urban land reform dialogue, there is a unified argument for an expedited urban land-reform programme across these positions (Huchzermeyer et al., 2019). Huchzermeyer et al.

(2019) further state that the urban property market excludes the poor and the urban land reform programmes need to establish how best to mitigate this imbalance.

Hendricks, Ntsebeza and Helliher (2013) note that property privilege still excludes the black majority, and as such land remains a political challenge. Orthophor (2016) observes that urban land reform is hampered by wealth inequality, as it is estimated that at least half of South Africa's wealth is owned by one percent of South Africans. In addition, another challenge for urban land reform is that wealth is partly vested in urban real estate, which ties the fate of urban land directly to the functioning of an important part of the economy (Huchzermeyer et al., 2019). Moyo (2004) describes the conflict that exists within the urban land debate due to converging and diverging interests as constituted by the competing demands for the control of urban land. It is further argued that competing demands on contested ownership arise from actors including the state, at the central and local urban municipality level, and traditional authorities and leaders associated with urban areas.

According to Huchzermeyer et al. (2019), society and business have a social obligation to contribute towards the process of urban spatial transformation, but developers and financial institutions have resisted government's attempts to enforce inclusionary housing requirements. Huchzermeyer et al. (2019) outline a possible approach to address urban land reform by noting that the programmes must focus on more than just land redistribution; emphasis must be placed on land along transit corridors, around development nodes, and in areas with a strong infrastructural base. Moreover, the urban land reform programme can be complemented with the implementation of rates surcharges on strategically located vacant land and selective expropriation of well-located properties.

3.3 The Burden of Service Provision on the Government

The provision of adequate housing and basic services to the low-income population is justified by moral and civil principles. Furthermore, national and international statutes recognise the right to adequate basic services. The government's social responsibility to provide housing in the face of increasing unemployment and inequality levels strains the state's resources, which at times forces the government to choose between quality and quantity approaches. The nature of politics dictates that to retain power, the masses need to be satisfied with the state's actions and programmes, and the programmes that reach the majority will always be prioritised.

3.3.1 National strategic development proprieties

Brutus (2002) argues that the problems confronting many citizens are not simply the result of historical factors. The crisis of housing delivery and other basic services is actually a result of the pro-market (growth-oriented) policies adopted by the South African government since 1994, one of the primary goals of which was to reduce inflation and government spending to below 4 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). The finite resources at the disposal of governments dictate the scale of social programmes including housing provision. Marutlulle (2021) views the current dystopia in housing provision as the result of systematic impediments further aggravated by the government's market-based housing approach that secluded the marginalised population and increased housing inequalities.

In some efforts to restructure, direct and guide development, the South African government has adopted several national development policies since the inception of democracy. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was introduced in 1994 to address the provision of basic services, housing, and land reform to the neglected, predominantly black communities. Bikam (2016) notes that the RDP was envisioned as a cornerstone policy to drive the government's spatial development approach. Though it was successful in that it improved basic service delivery, the policy did not redress the spatial inefficiencies of South African settlements since dominated by the mass production of low-cost housing in peripheral locations.

The RDP was supplemented and eventually replaced by a macroeconomic policy framework called the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy that was adopted 1996. The GEAR strategy shifted the government's focus towards economic growth, with the hope that increasing the employment rate would address the poverty problem. Bikam (2016) reports that the strategy prioritised the reduction of fiscal deficits, lowered inflation, maintained the exchange rate's stability, decreased barriers to trade, and liberalised capital flows into South Africa. Joint state-private ventures such as the Social Housing Programme were introduced to support the government's neoliberal approach. Though the economic output of the country was increased, that did not translate into inclusive human settlements.

With the realisation of unmet targets of GEAR, Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) was introduced in 2005. Mandated to halve the poverty and unemployment in the country by 2014, ASGISA was a market-oriented policy which identified bottlenecks within the system that hampered the desired economic growth. This initiative resulted in a growth imbalance, as a significant proportion of the population remained excluded from the economy due to uneven

developments. The policy lacked the substantial spatial vision required to address the perceived inefficiencies in the human settlements and it was eventually replaced by the National Development Programme (NDP). The NDP introduced a multi-dimensional approach to development with the spatial perspective to address the imbalances in the urban centres with respect to service delivery. A shift in the priorities of the approach resulted in investment in low-cost housing and less attention was given to the cost intensive production of social housing. The NDP focused mainly on affordability and negated the principles and goals of adequate housing. This approach limited the state's ability to influence matters of spatial restructuring with the intention of creating and supporting urban settlements. With this approach the effects of an efficient urban form are not experienced in the short-term. Instead, there is an accumulation of smaller positives that result in an ultimately positive outcome for society (Bikam, 2016).

The strength of the positives associated with a sustainable urban form as opposed to the physical structures of low-cost housing means that less attention is given in the form of funding for processes and activities that strive for urban restructuring. Though policy statements continue to be loud in their proclamation of past injustices and the plight that ordinary citizens continue to endure due to the spatial configuration of cities, little is provided in the form of tools and mechanisms to address such injustices.

3.3.2 National housing policy

In matters of housing and human settlements, the Department of Human Settlements has been mandated to steer the nation's vision to address the housing inequality in the country. Gardner (2017) notes that the department drafted a Human Settlements Evaluation Synthesis (RSA. DHS, 2017) to plot the path towards a new human settlements' delivery approach. It utilised the Theory of Change for the human settlements programme, to guide and monitor the housing delivery. It is predicated on tracking the short-, medium-, and long-term outcomes of the programme, however, the Theory of Change further focuses on a deeper understanding of the programme's inputs or ingredients that form the building blocks of the housing value chain.

In championing the new approach to housing, the government is expected to provide financial assistance, human capacity, public housing finance, and support institutions. The output of the programme is expected to be subsidised housing ownership for low-income households, subsidised rental housing units for low- and middle-income households, serviced land, and the provision of basic services. The approach to housing is expected to produce immediate outcomes in the form of

job creation through housing contracts, tackle the housing gap, provide access to basic services, and provide access to social services. The intermediate outcomes of the programme are described as the enticement of private sector investment in the housing sector, stimulation of private household savings into housing products, access to housing credit, provision of secure tenure, and stabilisation of the housing sector. Finally, the long-term outcomes are a safe and healthy environment with access to economic, health, education, and social amenities, and investment by sector departments to support the infrastructure.

The outlined outcomes of the Human Settlements Programme are predicated on a capacitated local government, successful integrated spatial planning and coordination, sufficient subsidies from the government, access to housing credit from private institutions and the government, households' investment in housing, and a strong and growing economy to sustain the increasing housing demand.

3.4 South African housing landscape

The period of transition to democracy in South Africa saw drastic changes to the housing legislative and policy framework. Myeni et al. (2021) note that the National Housing Forum initiated the process of the housing legislation review from 1992 to 1994. This was followed by the promulgation of the Constitution which reaffirmed the right to housing for every citizen and the introduction of the RDP policy to bridge inequality.

Gardner (2017) states that the housing approach in South Africa is considered to be a government aided, private sector-driven approach with a heavy emphasis on low-cost housing for low-income households. Gardner (2017) additionally notes that housing performs a critical role by sustaining South Africa as a developmental state by contributing to the overall economic growth and social advancement through economic opportunities, skills development within the housing construction and rental sectors, development of a resilient land and housing market, and financial market strengthening.

The RSA NTCSP (2018) surmises that the South African public housing programme is dominated by large, subsidised housing projects typically located in undeveloped greenfield areas at the city's edge, and that it lacks incentives and subsidies to redevelop neighbourhoods within the city. The RSA NTCSP (2018) further acknowledges that the programme has fallen short as a vehicle for urban spatial and economic integration. Large-scale peripheral subsidised housing developments are spatially isolated from centres of opportunity and this perpetuates economic inequity, while incentives and subsidies for smaller-scale private residential developments are too few and too small

to make much of a significant contribution to urban integration and alleviate the affordable housing demand.

The CDE (2018) queried the large disparity in terms of the demand and supply of affordable housing and concluded that the quantity-driven, cost-minimising approach of the government has been the main culprit behind the inefficiencies in drastically altering the dynamics of housing in South Africa. The CDE (2018) determined that the dispersal of the poor and unskilled in isolated and socially homogenous poor neighbourhoods has further amplified the impact of segregation and limited access to agglomeration positives for the economy.

3.4.1. Housing rights in South Africa

The racialised nature of access to housing and land has been one of the most damaging legacies of Apartheid and one that the post-Apartheid government has most battled to overcome. This has given rise to the fact that the right to housing has been litigated more than any other socio-economic right (Dugard et al., 2016). In response to the past racialised housing programmes, Section 26 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa has enshrined every citizen's right to have access to adequate housing, and placed an obligation on the government to endeavour, within reasonable legislative and available resources, to achieve the realisation of this right (RSA, 1996).

For South Africa, it is argued that the notion of a collective 'Right to the City' needs to guide the still incomplete reform of land rights and the planning system (Huchzermeyer, 2016). The pursuit of the collective right has encountered institutional inadequacies and insufficient resources to address the myriad rights expressed and protected by the Right to the City theory. Gardner (2017), however, surmises that urban exclusion has also been perpetuated by a housing policy that fosters dependency on public housing and limits the individual's choice of investment options.

3.4.2 Gap market

The policy gap tied to income baskets and discovered during the implementation of the housing tools enacted to combat the housing backlog became known as the gap market. In the course of housing provision, it became apparent that the government had perpetuated housing exclusion to a significant portion of the population as a result of the policies that it had adopted. The Fuller Centre for Housing (2014) defines the gap market as comprising of the grouping of households earning between R3,500 and R15,000, with earnings considered too high to qualify for low-cost subsidised housing and too low to qualify for mortgage bonds.

When reviewing the RDP (1994), the White Paper on Housing (RSA. Department of Housing, 1994) and the National Housing Code of 2009 (RSA. DHS, 2009), it was discovered that the programmes were not tailored to respond and assist the gap market. The private housing market does not match the demand for unsubsidised and partially subsidised affordable housing for households earning between R3,500 and R15,000 per month either (Gardner, 2018). This is the property segment valued at less than R500,000 (Rust, 2010). This segment represents those occupying low paying jobs that can only sustain their daily consumption and survival without providing them with the ability to save quickly and invest in housing.

Recognising this gap in the housing policy implementation and the significant portion of the population that was excluded from the public housing programme, it was evident that the government had to reassess its housing provision tools. The Breaking New Ground Policy (RSA. DHS, 2004) thus introduced the Social Housing Programme intended to serve the low- to middle-income group. The Social Housing Programme was specifically designed to cater for the gap market.

3.4.3 South African social housing

Cloete et al. (2009) trace the formulation of the South African Social Housing Programme to be influenced by Western European countries and the international housing policy, especially the Netherlands' social housing policy and its funding models. The Netherlands' social housing model was based on the premise of inclusivity of various income groups and the housing policy was considerate of various tenure options. Cloete et al. (2009) further acknowledge that social housing garnered limited consideration in the founding years of the housing policy in the early 1990s. Social housing found minimal representation in the White Paper on Housing in 1994 (RSA. Department of Housing, 1994), which mainly provided guidance on low-cost housing provision. Equipped with a better comprehension of the impact of diversifying the housing market, the government introduced a social housing subsidy with the National Housing Code of 2009, which followed on from the introduction of the expanded guidelines of the Social Housing Programme under the Breaking New Ground Policy in 2004 (RSA, DHS, 2004).

Scheba and Turok (2021) observe that the Social Housing Programme's focus was originally not directed towards the extreme poor but rather towards the working-class households by relocating them to better locations. Scheba and Turok (2021) note that when evaluating the progress of social housing, the Department of Human Settlements recognised the lack of policy guidance for the programme as projects were initiated with inadequate skills levels and uncertainty in financing. A

minimal increase in the housing subsidy in line with inflation hindered investment commitment from social housing institutions. The lack of an adequate policy framework for social housing stemmed from the main focus on promoting homeownership while minimal attention was directed towards developing effective institutions for the Social Housing Programme.

The Social Housing Policy for South Africa (RSA, 2003) defines South African social housing as a rental or co-operative housing option for low-income persons at a level of scale and built form which requires institutionalised management and which is provided by accredited social housing institutions or in accredited social housing projects in designated restructuring zones. The Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) (2020) elaborates that South African social housing projects include high-rise, medium-rise (walk-up) and low-rise (single-storey) housing located on contiguous sites or scattered across urban areas with density ranges from 60 to 200 units per hectare. The social housing norms and standards (Social Housing Regulatory Authority & Department of Human Settlements, 2019) dictate that social housing units must be self-contained, with individual units comprising of optimally demarcated space divided into a kitchen and dining room, and a bathroom and bedroom/s.

Budlender and Royston (2016), in studying the spatial mismatch in South African cities, argue that heavy emphasis was placed on the asset-based potential of ownership of housing in the pursuit to reduce poverty as part of current human settlements policy. The assessment of the programme noted that additional social impact could be attained if programmes could strongly project the overarching objective in the creation and support of sustainable settlements.

3.4.4 Social housing demand and supply

In South Africa, 3.7 million households live in rented accommodation. Of these, three million households are renting formal housing, two million households are renting a house, flat, apartment, cluster, townhouse, or semi-detached dwelling, and just under one million households are renting a backyard house, flat or room, granny flat or servant quarters (SHRA, 2021). The SHRA further states that 762,000 households are renting traditional or informal dwellings, signalling the shortage of formal rental housing at a national level. Social housing opportunities are shared between the income levels; at 30 per cent for low-income families and 70 per cent for middle-income families. This allows for improved access to rental options for different income levels (National Housing Code [RSA. DHS, 2009]).

The SHRA (2020) puts the demand for social housing in 2016/17 at about 320,000 required units nationally, comprising of requirements for 235,000 units in metropolitan municipalities and 83,000 units in district municipalities. The SHRA (2020) calculated that social housing makes up 0.5 per cent of the housing sector; this housing sector is comprised of 76 617 units nationally and it accounts for 1 per cent of the housing in the urban areas. According to the SHRA (2020), since the inception of the social housing policy in 2005 there have been 135 projects implemented which have provided 33,241 units in total. Furthermore, 38 projects are being planned or implemented with a capacity of approximately 52,683 units.

The Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation projections on the Medium-Term Strategic Framework (MTSF) for 2019 to 2024 envisions the delivery of 30,000 social housing units in response to the target of 52,683 units. The SHRA's (2020) ambitious Social Housing Programme Growth Plan proposes doubling the production rate for social housing from 2020/21 to 2024/25 in comparison to the production rate for 2015/16 to 2019/20, and then tripling it from 2025/26 to 2029/30. The plan estimates the completion of 87,500 affordable rental housing units by 2030, increasing the current social housing rental stock to 125,000 units.

The momentum of the social housing projects aimed at equalising the rental housing stock available with the demand has the potential to reshape the housing market. However, budget allocations for social housing projects have been decreasing yearly. The SHRA (2020) notes that on average, the unit costs of social housing have increased annually by 11 per cent, and the escalation costs are also closely associated with the 6.4 per cent annual inflation rate. The SHRA further notes that less than three per cent of the Department of Human Settlements' budget is dedicated to social housing, whereas the demand for rental units indicates that this budget allocation should be about fourteen per cent.

3.4.5 Financing social housing

Fernández et al. (2015) describe the main funding sources for social housing as emanating from loans and subsidies from the government and other institutions, and tenants' rental payments also contribute a significant portion. Fluchtmann et al. (2015) report that the key sources of the government's funding to support the social housing supply are direct injections of funding for housing implementation through housing grants and tax credits for social housing providers.

Fluchtmann et al. (2015) explain that the financial mechanisms that support the development of social housing can impact rent setting, and this affects the target population in terms of the

affordability of the social housing units. The level of both direct and indirect public subsidisation affects the amount to be covered through tenants' rents and through borrowing (Scanlon et al., 2015).

Onatu (2018) notes that in South Africa, the funds to implement the Social Housing Programme are availed through the national government's budget apportion to the Department of Human Settlements on an annual basis, and such allocation to individual provinces is regulated by the *Division of Revenue Act, No. 1 of 2018*. Scheba et al. (2021) have discovered that the current social housing financing mechanism hampers the ability of social housing institutions to assemble strategic land due to the assumption of the land price equating to R30,000 per unit, while the realistic price for well-located land is significantly higher. McKenna (2019) outlines the challenges associated with financing social housing projects as follows: The municipalities rely on different national and provincial governmental financial streams for various components of housing delivery, i.e., bulk infrastructure, internal reticulation, fire stations, clinics, security (police services) and educational facilities.

3.4.6 Social housing guidelines in South Africa

The Social Housing Regulatory Authority and Department of Human Settlements (2019) outlined a set of guidelines intended to provide clear direction for the implementation process for social housing. Core to these guidelines is the need to improve beneficiaries' access to socio-economic amenities. Social housing projects must be located in close proximity (within than 500m) to established public transport routes and stops and be within a 15-minute walk (+/- 800 m radius) from other amenities. The housing projects must have access to at least three of the following amenities: public transport, schools, established economic centres, retail and convenience stores, health care facilities, leisure and recreational facilities, and an open space.

For new developments, the projects must demonstrate alignment to an adopted urban design framework and demonstrate that essential social amenities related to education, health, and security have been considered and included as key amenities in the planning stage or that the capacities that already exist will suffice.

3.4.6.1 Spatial transformation indicators in South Africa

SALGA (2022) argues that it is imperative to standardise spatial indicators to better gauge the impact and progress of spatial transformation efforts and to identify the location and nature of the spatial inequalities to combat them. Indicators must provide guidance and uniformity in the approach to

measuring and understanding transformation in order to better position urban centres towards inclusiveness.

SALGA (2022) has mapped out the indicators critical in the implementation of housing projects in the quest to promote sustainable urban settlements and quality livelihoods:

- Proximity and access – to have ease of access to employment opportunities and social amenities (public transport, health, education, and police stations). Distance travelled or daily commuting time to work is critical in the promotion of sustainable livelihoods.
- Housing and basic services – the provision of housing with associated basic services (electricity, water, sanitation, and refuse removal) is vital to the socio-economic development of communities and to create a quality living environment for them.
- Integration and inequality – eradication of the Apartheid spatial form which purposely divided people on the basis of their race. The aim is to eradicate poverty and tackle gender imbalances in the access to socio-economic opportunities and tenure security.
- Safety and amenities – recognition of the importance of safety and security, and environmental and other risks.
- Agency and governance – provision of a space where citizens can contribute to the planning and management of their environment.

3.4.7 Social housing and spatial restructuring

Scheba et al. (2021) observed the spatial distribution of the social housing projects in the largest cities in South Africa built in the 1990s and concluded that there was a spatial drift to the outskirts of the urban centres. This observation contradicts the objectives of social housing which support urban restructuring and social integration in efforts to foster cohesion within urban centres and reduce the burden of the associated costs for beneficiaries.

The Social Housing Regulatory Authority (2016) acknowledged that the social housing sector was falling short of the scale of delivery required to truly consolidate its gains and make a substantial and lasting contribution to the restructuring of the country's urban landscape, and to the economic revitalisation of inner cities and urban nodes. Furthermore, the Department of Human Settlements and Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DHS & DPME) (2016) proposed that the restructuring zones be defined more narrowly so that housing projects would have a more concentrated and therefore catalytic impact. This realisation represents the significant shortfall in

the delivery of the social housing mandate. The growth and resilience of the Social Housing Programme depend on the demonstration of the extra benefits that this programme generates in comparison to other housing subsidies (Scheba et al., 2021).

3.4.7.1 Social housing's influence on spatial segregation and inequality

Poor communities' main priority is the shelter that adequate housing provides. The long term impacts of housing, or secondary benefits, are rarely considered by those in dire need of accommodation. However, if such consideration is given, their inability to raise capital and their resultant dependence on the state erodes their views on the process of such provision.

