



Evaluating interventions by the Department of Human Settlements to facilitate access to the city for the poor

(REF: VA 50/259)

Summary Report

30 November 2018

National Evaluation Plan Report



**planning, monitoring
and evaluation**

Department:
Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



human settlements

Department:
Human Settlements
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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How to cite this report: DPME/DHS (2018) "Evaluating interventions by the Department of Human Settlements to facilitate access to the city for the poor", Pretoria: Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation/Department of Human Settlements.

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GLOSSARY

ANC	African National Congress
B-BBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BNG	Breaking New Ground
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
CST	Colonialism of a Special Type
DA	Democratic Alliance
DHS	Department of Human Settlements
DOH	Department of Housing
DMSP	Disaster Mitigation for Sustainability Program
DPME	Department of Monitoring and Evaluation
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EU	European Union
FLISP	Finance Linked Individual Housing Subsidy Programme
GDHS	Gauteng Department of Human Settlements
HDD	Housing Demand Database
HSS	Housing Subsidy Scheme
IRDP	Integrated Residential Development Program
JAC	Joint Allocations Committee
NCP	National Council of Provinces
NHBRC	National Home Builders Registration Council
NHDD	National Housing Demand Database
NHFC	National Housing Finance Corporation
NIDS	The National Income Dynamics Study
NPC	National Planning Commission
NUA	New Urban Agenda
OHS	October Household Survey
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACP	South African Communist Party
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
TLC	Transitional Local Councils (or authorities)

UN United Nations
ZAR South African Rand – local currency

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Key Findings and Conclusions

1. *Pro-poor focus*: The national housing programme has evolved from a mandate to satisfy the basic needs of poor families migrating to the cities after a long history of enforced labour migration and restricted urbanisation for the majority of the population. It has a pro-poor focus.
2. *Scale of Delivery*: The South African pro-poor housing programme has provided over 3.5 million housing opportunities over the past 25 years, making it one of the largest state-led housing programme in the world.
3. *State led urbanisation*: One consequence of a scheme of this magnitude is that the state rather than the market or private capital has set the agenda for urbanisation since the end of apartheid.
4. *Citizenship*: Popular definitions of citizenship have also been decisively shaped by the state's housing programme. Citizenship has become associated with access to a serviced house.
5. *Suburban format*: In packaging housing for the poor, the state has generally adopted a suburban format. In other words, houses have been delivered as part of projects in which multiple units, often hundreds or even thousands of houses, are delivered on greenfield sites as fledgling "suburbs".
6. *BNG and delivery mechanisms*: In 2004, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy attempted to address this problem by trying to ensure that the state delivered "sustainable human settlement". But this was often easier said than done.
7. *Disjuncture between residence and employment*: there is disjuncture between places of economic agglomeration and residential concentration that has created barriers to urban access because of the relative absence of formal jobs in the places where the poor reside. This trend is compounded by low levels of economic growth in a labour-shedding economy.
8. *Re-urbanisation*: the report shows that new settlements created by the state often re-urbanised rapidly as they were exposed to secondary forms of urbanisation and informalisation.

9. *Backyard income*: Many housing beneficiaries, who were unable to reproduce themselves through formal sector jobs, turned to the backyard rental market as a source of additional income to survive.
10. *Social complexity and stratification*: South African cities, especially the larger ones, are developing communities which are increasingly dense, socially complex and internally stratified. Local perceptions of rights and entitlements can clash with those of the state as residents make their own distinctions between various categories of insiders and outsiders; foreigners and locals, settlers and residents, urbanites and migrants.
11. *Pathways and Ladders*: The report identifies common “pathways” along which families move as they develop their houses as assets. These pathways have been shaped by social and cultural factors as profoundly as they have been by local economic realities.
12. *Suburban Ideal*: the state and its planners struggle to find ways of domesticating suburban aspirations within a sustainable version of the “suburban ideal” (see Beauregard 2006), by combining housing and services with land, income and access to the city, undermines urban stability and development.
13. *Self-led urbanisation needs attention*: The report also notes that while the state has been driving pro-poor suburbanisation in the cities considerable self-led, concrete housing building has been undertaken in rural areas, where small towns and rural settlements have been transformed by new building technologies and approaches.
14. *The marginalisation of the poor* must be addressed politically in order to effect sustainable change. On a practical level, the have-nots need accessible, inexpensive and time.
15. *Incremental pro-poor housing approaches*: The process may take place in an in-situ context in which people have already occupied the land illegally and the area is then formalised and upgraded over time
16. *Small towns* might prove useful places to try new models and approaches to urban management and settlement delivery, particularly given the availability of land in these locations

Key Indicators

1. *Formalisation and upgrading*: The formalisation of housing structures through the conversion of corrugated iron houses into cement block homes, which was seen as a priority, as the popular contrast between shacks or “inadequate housing” and formal “proper houses” became increasingly politically ingrained.
2. *Holistic and integrated planning*: Improved quality of life, which is not just a matter of gaining access to better incomes, but also involves living in a healthy environment, accessing recreation facilities and education, health and transport services, and civic protection and law enforcement. Residents wanted to see massive improvements in these areas of state policy.
3. *Safety and Security and Gender Discrimination*: Issues of crime and gender inequality, which emerged as lightning rods of discontent in many places. Young men often felt that preference was being given to women in the allocation of houses and they complained about what they considered to be a strong gender bias in the housing allocation programme. Women, on the other hand, claimed bitterly of pervasive crime and youth criminality which they presented as a problem driven by young men. They asked for protection and stronger law enforcement.
4. *Land affordability*: A lack of affordable land, especially in Cape Town, but also in other cities. This was a significant contributory factor to land invasions, according to many respondents.
5. *Accountability and Inclusiveness*: A lack of information about local development. Residents complained they had to rely on hearsay and rumours, which fuelled perceptions of corruption and irregularities in the allocation of resources. They asked for better public information campaigns at the city- and settlement-level to foster civic participation.
6. *Participation and Choice*: A perceived lack of participation and choice in the housing development process. Residents claimed that while they were given the impression that they would be involved and be able to exercise choice, they were, in effect, marginalised in the development process.

Key Recommendations

1. *Managed self-led development:* The form of state housing delivery must move away from models that entrench ideas of housing as a “gift economy” and encourage greater joint ownership of the development process. The evidence shows that cement block houses are desired not only as forms of shelter, but also as expressions of citizenship. It has also been noted that, where the state does not build these houses at scale, such as in rural areas, people make their own arrangements to build them with local builders. Accordingly, the state should encourage carefully planned and managed self-led community development in cities. The Department of Human Settlements should re-engage with forms of housing delivery in cities to foster the involvement of individual families in building processes. This will create more sustainable and peaceful communities.
2. *Suburbanisation as a means of accessing the city:* The state needs to recognise that “accessing the city” in the conventional way, through formal sector employment, has become the exception rather than the rule in many places. The DHS should therefore adapt the way settlements are planned, imagined and developed to accommodate many more local income opportunities and strategies. Urban planners need to be more sensitive to this reality and better understand the complex, diverse forms of suburbanisation that are emerging in South Africa. Greater experimentation with new development models is required.
3. *The state must retain its presence post-settlement:* Greater community and household participation in establishing and building new urban suburbs must be encouraged to enhance local commitment to place-making which is an essential part of building stable urban settlements. The perceived withdrawal of the DHS from communities once the ribbons have been cut and the “gifts” have been delivered undermines the post-settlement role of the state and city authorities as stewards of urban place-making. Re-urbanisation is extremely common but is not a focus of policy development. The costs of this oversight were clearly seen in all the cities reviewed in this report.