The state has an obligation to consider the secondary benefits of housing beyond the mere provision of shelter. Spatial consideration of the housing location has a significant impact that gradually translates to the beneficiaries. The overarching objective of public housing should be the improvement of the low-income groups' livelihoods and extensive literature has been generated to outline the importance of the locality of public housing in relation to social and economic activities. The importance of the location of public housing resides in the notion that beneficiaries cannot afford to waste their minimal income on transportation fees. Poor location further limits their ability to access opportunities to improve their livelihoods.

The ladder of success postulated by the provision of public housing requires that significant consideration be applied to the spatial effects on housing beneficiaries, and to the role that these spatial effects have in the improvement of their socio-economic conditions. Improvement of their socio-economic conditions creates an environment that is conducive to improvement of the beneficiaries' livelihoods. The Social Housing Programme was designed with the intention to address the spatial aspect that had been lacking in the previous public housing projects. An assessment is vital to establish the role that the Social Housing Programme has performed to improve the livelihoods of the social housing beneficiaries. It is also vital to assess the spatial alignment of the programme.

3.4.8 Spatial forms' influence on urban residents

Van Niekerk (2018) advances that the compact form of urban settlements does not necessarily translate to the minimisation of operational costs for communities when compared to the sprawling urban form. A holistic approach that recognises the functionality of the urban form in terms of infrastructure thresholds, capacities, location, land use mixes and density variations is required when looking at the spatial form. In realising the importance of spatial configuration for communities'

livelihoods, Turok (2018) observed that service delivery is costlier in dispersed locations, and the spatial outcome reproduced in South African cities promoted the distortions of the Apartheid city.

Palmer et al. (2011) state that prioritisation of public transport for the poor is vital and it can be a measure with which to curb urban sprawl and further support the identification of well-located housing land for the poor. According to Kerr (2015), in South Africa the average commuting times for black households have increased from 88 to 102 minutes a day over the last decade because of where new housing has been constructed and slow progress with public transport reforms. The loss of time can be equated to money that could have been diverted to other critical provisions, and this signifies the importance of the spatial proximity of housing developments to centres of economic opportunities.

McKenna (2019) attributed the discrepancy in spatial restructuring efforts to contestation over priorities between scale versus strategic spatial interventions; construction led delivery versus facilitating redevelopment and densification; green versus brown developments; grant funding systems that are geared to support infrastructure development as opposed to mixed financing based on an emerging property market; and lastly, the availability of land and opportunities to deliver housing within the existing urban centres.

3.4.9 Inner city regeneration

Onatu (2018) alludes to social housing being a vital tool for the provision of low- to medium-density rental accommodation in the inner cities. Onatu (2018) notes that the importance of the Social Housing Programme has been demonstrated by the initiative of the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) and other stakeholders to achieve inner-city transformation through refurbishment of abandoned buildings into high density rental accommodation (infill development). This will provide housing access to over 10,000 inner-city residents.

Brown-Luthango (2014) outlines the barriers to infill development and states that they are centred on economic, regulatory, and political factors. The economic challenge is closely linked to the financial burden of land assembly and installation of infrastructure to support high densities. Town planning regulations restrict high-density building with associated floor area ratios, coverages, and parking requirements. The political challenge relates to push back from landowners' willingness to accept proposed densities and the lack of political will to utilise land acquisition avenues such as expropriation. Brown-Luthango (2014) also argues that the absence of a vacant land audit to provide

the necessary information on land parcels and ownership information hinders the successful implementation of infill development.

3.4.9.1 Inclusionary housing in South Africa

According to Jacobus (2015), inclusionary housing policies utilise economic gains from rising real estate values to create affordable housing. Inclusionary housing is leveraged by municipalities to increase the provision of affordable housing by mandating developers to provide certain portions of the development to low-income households. Incentives can be utilised to entice and secure this commitment from the developers.

The Breaking New Ground (RSA. DHS, 2004) policy recognised the importance of cultivating a diverse housing sector to overcome the housing delivery challenges. The policy made a declaration to enhance the role of the private sector in the provision of public housing. Private sector participation in the funding of social housing was viewed as a credible opportunity to encourage public-private partnerships. The need for private sector inclusion in social housing was further outlined in the inclusionary housing policy (Abahlali baseMjondolo, 2007) with its mandatory and voluntary participation approaches. The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act of 2013 proclaims that in the process of developing municipal spatial development frameworks, local governments must ensure that designated areas are categorised wherein the inclusionary housing policy can be implemented.

The City of Johannesburg's progressiveness in advocating for inclusionary housing has manifested in the development and adoption of inclusionary housing policies. In terms of such policies, the metros are empowered to facilitate the provision of adequate housing to the low-income segment in improved locations with a high degree of access to the necessary amenities and services.

Mandated to enforce inclusionary housing policies, local government is required to be strict and unwavering in its endeavour for housing inclusivity. The City of Johannesburg's inclusionary housing policy requires developers who are unwilling to provide low-cost housing units within their developments to develop housing in another location approved by the local government. This housing must be of a standard that is deemed adequate. The desire to enforce inclusionary housing on private developments emanates from the realisation that the inability of the market to respond to housing challenges, backlogs, and spatial inefficiencies have left the low-income class devastated by the prevailing socio-economic conditions.

These progressive policies require strong political will from the local government leaders as they counter the strategic objective of developers to commodify housing provision. The neo-liberal approach of the 1990s that required less government intervention in the housing market has not been effective in the face of rising inequalities, unemployment, poverty and continued urbanisation. The increasing need for adequate housing therefore outlines the need for government's direct and indirect intervention to address the housing challenges. The local governments of Johannesburg and Cape Town have come to realise that important distinction in the pursuit of adequate housing for all citizens.

Despite all the good that inclusionary housing has to offer for the low-income households, sceptics of the approach question its sustainability and the long-term effects on the households. Hofer, Netsch, Gugerell, Musakwa and Gumbo (2020) explain that the low-income households residing in inclusionary housing might not be able to afford access to the surrounding amenities that were intended for middle- to upper-income households, such as schools, transport, and shopping facilities. This raises a conundrum as the infrastructure is required to support the low-income households, but the existing policies fail to outline or assign responsibility between the government and developers. The continued existence of uncertainty within the inclusionary policies will thus continue to disadvantage the targeted population intended to benefit from the initiative.

3.4.10 Spatial economic analysis

The failure of cities to respond to urban challenges can be associated with the current limited understanding of their space economy (Van Huysteen, Biermann, Naude and le Roux, 2009). McKenna (2019) observes that weak strategic planning results in strategic plans either ignoring the basic economic trends or showing a limited understanding of the importance of key industries which significantly influence the effective functioning of human settlements. In examining the importance of spatial economic analysis, Du Plessis (2014) contends that the interplay and associated trade-offs between the need for economic growth and competitiveness and for socio-economic redress are highly contested within spatial planning and as such, urban spatial plans must provide a comprehensive analysis of the urban economic space and the market and investment trends.

3.4.11 Land availability for social housing

The first essential condition for a vibrant and well-functioning housing sector is the availability of residential land, in ample supply and at affordable prices (Marutlulle, 2021). Land is a vehicle for inclusive and adequate housing, however, the ability of the state to secure suitable land for housing

has been a hindrance to the inclusive drive. Gerber (2018) asserts that land continues to be one of the major problems hindering the delivery of sustainable human settlements in our country. Slow and complex land identification, allocation, and development processes have resulted in insufficient land for housing development purposes (The Fuller Centre for Housing, 2014).

Vital and valuable, land holds numerous values for competing stakeholders. The legacy which the country was built on renders ordinary methods ineffective and results in minimal impact on the low-income communities with regard to improving their livelihoods. The Land Reform Programme recognised the unique situation that the country is in in terms of inequality, as it concerns access to land and services. Nevertheless, the Land Reform Programme has had minimal impact on the urban landscape.

The Integrated Urban Development Framework (RSA. CoGTA, 2016a) recognises the predicament that urbanisation has caused for urban land governance, in conjunction with the provision of basic services to the populace. Acknowledging the position that urban centres are placed in, efficient distribution and allocation of land and housing with the purpose of challenging the status quo of inequality has become paramount.

3.4.11.1 Challenges to land assembly for housing projects

According to Lawson and Ruonavaara (2020), the ever-increasing obligation by the government to assemble land to implement social housing in urban areas continues to be a hindering factor in urban centres' housing provision. Duncan (2008) posits that rampant land speculation, failure of the central government to regulate the land markets and failure of the municipal governments to provide workable urban development strategies exacerbate the challenges faced when assembling land for housing.

Harvard's Centre for Urban Development Studies (2000) concludes that state ownership of land in and around South African cities is limited, and it forces poor communities into undesirable action, namely settlement on marginal sites or invasion of public or privately owned land. According to McKenna (2019), the problem with strategic land within restructuring zones is that most properties available for transformational development are often small portions in key nodes or large portions on the periphery of the cities.

Myeni et al. (2020) identify that one of the impediments restricting access to suitable land is the absence of a legislative framework that forces private owners to sell urban land and allow access,

since the Housing Development Agency (HDA) cannot acquire many hectares of well-located urban land. The social housing sector is reliant on provinces and municipalities availing such strategic land and buildings through their developmental partnerships with the social housing institutes. The SACN (2016) conducted case studies on the municipal public land assembly process and concluded that municipal SDFs place limited emphasis on the integration of provincial and national spatial investment logic. The lack of coordination in land assembly between government entities further limits the effectiveness of social housing implementation.

Marutlulle (2021) notes that land availability continues to influence the matter of housing provision and the multi-dimensional challenges associated with land assembly affect the government, developers, and the potential beneficiaries. Limiting the assembly of viable land for housing is the decrease in the overall national housing expenditure, lack of capacity to deal with land legal matters, particularly in the municipalities, slow and complex procurement processes to release state-owned and private land, and land speculation by private developers.

3.4.11.2 Discourse on the land assembly approaches

Molefe and Nkhahle (2019) advance that when state-owned entities (SOEs) dispose of land, municipalities should have the right of first refusal to acquire the land. The *High-Level Panel Report on the Assessment of Key Legislation and the Acceleration of Fundamental Change* (National Assembly of South Africa, 2017) acknowledges the limitations of the *Government Immovable Asset Management Act No. 17 of 2007* in governing the land owned by state-owned enterprises (SOEs) since much of the well-situated and vacant urban land is owned by SOEs rather than by government departments. The panel further recommends the utilisation of expropriation where land is being held for speculative purposes.

The SACN (2014) alludes to the responsibility of local government to incorporate the land and questions the municipal planning processes, specifically their Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and the local Spatial Development Frameworks. Mazhinduka, Burger and Van Heerden (2011) note that the SHRA should facilitate social housing agreements with municipalities that enable access to land, contribution to bulk infrastructure, and afford social housing institutes (SHIs) rebates on municipal rates and tariffs. Lawson and Ruonavaara (2020) outline the mechanisms capable of supporting social housing development, including land banking or leasing, land re-adjustment, land value recapture, and various regulatory and planning tools.

McKenna (2019) further infers that there is an inclination to focus on larger land portions that can deliver large scale projects located on the periphery of urban centres and to avoid the complexities associated with smaller portions of land. The overall cost of a compact urban form is lower than that of a sprawled urban form in terms of capital and operating costs when considering the following aspects: health costs, congestion, pollution, parking costs, and travel time (Litman, 2015). Van Niekerk (2018) states that households are positively impacted by well-located sites due to the associated benefits of saving on transport costs and the additional capital asset values.

3.4.11.3 The land market

The discourses between free market and state interventionists are long and complex (Napier, 2009). Dowall (1993) observes that there are three accepted justifications for government intervention in land markets: elimination of market imperfections and failures to increase operating efficiencies; removal of externalities so that the social costs of land market outcomes correspond more closely to private costs; and to redistribute society's scarce resources so that disadvantaged groups can share in society's outputs. Governments have long recognised that market outcomes may not be pro-poor and have thus sought to intervene in the markets (UK, Department for International Development [DFID], 2005).

Napier (2009) recognises South Africa's history of exclusion of ownership of prime land and the dispossession of land, and acknowledges the impact that this has had on the land market and the justification for the state to intervene. Brown-Luthango (2006) cautions that it cannot be left to the market to address the current development and spatial challenges, as the current operation of the market reproduces and reinforces marginality, exclusion, and poverty. The Housing Development Agency (HDA) (2020) notes that the availability of properly located land and buildings for social housing is vital and also asserts that the private land market cannot be relied upon to achieve the social housing objectives in the country.

The operation of the urban land market is such that it works progressively to displace the poor to increasingly marginal parts of the city over time (Huchzermeyer et al., 2019). The urban land market plays a key role as a sorting mechanism, with land prices signalling the strength of the demand from different activities and households to be located in particular places (Turok, 2016). According to Mahaja (2014), government-housing programmes have perpetuated the market-driven process of the land market's logic, in which the poor majority are housed on the urban periphery on typically the cheapest, worst located land.

Opening the market to well-located land to the poor makes sense from an urban efficiency perspective (Napier, 2009). This is because the urban efficiency argument advances that the socio-economic implications of marginalised communities being situated on the periphery of urban settlements in their pursuit of employment and urban opportunities generates a tremendous amount of movement and associated costs.

3.5 Spatial Restructuring Zones' Support of Efficient Urban Forms

The National Housing Code (RSA. DHS, 2009) defines designated restructuring zones as geographic areas identified by local authorities and supported by the provincial government for targeted, focused investment. The restructuring zones are intended to guide the Social Housing Programme's efforts towards urban restructuring in respective local municipalities. In terms of the Social Housing Policy (RSA, 2003), the restructuring zones are intended to promote social, economic, and spatial restructuring. In its evaluation of social housing's performance, the DHS and DPME (2016) however note that the application of restructuring zones appears to have downplayed this important objective very substantially and the implemented social housing projects have thus had minimal contribution to spatial restructuring through infill development. The DHS and DMPE (2016) argue that the restructuring zones that have been activated have not been formulated within an adequate planning framework. The end result is that these restructuring zones are too large to focus investment and this defeats the purpose of spatial targeting. The SHRA (2020) thus states the need to improve and strengthen the criteria in the guidelines for selecting social housing projects, and the need for improved oversight of the restructuring zone approvals. The SHRA (2016) notes that perceived poor project packaging, viability and political interference, particularly at the municipal level, threatens the sustainability of the Social Housing Programme and further dilutes its benefits.

The Social Housing Programme has not been part of a coordinated restructuring framework and this has given rise to too many restructuring zones that are too large to focus investment (Gardner, 2017). Nationally there is lack of legislative, regulatory provisions and guidelines to support the planning, identification, promulgation, and review of restructuring zones. Furthermore, the majority of local governments have not implemented monitoring tools and the designated zones are not subjected to reviews in line with spatial planning policies. The SHRA (2017) notes that restructuring zones are rarely linked to municipal economic development strategies and inversely, the municipal economic growth strategies hardly consider the restructuring zones or the social housing projects.

3.5.1 Restructuring grant

South Africa has only one urban restructuring subsidy instrument, known as the Capital Consolidated Grant (CCG), and it is used to subsidise social housing and is intended to be utilised within designated restructuring zones. The grant is defined as a spatial restructuring tool first, and a housing subsidy tool second. Gardner (2017) observes that the current subsidy instrument is severely constrained in its ability to restructure South Africa's cities.

SALGA (2022) discerns that demarcation of restructuring zones is at times influenced by the availability of land. The HDA (2020) has identified a spatial drift on projects, and this is highlighted by the increase of Capital Consolidated Grant funding allocated to outer suburbs and away from inner cities. This Capital Consolidated Grant can be accessed outside the restructuring zones for mega projects, and this poses the risk of contradicting the primary objective of social housing in supporting spatial restructuring.

3.5.2 Governance in housing and spatial planning matters

The National Development Plan (RSA, 2011) made a strong case for empowering municipalities to plan and manage urban growth in a more integrated manner. However, Ntombela and Jili (2020) have discerned that the national government exerts immense pressure on local governments and there is also political pressure from citizens and interest groups to deliver on their needs for increased capital expenditure, fiscal sustainability, and greater public accountability. Manomano et al. (2016) recognise the challenge posed by the national government imposing technocratic reforms on matters including rigid legal procedures, and the intricate reporting requirements intended to guide municipalities in decision making and resources allocation.

3.5.3 Policy alignment and implementation

According to the SACN (2014), the distribution of national resources to cities is heavily influenced by the strategic policy alignment, national planning decisions, and spatial targeting. Unfortunately, there has been a trend of misalignment of the local municipality policy plans and their priorities negatively influencing the socio-economic viability of the cities. Healy (2004) confirms that the realisation of spatial planning goals requires an understanding of infrastructure and investment's role in translating the plans into priority and strategic investment areas. Limited capacity within local governance and political interference hinders the process of policy alignment and implementation.

The HDA (2017) notes that municipalities have adopted spatial policies to guide land disposal and housing development, however in practice, many government departments are reluctant to utilise

these developmental arrangements, preferring instead to dispose of the land through tenders to the highest bidder.

According to Manomano et al. (2016), strategic municipal plans such as IDPs are envisioned to coordinate integrated human settlement developments, but the reality on the ground does not correspond with the developed policies and plans. Du Plessis (2019) notes that spatial development frameworks have numerous deficiencies, including inadequate linkages to the capital investment framework and the IDP. The FFC (2013) observed that fiscal consideration must be taken into account to support compact development and combat unsustainable urban forms. A link must be formed between the fiscal instruments that fund the built environment, and spatial restructuring tools such as the SDF. The National Treasury's spatial development grant is linked to the Built Environment Performance Plans (BEPPs) and this is a step in the right direction, as expansion and accessibility of the grant is vital for the small local municipalities.

Turok (2016) observes that limited attention has been given to the long-term vision and values, long-term decision-making, and policy coordination required to execute complex programmes and prioritise the spending related to urban management. McKenna (2019) alludes to a disconnect between project objectives and outputs within the South African policy implementation process that usually has a significant impact on urban land markets. The FFC (2013) argues that the glaring ineffectiveness of the current municipal budgetary processes toward spatial restructuring efforts requires an incentive grant that specifically targets compact urban forms, specifically in large urban regions. Furthermore, the neglect of post implementation management has resulted in lost investment opportunities that are vital for stimulating integration and greater access to urban markets.

The AHA (2021) notes that local government is at the forefront of addressing urban challenges and is often responsible for formulating urban plans, providing basic services, and organising mobility and transportation. With such recognition of the role of municipalities, more emphasis must be directed toward municipal policy alignment so that it can have maximum impact on the provision of adequate and affordable housing.

3.6 Social Housing Legislative and Policy Framework

The social housing legislative and policy framework was enacted to deliver affordable rental housing and to restructure the urban landform. The public is duty bound to weigh the outcome of such policies against the prescribed obligations and targets. A constant and persistent quest for validation/confirmation is required to keep policy outcomes true to their intended goals and such

efforts needs scholars and the public at large to measure the successes and shortfalls in accordance with the criteria that the programme was designed to alleviate.

The continuous cycle is indispensable in the pursuit of a quality policy framework. If progress is to be achieved in policy implementation, an objective resolve is required to analyse the role of the social housing policy on the livelihoods of the marginalised, and that is how policies should be judged or measured. How policies influence the lives of those in need must be the true measure of the space they occupy within the socio-economic fabric of society.

3.6.1 Social housing legislative framework

The social housing legislative framework proved laws necessary to regulate and direct social housing sector. The laws are applicable to all stakeholders within the social housing sector including government, communities, private sector, civil society and organised labour. The aim at creating harmony and fair application within the social housing sector and ensures accountability to those mandated with various responsibilities of ensuring the effective and successful implementation of social housing programme.

White Paper on Housing: A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa (RSA. Department of Housing, 1994). The White Paper placed heavy emphasis on individual ownership for low-income households. While acknowledging the importance of the diversity of the housing market, social housing was evoked as one of the possible subsidies that government should promote in the provision of affordable accommodation. However, the roles and responsibilities of the institutions touted as possible custodians of social housing were never articulated. In denoting the hurdles faced by the housing sector, the White Paper on Housing acceded that the wasteful approach to land usage had to change, and that improvement of settlements' densities had to be a priority. It recognised the impact of the unwillingness to release suitable land by various actors and additionally noted the lack of coherency in the land assembly policy.

The White Paper recommended an approach that emphasised the importance of effective land delivery as this has an impact on the rate and scale of housing supply. It further proposed housing policies which foster integration with respect to the social, economic, physical, and institutional aspects of development.

Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996: Section 26 enshrines the right to access to adequate housing for all citizens and bestows the responsibility for the progressive realisation of this right on the government. The government is mandated use the resources available

and to act within the confines of the legislative framework when providing housing. The right articulated by Section 26 is inclusive of all housing typologies, including social housing (RSA, 1996).

Housing Act, No. 107 of 1997: The Act gives effect to Section 26 of the Constitution, and it outlines the fundamental principle that housing stakeholders should uphold in the pursuit of access to adequate housing. The principle states that the government must ensure that the housing sector provides a variety of choices and tenure options for housing. Housing development must be based on integrated development planning, and it needs to promote socially and economically viable communities. At its core, the Act recognises housing provision as both a product and a process and the part of integrated planning that wields the socio-economic pendulum of the country (RSA, 1997).

Furthermore, it prescribes the roles and responsibilities of all spheres of government in the process of housing provision and devised checks and balances for the utilisation of resources earmarked for housing provision. The Housing Act bestows the power to develop norms and standards for the housing sector on the national government. This includes the social housing standards which are delegated to the Social Housing Regulatory Authority. The national government also has the power to allocate funds for public housing to subsidy schemes and to develop the national housing code that will further outline the regulations for the various housing delivery programmes, including social housing. The provincial government is responsible for supporting local municipalities in the execution of their housing provision tasks. The local sphere of government is entrusted with ensuring access to adequate housing for all inhabitants, the provision of basic services, and identification of land for housing developments.

Social Housing Act No. 16 of 2008: It acknowledges the importance of social housing in the overall housing provision strategy. The Act ushered in a new era, with a bold commitment by the government to provide the foundational guidelines for the critical objectives and mechanisms of social housing delivery. The Social Housing Act was promulgated in response to the aforementioned policy framework, and it imposes legitimate responsibility for the social housing value chain on the national, provincial, and local spheres of government. The Social Housing Act has introduced the Social Housing Regulatory Authority, responsible for the accreditation of social housing institutions and compliance monitoring of social housing projects. The Social Housing Act stipulates that a

social housing institution, when developing a social housing project, must comply with land use regulations and must secure bulk services from the municipality (RSA, 2008).

3.6.2 Social housing policy framework

The policy framework outlines the intention of the government to regulate and support the social housing sector. The South African government has realised the importance of social housing complimenting affordable housing provision and its benefits in reinforcing sustainable settlements patterns. The social housing policy framework is designed to supplement the legislative framework while also being flexible enough to respond to changing environments. The direction and pace of social housing implementation is guided by the government's commitment to the established policies.

Breaking New Ground. A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (RSA. DHS, 2004): The policy departed from the foundations laid by the White Paper on Housing in 1994, as it was realised that there were policy gaps in the White Paper. This was a more comprehensive housing policy that expands on the housing delivery mechanism outlined in the White Paper and it seeks to address the shortcomings observed in the public housing projects. The policy advocates for a shift to settlement development as opposed to housing production and introduces informal settlement upgrading and social housing to complement the housing options.

In recognition of the housing gap that was underserved, the BNG policy seeks to complement the housing programme by catering for individuals earning above the maximum prescribed income eligible for low-cost housing but too poor to access a housing mortgage from financial institutions. Social housing is advanced as a suitable model to cater for the gap market while enhancing the development of suitable human settlements through spatial restructuring. Effective spatial planning is encouraged, and the policy advocates for densification and integration to ease the burden on beneficiaries when accessing services and to help the government with basic service provision. The BNG policy is still aligned with the White Paper on Housing, as there is still slow identification, acquisition, assembly, and release of land and this continues to limit the success of the housing programmes.

Social Housing Policy for South Africa (RSA, 2004): The policy recognises the demand for rental housing and the need for the government to support affordable housing choices. The policy articulates the role of social housing space within the public housing provision mandate for low-income citizens and the development agenda directed towards improving the socio-economic conditions of the urban communities. The policy facilitates high-density rental developments, it is

earmarked for urban areas, and social institutions have been identified as suitable custodians of social housing. The policy regulates the product quality of the social housing through the Social Housing Regulatory Authority, outlines the funding models that are critical to the implementation of social housing projects, and also outlines the roles of the various government spheres in the social housing value chain. In advancing the mandate of integrated development, the policy requires social housing projects to foster physical, social, and economic integration within communities.

Norms and Standards for Social Housing (Social Housing Regulatory Authority & Department of Human Settlements, 2019). This policy outlines the prerequisite conditions for social housing projects. It outlines the guidelines on matters of design, quality, and the built environment of the social housing projects. It provides the minimum requirements for the social facilities required to support the housing projects and dictates their proximity to a project's location and the basic service infrastructure. The location of projects forms the basis for the sectioning criteria of the social housing, and the norms and standards dictate that social housing should be located in established CBDs and urban nodes in support of urban restructuring and regeneration.

National Housing Code (RSA. DHS, 2009): This housing code forms part of the implementation tool designed to carry out the principles and requirements of the housing policies, specifically the Breaking New Ground policy (RSA. DHS, 2004) and the White Paper on housing (RSA. Department of Housing, 1994). The code outlines the various housing subsidy schemes available and envisaged by the housing policy, and the desired housing outcomes. It supports the government's initiatives as an enabler and provider. The code outlines the qualification criteria and the norms and standards for the housing subsidy scheme to create uniformity in the disbursement of the government's resources towards housing provision. The Social Housing Programme forms part of this National Housing Code and it is earmarked for low-income inhabitants in urban areas. The Housing Member of the Executive Council (MEC) is responsible for granting institutional subsidies to qualifying housing institutions.

National Development Plan, 2030 (RSA, 2011): The NDP acknowledges that the spatial divide of our cities hobbles the drive for inclusive urban forms. Additionally, it recognises universal traits for quality living standards, namely access to transportation, health care, employment, a clean environment, housing, and basic services in response to transforming human settlements. In its response to the inherent challenges of the current urban patterns, the NDP outlines the government's desire to support densification strategies in cities and compact development forms, and to improve the reliability and affordability of public transport. Significant for the proposed strategies is the

proposed review of the housing grant and subsidy framework to improve the diversity of the mechanisms available and to improve inclusivity.

Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) (RSA. CoGTA, 2016a): The IUDF is a government policy position to guide the future growth and management of urban areas and it acknowledges the reality of urbanisation and its impact on South African Cities. It was envisioned to counter the rapid rate of urbanisation in South African cities and recognises the potential benefits that can be harnessed and the dangers if urbanisation is not managed properly. The IUDF fosters a shared understanding across the government and society about how best to manage urbanisation and achieve the goals of economic development, job creation, and improved living conditions. It is concerned with housing shortages, the perpetual increase in the number of informal settlements, and the exclusion of certain population groups from the benefits that the urban fabric offers. It is also concerned with the minimal effectiveness of urban governance in realising a smooth transition to urbanisation.

The IUDF realises that South African cities are faced with similar challenges of urbanisation and as such, has endeavoured to develop five strategic goals (spatial integration, inclusion, access, growth, and governance) which have been cascaded into nine policy levers. The policy levers identified by the IUDF advocate for integrated urban planning, transportation mobility, urban infrastructure, and efficient land management. The IUDF endorses the prioritisation of long-term municipal urban planning that fosters inclusiveness through increased densities as an approach to housing provision. The support of public transport access and improved choice is intended to alleviate the pressures that the poor are subjected to and lessen cities' dependence on private transportation. The policy posits that the provision of high-density housing and provision of critical infrastructure requires cities to become masters in the utilisation and management of land (RSA. CoGTA, 2016a).

Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy (IHP) in South Africa (Abahlali & Mjondolo, 2007): The policy defines inclusionary housing in the South African context as a means to harness private initiatives in the pursuit of housing delivery to middle- and higher-income households. It also aims to also provide affordable housing opportunities in order to achieve a better socio-economic balance in residential developments and contributes to the supply of affordable housing. This housing policy was crafted in recognition of an existing policy gap within the housing sector. The lack of policy directives on inclusionary housing had led to local government introducing policies to address inclusionary housing matters but they lacked coordination by the national government. The policy acknowledges the universal application of inclusionary housing in the

global north and south, and further notes the varying models and characteristics of countries. This policy states that inclusionary housing can be dealt with directly by the central government or it can be decentralised to the local government level through national frameworks.

The policy recognises that South Africa's context is unique in that the private housing sector cannot be solely responsible for social housing provision and inclusionary housing cannot be utilised as a pillar for adequate housing provision due to the scale of the middle-income housing market. The degree of South African inequality impedes the unregulated provision of inclusionary housing due to the steep income cliffs between the high-income and low-income groups. This disparity in income threatens the projects' viability due to costs per unit and the costs of the associated amenities in comparison to the number of low-income household beneficiaries.

The historical nature of South Africa makes it one of the most racially segregated countries and inclusionary housing can provide a mechanism to address this segregation while strengthening the housing sector. The inclusionary housing policy has conceived two approaches: voluntary, proactive, and deal-driven; and compulsory but incentive-linked and regulation-based. The former advocates for voluntary participation in inclusionary housing by the private sector due to the country's limited private sector capacity, while the latter advances the mandatory participation of the private sector. The mandatory participation is encouraged by government incentives aimed at supporting the sector. The envisioned incentives range from tax benefits, land donations, fast tracking of approvals, use and development rights, bulk and link infrastructure, and housing subsidies.

3.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter uncovered that social housing implementation and public housing in general are influenced by diverse factors besides the availability of land. The social housing sector represents a complex system, but the limited guidelines on the restructuring tools have fostered an environment of non-conformity by local governments in the application of restructuring zones intended to accommodate social housing projects. The degree to which social housing should be measured in the face of the escalating housing need and the continuous strain on the government's resources differs from that of a typical low-cost housing project.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY UTILISED TO STUDY THE ALOE RIDGE SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECT

4.1 Introduction to research methodology

Pajares (2007) notes that the research methods and procedures used are at the core of all research studies. According to Krippendorff (2004), the research methodology's purpose is to provide a practical framework that organises the acquisition of the evidence or data required for the study. This chapter focuses on the methods employed to acquire and analyse the data in an endeavour to understand the defined research problem.

4.2 Research Approach

The research approach outlines the philosophical foundation for the research methodology to be utilised. The research employed a mixed-method approach to the data collection process. The mixed-method approach was selected based on its ability to account for quantitative data related to demographics and the income analysis of the social housing beneficiaries. The data required to comprehend the personal experiences of the beneficiaries was acquired through qualitative data collection.

The mixed-data approach is anchored by both the positivism and phenomenology theoretical views. Creswell (2009) asserted that the different data collection methods all have inherent flaws, so the utilisation of a mixed-methods approach is effective in neutralising the perceived biases of the other methods as it seeks convergence across the quantitative and qualitative methods. Taherdoost (2022) deduced that the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods is beneficial to the researcher as the methods cover the advantages of both and are useful in cases where utilising one method in a study will not be sufficient.

4.2.1 Research Paradigm

Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) observed that positivism utilises observation and reason as a tools to analyse and comprehend behaviour through scientific description. Grover (2015) noted that positivism places a heavy emphasis on probability and the variation of results obtained in varied situations and environments. Positivism is concerned with precision and absolute truth obtained using experiments, and the measurements are largely represented by quantitative data methods. The inclusion of quantitative data is essential for the expression of statistical outcomes of the population being investigated, and it is used to provide a thorough breakdown of the various substrates that

might be critical to the overall outcome of the research. The mechanistic interpretation of data through positivism has been viewed as reductionist, as it excludes the personal experiences, individuality, and choices of the study participants. This approach has thus found minimal expression in the social sciences, however, the value of positivism in structured data collection cannot be undermined.

Creswell (2009) defined phenomenology research as based on outlining human experiences about a phenomenon as they are described by participants. Cohen et al. (2007) observed that phenomenology as a theoretical point of view relies on the direct experiences of the respondents and their behaviour towards the phenomena being investigated, while negating the use of external and physical descriptions of reality. Phenomenology employs individuals' viewpoints to perceive an experience and applies inward comprehension and consciousness, as well as the outward appearance of the experiences (Taherdoost, 2022). Cohen et al. (2007) surmised that phenomenology utilisation reduces the employment of scientific procedures of verification, thus reducing the ability of research to predict or discover trends.

The research approach for this study was guided by the pragmatic worldview, as the researcher was not committed to one philosophy; this was exemplified by the utilisation of the mixed-method approach. Creswell (2009) notes that in utilising this worldview, the researcher has the freedom of choice in the methods, techniques and procedures used for the research. It also provides acknowledgment of the fact that research always occurs within social, historical, political, and other contexts. Research arises from actions, situations, and consequences, and the pragmatic approach focuses on actions and consequences rather than on causes and effects, as is the case when using post-positivism (Grover, 2015).

4.3 Research Design

Pandey and Pandey (2015) alluded to a research design as a map that directs how data is to be acquired, measured and analysed. Kothari (2004) further described the research design as being the framework in which the research is confined and it outlines the methods of data collection, measurement, and analysis. According to Levitt et al. (20127), qualitative research is inductive, and requires a researcher to explore the meanings and insights in given situations. Qualitative research provides the necessary mechanisms for representation of social experiences, events, actions encountered, and the reactions of people to different lived experiences (Wagner et al., 2012). The research data acquired will enable the researcher to test the objectives of the research and acquire

data to be compared with existing literature. Williman (2011) has elaborated that each research design requires distinctive data collection tools.

The research design follows on from the research approach and it encompasses the quantitative and qualitative data collection methods and techniques. The mixed-method approach was used and the design was mapped out to facilitate the practicality of gathering the necessary data essential to achieve or respond to the research objectives and questions outlined in Chapter One.

The research was case study driven and focused on the Aloe Ridge social housing project to determine the forces acting against the success of the project. The research dived into the experiences of the social housing beneficiaries, the municipal role in the development of the project, and the surrounding communities' experiences of interacting with the project. The case study approach enabled the researcher to analyse the specific deliverables of this social housing project without much generalisation. The researcher first embarked on developing an appropriate sampling method and sample size in an effort to analyse and understand the case study of the Aloe Ridge social housing project. This information was then used as the basis to collect the quantitative and qualitative data required. In order to actualise the two data set envisioned, data collection tools were selected capable of being a conduit of a mixed-method approach.

4.4 Methods of Data Collection

Creswell, Klassen, Plano Clark and Smith (2011) described mixed-method research as providing structured quantitative and qualitative research in a study through the utilisation of a seamless methodology to collect, analyse, and integrate the data required. The researcher aimed to assess the role of the land assembly process for social housing projects and its impact on spatial equality for the intended beneficiaries. The study utilised both the quantitative and qualitative methods, which was indicative of a mixed-method approach.

4.4.1 Sources of data

The study acquired the primary qualitative and quantitative data required using the mixed-method approach and the data collection tools comprised of mapping, observation, questionnaires, and focus group interviews. Secondary data was collected from sources including journals, books, newspapers, and recorded films. The collection of the data sets ensured that the research assumptions about social housing were tested against the selected Aloe Ridge social housing project and the experiences of the officials within key institutions.

4.4.1.1 Secondary data sources

The secondary data sources included journals, articles, books, newspapers, and recorded films and they were utilised during the literature review to assess the existing knowledge on social housing and spatial restructuring. Further information was retrieved from the municipal planning and housing policies, the Aloe Ridge social housing project development application documents, and the national social housing guidelines. The secondary data that was reviewed unearthed vital information on the theoretical framework that was used to ground the study and the conceptual framework that outlined the boundaries of the study. This secondary data was pivotal in formulating the foundation against which the primary data was measured.

4.4.1.2 Primary data sources

The research relied on multiple primary data sources, namely key informants' interviews, questionnaires, focus group interviews, observation, and spatial mapping. The primary sources were critical for the study to acquire first-hand accounts of the phenomenon being investigated. The researcher utilised the primary data sources to acquire the necessary information on the planning process, development, and operation of the Aloe Ridge social housing project. The data gathered by employing these primary sources provided a clear indication of the project's status quo, an understanding of how the theoretical framework could be implemented efficiently, and possible mechanisms and approaches that were compatible with the South African social housing environment.

4.5 Sampling Process

Shavelson (1988) reported that the sampling process lends validity to the data collected and further provides a baseline from which the interpretation of the results can be generalised to other situations. Purposive sampling was utilised for the data collection in this study. According to Creswell (2021), purposive sampling involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups who have intimate knowledge about the research study through their personal experiences.

Utilising purposive sampling, the researcher chose the case study of the Aloe Ridge social housing project. It is the largest social housing project within the Msunduzi Local Municipality and it was completed in 2017. At the time of its completion, it was the largest social housing project in the country. The project's characteristics provided a credible platform to test the hypothesis postulated by the research, as it was a recently implemented project and provided a relevant baseline against which to measure the current social housing policy framework and guidelines.

Purposive sampling was the sampling method utilised to select the precedent studies, and they were selected based on their utilisation of social housing as a tool for social integration, urban regeneration, and spatial transformation. The sampling also considered projects located in both the global north and south, and evaluated the social housing models, the resources available to the state, the rate of urbanisation, and the housing demand in the countries.

4.5.1 Sampling size of the Aloe Ridge social housing beneficiaries

The overall sample included respondents renting the social housing units. The sampling size was determined by considering the project's scheduling and estimated cost. The selection process considered the respondents' demographic profiles and their experiences with the project. The sample size of 70 participants was chosen and they were selected from amongst the beneficiaries of the Aloe Ridge social housing project based on a variety of attributes. Firstly, the case study project consisted of 952 social housing units and to achieve viable representation, the sample size had to equate to 7 per cent of the beneficiaries residing in the housing units. This sample of housing beneficiaries was supplemented with two focus groups, and focus group interviews were conducted with residents from the adjoining formal and informal residential townships of Grange and Slangspruit. These were conducted to evaluate these residents' experiences and expectations of the Aloe Ridge social housing project. The approach augmented the data gathered from the Aloe Ridge beneficiaries and improved the validity of the project.

The research utilised purposive sampling to select the respondents and circumvented participation by respondents from similar housing projects by limiting selection to this housing project alone. Purposive sampling allowed the researcher to obtain the required representation of the project's beneficiaries. The Aloe Ridge project comprised of 37 housing complexes in total, and 2 respondents were selected from each housing complex to achieve true representation of the project dwellers.

The respondents were asked to complete a questionnaire, and it was designed to unearth the demographic characteristics of the respondents. It was further designed to gauge the impact of this social housing project in terms of the beneficiaries' access to public facilities and economic opportunities. The questionnaire also sought to determine whether the beneficiaries/respondents utilised public transportation or private vehicles. It assessed the degree of mobility around the social housing project and the level of interaction with the surrounding neighbourhoods.

4.6 Data Collection Tools

Mapping: It was a critical tool with which to assess the spatial characteristics of the social housing and to measure the proximity of the existing social and economic facilities to the Aloe Ridge social housing project. Geographic Information System (GIS) software was utilised to obtain a map of the project area and to analyse the area. The spatial data generated assisted the researcher to locate and measure the spatial efficiency of the project and the surrounding spatial features. Furthermore, the mapping provided a visual representation of the spatial restructuring effects of the Aloe Ridge social housing project.

Key informants interviews: Interviews were conducted with key informants from the Msunduzi Local Municipality's Town Planning and Human Settlements Units, Capital City Housing (the managing agent of the housing project), and the Provincial Department of Human Settlements. These were conducted to improve the researcher's understanding of the housing delivery system and the challenges underlying social housing implementation. The organisations identified are responsible for the land assembly, project implementation, financing, and monitoring of social projects. The interviews provided insight into the responsibilities and views of the experienced professionals associated with social housing.