4. *Integrated holistic development:* National housing policy should place greater focus on urban integration and city access than housing provision. The creation of new human settlements as residential islands remains a national problem. The balance of state investment in creating new suburbs has been skewed towards the construction of houses rather than facilitating the infrastructures necessary to greater urban integration.
5. *Need for better understanding of suburbanisation:* Research to support a more sophisticated understanding of the diverse processes of suburbanisation in South Africa should be conducted. Rather than merely evaluating the existing policy framework, such a study should appreciate the newness of the urbanisation process as experienced in particular localities in order to ground state policy more effectively.
6. *Improved understanding of pro-poor housing markets and effects:* The basic assumptions about how pro-poor housing markets evolve and develop need to be better understood, so that more appropriate strategies and products can be developed. On-site advice centres that attend to post-settlement issues, including the granting of title deeds, and secondary urbanisation issues such as the replanning of residential sites to accommodate tenants must be addressed. The impacts of mushrooming backyard shacks on densification and rental dynamics have to be addressed as a priority in policy rather than ignored.
7. *Sustainable communities and social reproduction:* More attention should be given to questions of social reproduction in order to create sustainable urban communities which are able to thrive. Suburban place-making as an ideal is most effective when people wish to live and die in the city. Too much attention has been paid to the issue of economic production in the city in isolation, without considering the impacts of cultural factors, such as double-rootedness, which can lead to the repatriation of urban wages and resources to the countryside at the expense of effective urban development in the places where people spend most of their lives. Deferring the dream of suburban living to another place (“my rural home”) or another time (“when I retire”) does not address the need for greater urban inclusion today.

8. *State regulations and municipal by-laws:* State regulation is essential to manage exploitation and stabilise communities. The state cannot assume that local politics and economics are disconnected and should approach engaging local communities from this point of view and be open to flexible solutions based on well-informed situational analysis. This report notes that vested interests in many urban communities seek to keep the state out of settlements. Landlords are often opposed to greater state intervention because they feel it will lead to increased taxes and service fees. The failure of the state and city officials to make their presence felt in these communities and enforce regulatory systems and proper urban management damages the interests of those who are already most vulnerable and subject to exploitation in these communities.
9. *Sustainable and incremental housing delivery:* The regulatory frameworks in many cities need to be reviewed in relation to the informal economy and the built environment. It is inappropriate to apply highly formalised and expensive building regulations, as it is to tolerate unsafe and exploitative local economic practices. The government should invest more in People's Housing Process programmes which enable households to realise their housing needs and aspirations in a sustainable way.
10. *Availability of reasonably priced rental housing:* The state needs to intervene in markets by offering reasonably priced rental units for the poor constructed on a vertical scale (which can address issues of densification). Additional land should be released to build new kinds of house which should differ in format and scale from those provided under the RDP scheme. Existing hostels need to be upgraded to accommodate the changing needs of the occupants and their families. The state should seek to control the informal rental markets emerging in re-urbanised RDP settlements by offering alternative rental products to undermine usurious landlordism and protect vital public spaces. Actions should be taken to integrate landlords as tax- and service-paying citizens.
11. *Inclusive coverage:* The DHS should work with the Department of Home Affairs and seek to ensure that legal immigrants in the settlements occupied by the poor and marginalised are protected against unfounded claims that they have an unfair advantage in the city. Action should be taken to include African

immigrants in community development forums and structures. There is also a need to address tensions between different ethnic communities in South Africa, such as has occurred in Mitchell's Plain and elsewhere in the Western Cape.

12. *Greater participation and Inclusiveness:* A more participatory and inclusive politics at the local level should be fostered to advance the cause of localised place-based development and rectify some of the more extreme injustices and inequalities in these suburban spaces.

13. *Emphasise stable, integrated and sustainable human settlements:* Notwithstanding the massive achievements of the DHS in providing shelter for the poor over the past 25 years, the housing policy framework should be revised to prioritise greater access to stable communities and economic opportunity in the city.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nigel Taylor (1998) noted that town planning was first viewed as a form of design - architecture writ large - rather than as a science. The shift from art to science came in the West in the 1960s, when town planning began to be understood as a rational system and process rather than a blueprint. The focus thus shifted to devising comprehensive plans and implementing policy as a process. Evidence-based decision-making based on the findings of social scientists and economists was now required to assess policy implementation. Thus, the Department of Human Settlements (DHS) in South Africa has commissioned studies into the evaluation of housing as an asset; the functioning of the housing market; the operational dynamics of housing lists and demand, and so on. The practice of science in policy generally occurs within the established assumptions of a policy framework. Accordingly, the assessments allow officials to tweak how the policies are working in practice and how they might be implemented more effectively. The aim of such studies is not to evaluate whether the policies themselves are appropriate or rational from the point of view of the people they serve. In this way, policy is validated through science, which reinforces the assumptions and paradigms that inform it. In this context, the theory of change model falls within a particular way of thinking about policy from inside the box.

However, in the case of this evaluation, which considers the role of state housing in advancing access to the city among the poor, there is no formal policy framework. Access to the city in and of itself has not been a primary policy goal to date. Moreover, access to the city can mean many different things, so it is difficult to know how exactly to measure it scientifically. In fact, the field of access to the city is theoretically defined and embedded in different conceptions of what cities are and how they work. Of course, none of means that there are no theories of access to the city embedded in state policy – there clearly are – but they are not explicitly stated. In this regard, one of the challenges in undertaking this study has been trying to establish the nature of the implicit assumptions about access to the city within state policy and how these may relate to different theories and approaches for accessing the city. This assessment of policy found that access to housing is considered to be a right against which individuals and communities can make claims from the state; but, in general,

the policy makes few promises to households beyond a commitment to recognise and respond to that right. Since housing policy was designed to redress historical legacies and provide services to individuals and families, it has been primarily concerned with servicing the basic needs of households seeking shelter, rather than providing these households with access to the city.

However, in a case won by Capetonian housing activist Irene Grootboom at the Constitutional Court in 2000, a claim was made against the state to provide second-tier socio-economic rights to families who had been gifted houses. The Constitutional Court concluded that the state was obliged to try and provide beneficiaries of its pro-poor housing policy with access to socio-economic opportunities to look after themselves in the city, offering such support in a progressive manner within the resources at its disposal, but that this was not the primary function of the policy, which was to provide decent shelter.

In the absence of a specific policy to test, this report has explored the question of access to the city from a theoretical and empirical point of view by focusing on the broad variety of experiences of life on the urban frontier. It explores how urbanisation and state-supported settlement formation have evolved in different cities and places in order to draw conclusions about how housing policy might be adjusted to play a more significant role in providing the poor with access the city. The assessment in this report is based largely on a literature review and does not involve extensive primary research beyond a few illustrative case studies conducted in Cape Town. The work constitutes a pilot study or preliminary evaluation of a complex topic and changing field. The report, which is written in a narrative style, offers a people-centred, anthropological approach to the topic, which is both theoretical and ethnographic in nature. The report is divided into three parts: an overview of theories of the city and the urbanisation frontier; an assessment with case studies of five South African cities (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Bloemfontein and East London); and an ethnographic exploration of the meaning and limitations of urban access in three poor communities in Cape Town.

The main objectives of this evaluation have been to:

1. Establish the extent to which national housing programmes and policies have facilitated access to the city.
2. Explore what constitutes access to the city.
3. Identify indicators that can be used to measure access to the city and determine an acceptable threshold of adequate access to the city.
4. Explore differentiated access to cities, secondary towns and rural areas, and the instruments that should be used for addressing such access.
5. Understand how the poor negotiate access to the city.
6. Unravel the theory of change that underlies the subsidised housing programme of the Department of Human Settlements (DHS) and assess the appropriateness and validity of this programme.
7. Make recommendations that contribute to improving human settlements policies and programmes and how these can improve poor people's access to the city.

1.1 Pro-poor housing delivery at scale

Housing policy has provided access to the city in a spatial sense by allowing poor people to occupy state-funded subsidised houses in relatively close proximity to, although not necessarily in, urban centres. If each house that is delivered bring five people closer to the city, the state programme has provided 15 million individuals with greater access to towns and cities. According to these numbers, the state has also been able to accommodate about 25% of the country's urban population in subsidised housing units, while at the same time providing services for many other families still living in informal settlements.

The primary models for housing delivery to the poor have changed little in South Africa since 1994, while the urbanisation process has become increasingly contested, complex and dynamic. Stability in the policy field and the prioritisation of the delivery of RDP housing nationwide have enable the DHS to post such results in terms of its delivery mandate. It is estimated that more than 3.5 million homes have been delivered to poor South Africans since 1994 at an average rate of more than 200 000 houses a

year. The eleven provincial housing departments, which submit annual plans and are granted large budgets for low-cost housing delivery each year, are assessed according to their ability to meet set targets. These targets are set in coordination with local municipalities and metros which submit requests for state funding for housing to the provinces which are scrutinised at the national level before any funding decision is made. Once the annual budgets for housing have been agreed, the expectation is that they will be spent. The success or failure of the provincial departments and the national department are thus measured in terms of the delivery statistics – the number of housing units that are rolled out – and their cost.