The critical stakeholders in the social housing process from a public institutions' perspective are local municipalities, Department of Human Settlements, and social housing institutions. The key informants were identified from the two institutions based on their key role in delivering social housing. Key informants were selected from Msunduzi Local Municipality, Department of Human Settlements and Capital City Housing, based on the institutions' extensive experiences in the housing sector. Their knowledge of social housing delivery mechanisms made them prime candidates for the interviews. The key informants' candidates had participated in the land assembly of municipal land for housing projects, urban planning process to formalize housing projects, social housing project financing and developing social housing institutions partnerships. The informants from Msunduzi Municipality and Department of Human Settlement were interviewed physically by the researcher.

The key informants were interviewed separately to ensure that independent opinions from the informants. The researcher developed a set of interview questions which were circulated to the informants to ensure quality responses were provided during the interview process. The interview questions provided a structured engagements with the informants and ensure uniformity and create

a professional guide throughout the process. The Capital City Housing official was interviewed through an electronic questionnaire.

Observation: The researcher embarked on a physical survey of the project site and the surrounding residential townships. The endeavour provided the researcher with first-hand knowledge of the observable characteristics of the project area and any details omitted from the existing literature and project information available. In addition, it allowed the researcher to conduct a transect walk assessment, to observe and measure the walkable distances between the existing socio-economic facilities and the Aloe Ridge project site. Lastly, the observations provided an opportunity for the researcher to catalogue the site's accessibility and the physical and social characteristics of the study area.

Table 4.1: Observation schedule

| Location in the Msunduzi Local Municipality | Observation themes |
|---|--|
| Aloe Ridge social housing project | Beneficiaries' mobility Beneficiaries' access to social facilities Integration with key commercial nodes |
| Grange and Slangspruit townships | Access to economic opportunities and social facilities Spatial proximity to Aloe Ridge Provision of basic services |
| Richmond and Archie Gumede corridors | Development proposals Public transport accessibility Densification |
| Mkondeni, Edendale and Raisethorpe nodes | Connectivity with Aloe Ridge Commercial and industrial survey Spatial proximity to Aloe Ridge |

Source: Researcher (2023)

Questionnaires: The questionnaire distributed targeted the beneficiaries of the Aloe Ridge social housing project. The questionnaire contained questions designed to obtain qualitative and quantitative data, in keeping with the mixed-method approach selected. This instrument was intended to analyse the experiences of the beneficiaries residing in the Aloe Ridge social housing and their understanding of the benefits and shortcomings of the social housing project. The

questionnaire illuminated the socio-economic construct of the social housing beneficiaries and the positives and negatives of the social housing project in the provision of social mobility.

Focus group interviews: The impact of a social housing project is not confined to the boundaries of the project site. As such it was vital to understand the broader consequences that the project had on the surrounding communities, whether positive or negative. The researcher conducted two focus group interviews and targeted participants from the formal township of Grange and the informal township of Slangspruit. The group discussions assisted with the provision of a different perspective on the impact of the Aloe Ridge project on the surrounding communities and with the provision of a deeper understanding of the relationship between the project and the surrounding communities. The focus group interviews also assisted with the assessment of another critical objective of social housing - its facilitation of social integration.

The focus groups consisted of two interviews with a group residing in slangspruit and Bisley township. The focus group discussions consisted of five and seven participants. The focus group informants were selected using purposive sampling. The selection of the participants was based on the proximity of the participants to the Aloe Ridge social housing project. The focus groups discussions were conducted less than 200 meters from Aloe Ridge to ensure that participants had minimal knowledge of the project and they had interacted with the social housing beneficiaries. Furthermore, they represent a diverse characteristic from one another regarding age, gender, economic class and academic status.

4.7 Data Analysis

Content analysis was utilised to analyse the data accurately and it focused on both the quantitative and the qualitative data gathered. The researcher followed the three steps proposed by Gray (2009) for the analysis of the primary and secondary data, and they were carried out in sequence, as per Gray's instruction: the content was summarised; all information was clarified; and the formal structures in the information collected were identified.

The information collected was synthesised into themes to present the findings in an organised manner while responding to the critical research objectives and questions posed in the first chapter of this dissertation. The themes were presented in response to the impact of social housing on the principles of an inclusive urban form; the provision of adequate and affordable housing; and the drive towards reorganising the South African spatial form which was heavily influenced by the segregation statutes alluded to in the historical account of South African housing and planning in

Chapter Three of the dissertation. The final theme was the methodology utilised by the state to support and promote efficient land assembly for housing development.

The process of analysing the spatial distribution of the supplementary public and commercial services was critical to the understanding of the functioning of the Aloe Ridge social housing project. Spatial mapping was thus utilised to measure the distances between the surrounding facilities and the housing project. Spatial mapping also allowed the researcher to assess how well the housing project had been integrated into the surrounding communities and commercial nodes. The analysis was critical in establishing the impact of social housing on spatial restructuring, as this is one of the core mandates of the Social Housing Programme in terms of the National Housing Code (RSA. DHS, 2009) and the Social Housing Act (RSA, 2008).

Diagrams were employed to outline the demographic patterns of the beneficiaries of the social housing project. They were used to unveil the subtle underlying conditions of the social housing project in respect of usage of public transport, private vehicle ownership, the respondents' area of employment, and the beneficiaries' sentiments towards the Social Housing Programme. Diagrams were extracted from the municipal sector plans and deployed to provide clarity on the existing developments, zoning and land uses surrounding the social housing project. Those diagrams depicted the status quo of the area in terms of government proposals and the impact that these regulations had on the efficient functioning and management of the Aloe Ridge social housing project.

4.8 Ethical Concerns of the Research

The researcher endeavoured to uphold the credibility of the study by collecting relevant data from participants who had experience and knowledge of the social housing sector and spatial planning modalities. Participants from various institutions that were stakeholders in the social housing value chain were interviewed to ensure diversity. The beneficiaries of the social housing project were surveyed to produce detailed accounts of their experiences. The surrounding township residents were also interviewed to gauge their perceptions of the social housing project, and this increased the geographical data pool from which the information was sourced.

The researcher's pursuit of reliable research, recognition of the importance of the study for social housing beneficiaries, and desire to further the pool of knowledge available on social housing led to the formulation of the objective purpose of the study. The research methods employed were selected carefully so as to improve the data collected in relation to the research objectives. The fact that the

researcher's personal perceptions of the phenomenon being investigated could possibly influence the direction of the research was considered. The possibility of the researcher's bias existed due to their personal perceptions, assumptions, and interpretations of the phenomenon. Emphasis was placed on creating non-leading questions when designing the questionnaire and the interview questions, and this mitigated this challenge and minimised the researcher's influence on the responses of the participants.

4.9 Limitations of the Study

This research encountered a number of limitations. The researcher had limited time in which to conduct the research and this was a major factor during the undertaking of the research project. The researcher experienced difficulties in accessing the critical respondents selected for face-to-face interviews, due to their workloads and personal commitments. The nature of the research also made the selected respondents suspicious of the researcher, as they erroneously assumed that the researcher was conducting an investigation on behalf of Capital City Housing (the managing agent) and/or the Msunduzi Local Municipality. This made some of the respondents reluctant to participate. Misunderstandings were experienced during the data collection process due to cultural bias and other personal issues experienced. The study area was also predominantly occupied by Zulu speaking people and this created a challenging language barrier between the respondents and the researcher.

The limitations identified and expected to influence the study have been well documented by various researchers and possible effective mitigation measures were employed to reduce the impact of these expected challenges. In terms time constraints, a programme was developed to assist the researcher to track the actual work done against the projected project milestones. Emphasis was placed on informing the participants in time and repeated reminders were sent out to ensure that the project stayed on schedule. The researcher shared the necessary information on the objectives of the study in an effort to ease the participants' concerns about being investigated and to make them aware of the academic nature of the study. The researcher utilised field workers where feasible to assist with the data gathering process. The potential conundrum of lack of data was mitigated by the utilisation of multiple research tools in conjunction with mixed research methods. These were used to supplement the potential shortcomings of either the quantitative or qualitative data collection tools.

4.10 Appraisal of the Methodology Used

The research methodology selected was viewed as suitable to respond to the social housing problem identified and the study area's characteristics. The selection of the research methodology chosen (the mixed-method approach) was based on the need to understand social housing's impact on the socio-economic livelihoods of the beneficiaries and the experiences of the social housing practitioners, which required emphasis on qualitative research tools. The quantitative research tools were utilised for spatial referencing of the distances between the social housing project and the nearby economic nodes/activities and social facilities. The decision to employ the mixed- method approach was beneficial as it revealed the intricate operations of the Social Housing Programme and the state's land assembly procedures. Furthermore, the chosen approach made it possible to uncover the social housing beneficiaries' perceptions of the objectives of social housing.

The methodology outlined the possible bias that could arise during the course of the research and mitigation measures were employed to counter any potential preconceptions originating from the researcher. The potential bias articulated beforehand allowed the researcher to be aware of potential pitfalls in the course of devising the research tools and during data collection. The outcome of the data analysis validated the study in terms of the challenges experienced by the respondents, and this analysis is detailed in a subsequent chapters. The implications of the results from the data collection correlated with the research problem and the Social Housing Programme. The data results and the interventions outlined indicated a degree of applicability, so the interventions suggested could be utilised by housing practitioners and policymakers to revise the social housing policy approach and the land assembly process entrusted with facilitating suitable land for social housing.

4.11 Chapter Summary

The chapter outlined the research approach and the data gathering tools used. It clearly defined the methodology that was utilised to test the objectives of the research. The research tools were selected to further the mixed-method approach, and these proved invaluable when dealing with the dynamic study area. The utilisation of the mixed-method approach was appropriate as it facilitated the understanding of the root cause of social housing's shortcomings in furthering the course of spatial restructuring. The sample size of the study area's respondents was a fair representation of the population in the study area and the respondents were selected using the purposive sampling method. The sample size was further influenced by the research limitations and the ethical matters that affected the execution of this subjective research.

Pietermaritzburg is a strong economic centre and the administrative capital of the province. It was established in 1838 and was not spared from the colonial subjugation experienced across the country. The spatial structure of Pietermaritzburg has emerged over the past 150 years; influenced by economic forces and infrastructure alignment, and more significantly by the Colonial and Apartheid policies such as the Group Areas Act.

5.2 Demographic Analysis of the households

The municipality has a total population of approximately 618,536, according to (Statistics South Africa [Stats SA], 2011), and Pietermaritzburg is also the administrative and legislative capital of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). The Municipal SDF (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022b) notes that this local municipality is the third most populated, non-metropolitan municipality in South Africa, and it is thus highly possible that the municipality will eventually attain metropolitan status. The municipal population is comprised of 81.1 per cent black Africans, 6 per cent whites, 9.8 per cent Indians/Asians, and 2.9 per cent coloureds. The community survey (StatsSA, 2016) conducted indicates a household number of 181,584, with a household density of 286 households per square kilometre. The unemployment rate sits at 34.2 per cent, while the number of households categorised as low-income households is 49.7 per cent.

5.3 Economic Output of the Municipality

The municipality draws its economic opportunities from being located in close proximity to the N3 corridor connecting Gauteng Province's industrial region with the Durban coastal gateway. This allows the municipality access to the global markets, while the regional airport performs a similar role. The Msunduzi IDP 2022-2027 (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022a) alludes to the municipality being the economic powerhouse of the district, with huge potential for agro-processing since the district is dominated by an agricultural economy.

According to the IDP for 2022-2027 (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022a), the municipality is experiencing high rates of inward migration as it has pull factors such as employment opportunities, with many people migrating into the city at high rates on a daily basis in their search for better opportunities. Pietermaritzburg, as a regional node and a provincial capital with well-established industrial and commercial sectors, is experiencing inward migration from those residing within the uMgungundlovu District and from the surrounding areas in search of better access to services and resources. The inward migration being experienced has a direct correlation to the rapid increase in population, and this requires additional resources in order for the municipality to provide effective

and efficient services to the people of Msunduzi. This increased pressure on the municipality is observed with the indicators of the housing backlog and the formation of informal settlements.

The municipality's Urban Networks Strategy (UNS) (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022c) notes that Pietermaritzburg serves as a gateway to the KZN midlands' heartland, which offers uncapped economic opportunities and investment return potential. Furthermore, the city's diverse economy and connectivity with the surrounding region indicates functional integration across a larger geographic area.

5.4 Infrastructure Provision

To integrate the spatially dispersed human settlements, the Msunduzi Local Municipality embarked on a massive integrated rapid public transport network (IRPTN) project. The IRPTN project focused on bus, minibus taxi, metered taxi, and non-motorised transport. Although there has been a significant focus on motorised transport, such as the establishment of Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) routes, there is still room for improvement with regard to non-motorised transport (NMT), as a large percentage of the population still depends on NMT.

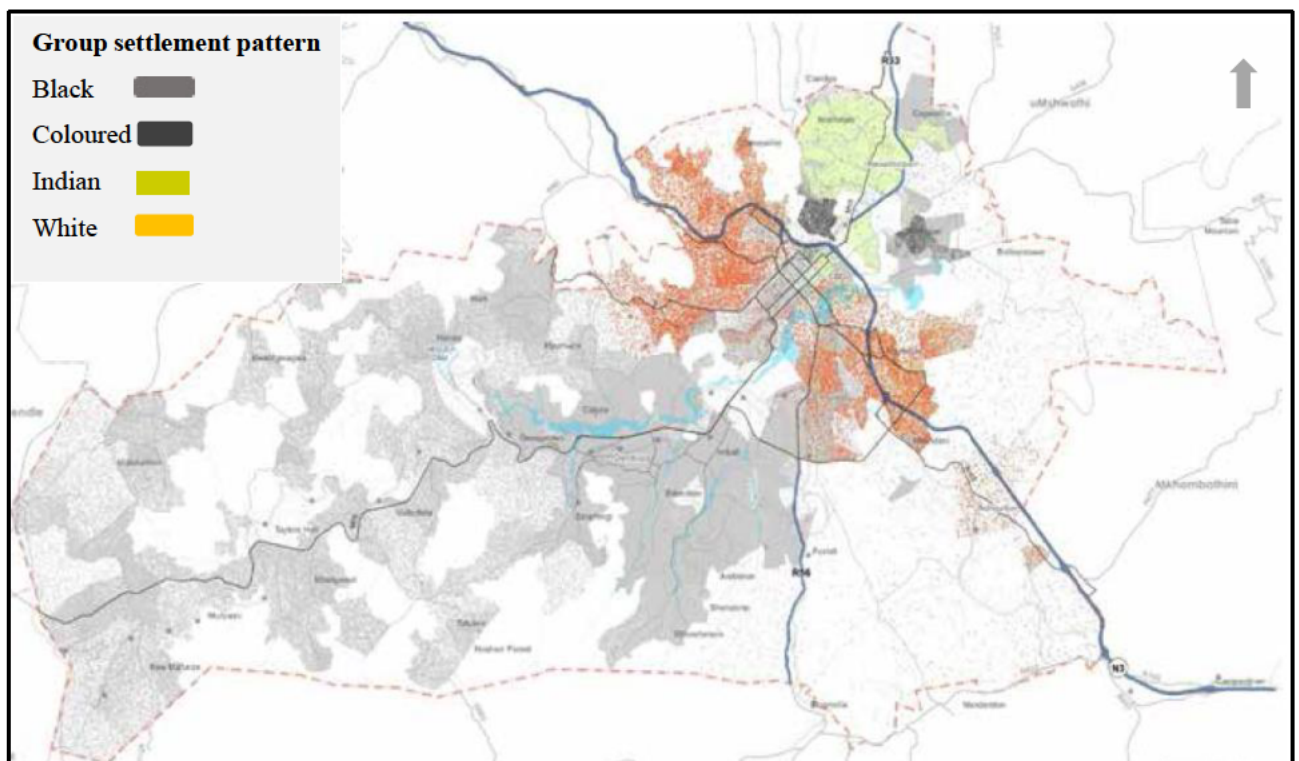
The Msunduzi Local Municipality was granted funding for the Bus Rapid Transit system to connect the Pietermaritzburg CBD with the Edendale and Raisthorpe nodes. The system comprises of a 17.3 km long main bus corridor from Georgetown, through the CBD to Raisthorpe. There are nine depot sites located within the city and the surrounds, and a Transport Management Centre (TMC) is located in the CBD. Envisioned as a measure to integrate the municipal regions that were previously under serviced, it was aimed at providing quality, effective, affordable, and accessible public transport.

The spatial form of the municipality, influenced by the Apartheid segregation, manifested an urban form that continuously underserved the marginalised black communities. The IRPTN was designed to limit the distance travelled to access public transport and by extension, socio-economic activities. The IRPTN has been planned to operate along the Aloe Ridge social housing project site to provide the necessary access to the city centre for the project area and the existing townships, but the timeframes for this transport project are still not clearly defined. Prolonged delays will still subject the residents and tenants to uneven access to opportunities.

5.5 Msunduzi's Urban Challenges

The Msunduzi Urban Networks Strategy (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022c) and the Municipal SDF (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022b) unveiled the struggles of the municipality, and Pietermaritzburg in particular, to eradicate the spatial configuration of the Apartheid system, further shown on figure 5.2. With black African townships predominantly located on the city's margins and the lack of quality socio-economic amenities in these townships, the effects of suppression still influence the livelihoods of these communities.

Figure 5.2: Pietermaritzburg's racial spatial configuration



Source: Msunduzi Urban Networks Strategy (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022, p. 9)

The SACN (2016) defined the municipality's challenges to spatial restructuring as topography, an Apartheid urban structure, and the municipality's fear of disturbing its tax base by bringing development closer to the centre and upsetting the upper/middle class residents. Additionally, policy interference during the implementation of the SDF and minimal collaboration in the alignment of programmes and projects has limited the pursuit of spatial transformation.

5.6 Msunduzi's Spatial Development Programme

The Msunduzi Local Municipality has, over the years, undertaken the process to realign its strategic policies on spatial planning and housing provision. The Apartheid influence on the municipal urban form, land ownership patterns and service provision still persists though, and influence the government's programmes significantly. Influenced by the realisation of urbanisation's impact on land and service and housing provision, the municipality seeks to channel growth along the strategic growth corridors and priority nodes.

5.6.1 Msunduzi City Development Strategy, 2015

The *Msunduzi City Development Strategy* (CDS) outlines the city's long-term developmental priorities cutting across multiple sectors. The CDS was designed to respond and align to the national and provincial development plans. It was devised to tap into the strategic resources that the municipality possesses and respond to the historical and persistent challenges. It is anchored by six pillars that recognise the spatial inefficiencies of the existing settlements; the importance of municipal financial viability; the existence of multiple quality educational institutions; the need for political stability; the benefits of infrastructure investments; and improvement of the standard of governance (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2015).

The unsustainable spatial patterns as a result of the legacy of Apartheid and the continued developmental support post-1994 were recognised. The CDS based its approach to spatial effectiveness on the promotion of densification and compact urban settlement forms. This strategy relies on the understanding of the population's dynamics and the readiness to address the challenges associated with rapid urbanisation. It promotes the implementation of higher housing densities and the enforcement of an urban edge as tools to manage compact developments. Social housing's objectives are closely aligned with the concept of densification and compact development in its support of urban regeneration and restructuring. Being a long-term plan, the CDS lacks an implementation plan with assigned responsibilities and no monitoring guidelines have been created to measure the success of the goals set out.

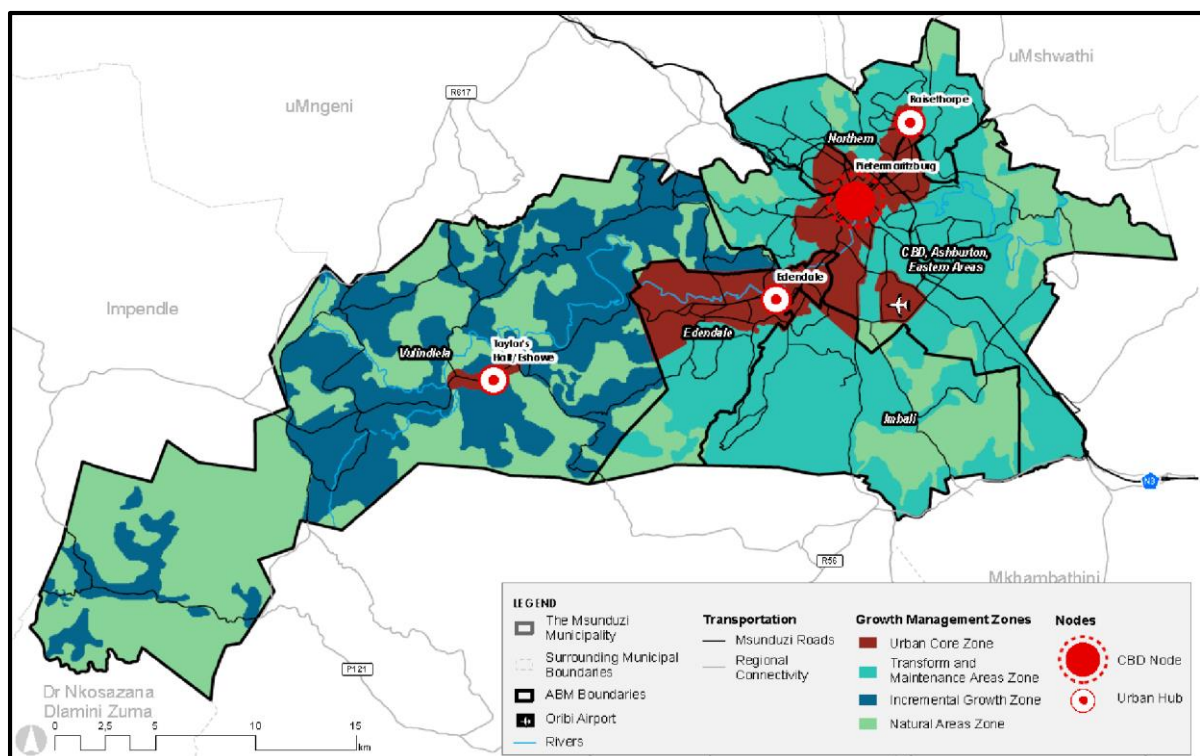
5.6.2 Spatial Development Framework, 2022

The Msunduzi Spatial Development Framework(SDF) (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022b) acknowledges the role of Pietermaritzburg and its established industrial base in supporting regional trade and its provision of services to the surrounding adjoining municipal settlements. The framework further recognises the challenges associated with urbanisation that have manifested in

the form of an increasing housing backlog, informal settlements, land invasions, and decreasing economic opportunities.

The SACN (2016) notes that the Msunduzi SDF aims to bring people closer to work, to within a 30 minute radius, and also supports the implementation of the BRT system. Moreover, its target is to minimise the development of housing in marginal areas, and thus promote inclusive housing and higher densities.

Figure 5.3: Msunduzi's growth management zones

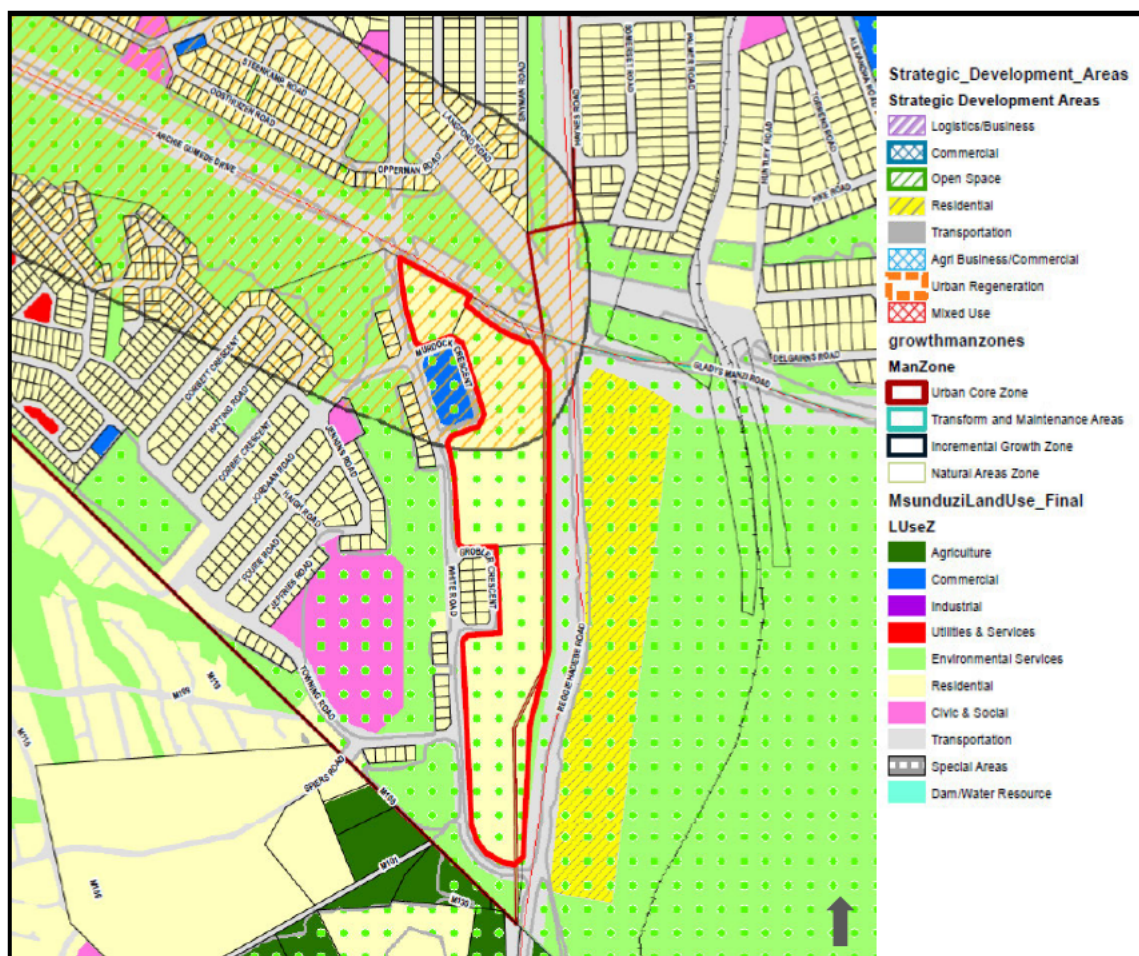


Source: SDF (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022b, p. 163)

The SDF formulated three urban management zones to guide and direct urban growth shown on figure 5.3, and they perform the role of urban edges. The zones consist of the urban core zone, which supports densification with densities up to 180du/ha and major infrastructural investment as a high proportion of the population resides within it. This is surrounded by the transformation and maintenance zone, which supports the provision of base infrastructure services to all communities and promotes high-density mixed-use development along the key public transport corridors and within nodes. This is, in turn, surrounded by the incremental zone that provides support for the base infrastructure services to all communities. It incorporates all areas under traditional authority and forms a natural zone limit, with land use assigned to agriculture and/or conservation of the natural environment.

The Aloe Ridge social housing project is located within the SDF's transformation and maintenance zone shown on figure 5.4, and it is intended to be utilised as an urban management tool. The zone does not promote high-density development, with the exception of the areas along the major corridors and nodes.

Figure 5.4: Aloe Ridge social housing SDF designation



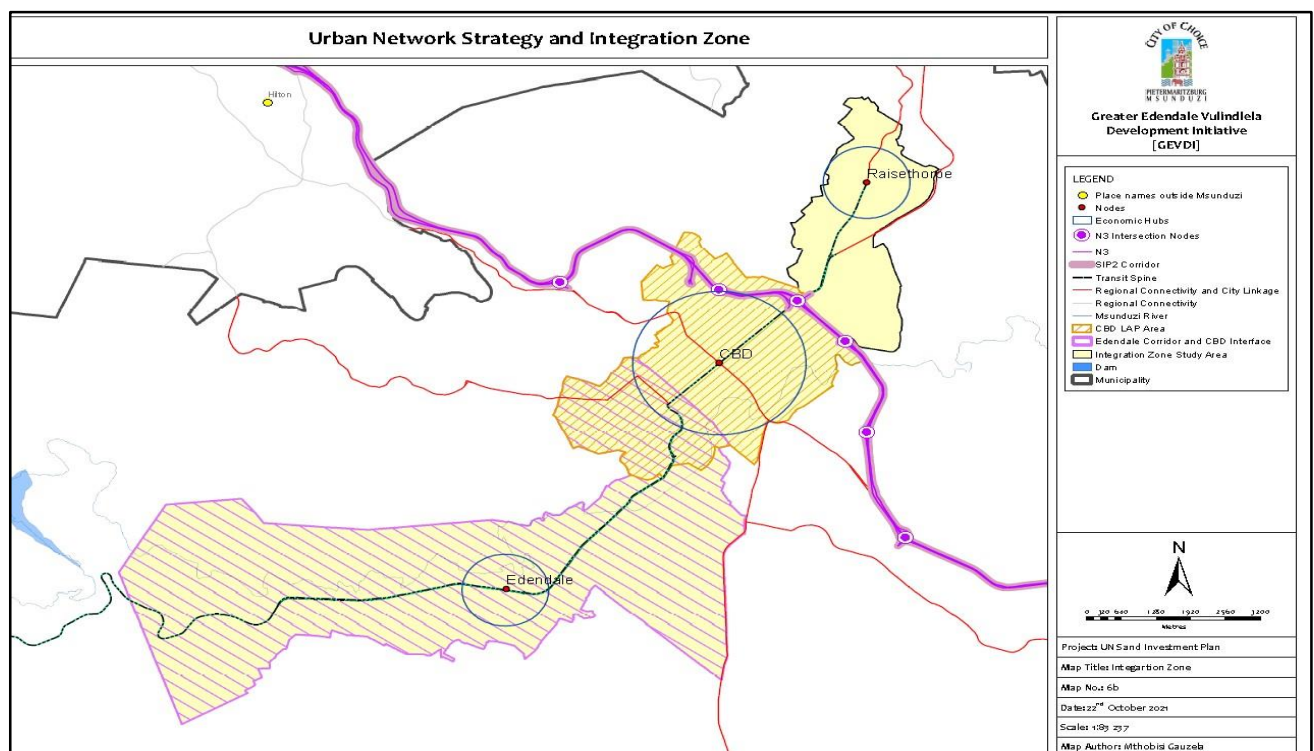
Source: SDF (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022b, p. 188)

The SDF provides a housing toolkit for the various housing typologies supported within the various zones. It further acknowledges the priority housing development area developed by the HDA in recognition of the high-pressure areas requiring immediate housing provision attention. However, the restructuring zone approved by the Department of Human Settlements does not find recognition throughout the SDF's analysis of the housing need and proposed strategies.

5.6.3 Urban Network Strategy, 2022

The Msunduzi Urban Network Strategy (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022c) was developed to provide a complementary urban development management layer to the SDF. Modelled after the National Treasury's built performance plans approach, the strategy strives to be more than just a spatial plan by providing planning implementation guidelines and priority projects. Aligned to the SDF's urban core zone, it covers the areas of Edendale, the Pietermaritzburg CBD, Manson Mills, Camps Drift, and Raisthorpe which account for 70 per cent of the municipality's population as shown by figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5: Msunduzi's integration zone



Source: Msunduzi Urban Network Strategy (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022c, p. 61)

Predicated on the utilisation of public transport with access within an 800 m radius, the strategy functions on the basis of allowing pedestrians to travel a maximum of 10 m to access services. For the public transit to be viable, the strategy proposes that the integration zone needs to accommodate an additional 138,289 units, which equates to 366,465 people. This will require additional land the size of 1407 hectares or a density increase to 98 dwellings per hectare.

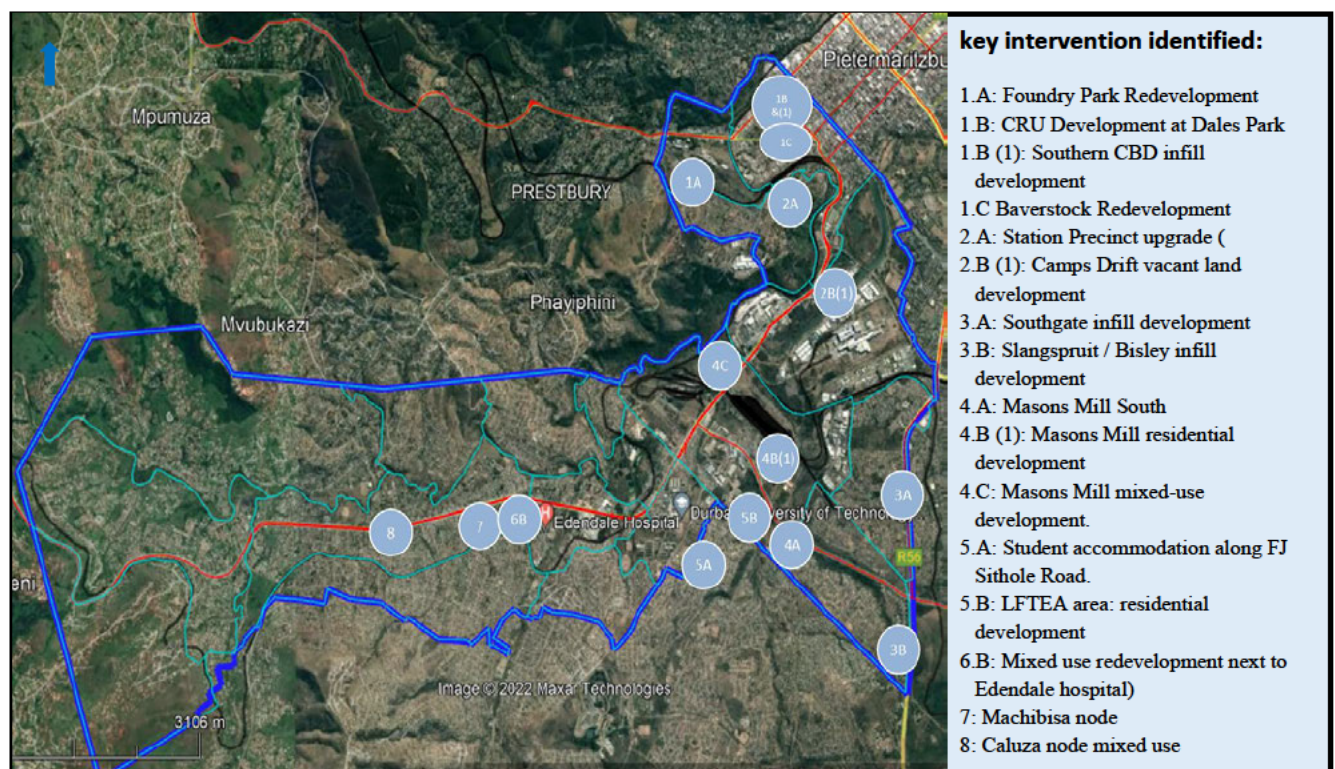
Envisioned to function in conjunction with the transit spine, the CBD functions as an anchor to the Edendale and Raisthorpe nodes. For this integration zone to function, the strategy projects the

minimum population numbers and facilities that will have to be accommodated in order to promote sustainable densification and limit the unsustainable urban expansion patterns. The Aloe Ridge social housing project falls outside the delineated urban network's integration zone, with the area outside the integration zone earmarked for low-intensity developments.

5.6.4 Edendale - CBD Corridor Physical Development Framework, 2022

The corridor forms part of the Urban Networks Strategy's integration zone, and complies with the guidelines on population capacity and projection, and the overall principles of the Urban Network Strategy. The corridor framework was developed to provide additional projects to compliment the objectives of the UNS, thus it identifies various nodes and areas with the potential for mixed-use development. However, its main focus lies in identifying vacant land suitable for high-density public housing developments to further the developmental goals of the UNS (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022d). The framework proposes strategic projects along the corridor as shown on figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6: Edendale corridor's strategic intervention areas



Source: Edendale - CBD Corridor Physical Development Framework (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2022d, p. 70)

5.6.5 Msunduzi's Housing Sector Plan, 2019

The Msunduzi Local Municipality developed a housing sector plan to deal with the rapid urbanisation, rising unemployment and housing backlog in the municipality. The housing sector plan was designed to reduce the housing backlog, strengthen the capacity of the municipality to deliver sustainable human settlements, and to utilise housing as a catalyst for spatial transformation and equitable socio-economic development (Msunduzi Local Municipality, 2019).

The Msunduzi housing policy acknowledges that spatial restructuring strategies have been part of the discourse throughout the municipality's policies, indicating the municipality's commitment towards breaking down spatial barriers. However, instead of a compact urban form, the municipality has witnessed an increase in the size of the peripheral areas in the Greater Edendale and Northern Areas. The housing policy thus recognises the dire need to unlock strategically located land for high-density developments and housing opportunities for the poor.

The policy outlines the following performance indicators for social housing: the municipality has to start three social housing projects per annum and one thousand residential units have to be delivered per annum. Neither of these targets have been reached since the adoption of the policy. It is however noted that the municipality is committed to the development of social housing within the restructuring zones, through a phased approach. The municipality will prioritise the availability of state or municipal owned land and bulk infrastructure and limit any community pushback to the development of social housing.

5.6.6 Msunduzi's restructuring zones

The municipal restructuring zones as shown on figure 5.7 comprise of the Pietermaritzburg CBD, Oribi, Westgate/Grange, Copseville, the Raisethorpe CBD, Otto's Bluff, Hayfields, Lincoln Meade, the Edendale Corridor, and Eastwood/Glenwood. The restructuring zones gazetted by the national government are intended to facilitate social housing development to support sustainable urban forms.

Figure 5.7: Msunduzi's restructuring zones



Source: SHRA (2021, p. 5)

The SHRA's (2021) research uncovered that 62 per cent of the respondents from the Msunduzi Local Municipality showed an interest in residing in social housing, and a significant percentage (41%) outlined their preference to reside in central Pietermaritzburg. Hayfields/Lincoln Meade and Westgate/Grange were preferential locations for 22 per cent and 21 per cent of the respondents respectively.

A disjuncture is perceptible in the location of the restructuring zones in relation to the spatial plan's objectives. The Pietermaritzburg CBD and Raisethorpe CBD are categorised as major nodes within the municipality, while the Edendale Corridor is in a state of transition. The remaining areas are remotely located in correlation with socio-economic activities in the municipality and are furthermore outside the areas earmarked for densification or classified as nodes and corridors for development, bringing into question the methodology utilised to identify the areas for spatial restructuring and development.

5.7 Chapter Summary

The municipality is a focal point for the district's commercial and social enterprises, and as such it has a higher service demand compared to other adjacent nodes. The municipality has recognised the rapid population growth, increased housing demand and lack of land available to accommodate the

increasing population and housing. It has recognised the urgent need to develop the appropriate tools to manage this urban growth. The municipality has the majority of the plans and tools (policies) required to manage the urban growth, assemble land and provide the housing required in a sustainable manner. What remains a challenge is the limited resources available to execute the initiatives outlined in the adopted plans, limited coordination between the various departments responsible, and limited political commitment necessary to realise the spatial transformation.