The capacity to deliver houses at the local level depends greatly on the quality of the systems and personnel within the housing units of individual municipalities. In small towns and rural areas, these units are under-capacitated and it can take longer for them to meet the bureaucratic requirements for the release of funding for housing. In this regard, a key function of the provincial department is to assist municipalities in preparing proper plans to source the available funding. The metros generally have more streamlined systems and dedicated personnel running the housing delivery supply chain. They require less support from provincial officials. The metros claim the bulk of the housing allocations in all provinces both because of the high levels of demand in these areas due to urbanisation and their relatively enhanced capacity to use the funds available for housing. Provincial departments support this trend since they are assessed on how effectively they distribute the funds at their disposal. In this regard, although the provincial department may seek to distribute funding more equitably among municipalities, such efforts are inhibited by the differential capacity among local authorities. Few houses have been delivered in rural areas and small towns, relative to large urban areas. The dominance of the delivery of RDP-style housing in a suburban format on greenfield sites on the edges of cities may be viewed as a function of the pressure on housing departments at every level to deliver a set number of units every year. Local authorities prefer this format over other more complex housing options for the poor because it can be delivered on scale. As a result, South Africa became the global leader in the production of pro-poor suburbia.

In 2003, a major effort was made to restructure housing delivery supply to make it more demand-driven. There was a recognition within the state that supply-side

dynamics, which had become increasingly centralised in their management, needed to be devolved to the local level more effectively. The Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy framework which was forged as a result increased the range of housing options open to poor (and gap market) families who qualified for subsidies. At the same time, the state insisted that all provincial departments showed that they were responding to demand effectively, rather than merely delivering houses where it was most convenient for them to do so. The other important development that came with BNG was the recognition that the department should participate in upgrading informal settlements, while prioritising the delivery of serviced formal housing for the poor. The department was initially slow to respond to the informal settlement-upgrading mandate, having historically viewed its overall success in terms of the delivery of actual housing units, especially top structures, rather than shack infrastructure. Much of the public and the media shared this view of the department's purpose, which was seen as reducing the number and scale of informal settlements in cities. It took some time before a systematic programme for shack upgrading was established, undermining the extent of the policy change that it was hoped would be wrought by the introduction of BNG (see Huchzermeyer 2011).

For example, it was theoretically possible under BNG, given the options open to individual households, for multiple housing formats to be delivered in a single location. It was also anticipated that the programme would produce more opportunities for housing delivery in rural areas, enabling families to remain in their home areas, rather than being forced to move into nearby settlements or small-town suburbs in the quest for subsidised housing. The demand-led focus of BNG, together with a call for greater participation from beneficiaries and the local state, created the possibility for a more flexible system. But the basic format for the delivery of pro-poor housing remained quite similar after 2004. Suburban-style RDP housing estates on cheap land on the edge of the city in dormitory townships remained the dominant mode of delivery. The new demand-side planning was often reduced to a matter of numbers, rather than any genuine consideration of residential preferences or a mix of options in a single settlement.

At the same time, asking people where, how and when they wanted their houses (or gifts) to be delivered, raised expectations. In this regard, the introduction of the BNG

programme was a decisive moment in the re-politicisation of housing and service delivery issues in South Africa. Municipalities had to establish credible, verifiable housing lists in order to satisfy the requirement to record housing demand and release funding. Ward councillors and municipal officials enjoyed special powers in forging these lists, which fostered graft. For many households, as scholars such as Catherine Cross (2005) have shown, getting “listed” became as much of a priority as getting a job. The new mechanism produced important spatial and social consequences for how and where people settled in cities. Many settled on the edges of cities because that was where the state was delivering housing and placing infrastructure. The possibility for change embodied by the BNG programme was further undermined and spatial inequalities and socio-economic disconnection in South Africa cities continued to be produced by a limited imagination of what was required to effect genuinely democratic urban access and integration.

2. THEORIES OF THE CITY AND THE SUBURBAN FRONTIER

2.1 Theories of the city

This report draws on three bodies of social theory to contextual access to the city through pro-poor housing. The first field of work reviewed is the body of urban theory from the Chicago School of the 1930s through contemporary critiques of the neo-liberal city. Most of them rely heavily on a capital-focussed centre-periphery metaphor for the analysis of urban access. In most theories, the centre is identified as the place of economic opportunities around which suburbs – peripheral areas comprised of various kinds of residential neighbourhoods that are connected in a parasitic relationship to the centre – evolve. The theory suggests that urban access cannot be secured through residential proximity to the city alone, it requires economic integration. Most modern theoreticians have taken it for granted that the nature of suburban evolution and urban access was shaped by capitalist market formation. Such theorisation tends to underplay the role of the state compared with that of the market in urban development. In South Africa, such an approach fails to acknowledge the roles of the state in colonial and apartheid systems in shaping the spatial forms of the city. In this regard, a key function of pro-poor state housing interventions since 1994 has been to undermine the race-spatial dynamics of the apartheid city by providing black South Africans with improved access to, and dignity in, the city through housing provision – although the model for such provision focussed on providing shelter and decent living environments for urbanising families within reach of employment opportunities rather than broader economic access.

According to the Chicago School or urban theory, suburbanisation depends on the capacity of the urban core to support its periphery economically. In South Africa, the housing policy that was formulated and implemented after 1994 was largely driven by rights-based considerations such as equity and restitution, rather than economic concerns. However, it was informed by the assumption that once the country's cities opened to the world after their isolation under apartheid, their economies would expand enabling the absorption of larger populations. However, the subsequent pace of urbanisation exceeded the cities' capacity to create jobs. In responding to the disconnection between (the lack of) economic growth and the need to deliver services

and pro-poor urbanisation, many mainstream economists have remained optimistic about the capacity of the city to provide inclusive development, although they differ in the mechanisms that they promote to effect greater inclusion. Some of these scholars have been influenced by the work of the Harvard economists, such as Michael Porter (2008) and Edward Glaeser (2011), who argued that the city is an economic triumph that can work for all citizens as long as they are given fair access and equal opportunity. In South Africa, those who are influenced by these perspectives have argued that more needs to be done to promote free market capitalism in the city (Bernstein 2010) or improve the functionality of state investment to create greater urban efficiency (see Turok 2016; Harrison and Mabin 2006). The latter scholars suggest that much can be done through the state to retrofit South African cities with new kinds of transport and housing approaches to unlock greater economic efficiency.

A recent variation of the inclusive-city model is provided by scholars who classify themselves as “southern urbanists”. They argue that Eurocentric traditions of town and city planning have impeded the unlocking of opportunities in cities within the global south. A recent book by de Sagté and Watson (2018) made this argument in the South African context, suggesting that formalised, western logics of urban planning, such as those that inform the DHS’s housing models, fail to accommodate the dynamism of southern cities with their high levels of informality. Urban development is constrained, they argued, by the co-existence of two competing rationalities in planning practices. Such southern urbanists focus on social and physical infrastructures and the economic opportunities within the informal sector in settlements. De Sagté and Watson noted that the informal sector constitutes only 17% of the South African economy, which is far below its potential reach. Other southern urbanists, drawing on the work of scholars like Martinican political philosopher Frantz Fanon (1961), have called for the decolonisation of the settler or apartheid city. Such scholars focus on the limiting European cultural and political influences and argue that the only chance of genuine urban restructuring in Africa is through basic land reform, which will place Africans at the centre of the city, enabling them to benefit fully from the economic core from which they have been excluded. These scholars tend to emphasise radical economic transformation and redistribution as basic strategies for enhancing access to what Fanon termed the “settler town”. Both of these theoretical/political approaches promote the capacity of African cities to expand access and become more inclusive.

The also advocate a crucial role for the state, particularly in responding to the needs of the poor.

Other scholars – such as David Harvey (2005; 2012) and Mike Davis (2006) – have noted that “neo-liberal” processes of capital accumulation in global cities have become much more exclusionary. This tendency is linked to globalisation and the growing clout of financial and real-estate capital. Harvey and scholars such as Saskia Sassen (2013, 2014) and Sharon Zukin (2016), have sought to describe the logics of the new regimes of value-creation in the city, while Davis and others such as Loïc Wacquant (2010) and Janice Perlman (2010) have explore their impact at the urban edge and margins. In their opposition to capitalism’s neo-liberal pat, these scholars believe that nothing short of a fundamental restructuring of the economic system will enable the emergence of inclusive cities. These scholars argue that state policies promoting low-cost housing constitute a move in the right direction but lament the state’s failure of the state to address fundamental economic transformation.

2.2 The suburban frontier

The report identifies a further position, associated with the work of Neil Brenner (2009), Alan Berger and Joel Kotkin (2017) and Roger Keil (2018), which harks back to the earlier work of eminent Spanish sociologist Manuel Castells on the “urban question” in the 1970s. These scholars argued that the thesis that the city is shaped by the gravitational pull of its centre failed to appreciate both the extent and diversity of suburban forms globally. Brenner (2009) noted the globalisation of urbanisation, while Keil (2018) suggested that suburban forms has multiplied across urban and rural landscapes, leaving massive sprawling imprints across cities and regions. He argued that these suburban landscapes were increasingly free-floating and seemingly disconnected from a clear central node. Keil (2018) and Berger and Kotkin (2017) emphasised the diversity of suburbs, which could include informal settlement in certain contexts. They also noted that suburbs were becoming less homogenous, socially and economically, as they fractured and differentiated internally. He further pointed out that the assumed upwardly-mobile trajectory of suburbs was no longer secure and the economic outlook for many suburbs was bleak. However, residents were not leaving

suburbia behind and returning to the city; rather they were reconstructing suburban life in new ways, from the inside out. For such residents, access to the city meant access to the suburb, hence the title of Berger and Kotkin's book, *Infinite Suburbia*.

Against this theoretical background, this report seeks to describe the patchwork of emerging suburban ecologies at the margins, which, it contends, are primarily co-produced as places by people in dialogue with the state and are characterised by social informality and economic involution, with the wider urban capitalist economy exerting only limited influence. In this context, the report references the work of Göran Therborn (2017), who argued for a stronger historico-cultural focus in urban studies in recognition of the importance of state policies in city-making, which can be air-brushed from the picture when too much emphasis is placed on spatio-economic perspectives. In this light, the islands of exclusion and disconnection which so many scholars have identified in South African cities may be viewed as the products of state agency (past and present) in collaboration with local residents. The critical insight that local residents with the state and the market co-produce places – in this case South Africa's new poor suburbs – is strongly emphasised in the work of Sarah Charlton (2017; 2018) who considers various forms of "incubator urbanism" in this context.

3. HOUSING PROVISION AND ACCESS TO THE CITY IN FIVE SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

3.1 Cape Town: A city divided

Cape Town continues to operate in two worlds. One is clean, affluent and well-serviced, featuring lovely mountain views, days on the beach and leisure time spent in one of the city's new malls. The other is the world of dense shack settlements, where decent work is hard to find and unemployment sits at 80%. Much of the municipality's policy, especially in the city centre, maintains this division. This policy direction is shaped by a drive to create an attractive tourist destination, but also by a lack of meaningful engagement in planning processes on the part of the poorer residents, who may be excluded from genuine participation in municipal decision-making.

In addition to demographic and socio-economic divisions largely shaped by Cape Town's political history of racial separation, inclusive access to the city is further hindered by constrained urban geography, in which natural features such as mountains, wetlands and sand dunes exacerbate residential compaction (the city is one of the country's densest with 3 000 people per square kilometre in some areas); the changing nature of local employment; and challenges in gaining access to systems of governance.

The headline number for annual GDP per capita in Cape Town was reported as R73 811 in 2016. However, with more than 25% of the population falling below the poverty line that year, this indicates an enormous income disparity between the wealthiest and the poorest. Black South Africans, who comprise almost 39% of the population, bore the brunt of poverty; while white residents, who comprise less than 16% of the population, were generally much wealthier than coloured residents, who comprised more than 42% of the population.

The Western Cape has the second highest number of internal migrants, with about 26% of residents born outside the province, most of whom hail from the Eastern Cape. Some of these migrants are students attending one of the four universities associated with the city but most arrive for economic reasons. Their initial entry point is often shanty towns or decaying apartment blocks built by the municipality. Most new arrivals pay relatively high rent, which can lead them into a poverty trap. In 2009, about

200 000 residents lived in informal settlements, with 18% of the city's population living in such areas in 2013. Whether new arrivals end up living in such settlements indefinitely or move to other areas depends largely on the opportunities they can access, and their relationship with the rural or other areas from which they came. However, a broad lack of employment in the formal sector despite proximity to job opportunities in Cape Town indicates a profound mismatch between available labour and available employment.

3.1.1 Housing provision

In 2018, the housing backlog in the city was estimated by the municipality at about 400 000 households – a third of all households in the city – and it was estimated that it would stretch at least a decade into the future. The director-general of the national Department of Human Settlements, Mbulelo Tshangana, acknowledged that the department had largely failed the residents of Cape Town's informal settlements, noting that cooperation between officials at the national and provincial levels and the municipalities had broken down. He also talked of the rise of smaller community organisations representing disgruntled residents of informal settlements. Difficulties in accessing housing subsidies have also compounded the shortage of affordable housing for poorer residents.

In its formal housing programmes for the poor, the municipal government has sought to promote compaction, integration and densification of urban areas, although the entire metropolitan area is already quite dense and brownfield development is hindered by the city's physical geography.

The municipal government has identified four main streams of housing assistance which have been implemented with varying degrees of success:

- Social housing developments offer state-subsidised rental housing to households with a monthly income of less than R15 000. The construction projects undertaken as part of this scheme have been characterised by slow delivery and poor construction standards, while sub-letting of social-housing units can drive up rental prices. Some of these units are located in apartment complexes built by the apartheid government, which have become centres for

drug dealers and criminal gangs, partly as a result of the sub-letting system and the lack of clarity about who actually lives where that this has facilitated.

- Gap rental housing offers rented accommodation with a right to buy for households with a monthly income of between R3 200 and R20 000. The development of such schemes with the private sector can be subsidised with the loans to purchase the new houses partially financed by the government. *Gap* suburbs seem to develop in two main ways: some quickly become quasi-shanty towns, with home-renters building informal and unregulated outbuildings for additional family members or for rental income. Others meet the more conventional template for suburbia, with rising house and land values sometimes forcing out the poorer residents. Areas near the centre of Cape Town in Woodstock and Salt River were targeted for such housing provision as part of a national DHS megaproject. A number of the projects were granted to large-scale developers, which residents accused of using unscrupulous tactics to remove people from the land they aimed to develop. In addition, no mechanisms were established to stem the gentrification that can follow such development.
- Transitional housing is intended to provide stop-gap accommodation, meeting the needs of new arrivals to the city as well as residents whose circumstances have changed. In the absence of alternatives, the municipality has acknowledged that some households are likely to remain in such housing on a semi-permanent basis.
- Inclusionary housing refers to the affordable units that must form a part of all developments under the national housing plan. In general, these units are quickly gentrified as the intended recipients move away due to high property taxes and adverse pressure from local communities.

In addition to these streams, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) programme introduced in 2004 can include some novel social housing schemes and worthwhile settlement-upgrading initiatives, although such programmes tend to be ad hoc, isolated endeavours often forged in response to local pressures – such as protests by residents; natural disasters; and scandals over service provision and amenities.

For example, in Hout Bay, the municipality sought to improve the informal settlement at Imizamo Yethu by demolishing large areas on its fringe and replacing them with low-cost housing. In this case, the new residents of the houses built there in coordination with the Niall Mellon Township Trust reported feeling healthier, more secure and happier than those left behind in shacks. At the same time, it was reported that the displacement reinforced hierarchies of housing provision, often based on personal and kinship networks, and fostered a sense of exclusion among those not chosen for the new houses, leading to community tensions.

Efforts to provide social housing alongside private-sector developments have also foundered on the imposition of inappropriate socio-economic and cultural models for poorer residents. For example, the establishment of a model RDP village in the place of shacks at Forest Village close to a gated development north of the N2 ended in failure as the former communal spirit of residents was displaced and backyard shacks mushroomed. The area soon became a shantytown once again.

Meanwhile, informal solutions such as backyard shacks have many advantages for residents. They are less expensive than other rental options and are often accompanied by strong social networks of family and neighbours who can help with child care, transport and stokvel schemes and offer access to work opportunities. However, overcrowding and unsafe and squalid conditions are also features of such informal living arrangements. Since 2008, rising demand for housing has increased shack rentals to more than R1 000 a month. Although the delivery of basic services has generally improved, backyard shacks remain woefully underserved.