CHAPTER SIX: INSIGHT INTO THE ALOE RIDGE SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECT - DATA INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

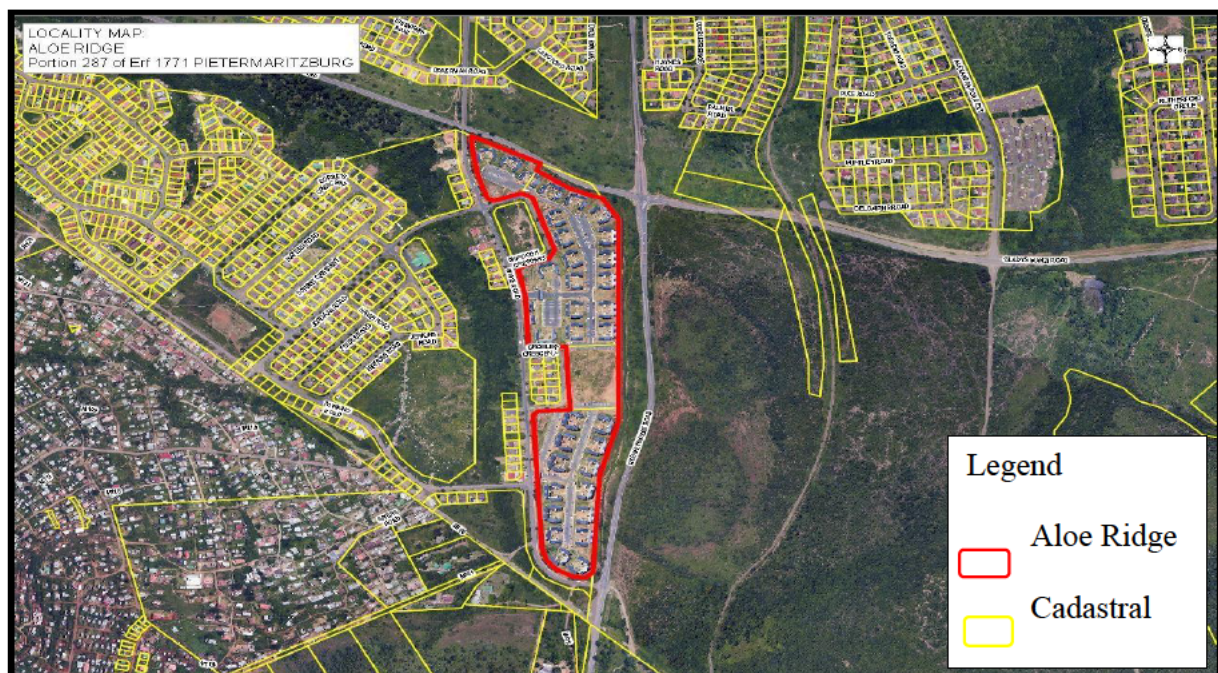
6.0 Introduction to the data interpretation and analysis of Aloe Ridge social housing project

Data collection was critical for validation of the research objectives and assumptions, as it established the current status and operations of the social housing project. The study required the collection of observable facts, experiences, and an overall picture of the general nature of the project site and its interaction with the surrounding communities. The study looked particularly at the social housing project's integration with spatial features. These included the community facilities, nodes, and corridors of development, as this was vital to comprehend the impact of the project in terms of supporting spatial restructuring and socio-economic integration.

6.1 Location of the Study

The project is located approximately 8 km from the Pietermaritzburg CBD and 7 km from the Scottsville shopping centre. Though situated adjacent to sites that are well developed, nearby parcels of land at the crossroads of Richmond Road and Achre Gumedede Road remain vacant, while adjacent to Richmond Road there is a vast track of land that belongs to Bisley Park, accurately depicted in figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1: Aloe Ridge social housing project's location



Source: Researcher (2023)

The Aloe Ridge social housing project is located within the Msunduzi Local Municipality, and it is managed by Capital City Housing. The Aloe Ridge project design and building style is shown by image 6.1 and 6.2.

Image 6.1: Aloe Ridge social housing project



Source: Researcher (2023)

Image 6.2: Aloe Ridge social housing project



Source: Researcher (2023)

6.2 Background to the Project

The project was initiated by the Municipal Human Settlements Unit in 2008, in a quest to supplement the already existing social housing rental stock consisting of the Acacia Park and Signal Hill social housing projects. The main objective of the project was the continuation of affordable housing provision by the municipality to curb the utilisation of informal backroom rentals which further promote formalisation. The location identified as suitable was a vacant piece of land approximately 14 hectares in size and owned by the municipality.

The municipality began the land preparation process after the identification of the site. This comprised of the rezoning of the property to a general residential zone so as to accommodate the high-density residential development intended. Planning studies were conducted by Aecom, and Sandhu Architecture was the lead designer of the project. Proper project planning ensured that environmentally sensitive areas were protected, including the stream, open space system, and the park adjacent to the project site. The project design included retaining walls along steep slopes to secure the soil, even during heavy rains. The acquisition of land development rights was followed by a bulk service agreement between the municipality and Capital City Housing.

Capital City Housing, formally known as the Msunduzi Housing Association, hired Stefanutti Stocks as the project contractor. According to Capital City Housing (2020), the project was identified in 2008 and the planning phase commenced in 2012. The project was designed to accommodate 952 units (RSA, KZN Department of Human Settlements, 2020). Each unit was approximately 45 m² and had 2 bedrooms and an open plan living space. It was designed with the capacity to accommodate 4,000 people and the cost was R353 million. Financed through the Social Housing Programme, the project was funded by the Department of Human Settlements, the Social Housing Regulatory Authority, the National Home Financing Corporation, and Capital City Housing.

Upon completion the project had 24-hour security, open access parking areas and a play area for children. The development complied with energy efficiency regulations, including heat pumps to reduce energy costs. The quality of the units met the standards outlined in the social housing guidelines and Capital City Housing was the winner of the Govan Mbeki award for the best social housing project in KZN 2017 (Capital City Housing, 2020).

Political interference has been one of the major problems after the completion of the project. In 2018, the project was thrown into chaos when liberation struggle veterans were accused of hijacking 300 units. The reasons for this emanated from the government's neglect in providing the veterans with adequate accommodation and other social benefits which they felt entitled to as a result of the sacrifices they had made for the country during the height of the Apartheid regime's oppressive tenure.

6.2.1 The state of the Aloe Ridge social housing project

The observation exercise was conducted by studying and recording the natural interactions of the social housing environment to understand the observable facts and better comprehend the social housing project's components, challenges, and opportunities. The multiple site inspections were conducted within the surroundings of Aloe Ridge to gauge the status quo of the project, the tenants residing in the housing project, and the communities living in close proximity to the site.

The physical structures of the Aloe Ridge social housing project seem to be in good condition and of good quality, according to the observation. There have not been any modifications made to the original number of units and the design, and the municipality has not made significant investments pertaining to landscaping on the site. However, the trees and bushes are trimmed constantly to keep the project site clear and clean.

6.2.2 Character of the area

The observation revealed that there has not been any major development in the surrounding area since the completion of the project. The closest service points are the filling station on Archie Gumede and Sikhumbuzo Ngwenya Roads, and the Southgate Spar on Richmond Road. It would take pedestrians from Aloe Ridge a significant amount of time to reach these two service points.

Besides the provision of affordable rental units, the mega project was also intended to reconfigure the spatial fabric of the city. The development has achieved little in locating the gap market closer to economic opportunities and social facilities, even though it is located along a major transit route that provides regional linkage and along a road that provides access to those residing in the Richmond area and the informal settlement of Ambleton. This is unfortunate as the gap market utilises a significant portion of their income on transportation costs.

The Aloe Ridge social housing site is zoned as a general residential zone. It is considered a high-density residential zone as it permits land uses such as flats, residential buildings, boarding houses, and multiple dwellings. The surrounding area is characterised by low-density residential zones, mainly special residential zone one. Special residential zone one is mainly associated with the low-to middle-income class and offers property sizes between 180 m² to 250 m² which are considered affordable. This symbolises the continued spatial layout of South African urban centres, where the poor are located further away from centres of commerce and are subjected to long distance travelling using public transportation to access opportunities.

Though the Grange and Bisley neighbourhoods are predominantly comprised of low-income households, there is minimal public transportation available outside peak hours. The limited ownership of private vehicles in the townships and Aloe Ridge, and minimal availability of public transportation negatively affect the mobility of the residents, limiting their access to critical information, services, and their ability to improve their livelihoods.

6.2.3 Transport satisfaction

Upon further inspection of the transport and traffic movement within the surrounding area, the aspect of the lack of public transport was transparent. Though the access road to the Aloe Ridge complex is connected to the network serving the Grange and Slungspruit townships, minimal movement of public transport (taxis) was observed. Furthermore, the waiting time for public transport was between 15 and 30 minutes outside peak hours.

The lack of public transport can be associated with a minimal number of commuters or a lack of activities that can generate the need to commute between different points. Additionally, the lack of activities along the Richmond corridor limits the need to increase the frequency of taxis from and to the urban centre.

6.3 Demographic Profile of Aloe Ridge

The Aloe Ridge social housing project is located within ward 13 of the Msunduzi Local Municipality. In terms of the community survey ((StatsSA,2016), the population projection for ward 13 is 21,069 people. The composition of the population is 53 per cent female and the remaining 47 per cent are males. The population is 99 per cent African and the average age is 24 years. Households located within the ward number 6,233 and 20 per cent of the households are renting their accommodation, and that includes those residing in Aloe Ridge.

The average annual household income in ward 13 is R14,600 and only 35.8 per cent (5,095) of the population is employed. This low employment rate corresponds with the fact that only 43.3 per cent of the population has completed matric or attained higher education. According to the Msunduzi Local Municipality's Housing Market Report (2012), this municipality has the lowest number of residential properties and households in South Africa's cities and it has the lowest ratio of households to formal properties among the top nine cities in the country. It further outlined that in Msunduzi, it costs on average almost four times the average income to afford the average house. The average housing affordability gap in ward 13, defined as the difference between the average affordable home and the average sale price is R706 000. Such factors informed the municipality and Capital City Housing of the need for social housing.

6.4 Spatial Mapping of the Access to Services and Economic Opportunities

The social housing norms and standards (Social Housing Regulatory Authority & Department of Human Settlements, 2019) dictate that social housing projects must be located within 500 m of public transport routes and stops, and within a 15-minute walk (+/- 800 m radius) of other amenities. The project must have access to a minimum of three of these amenities: schools (preschools, and public junior and senior schools); established economic activities and employers such as office parks, industrial areas, retail and convenience stores; pay points for municipal accounts; health care facilities; leisure and recreational facilities; and open spaces/parks. The aforementioned facilities must also be within 15 minutes of travel time when utilising affordable public transport (buses, taxis, and trains).

The social units' beneficiaries require the provision of essential services, and these may be existing or new facilities. The planning and development of the project did not invest in supplementary social facilities and instead relied on existing ones. Table 6.1 depicts the existing social facilities and economic activities and their proximity to the Aloe Ridge social housing project.

Table 6.1: Distance of the facilities from the Aloe Ridge social housing project

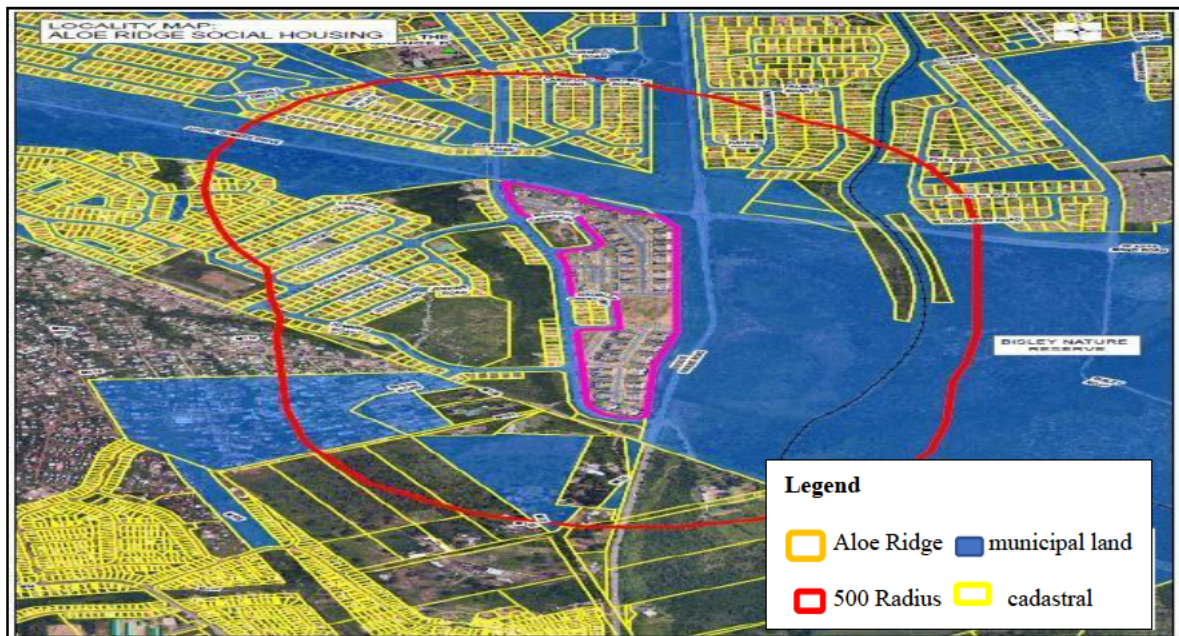
| Name | Distance | Vehicle Travel Time |
|--|----------|---------------------|
| Primary Educational Facilities | | |
| Grange Primary School | 1.4 km | 2.5 minutes |
| Slangspruit Pre Primary School | 2.4 km | 3.5 minutes |
| Maritzburg Preparatory School | 3.5 km | 5 minutes |
| Secondary Educational Facilities | | |
| Zamazulu Secondary School | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Esiqongweni High School | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Alexandra High School | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| University Campuses | | |
| University of KwaZulu-Natal, Scottsville | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Durban University of Technology, Edendale | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Durban University of Technology, Scottsville | 8 km | 13 minutes |
| Crèche / Pre-School Facilities | | |
| Sizamokuhle Creche | 3 km | 5 minutes |
| Buhlebuyeza Creche | 5 km | 10 minutes |
| Tubby Land | 3.5 km | 5 minutes |
| Police Stations | | |
| Alexandra Police Station | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Plessislaer Police Station | 7 km | 12 minutes |
| Clinic Facilities | | |
| Scottsville Clinic | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Hospitals | | |
| Edendale Hospital | 7.5 km | 13 minutes |
| Eden Gardens Private Hospital | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Government Offices | | |
| Municipal and Provincial Government Offices | 9 km | 15 minutes |
| Public Parks | | |
| Alexandra Park | 6.5 km | 11 minutes |

| | | |
|--|--------|---------------|
| Bisley Valley Nature Reserve | 3 km | 5 minutes |
| Tuck Shops/convenience Stores | | |
| On the Go Deliveries | 53 m | +/- 1minute |
| Top Sweet Bakery | 1 km | 1 minute |
| Kwanyamazane Supermarket | 1 km | 1minute |
| Shopping Centres | | |
| Pietermaritzburg CBD | 9 km | 15 minutes |
| Scottsville Shopping Centre | 6.8 km | 11 minutes |
| Edendale Mall | 8 km | 13 minutes |
| Fast Food Restaurant | 6-7 km | 10-11 minutes |
| Neighbourhood Shopping Centre | | |
| South Gate Spar/Filling Station | 3.5 km | 5 minutes |
| Sasol Garage, corner of Khumbuzo Ngwenya and Archie Gumede Roads | 3 km | 5 minutes |
| Industrial Base | | |
| Mkondeni | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Camps Drift | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Masons mill | 6 km | 10 minutes |
| Passive and Active Open Spaces | | |
| Corner Richmond and Archie Gumede Roads | 1 km | 1minute |
| Archie Gumede Road | 1.5 km | 2 minutes |

Source: Researcher (2023)

The Msunduzi Local Municipality guidelines for urban development sourced from the Urban Network Strategy (2022c) note that developments within priority nodes and corridors must promote mixed-use activities within an 800 m radius, and that translates to a 15-minute walking distance. This developmental approach is supposed to be anchored by an accessible, efficient, and affordable public transport system. Figure 6.2 shows the location of the project and the land uses located in proximity including access roads.

Figure 6.2: Aloe Ridge social housing project's 500 m radius



Source: Researcher (2023)

The nature of the existing municipal public transport system is that it is subjected to traffic congestion during peak hours and the estimated travel time increases. Moreover, pick-ups and drop-offs, diversions, and utilisation of secondary routes to maximise coverage and profits increase the average time travelled. The public transport mode accessible in the Aloe Ridge social housing project is taxis; the area is not covered by the public bus network and there are no commuter rail services within the municipality. The taxi fare from the Pietermaritzburg CBD to Aloe Ridge is R15 per trip, and the Pietermaritzburg CBD is utilised as the hub due to its dominant economic output as it houses the sector departments and municipal offices. A beneficiary of this social housing project spends an average of R600 on transport fares to commute to town on a monthly basis. If a second taxi is required to access a secondary node then the cost is higher. The cost is also higher if more than one household member is travelling on a daily basis.

There are two taxi routes commonly used to service Aloe Ridge's social housing. The first route starts from the neighbouring Ambleton township using the R56/Richmond Road, and the Aloe Ridge beneficiaries are collected enroute to the Pietermaritzburg CBD. The second taxi route begins at the gates of the Aloe Ridge social housing project, and these services are predominately available on working days in the morning. They collect the Aloe Ridge residents and those residing in Slangspruit township. The taxis use White Road to access Skhumbuzo Ngwenya Road through the suburbs of Grange and Pelham, then travel via Colleague Road to access the CBD.

The existence of tuckshops within close proximity to the social housing project can be construed as adequate access to commercial facilities. Observations by the researcher indicate that the tuckshops/corner shops only supply perishable goods and the variety of products on offer is limited. The businesses are small scale, and mostly operated in conjunction with a dwelling as a mechanism to supplement the household's income. The limited products on offer compel beneficiaries to travel to commercial nodes in search of variety, quality, and affordable products.

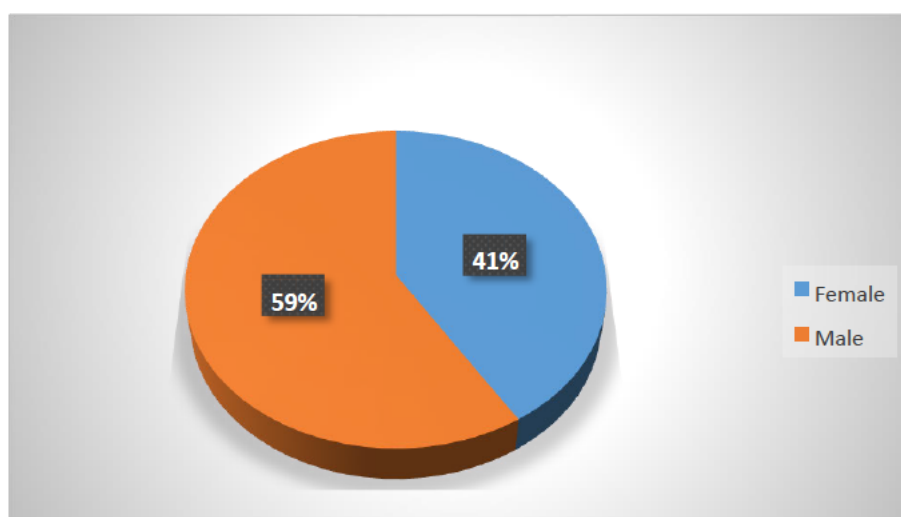
6.5 Data from the Survey

The socio-economic variables of the population segment being investigated are critical in understanding the success of the Social Housing Programme. They provide valuable insight into the direction of the policy's implementation and shine a light on what needs to be done to rectify/improve the viability of the programme.

6.5.1 Gender distribution in the Aloe Ridge social housing project

The population in Aloe Ridge is dominated by males, at 59 per cent, while the female gender accounts for 41 per cent of the population. This outcome is closely associated with the nature of social housing; it is intended for short-term accommodation and also services people relocating from other regions.