In response to the dearth of space for housing, the municipal authority in Cape Town sometimes seeks to relocate residents elsewhere, to far-flung parts of the city or to areas outside it completely, although these may subsequently be subsumed by the metropolis. Such attempted removals are met with resistance as they displace the current residents of the intended site of relocation and increase travel costs for the new, relocated residents, as well as undermining the social ties acquired through living in informal settlements.

Meanwhile, the city centre has been extensively remodelled and redeveloped in order to turn the precinct into a cultural centre and a tourist haven. This has entailed the removal of low-cost housing, the eviction of homeless people and the demolition of old

buildings to make way for high-rise blocks, further entrenching the divide between wealthy and poor Capetonians. In addition, the expense and lack of availability of public transport effectively reserves much of the city for wealthier residents. For African immigrants in particular, the extreme forms of bureaucratic and physical exclusion that are faced can lead to the development of complex survival strategies.

3.1.2 Service provision

Within the generally impressive statistics for service delivery published in 2011, there is significant variation. Only 69% of informal settlement residents had access to refuse removal and only 50% had access to an on-site toilet. While 82% of residents in informal settlements had access to water, only 7% had a tap in their homes. During water shortages in 2018, some people spent a whole day waiting for water at communal taps. Only 63% of people had electricity in 2011. Poor water management standards in new low-income housing developments have led to high levels of fecal pollution which threatens community health, as well as damaging the environment. Residents also have to cope with infrastructure-damaging floods that are a regular feature of life in Cape Town's shanty towns.

Meanwhile, access to government services and grants can be impeded by bureaucratic and practical challenges in acquiring an appropriate identification document (ID). Poor residents face further obstacles in accessing support for contracts and to settle disputes – whether these pertain to home ownership, marriage or employment relationships. This leads to backstreet agreements and money changing hands without official documentation and prevents people from actually buying their own property. The knowledge and literacy skills required to access many of the systems of governance are not widely taught at schools. Many poor residents lack the relevant paperwork to access social grants. Figures on monthly incomes indicate that nearly 15% of Capetonians are earning less than they would if they could access such grants.

3.1.3 Economic opportunities

About 45 % of Capetonians are employed in the formal sector, contributing almost all of the city's GDP of R283.28 billion. 9.4% of Capetonians are officially counted as working in the informal sector. The places with high unemployment (over 80%) are

predominantly located in the south-east “Cape Flats”, which consists of areas such as Mitchells Plain, Khayelitsha, and Nyanga, and in the north, in Atlantis. In the context of deindustrialisation, the informal sector, which is seen as a path out of poverty, is over-represented among black and Coloured population groups (52% and 34%, respectively) and is also inversely correlated with educational achievement.

Although some data has indicated that employment in the informal sector in Cape Town has stagnated or declined gradually, other research has indicated that informal economic opportunities, which have grown in a number of areas, can sustain a reasonable existence above the poverty threshold, particularly in tandem with stability provided by grants and by the few who have formal employment. For example, in Delft, the number of micro-enterprises doubled from 2010 to 2015 and appeared to enjoy reasonable longevity. Supported by the expansion of nearby residential settlements and a busy local transport route, the underreporting of the boom in the informal sector in this area may be a result of informal entrepreneurs resisting being recorded by a state agency or because the businesses are so small that they are overlooked by enumerators. In either case, government data-collection processes are failing to represent the interests of many residents.

3.1.4 Power and participation

Residents of informal settlements often shape the nature of government-sponsored housing provision through informal processes. In Crossroads informal settlement, the municipality intervened to establish a “normal, decent” life, *razing much of the township and rebuilding the township as freestanding houses*. However, informally appointed local leaders representing groups with shared rural affiliations continued to dominate housing provision. Subsequently, efforts were made when the BNG programme was introduced to marginalise such stakeholders in the processes of housing allocation in part under the principle of “demand-negotiated” delivery, according to which local authorities were required to engage directly with communities to establish individual housing needs. At Crossroads, where rows of freestanding houses were overrun by backyard shacks and parts of the urban landscape turned into a hodgepodge of corrugated iron constructions, it became increasingly difficult to track ownership of the government-sponsored housing. The accommodation was continuously, informally subdivided and transferred from one owner to the next, with

the transactions rarely taking place through established legal channels. In addition, many of the transfers were controlled by local so-called tribal authorities. Many new owners seeking to ensure legal transfer of property were blocked by other residents and local elites; complex and unfamiliar administrative processes; the onerous requirements and high costs involved; and a lack of outside professional support. Meanwhile, transactions or extra-legal transfers of property were guaranteed and/or enforced by a range of measure including signed affidavits; trust-based deals reached at family meetings; and threats of violence. It seems that the processes introduced by the government to transform informality to formality merely generated a new base of power outside formal government structures. The lack of popular participation in the formal market also has serious impacts for municipal planning due to complete confusion over who owns what.

Beyond Crossroads, informal processes for taking control of housing delivery have been co-opted – even “reformed” – by various non-profits, such as Reclaim the City. Meanwhile, other informal structures of governance – such as the networks of societal connections and reciprocity forged among women – cannot be so easily aligned with the municipal system of governance which requires petitioners to seek redress through their local ward councillors – about 80% of whom are men. In effect, the urban planning of the new settlements undertaken by the municipality has been based not on the needs of the women – or indeed, many marginalised residents – but has been a numbers game in which a certain quantum of services is provided and as many residents of the previously informal settlements as possible are converted into rate-paying citizens in order to meet budgetary targets.

In the Cape Town’s IDP, “development” as a concept appears 146 times, while “access” appears 67 times, about half as often. The implicit difference in emphasis is reflected in the municipality’s overall approach to accessing the city – improved housing will lead to greater access. While this may be the case for some, the housing plan is forged by a select group of powerful people, while poor residents are marginalised in the processes of policy development and implementation, which are shaped by a neo-liberal economic model, and in the forms that their accommodation takes as a result.

3.2 Johannesburg: The polycentric city

Johannesburg, with an average GDP per capita of R117 2251, was categorised as an upper-middle income economy in 2016, reflecting its recent economic growth. However, levels of unemployment remain high, particularly among the youth where the rate stands at 40%, and Johannesburg has been dubbed one for the world's most unequal cities. For example, 37% of urban residents lived below the poverty line in 2015, with 69% of households in shacks in Gauteng province earning less than R3 500 and 42% earning less than R800 a month.

However, although apartheid-era spatial disparities between regions and communities around Johannesburg continue to disproportionately disadvantage black, working-class and low-income residents (who tend to live on the periphery and to the south), the polycentric nature of economic development and settlement patterns in the city provide different levels of opportunity to poor residents. Formal work opportunities are no longer so centred in Johannesburg's central business district – large settlements such as Soweto have obviously developed their own relatively separate economic models – and a highly evolved informal sector is a major source of livelihoods across the metropolitan area.

In addition, analysis of the range of settlements occupied by the poor indicate that location and relative access to service can shape the dynamics of local rent-seeking behaviours – such as shack farming – in these areas. The socio-economics of backyard development in Diepsloot, on the northern edge of Greater Johannesburg, differ from those in Diepkloof, which is in the area of Soweto closest to the CBD. Similarly, strategies to exploit the gift of RDP housing vary widely among locations and households.

3.2.1 Housing and service provision

It is estimated that the total number of households in Johannesburg could increase from about 1.85 million in mid-2016 to about 2.16 million in 2021 at the same time that the city will continue to experience relatively high growth rates in the elderly population compared with the rest of the country – placing increasing strain on the delivery of housing, basic and other social services. In this context, the city already faces a major housing crisis, evident in its sprawling informal settlements; its overcrowded inner city;

and the backyard shacks that have mushroomed in township neighbourhoods. The Gauteng Department of Human Settlements noted that Johannesburg's housing backlog was more than 250 000 in 2015, with almost 170 000 households living in the city's 180 informal settlements.

The housing crisis is particularly acute for the residents of informal settlements. Semi-permanent shacks built from sheets of corrugated iron, bricks, wood, and plastic provide little insulation and protection from the cold in winter and the heat in summer. Close, unsanitary living quarters increase the likelihood of contracting communicable diseases. Residents face heightened insecurity due to high levels of violent crime and the ever-present threat of eviction and/or relocation. In addition, such settlements – for example, in Diepsloot and Diepkloof – were established illegally in areas where no official provision had been made to deliver services such as water, electricity supply and the disposal of sewage. The low-income groups in marginalised settlements are also the most affected by a lack of investment in public transport infrastructure.

In Johannesburg, the municipal administration led by the Democratic Alliance after 2016 acknowledged the slow rate of housing provision and the growing backlog and undertook to investigate a new approach to dealing with the crisis. This included drafting and publicly disseminating a comprehensive, transparent housing list to ensure that housing opportunities were allocated fairly and issues of basic service delivery, including in the informal settlements, were addressed. The municipality further drafted an “inclusionary” housing policy, requiring private developers to dedicate a certain percentage of the property in new housing developments to affordable, rentable dwelling units for low- and low-middle income households earning R7 000 a month or less. Rentals, including levies but excluding utility bills, could not exceed R 2 100 a month in 2018.

The municipality has further identified three ways of promoting pro-poor development. The first, called “changing poor spaces”, entails identifying land to be serviced before any human settlements are built; implementing a reliable, affordable and accessible transport system to ease congestion; and rolling out a package of incentives to promote residential and commercial development in areas identified by the poverty index. The second, called “becoming the single window”, has entailed the establishment of a single database for the indigent through which a range of

opportunities, such as access to work and training benefits, are offered. The third, called “using smart technology”, aims to manage interventions scientifically and efficiently to reach the most marginalised people and places.

Meanwhile, the provision of formal housing through the RDP programme has resulted in a number of unintended socio-economic and cultural consequences, stemming from the different ways in which the recipients of such assets exploited them. Research conducted by Sarah Charlton published in 2018 identified a number of strategies. It found that some RDP owners distanced themselves from their houses by selling or letting them, as a result of the unmanageable costs that came with the new properties, including payments for the municipal services. Some RDP residents resisted paying for municipal services and the threat of disconnection proved little disincentive since such action was often illegally reversed by the same officials who had cut the services in the first place. Some owners modified their houses and plots, used the additional rooms to earn rental income, but mainly to accommodate family members or guests. Some households adapted by occupying two different locations on a nightly basis – for example, a public pavement next to the family’s trading stall in central Johannesburg, which would be occupied by a wife and husband, while the children would live in a house in Soweto with their grandparents. For such “stretched” families, the RDP house formed part of the family’s portfolio of occupancy in the city, symbolising ownership, recognition and permanence, despite its limited practical usefulness. Some residents clung to their new houses notwithstanding relocation to a less favourable place and complaints about incomplete RDP neighbourhoods that lacked amenities such as shops and schools. Such residents were reluctant to consider the challenge of an alternative neighbourhood in the future. Some RDP recipients embraced their new status as home-owners and went out of their way to keep their streets free of litter and rubble. Backyard shacks were not allowed in such areas – for example, Devland Extension 27, Orange Farm and Freedom Park – in line with state and societal aspirations. Residents in these areas actively established what they regarded as decent, appropriate suburban life around their properties.

3.2.2 Opportunities in the informal economy

The informal economy plays a significant role in Johannesburg and is patronised by most of the city’s residents. In 2013, it was found that 65% of businesses owned by

residents in the city operated in the informal sector, which provides goods and services that many residents would otherwise not be able to afford. As well as providing indirect benefits for the formal economy, the sector provides jobs, releasing the pressure on the state to provide livelihoods via welfare. Informal entrepreneurship in Johannesburg ranges from small enterprises to businesses employing relatively large numbers of people. Businesses are run on the street, inside buildings, including multi-storey developments, from yards, garages and houses, and at road junctions, traffic lights and door-to-door. In Johannesburg, it would be possible to meet a typical household's daily needs entirely from the informal sector.

Despite speculation about the scale of engagement of immigrant entrepreneurs in the informal economy, only 20% of business owners in the sector in Gauteng hailed from another country in 2013, although Johannesburg has the greatest proportion of immigrants of any city in the country. Nevertheless, fear over the impact of such entrepreneurs has found expression in xenophobic attacks.

3.2.3 Case studies

Research into the urban ecologies in Diepsloot and Diepkloof, which combine formally and informally settled areas, has indicated the kinds of challenges that the poor face in accessing the city through, or in the absence of, state-sponsored housing.

Diepsloot, which is located in an isolated area on the northern edge of Greater Johannesburg, was established in 1994 as a transit site for displaced, low-income individuals. It has subsequently developed as a mix of informal and formal settlements – a dust-coated mixture of tin shacks and brick-and-mortar houses, intersected by narrow roads, few of which are tarred. With a population of about 140 000 in 2011, shack farming is prevalent across the settlement on illegally occupied sites; in areas where site-owners have title deeds; and on serviced stands targeted for upgrading through the People's Housing Process (PHP). Renting a shack can cost between R50 and R170 a month. In the areas where formal housing has been developed, the practice is considered *de facto* legitimate. In 2006, the municipality introduced a system of shack-counting to take stock of housing backlogs and control the increase of shacks in the area, although the process subsequently collapsed, apparently due to graft.

Despite efforts to provide reticulated water and electricity supply and site-based waste removal in the settlement's formal areas, bulk water facilities are insufficient, waste removal is inadequate and electricity supply is haphazard across the settlement as a whole. In the absence of any bus stops or railway stations, privately run mini-buses which compete fiercely with each other constitute the main form of motorised transport.

Diepkloof, which is located about 15km south-west of Johannesburg, was home to more than 2 000 households in 2011. However, despite its favourable location as the area of Soweto closest to the CBD and the common view that it represents an area for middle-class opportunity, Diepkloof has a relatively high rate of unemployment compared with suburbs like Orlando West.

The older and younger generations in Diepkloof generally have different ideas of citizenship. The understanding of place and residential rights among the older generation, who have been living in Diepkloof since the 1970s, were shaped by their experience of the struggle against apartheid, including their forced removal from Alexandra township. This generation views citizenship as an expression of the relationships and connections that they established with other residents of the area over years. By contrast, the younger generation's social and political experience have led them to view citizenship at a form of entitlement to certain material benefits.

Living conditions and access to services in Diepkloof vary among its three main areas. Diepkloof Extension is often called "Diepkloof Expensive". Its residents live in bigger houses, drive expensive cars and display the trappings of material wealth. Along with the area's main township, it has good facilities: schools, parks, community halls, clinics, hospitals, a police station and a new shopping centre. Meanwhile, the attraction of the third area – Elias Motsoaledi informal settlement, which consists of informal shack dwellings – rests in its proximity to the services on offer in the neighbouring township, as well as the idea that occupation of a piece of land on the site may enhance the particular residents' chances of accessing an RDP house. However, high densities, the influence of shack lords seeking to retain their profitable grip over the informal housing market and a relative lack of land for development have challenged municipal efforts to improve the area. In response, the municipality mooted the idea of building high-rise residential flats there. It has also been recommended that the area's

hostels should be upgraded to accommodate the changing circumstances of their occupants.

3.3 Durban: A city of colliding expectations

In Durban, the demand for, and provision of, housing as a path to access the city has been largely shaped by the relationship between the political importance of producing inclusive socio-economic outcomes for the poor and marginalised, and the priorities of a neo-liberal economic model. The contradictions inherent in this relationship are manifested in the wide range of housing ecologies that have evolved in the city and in how the municipal authority has shaped its own policies in response. They have also been manifested in the tensions that have arisen among the range of housing stakeholders in the city, including between municipal officialdom and the residents of the settlements that have been produced since 1994.

Adopting a pragmatic position, the municipality has implemented a multi-pronged approach to the delivery of shelter, services and development. This has included, for example, providing low-cost housing in the inner-city by converting neglected buildings into affordable rental units; targeting vacant spaces for house construction to promote beneficial densification in existing townships; rolling out in-situ upgrades in informal settlements and developing plans to build upwards in these areas, which may be constrained by the city's physical geography of steep hills and rivers; and promoting large-scale catalytic projects.

In implementing the different forms of housing and service provision, the municipality has also adopted a range of, at times contradictory, governance and consultative approaches. In promoting the "big bang", mega-city, 1 200ha greenfield development at Cornubia, which aims to produce a brand-new, fully serviced, middle-class suburb from scratch, the municipality has been accused of supporting an exclusionary project in which neo-liberal interests have subverted the needs of the marginalised and sacrificing its urban integration effort, Cornubia forms part of broader development plans sponsored by Tongaat Hulett, anchored around the airport to the north, which seek to create a broad swathe of decentralised suburbia, with gated communities, on former agricultural land that may split the city.