Graph 6.1: Gender distribution



Source: Researcher (2023)

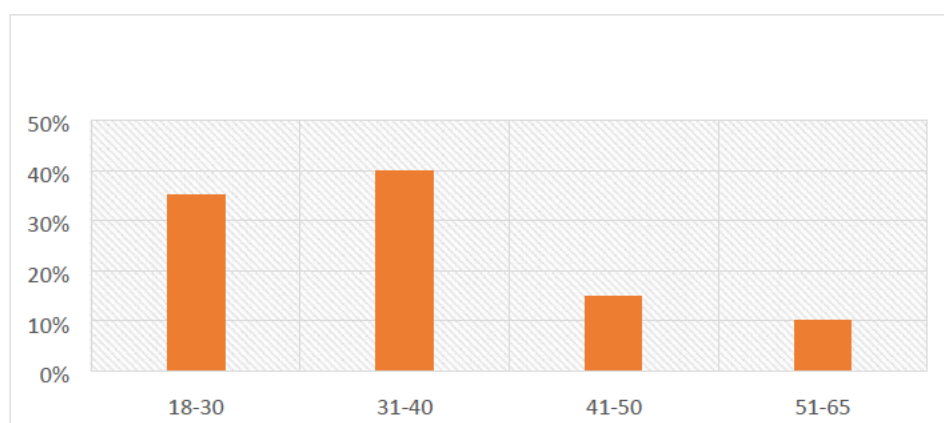
Males are mostly associated with working remotely while providing for their families located in rural areas. The percentage distribution is slightly skewed compared to the overall gender

distribution in the municipality. This gender distribution is additionally closely linked to inter-regional migration, and men dominate this category due to the push factors that influence their movement patterns in the search for employment opportunities. It is further associated with the urbanisation trends experienced by South African cities and Pietermaritzburg, as a regional centre, has become an attractive destination for employment seekers and those searching for quality public amenities.

6.5.2 Age representation

The age graph presents the typical age distribution of a social housing facility as these housing facilities are intended to accommodate working individuals. The population is dominated by the middle-aged group between 31-40 years of age, and this is followed by the working youth between the ages of 18-30 years. The population of the Aloe Ridge social housing project largely represents the working age group in the country who are flexible and willing to reside in non-traditional dwellings. This also correlates with the eligibility requirement of the Social Housing Programme. Furthermore, the programme is afforded to those individuals who are employed and over 18 years old.

Graph 6.2: Age representation

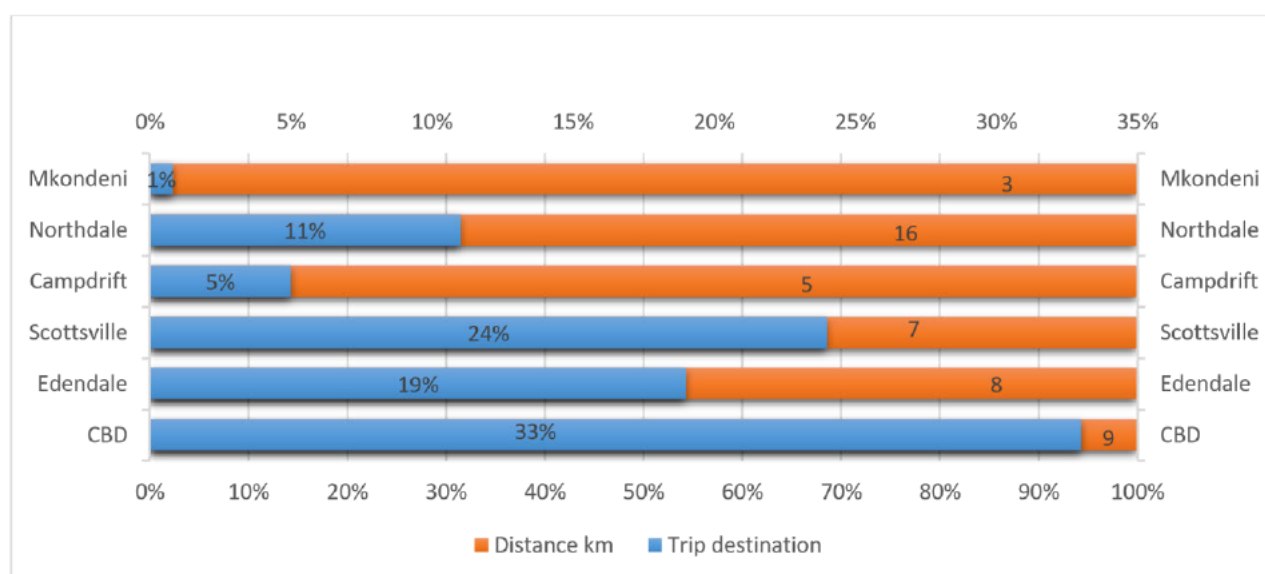


Source: Researcher (2023)

6.5.3 Travel destination and distance travelled

The trips undertaken by the respondents indicated that the main destinations were the Pietermaritzburg CBD, Edendale and Scottsville respectively. Considered as the larger nodes within the municipality, they represent access to both social facilities and economic opportunities for the municipal residents. The respondents indicated that the major reason for travelling to those particular destinations was access to employment.

Graph 6.3: Travel destination and distance travelled



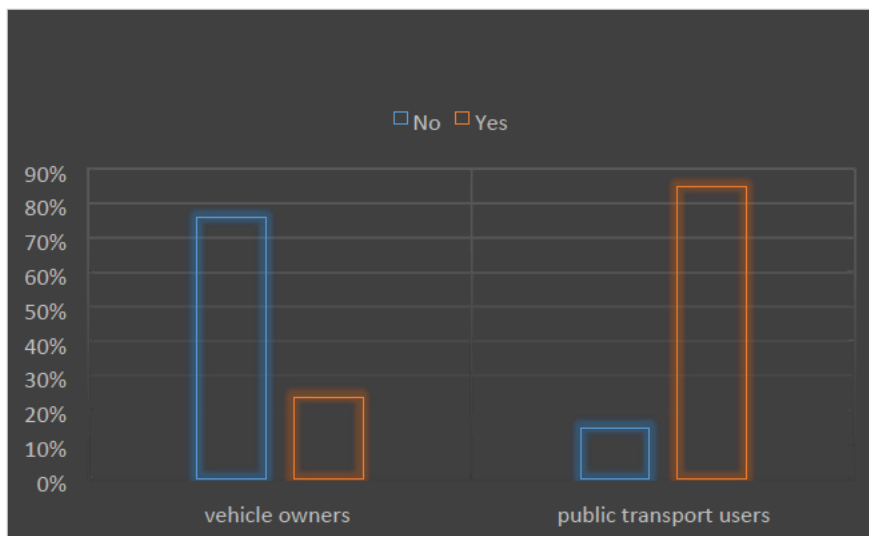
Source: Researcher (2023)

The extra distances that the social housing beneficiaries have to travel to access economic nodes symbolises a disjuncture between the social housing regulations and policy implementation realities because they are from the low-income group and cannot afford this. This policy gap indicates minimal adherence to inclusive urban principles which advance the need to locate the low-income population in suitable environments that reinforce and promote their social mobility. The limited consideration of the spatial proximity of the social housing project to the major economic nodes has a potential impact on the beneficiaries' access to amenities. The social housing location also provides minimal contribution to the efforts by spatial transformation to address the Apartheid spatial policies' injustices. The lack of observation of the social housing guidelines pertaining to the spatial restructuring mandate of the Social Housing Programme thus leads to compromising of the standards enshrined in the social housing guidelines.

6.5.4 Transportation choice

The vehicle ownership data from the beneficiaries revealed an income band of R3,500 to R15,000 and most of the individuals in this band cannot afford to own private vehicles. Data indicates that 76 per cent of the beneficiaries do not own private vehicles and 85 per cent of them depend on public transport to commute to work or to social activities. The data indicated that the availability of reliable and affordable public transport is vital to the livelihoods of the beneficiaries. Furthermore, close proximity to socio-economic activities and opportunities is paramount to minimise the costs associated with using public transport.

Graph 6.4: Mode of transportation



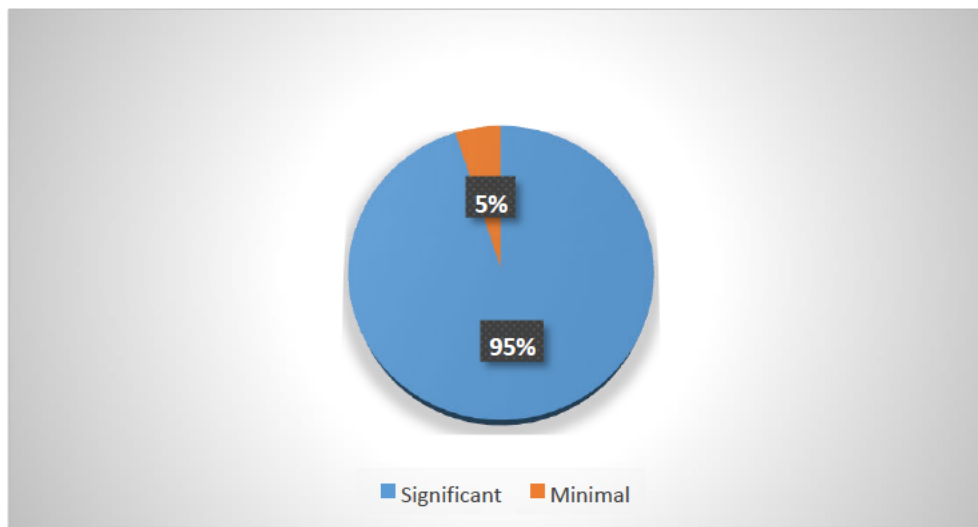
Source: Researcher (2023)

The Smart Growth Theory notes that a vibrant and inclusive urban centre must be underpinned by an efficient public transport system. The high degree of public transport utilisation by the beneficiaries seems to support the application of the Smart Growth Theory; however, the limited choice in the variety of public transportation and the cost associated with the distances travelled places a heavy burden on the social housing beneficiaries' livelihoods. The efficient operation of the social housing project will require supplementation of the existing public transportation (taxis) with other forms to ensure flexibility in the transport choices and affordability for the users.

6.5.5 Importance of social housing to the beneficiaries

The data acquired outlined that 95 per cent of the respondents highlighted that the benefits of the Aloe Ridge social housing project have improved their housing conditions significantly. These benefits are likely associated with the reduced rental cost of this social housing since social housing regulations have set rental costs below the usual market value. The spatial benefits are limited as there are minimal socio-economic facilities within the vicinity of the project site. The beneficiaries only have a tuck shop accessible to them within walking distance, while other convenience stores and restaurants are at least 3 km away, and this equates to a walking distance of more than 30 minutes. This assessment signifies that beneficiaries depend on public or private transport to access the basic facilities.

Graph 6.5: Importance of social housing to the beneficiaries



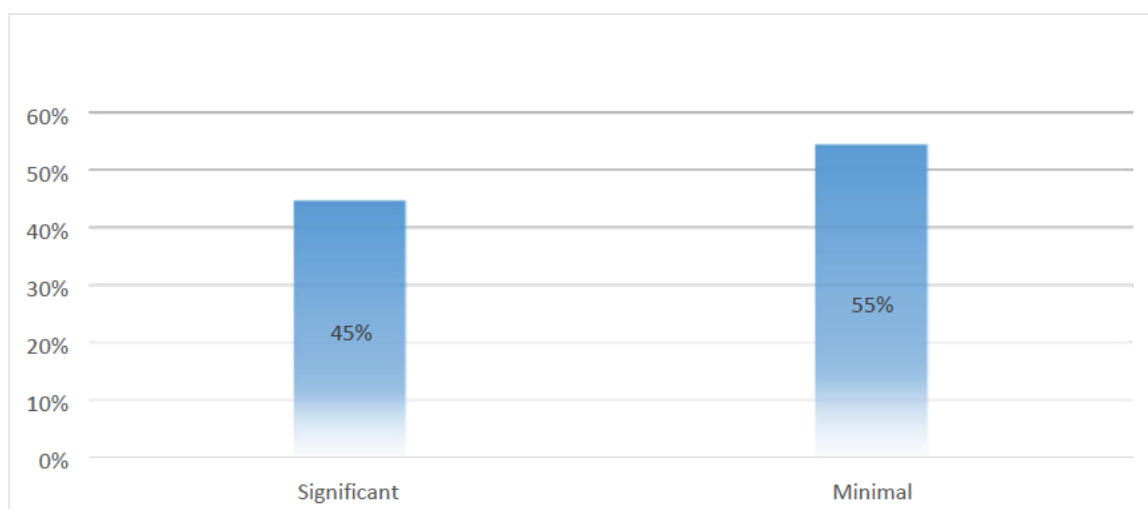
Source: Researcher (2023)

The importance of social housing demonstrated by the respondents has a familiar resemblance the Right to the City approach. The need for social housing by low-income urban inhabitants is significant, and this quest for affordable accommodation signifies the role of the government in advancing social and spatial justice. The Right to the City advocates for the low-income and marginalised groups of society, and social housing does contribute towards making a city inclusive. The Aloe Ridge project is significant in its provision of affordable accommodation as this intertwines with the principles of the Right to the City. However, its efforts to provide spatial justice have been limited by the project's location as it limits the beneficiaries' access to the economic opportunities and social amenities located within the established nodes nearby. By limiting its spatial effect, the project further imposes a financial burden on the beneficiaries in terms of the travelling costs incurred in order to access the nodes of commerce.

6.5.6 Access to opportunities

Social housing is supposed to foster social, economic, and spatial integration. Assessing the economic integration, 55 per cent of the respondents indicated that the Aloe Ridge project offers minimal access to economic opportunities due to its distance from the major economic and industrial nodes. The distance requires these beneficiaries to spend a significant amount on public transport fares, as these individuals only earn an average minimum of R3500 monthly.

Graph 6.6: Access to economic opportunities



Source: Researcher (2023)

The impact of the locations of the amenities that serve the social housing project are critical in maintaining the quality of the lives of the beneficiaries. Socio-economic integration is a major objective of the Social Housing Programme and the limited availability and access to economic opportunities in close proximity to the project minimises the influence that the programme has towards providing economic freedom for this low-income group. Dictated by the market forces observed by the Location Theory, the peripheral location of the social housing project has made it possible to deliver a mega project capable of accommodating a significant number of beneficiaries by sacrificing access to other vital services and opportunities. The cost of acquiring 18 hectares of land within close proximity of the urban centre was too immense for the government's limited resources in the face of the increasing housing gap.

6.6 Key Informants' Interview: Understanding Spatial Restructuring within the Context of Social Housing

The municipality recognises the importance of managing the growing population and the footprint of the municipal built environment. The spatial development strategy has thus categorised the management of the urban form into three zones: the urban core, the maintenance and transformation zone, and the incremental zone. This has been done in order to manage the densification and provide the services required.

The Aloe Ridge social housing project is located outside the urban core zone that supports high densities in line with compact development concepts. Though it is located in close proximity to the buffer provided by the inner core management zone, the categorisation of the area/zone indicates

that the promotion of high intensity activities around the social housing project will continue to be minimal.

6.6.1 Inclusive urban development

The recognition of the responsibility that the local authority has to promote and facilitate an inclusive society is monumental in the pursuit of equal opportunities for every citizen. That responsibility was acknowledged by the municipal official, however, the challenge has always been the implementation of an integrated and coordinated approach and investment in resources.

Furthermore, the lack of an overall municipal approach to achieve inclusion has left each municipal section to focus on individual priorities that are, at times, contradictory. The current municipal policy framework does provide a vision of what inclusive growth might resemble in the future, but like all under-resourced municipalities, there is inefficient commitment to the implementation plan and monitoring of the projects implemented against the strategic objectives is non-existent.

6.6.2 Municipal role in social housing and spatial planning

The municipality, together with the social housing institutions, bears the responsibility of identifying potential social housing sites that are fully compliant with the municipal regulations and social housing guidelines. The municipality fulfils this role by searching proactively for suitable land upon which to accommodate social housing opportunities.

The municipal spatial development plans do outline the priority corridors earmarked for densification and intensification. These corridors are located along the major transport routes that connect the different nodes around Pietermaritzburg city. Although the Aloe Ridge social housing site is located along one of the gateways to the city, its area lacks pull factors to facilitate the agglomeration of activities required for full spatial integration.

6.6.3 Aloe Ridge project's compliance process

The land assembly process assessed the profitability of the project in terms of its projected capacity and the corresponding site size required. The proposed magnitude of the project ruled out small, fragmented portions of land within the CBD due to their limited carrying capacity. The limiting factor for other possible properties was their private ownership and the tediousness of the land acquisition process. In addition, the cost of purchasing the private land was projected as significant. The selection of the Aloe Ridge site was based on its size, the fact that it was municipal owned land, and the absence of any environmental sensitivities that might have precluded the construction of a mega social housing project.

The compliance procedures followed by the municipality in terms of acquiring the development rights were carried out in accordance with the legislated planning framework. A development application was initiated by the municipality to rezone the site from an active public open space to a general residential zone. The public participation was conducted in order to test the level of resistance to the development from the community and interested stakeholders. The development application was considered in relation to the intentions of the municipal IDP, however, the spatial analysis of the possible ramifications of the project was minimal. The concern was thus on the provision of affordable housing through a social housing project and the spatial transformation impact of this social housing project did not receive adequate attention.

The realisation of the spatial improvement of the urban system was never the main objective, hence the utilisation of this large site on the outskirts of the urban centre. The integration of the existing public transport system to support the development was not considered, nor were any resources directed towards improving the transportation system available to the beneficiaries. Further to that, limited attention was directed towards the provision of supplementary public/social amenities such as low-order commercial activities, preschools, primary and tertiary education facilities, and municipal services.

6.6.4 Linkage between the restructuring zone and municipal policies

The local authority noted that a link exists between the housing sector plans and the spatial plans. The Housing Sector Plan was adopted by the municipal council in 2020, and the Spatial Development Framework was approved in 2020. The SDF does provide a breakdown of the various housing typology demands of the current population and the projected growth over the next five years. However, the SDF provides no reference to the existence of the approved restructuring zone and the importance it has in facilitating urban integration through housing and infrastructure projects. Furthermore, the location of the proposed social housing project does not align with the densification guidelines of the SDF.

The disjuncture identified between these strategic municipal policies has hindered the municipality's drive towards an inclusive city with the continued utilisation of peripheral land for social housing projects, due the land being affordable or already owned by the municipality. Such an approach addresses the short-term goal of affordable housing but compromises the long-term social mobility goal of the Social Housing Programme to ensure that the urban centre's spatial form supports the livelihoods of its citizens. The existing strategic policies thus do not fully reinforce the principles of the New Urban Agenda and the drive toward compact development.

There seems to be confusion between the Town Planning unit and the Human Settlements unit about who is responsible for overseeing and monitoring the implementation of the restructuring zone's objectives. The existence of minimal coordination between these two critical units in matters of housing and planning has diminished the role and recognition of the restructuring in all municipal policy documents. Urban governance matters have been at the forefront of the Inclusive Cities approach and have additionally been linked to the Right to the City. Clearly defined roles and responsibilities of the local governance in matters of spatial transformation and housing provision are therefore critical. The inefficiencies in the administration of the adopted municipal restructuring zone have hampered the support required to transform the urban spatial form successfully. This has led to the continued placement of the marginalised in locations that do not offer them socio-economic emancipation.

6.6.5 Land assembly process for social housing

The Msunduzi Local Municipality officials noted that the land assembly process for the housing project was executed by the Human Settlements unit, and the Town Planning unit only advised about the potential suitability of the portions of land that were identified. It was noted that the land portions owned by the municipality were the first priority because they minimised the land acquisition costs and limited the administration that would be required to deal with privately owned properties. When looking for sizeable tracts of municipal owned land, it is evident that the large portions are mostly located on the outskirts of the urban centre. The policy for the disposal of municipal land has also complicated the land assembly process as land capable of accommodating social housing developments has been allowed to be sold or leased without consulting with the Human Settlements unit. The municipality has always been reluctant to acquire privately owned land due to the limited financial resources at its disposal, but the municipal officials noted that land owned by the government sectors and public enterprises can meet the demand for social housing projects. Unfortunately, the administrative process required for the deals to secure this land makes it difficult to secure the funding required.

The Location Theory alludes to market forces playing a role in the availability and accessibility of prime property locations. The concept is clearly visible when dealing with land assembly for public housing, as the government only has limited financial resources for land acquisition. The end result is housing projects that do not provide any assistance towards spatial transformation and partly fortify the old Apartheid planning doctrine. The municipal approach towards land assembly for

social housing also circumvents the social housing regulations which emphasise that socio-economic and spatial integration must be a priority of the programme.

The limited success in the assembly of land for social housing thus far highlights the need for a change in the approach to the Smart Growth Theory in terms of its advocacy for compact development and the application of technological analyses for the selection of potential sites to weigh up their spatial strengths and possible contribution towards the beneficiaries.

The precedent studies have shown that there are mechanisms that local governments can employ to maximise the utilisation of limited urban land. The utilisation of incentives such as density bonuses and relaxation of the scheme controls for public projects is critical for the development of small urban land portions. Such compromises are required if the municipality has ambitions to continue to implement the Social Housing Programme in the face of the limited suitability and availability of land capable of accommodating social housing while complying with the regulations and principles set out in the Social Housing Act.

6.7 Interaction with Neighbouring Township Residents - Focus Group Interview

Those interviewed indicated that they were not aware of the planning process which was conducted during the initial phase of the project. It is feasible that the methods utilised when seeking public participation and comment were not sufficient to reach all of the township residents due to the significant size of the surrounding townships. There seemed to be no opposition to the development of the social housing project. The consensus of the surrounding community members residing around the Aleo Ridge social housing project was that there was minimal interaction between the township residents and the beneficiaries. Within no complementary services implemented with the projects, the residents acknowledged that the project drained the existing limited resources available to the community.

There was a general agreement that the social housing project was beneficial to the municipal residents in terms of providing affordable rentals to struggling households. The community realised the significance of introducing more social housing projects, however, there were concerns about access to public transport for those without private vehicles and the distance to basic economic facilities. This interview outcome outlined the challenges that the community faced in terms of access to basic social amenities and the desire for closer spatial proximity to opportunities capable of improving the community's livelihoods.

6.8 Chapter Summary

The data collected outlined the views of the social housing project held by the beneficiaries residing in the social housing units, the surrounding community, and the government officials responsible for planning the development. The benefit of the project in terms of improving social integration by accommodating different racial and income groups was outstanding and significant. However, when it came to economic and spatial integration, the project's location was not ideal. The location did not meet the requirements for efficient integration and alignment with the municipal development plans as the beneficiaries did not have easy access to the surrounding major social facilities and centres of employment. Instead, beneficiaries had to travel long distances at great expense to access them.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

The study set out to assess the Social Housing Policy's implementation, and utilised the established social housing guidelines, norms, and standards to measure the social housing project's outcome in its endeavour to achieve socio-economic integration and spatial restructuring. The study further sought to devise suitable and applicable solutions to the challenges identified as hindrances to the successful utilisation of social housing capabilities in support spatial restructuring. It also outlined proposals to harness the potential opportunities to improve the living conditions of the adjacent communities.

7.1 Overview of the Research Findings

The research set out to evaluate the outcomes of the social housing project implemented to support spatial restructuring within an urban fabric. The project was guided by restructuring zones and spatial plans to influence the population dynamics and improve the socio-economic conditions and livelihoods of the urban citizens. The impact that social housing has had on the provision of adequate and affordable rental housing to low-income households desperate for space within urban centres cannot be denied or ignored. There is continued neglect of the marginalised and disadvantaged due to the limited resources committed to social upliftment programmes and the impact of globalisation and the commodification of land, and by extension housing, due to the influence of neo-liberal policy directions. Social housing provides a platform or ladder for improvement to overcome this great injustice of socio-economic exclusion.

This research tested the viability of social housing as a means to meet the standards for improved spatial integration and its role in combating spatial exclusion. The social housing policy and guidelines stipulate that social housing projects must be located within approved restructuring zones. However, the findings unveiled a persistent lack of understanding of the need for this, a lack of coordination with the implementation of restructuring zones, and a lack of understanding of the vital relationship between social housing and municipal spatial plans. This non-alignment with the social housing policy was evident by the lack of reference to the approved restructuring zone within the existing spatial plans for the municipality. Such poor coordination further exacerbated the misalignment of the infrastructure investments critical for supporting such housing projects and for the overall focus on spatial restructuring. It detracted from the integrated planning process and its implementation, as these require a clear understanding of all strategic spatial nodes and the objectives derived from the municipality's strategic plans.

There is a lack of understanding of the ingredients of spatial restructuring and of the various forms it could take, and most importantly of how spatial integration is supposed to be measured. Without understanding the concept being promoted and how to gauge the performance of the critical stakeholders, it would be impossible for any success to be realised. Land availability dictated the envisioned project's scope and limitations. Readily available suitable land is a rare commodity and there are competing interests from the government and private developers. The desire to develop compact urban settlements through infilling and densification has influenced the constant increase of the land prices within the urban core and compelled the government to search for housing land on the periphery of cities.

There is a need to utilise a different lens when assessing social housing in comparison to mass public housing. The current approaches rely heavily on cost containment, without understanding the long-term decisions and goals regarding spatial transformation. It is critical that land assembly costs be recognised and accounted for when calculating projects' costs and the social housing subsidy scheme must address the cost shortfalls.

7.2 Recommendations

The study assessed the progression of the Social Housing Policy's implementation and concentrated on the matters concerning land assembly and spatial restructuring. The analysis conducted uncovered a propensity to relax the social housing guidelines when dealing with mega projects, and this hampers the efforts to achieve true spatial transformation. The gaps identified within the existing Social Housing Policy framework and the implications of these gaps have necessitated the need to articulate possible mechanisms, projects and approaches that can be introduced to improve the way in which the Social Housing Programme is currently being implemented.

7.2.1 Inclusionary housing policy

The municipality is facing a shortage of suitable land that is readily available (owned by it) and can be utilised for the development of social housing projects. The municipality can thus institute an inclusionary housing policy to negate the need for a public land supply. This inclusionary housing policy can mandate private developers to provide a certain percentage of their housing developments for social housing for the low-income group. The developers and the municipality will have to agree upon concessions regarding the property rates, services, and the enforcement of the policy regulations. Multiple metropolitan municipalities (City of Joburg and Cape Town) in the country have already developed guidelines for this approach, and the implementation process will harness the positive outcomes of the approach through inclusive housing projects. The policy

implementation process must be tailored to suit smaller municipality and secondary town conditions where smaller scale developments might be prevalent in comparison to the size of the developments in the larger municipalities.

Jacobus (2015, Lawson and Ruonavaara (2020) and Andoni (2018) regard inclusionary housing as having the potential to address the problems associated with land assembly for social housing. The inclusionary nature of this form of social housing allows for progressive spatial location of the housing projects. The policy must also seek to place the low-income population along strategic corridors or within vibrant nodes of development where access to resources can be maximised. The factors articulated align and support the right to the city principles and the spatial inclusion. Inclusionary housing has the capacity to advance the principles of spatial restructuring outlined by the Social Housing Policy (RSA, 2003) and the drive towards efficient spatial urban forms.

7.2.2 Strengthen and build a coherent policy framework.

The urban policies pertaining to land administration, spatial planning and housing provision must be reviewed and aligned, as this is vital to combat the exclusionary forces within urban centres. These urban policies, once properly aligned and linked by a shared vision for the cities in the country, will form the foundation to combat the urban housing inefficiencies. The limited availability of social amenities for Aloe Ridge social housing beneficiaries indicate a disjuncture in the planning phase of the project and limited emphasis on secondary services critical to the creation of sustainable neighbourhoods.

Social housing provision is more than just providing rental units to tenants. Miron and Formoso (2010), Scheba and Turok (2021) and Gardner (2017) have observed the need for coordinated efforts to actualise the supplementary services, opportunities, and infrastructure necessary to make the projects sustainable. An integrated implementation framework must be designed that makes all service departments responsible for the end product. The requirements and responsibilities must be detailed methodically to ensure communication between and accountability by all service departments. This initiative will reduce the occurrence of unfunded mandates/projects being imposed on the municipality due to the sector departments' lack of commitment to the projects' outcomes, as has been observed with the Aloe Ridge social housing project.

The improvements on the existing legislative framework that guides, and direct social housing programme does respond to the research's objective on evaluating the existing legislative and policy framework and policy implementation gap identified by the research findings. The research notes

the importance of coherent and effective policy frameworks to address the challenges of spatial restructuring through social housing. The foundation of quality social housing project is a progressive and clearly outlined guidelines for the programme.

7.2.3 Redesign the restructuring guidelines and the existing restructuring zones

There are multiple indications of gaps within the existing social housing regulations and within the norms and standards on spatial restructuring. These have resulted in social housing projects, including the Aloe Ridge project, being developed that have had a minimal impact on the realignment of the structure of the surrounding urban settlements. The existing Msunduzi restructuring zones misalignment and limited recognition by adopted spatial plans provide evidence on the dire need to reassess the development of restructuring zones that perform a meaningful role in the improvement of urban systems.

A policy review is warranted to supplement the existing guidelines, and the reviewed policy must define spatial restructuring more clearly and provide the measurable indicators necessary to assess whether or not a project has fostered a spatially efficient and inclusive urban centre. The limitation of the existing guidelines is that they rely heavily on the local spatial development plan to guide the social housing locations and evidence has indicated that the local spatial plans are flawed in their identification of priority areas for development.

DPME (2016), SHRA (2020) and HDA (2017) social housing programme performance analysis have identified the need to review the existing restructuring zones that have been identified. The locations of these restructuring zones must be reviewed for better alignment with the spatial development framework and the urban development framework. The current articulation of a number of restructuring zones situated in non-priority residential neighbourhoods and nodes will have limited capacity as developments in these areas will continues to stretch the resources available that could otherwise be directed towards prioritised areas identified by the recently reviewed spatial plans.

The recommendation seeks to clearly define the role of key stakeholders responsible for the restructuring zones identification process and the mechanisms required to implement such guidelines. This will ensure that the implementation of social housing projects is a true reflection of the mission envisaged by the Social Housing Policy (RSA, 2003) to support functional urban forms that are cognisant to the needs to all urban communities.

7.2.4 Enabling development through land assembly or land taxation

The McKinsey Global Institute (2014b) cautions that it is extremely difficult to overcome the problems caused by the development of housing in the wrong location. A land assembly framework is required to enhance the identification, coordination management, and release of the land available for social housing. The limited availability of suitable urban land within Msunduzi municipality, incoherent land disposal approach and inefficient land register system has intensified the challenges of land assembly for housing development. The municipal land register must be updated as this is vital in this endeavour. This updated register must be shared with the municipal housing and planning units to ensure long-term planning coordination and comprehension of the land resources available.

The municipal land assembly process is hampered by property owners who hold onto land for speculative purposes. Scheba et al. (2021) and Myeni et al. (2020) note that land that remains idle within identified priority areas limits the municipal efforts to support and provide inclusive and efficient urban centres. A taxation policy should be introduced to deter land speculation and the existence of dilapidated buildings. This tax regulatory policy can be used to stimulate development on suitable vacant land. This can include property tax exemptions for new housing developments, and penalties in the form of idle-land taxes for property owners who choose not to sell their land.

Government departments and state-owned entities are also benefactors of large tracts of land in and around cities and their property portfolios consist of dilapidated and unutilised buildings and undeveloped land. These departments and state-owned entities are reluctant to cooperate with the municipalities by sharing information on the land at their disposal and this reduces the ability of the municipalities to source suitable and affordable land for housing. There is therefore a need to adjust the inter-governmental guidelines on land disposal and make the municipalities the first priority when the government departments and state-owned entities initiate the disposal and sale of their properties.

7.2.5 Improving urban land-use rules and using inclusionary planning.

Urban planning can be a great facilitator of development or block developers with great intentions for the city. Promoting higher densities and mixed-use developments is seen as a catalyst for progressive development. Land use schemes must be progressive in order to support inclusionary planning. They can become more progressive by increasing floor area ratios, height restrictions, the number of units permitted per hectare, and coverages, while reducing the applicable building lines

and parking requirements along areas with infrastructure capable of accommodating high density development. Calavita and Mallach (2010) presented a working approach for land use rules adjustment with the Barcelona, “La Marina” social housing project.

Msunduzi Municipality lacks vacant land within the core urban centers and land use scheme regulations limits the potential of available to accommodate high density residential developments due to parking regulations and coverage limitations imposed. With more relaxed development controls, developers can utilise more of the space in each square meter of land and provide more housing to cater for the demand. Promoting such developments has a cascading effect as it creates housing opportunities for all income groups in suitable locations. Such relaxation of controls can facilitate the development of smaller land portions located in the urban centres that the municipality has been hesitant to utilise for social housing provision. Such concessions are critical in dissuading the development of social housing in peripheral locations like Aloe Ridge and limiting negative impacts on the adopted spatial restructuring zones that are adopted.

7.2.6 Redesign of the social housing subsidy

The current social housing subsidy does not cater for the acquisition of privately owned portions of land, thus limiting local governments’ efforts to locate social housing in the best possible localities. The shift to peripheral locations was made to counter the escalating costs for housing development within the urban centres. The introduction of a subsidy mechanism to assist municipalities to acquire prime land to facilitate spatial restructuring will be beneficial as it will respond to some of the shortcomings of the Social Housing Programme. The powers and resources conferred to the Housing Development Agency to assist municipalities with land acquisition matters do not seem to be closing the gap between the demand for housing and the supply of suitable land.

Gardner (2017) and HDA (2020) observed that land acquisition subsidy must be introduced with complementary regulations about the suitable land that must be assembled through this mechanism. This subsidy mechanism must be linked to the updated restructuring zone guidelines to offer synergy and alignment during implementation. This will help to negate the misappropriation of the funds for projects that do not support spatial restructuring efforts. The proposed mechanism has the potential to limit the market value of the land as it is the only true determinant that inhibits the social housing projects. The long-term effect will be the reduction of social housing projects similar to Aloe Ridge being situated on the outskirts of urban centres in an effort to minimise the land acquisition costs.

7.3 Chapter Summary

Rydin (2013) observes that the desire to confront the urban order status quo and introduce a more inclusive approach does not cease. It does, however, fluctuate over time as it is influenced by the realisation of an injustice; the belief that it can be addressed; the willingness to do what it takes to right the injustice; and when the technical and human ability to achieve it comes together. The South African government has acknowledged the need to play an active role in the provision of housing to counter the lingering effects of Apartheid's segregation policies. While the policies adopted for housing provision and the resources committed symbolise the government's willingness and desire to change the status quo, it is evident that effective policy implementation continues to lag behind, prolonging the suffering of the low-income communities residing in inadequate housing and unsustainable urban settlements.

The results indicate that the attempt to provide mass numbers of rental units has been accompanied by a systemic shift to mega projects in major cities, aimed at expediting the rate of rental units' provision to the masses. This has resulted in the short-term success of the Social Housing Programme and a political win for the state. However, when such projects are located on the periphery of city centres, it removes the benefits of a convenient location for the beneficiaries and thus limits the advantages that social housing is supposed to impart to communities. While the sacrifices made to locate and provide housing units on the outskirts of city centres has allowed local governments to increase the number of housing units provided, it has minimised the effects of spatial restructuring and diminished the impact of the Social Housing Programme in reversing the spatial legacy of the Apartheid state. However Fortunately, there is space for improvement and policy implementation is a continuous cycle that requires inwards and outwards reflection to keep up with the ongoing socio-economic challenges highlighted by inefficient urban form encountered by communities.

The implementation of the spatial inclusion through right of the city and smart growth theory indicates the importance of urban form that is inclusive and support the low-income communities in social mobility. The research unveils the importance of land assembly as a tool to improve the socio-economic conditions of the marginalised communities by tapping into the benefits of social housing programme. To realise the full benefits of social housing, a review of the social housing guidelines and the subsidy provisions is warranted to ensure that future social housing projects provide beneficiaries with unrestricted access to socio-economic opportunities necessary to sustain their livelihoods. Lastly, Social housing still is a potent tool to wield in a struggle to promote inclusive urban settlements and redress the past spatial and socio-economic injustices.

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Appendix 1: Social housing beneficiaries' questionnaire

1. Age

| | | |
|-------|-------|-------|
| 18-32 | 33-50 | 51-65 |
|-------|-------|-------|

2. Race

| | | | | |
|---------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
| African | Coloured | Asian | White | other |
|---------|----------|-------|-------|-------|

3. Staying alone or with family

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

Specify how many.....

4. Origin

| | | |
|------------------|------------|-----------------|
| Pietermaritzburg | Within KZN | Other provinces |
|------------------|------------|-----------------|

5. Employment

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

6. Where do you work?

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| CBD | Scottsville | Edendale | Liberty Mall | Mkondeni |
|-----|-------------|----------|--------------|----------|

Specify.....

7. Is there reliable public transport in the area?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

8. Are there enough social facilities (educational, police service& health)?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

9. Are there any employment opportunities in close proximity of the Aloe Ridge?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

10. Is Aloe Ridge location convenient in meeting your daily needs?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

11. Do you consider the distance to the CBD to be a challenge in accessing service and economic opportunities?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

12. What are the benefits of residing in Aloe Ridge social housing?

.....

.....

13. Do you interact with the surrounding neighbourhood residents?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

If no, please explain

.....

14. Would you support other social housing projects in the surrounding area?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

15. Do you think social housing plays an important role in addressing the housing shortage or other forms of public housing should be prioritised?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

16. If provided an opportunity would you relocated to a house/property closer to the CBD?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

17. Has the municipality done enough to improve the life of the beneficiaries within Aloe Ridge?

| | |
|-----|----|
| Yes | No |
|-----|----|

Please explain.

.....

.....

Appendix 2: Municipal officials' questionnaire

1. What is the role of the municipality in developing social housing projects?
2. Which municipal policies are considered when undertaking social housing projects?
3. What is required to execute the municipality's responsibility in social housing projects?
4. Does intergovernmental cooperation play a role in successfully implementing social housing projects?
5. What challenges are encountered during land assembly land for social housing?
6. To what extent do you consider spatial plans guidelines to evaluate suitable land for social housing?
7. Do spatial planning guidelines hinder the implementation process of social housing projects?
8. Do the municipality have a coordinate plan for the identified restructuring zone?
9. Do you think the aloe ridge social housing have achieved the intended objectives in terms of the social housing policy?

Appendix 3: Capital City Housing Association's questionnaire

1. What was the role of Capital City Housing in selecting Aloe Ridge Social Housing site?
2. What were the challenges encountered during the planning phase of the project?
3. What mitigation measure were implemented once the above mentioned challenges were identified?
4. What challenges were encountered post construction?
5. Are there enough social amenities to service the Aloe Ridge beneficiaries?
6. Are there sufficient commercial activities to service the beneficiaries?
7. What socio-economic benefits have been achieved through the project?
8. Are there any social housing projects planned for the future by the institution?
9. what are the benefits of large scale social development projects
10. what are the challenges to developing social housing within the CBD?

Appendix 4: Focus group discussion

1. Was there any public consultation done by the project managers during the implementation of Aloe Ridge Social Housing Project?
2. Do you think the introduction of the social housing has improve the value of the residential neighbourhood around the project site?
3. Are they any benefits being experienced by the surrounding neighbourhood that can be attributed to the project?
4. Did the implementation of the project lead to any capacity constraints on the existing social facilities?
5. Has there been any disturbance to the provision of basics services (water, electricity and sewage) since the implantation of the project?
6. Do you frequently interact with the beneficiaries residing within the social housing units?
7. Do you think the land used in construction of the project could have been better utilised for other public needs?
8. Do you think social housing plays an important role in addressing the housing shortage or other forms of public housing should be prioritised?
9. Do you consider the distance to the CBD to be a challenge in accessing services and economic opportunities?
10. If provided an opportunity would you relocated to a house/property closer to the CBD?
11. Has the municipality done enough to improve the social facilities and economic opportunities in the area?
12. What can be done to address some of the observed challenges?