By contrast, the municipality has sought close consultation with poor residents in other areas, such as at Kennedy Road informal settlement, which is well-located on the urban periphery in a middle-class suburb. Having established a mechanism to coordinate with local residents to prioritise their needs, the municipality decided to build an internal residential road; a central square offering community facilities and services; and a mixed-use, double-storey residential and commercial development on one edge. In this vein, it is also municipal policy, when relocation is necessary, to offer, in consultation with residents, alternative spaces close to original sites in order to minimise damaging impacts.

More broadly, the shape and nature of Durban's urbanisation frontier bears testimony to the socio-economic and cultural contradictions that emerged when liberation took the form of a neo-liberal democracy accompanied by mechanisms to promote inclusivity in 1994. The interplay between the new possibilities for free movement and economic advancement are evident in the evolution of overall residential patterns as well as the patchwork development of the densely populated central business district, which with other sites along the coast and further west, boasts most of the formal job opportunities in Durban. With the demise of the Group Areas Act, the inner city experienced outward migration by the wealthier, mainly white population who increasingly settled a relatively sparsely occupied suburban ring around the urban core. Beyond, a ring of mainly black suburbs, townships and rapidly growing informal settlements, 10km to 18km from the centre, evolved. A number of other townships are sited further out at the 28km and 43km marks.

Meanwhile, the demand from black professionals and office workers for housing stock in the CBD grew as the area offered value for money and high-quality services and was close to work. In addition, poor people, migrants, particularly immigrants and students moved to, or remained in the more deprived parts of the inner-city area – at times at the mercy of slumlords. The area evolved from being racially segmented to economically segregated and stratified according to class, although the class and economic boundaries tended to replicate the racial divisions established under apartheid and colonialism. The resulting cityscape varied dramatically from one street to the next. On one, there would be beautiful hotels, on the next, dilapidated flats. The impacts for poor residents, particularly immigrants who are sidelined in municipal

housing policy, were serious. Slumlords charged desperate residents high prices for dangerous accommodation. And complex ownership patterns, with much of the property sublet, hindered effective housing interventions by the municipality. At the same time, these inner-city slums offered nearby formal employment opportunities by contrast with the peripheral areas, where unemployment is rife and most households have incomes below R5 000. In Durban, living far from jobs harms employment prospects.

3.3.1 Housing- and service-delivery and developmental efforts

Ethekwini municipality's housing strategy focuses on offering universal, inclusive access to basic services and housing; a greater choice of residential location; densification; and support for economic development. The municipality has proposed implementing its strategy through the delivery of: housing mega-projects; incrementally improved provision of services and in-situ upgrades; retrofitting city spaces by deploying the municipality's engineering services; social, affordable and gap housing; and greenfield development. An integrated housing development plan (IHDP) seeks to provide guidelines for the municipality's informal settlement programme, auditing vacant land; and calculating housing backlogs.

The municipality's policy, which includes a range of right-to-buy and subsidised options for tenants, also entails the delivery of Community Residential Units (CRUs) for low-income families living in former hostels. The repurposing of the formerly men-only hostels into family spaces under the CRU rental programme provides an example of how well-meaning official housing provision can create unintended consequences. For example, in many cases, instead of wives moving from the rural areas to join their husbands, "new" women from the city joined the men in their new houses. In addition, some of the longer-term male residents of the hostels resented their conversion from "work" into "home" spaces. The hostels have also become sites of escalating violence, allegedly housing assassins responsible for tens of political killings in the province being investigated by Marumo Moerane. These dystopian outcomes may be regarded as symptoms of a broader economic crisis in Durban's south which has suffered considerable deindustrialisation

In general, despite massive housing delivery since 2003, housing demand has increased and the backlog within informal settlements has remained steady at about

1.2 million households since 2008. In 2018, the municipality attributed the backlog to a shortage of funds; a lack of well-located and suitable land for housing; projects and provision that have stalled due to delays experienced in acquiring land, developmental approvals and housing accreditation, as well as conflicts with adjoining communities; protracted supply-chain management processes; and land invasions.

In this regard, the issue of control over land is a crucial one in Durban. Much land falls outside the municipality's authority, although the local government is expected to deliver services and ensure the development of these spaces. Tribal authorities have great control over their areas. State ownership of earmarked vacant land earmarked can also pose a challenge. Specific strategies have to be developed to manoeuvre in such terrains. In addition, the municipality has a mandate to undertake planning in "rural" areas although it has limited control in these places. This can cause problems in areas that are densifying beyond the urban edge where an unsustainable burden is being placed on relatively sparse services.

More broadly, service provision has been subject to a range of challenges, including inadequate funding; rapidly growing populations; political and community infighting; and a lack of planning. Marginal gains have been achieved in overall delivery, while noticeable improvements have been recorded in the provision of services for those who live in shacks which are not in backyards, particularly in terms of access to flush toilets and piped water, as well as the use of electricity for lighting. Despite these improvements, communities have remained unsatisfied and believe that more could be done, which has led to protests.

On the economy, the municipality has acknowledged the importance of the informal sector in creating jobs both directly and indirectly; in providing a ready source of goods and services for thousands of commuters and residents; and in providing flexible livelihoods, including for women who must combine money-making and domestic duties. In support of the sector, the municipality has taken steps to link the first and second economies and offer business development services to informal traders. A project to enable informal businesses to exploit access to a key transportation node at Warwick Junction, which is the site of the country's largest informal market, illustrates the municipality's policy towards this sector.

3.3.2 Tactical urbanism

The poor engage in a range of forms of tactical urbanism in order to access accommodation, proper services and employment opportunities and to make their voices heard. The municipality is often forced to respond to these. Much of the migration into Durban is circular, with many people looking for jobs rather than the opportunity to settle permanently. With the scale of subsidy housing failing to address mass demand for shelter, many people have either sought informal shelter in formal housing areas – that is, in backyard shacks – or in one of the estimated 514 informal settlements, which were recorded in eThekweni in 2017. Most of Durban's demographic growth is taking place in these informal areas on the urban margins, where the terms and conditions for residency are relatively lax. Such settlement patterns create clear forms of disadvantage. For example, backyard shack dwellers cannot access subsidies and other benefits offered by the state to improve their well-being and may be burdened by ever-increasing rentals. Those who live in informal settlements find themselves in peripheral locations or on steep land or flood plains, exacerbating their exposure to the baleful impacts of climate change.

The provision of formal housing in itself has created challenges for accessing the city. Given the high price and/or relative unavailability of land within the city, local authorities and developers have tended to locate housing subsidy developments on peripheral, greenfield sites far from points of urban opportunity. Such poorly located settlements indicate the superficial nature of popular participation in housing policies. Research into the outcomes for those who moved from informal settlements to RDP houses revealed a number of other unintended, negative impacts. Livelihoods were lost as a result of such moves; in the new settlements, trade took place through formal shops which inhibited those who had previously made a living as informal traders. Constraints on the construction of shacks in formal settlements prevented the new owners from gaining extra income through rent as they had in the informal settlements. The new houses also incurred extra costs and social expectations, which the new owners could not always afford or meet. Taken in conjunction with the unfavourable location of the new settlement, this would lead recipients to rent out their RDP houses and return to living in shacks and/or rent out space in backyards, contributing to the informalisation of these neighbourhoods. On the positive side, more than 70% of RDP

beneficiaries were women in Durban, indicating that the programme may be viewed as a progressive, gendered intervention. In this regard, residents at the Cato Crest RDP housing project cited reductions in domestic and other violence as a benefit of the new housing, although it was acknowledged that violence could increase while concealed in the individuated, “private” living spaces of the new formal settlements.

The development of informal settlements and other housing initiatives have been shaped by the engagement of new social movements, such as Abahlali baseMjondolo (“shack dwellers”) which has sought to secure land tenure and access to subsidies to improve residents’ homes. The movement also campaigns for the residents of informal settlements to be treated with dignity and granted greater autonomy. Such campaigns challenge the normative definitions of urban citizenship and residency that are often applied by the municipality in its policies and efforts.

3.4 Bloemfontein: The elongated city

Housing provision and access to the city in Mangaung municipality is characterised by a series of historical, geographical, administrative and political disjunctures, which have pitted officials against residents, many of whom have found themselves increasingly marginalised from the area’s socio-economic opportunities.

Under apartheid, restricted and forced settlement led to the establishment of Mangaung Township just outside Bloemfontein from 1950, and subsequently, the creation of the dormitory townships of Thaba Nchu from 1968 and Botshabelo from 1979. When these areas were integrated into Mangaung municipality in 2000, it created an elongated frontier across the urban/rural divide that had been shaped by apartheid-era inequality. At the same time, this frontier has also been shaped by an apparently contradictory logic – that of the local government’s spatial development framework (SDF), which, far from blurring the boundary between town and country, has sought to promote a compact city through densification and the imposition of an urban edge to maximise efficient use of infrastructure.

A further disjuncture arose in the administration and direction of housing policy for the city after 1994. Under the aegis of the provincial government, the original focus was on building large quantities of low-income housing units with a 40m² footprint – the

largest in the country on average. Meanwhile, there was little infrastructure development or upgrading of informal settlements and few greenfield developments as housing delivery slowed. Subsidies to the middle-to-higher income groups in the city were prioritised at the expense of the indigent and broader investment in the housing market. By contrast, after 2004, by which time the municipality rather than the province held the mandate for housing provision, policy was largely informed by the Breaking New Ground programme. Overall the strategy departed from building houses in isolation to building more inclusive communities with access to a range of amenities such as schools, clinics, sporting facilities and business opportunities. The strategic shift was exacerbated by a mounting disjuncture between the provincial and municipal arms of government in conceiving and implementing their service-delivery mandates.

These historical, geographical and policy-imperative disjunctures have shaped the establishment of human settlements on Mangaung's various urbanisation frontiers, which are characterised by fluidity, non-linearity and human agency that transcend the boundaries and purposes of institutionalised housing policies and programmes. A further political disjuncture experienced by poor and marginalised residents has been the heavy-handed delivery of housing and other services by the municipality on these frontiers which fail to meet their actual needs or even further weaken their positions.

3.4.1 The urbanisation frontier

There are five main urbanisation frontiers in Mangaung: one in the inner city; one to the south-west; one to the south-east; one on the eastern periphery; and one to the west. The municipality has responded to each in different ways. Since 1994, Bloemfontein's central business district, which was previously exclusively an area for white people has been perceived as a core municipal asset and has been characterised by processes of gentrification that have been accelerated by public and private rejuvenation projects initiated. Viewed as a space that can integrate Mangaung's elongated urban landscape – from the eastern frontier of Botshabelo/Thaba Nchu to the municipality's north-west – the CBD, which is the hub of the area's economy, suffered an exodus of businesses which led to numerous buildings, including residential accommodation, being underused. The municipality responded by prioritising mixed-use developments. Blocks of flats were converted to provide commercial and office space, as well as accommodation.

The south-western quadrant features a mix of affluent and poor areas. In order to integrate and deracialise the built environment in this part of the city, the municipality has chosen seven strategically located land parcels as the site of mixed land-use developments. Meanwhile, spatial fragmentation and urban sprawl in the north-western section are being curbed through zoning. The plan also seeks to facilitate infilling and densification.

Since 1994, the south-eastern urban quadrant, which is flanked by industrial areas that offer ever fewer jobs as manufacturing continues to decline, has been characterised by a densely packed population and high unemployment. In 2017, the municipality's expanded unemployment rate reached 40.7%, the highest in the country. Residents in this area, which includes a cluster of low-income housing projects and numerous informal dwellings and businesses, have to travel up to 15km to get to the city centre. In this regard, the area suffers from the lack of adequate public transportation in Bloemfontein, which has led to it being known as the "walking city" with more than 17% of all work-related trips made by foot.

Most of the municipality's efforts to improve housing delivery and services within Bloemfontein itself are directed at the residents of informal settlements in this quadrant. For example, from 2003 the municipality delivered more than 4 000 serviced sites in Grasslands, which it established as pilot project in response to a large-scale land invasion of a private smallholding. However, further planned construction stalled after widespread illegal occupation of the area, which may now be categorised as an unintended slum. Particular criticism has been levelled at the municipality for employing a range of ad hoc strategies to justify inadequate delivery of services in Grasslands. In this regard, it has been further noted that the municipality's formal housing programmes themselves are at times forged with little apparent understanding of the realities on the ground – and thus of their probable developmental impacts.

The eastern peripheral frontier where Botshabelo is sited, 45km from Bloemfontein has been shaped by processes of intensification and densification since 1994. Despite numerous housing investments, Botshabelo has been described as a deprived location that reinforces disadvantages, especially for the younger generation, as access to jobs there dwindled. However, the township, which had a population of more than 350 000 in 2001, enables migrants from the rural hinterland to acquire housing

assets which they might not otherwise be able to obtain in Bloemfontein and consequently provides a base from which they can access services and other resources in the city via the local subsidised bus service. This flow from the rural areas is facilitated via migration through the scattered rural settlements on former trust land at nearby Thaba Nchu. However, government-sponsored housing projects in this area have clearly failed to deliver a key intended outcome: the creation and transfer of assets to promote sustainable development.

The western frontier extends from the CBD and links the Central University of Technology with the University of the Free State and the Universitas academic hospital. Growth and economic development in this area can be attributed to the decline of the CBD, with businesses moving here. Housing development in this area, which is often led by the private sector with local government support, has, to an extent, failed to address the needs of many among the large, diverse student population. Although the local authority has implemented regulations for renting family houses to groups of students, these take the form of agreements for individual properties which lapse when ownership is transferred.

3.4.2 Modes of housing delivery

In 2016, the housing backlog in Mangaung stood at more than 31 000 houses with most of the demand in the RDP/BNG, affordable (gap) and rental markets. Of particular note was a substantial disjuncture between housing demand and supply in relation to government-subsidised BNG units, with the local government favouring a range of alternative delivery modes, including a mix of social, bonded, gap and Finance-Linked Individual Subsidy Programme (FLISP) housing.

The municipality found itself under enormous pressure to increase its provision and delivery of housing opportunities. Against the background of an evolving and, at times, contradictory ideological discourse around such delivery, the municipality produced a “business plan” for human settlements in 2018 which espoused the promotion of mega-catalytic projects offering mixed housing on the seven land parcels in the south-west, as well as a development node at the local airport.

Since the introduction of BNG in 2004, a range of other strategies and modes of housing delivery have been promoted by the municipality. At one stage, the

municipality stopped supplying affordable rental housing for a number of years as concerns were raised that the deployment of such stock had failed to exploit opportunities to improve spatial integration, urban efficiency and economic potential. Rental opportunities were reconceptualised and implemented in the form of social housing units and community residential units. Numerous multi-storey projects were developed to promote densification. Meanwhile, in 2017, the municipality planned to relocate 10 informal settlements and conduct in-situ upgrading in 24 informal settlements.

Housing policies have also entailed efforts to enable indigents to enter the property market – either by conferring ownership or by renting state-subsidised housing units. These policies seek to encourage residents to climb the property ladder by selling housing units on the secondary housing market, ideally to tenants, which can have the effect of building human, physical, social, natural and financial “capital” and assets. However, a substantial backlog in registering and issuing title deeds has slowed entry into this market, leading to more properties being exchanged informally. In May 2017, the backlog in property registration stood at 58 763 in the Free State, with about 19 835 title deeds having been delivered. It is noteworthy that access to a title deed generally fails to either inhibit or promote entry into the secondary property market, given the lack of administrative and financial support for transfers in this sector.

The municipality has made significant progress in delivering water, electricity, sanitation and roads infrastructure within formally designated areas. It has also engaged in supplying bulk and reticulated water and sanitation and rehabilitating roads in informal settlements, although it has also masked inadequate service delivery in some of these areas.

3.4.3 Governance issues

A range of housing ecologies have evolved on the different urban frontiers in Mangaung, which present a range of potential forms for, and obstacles to, greater access to the city for the poor and disadvantaged. Land grabs areas far from job opportunities and public transport routes have been a persistent phenomenon in the south-east since 1994. Most of Mangaung’s sprawling informal settlements – dwellings

in these areas are widely spaced compared with other metropolises – have been established within existing townships or at their edges, are situated on municipal-owned land which had been reserved for public facilities.

The frontier is an opportunistic one, with local residents having developed a range of forms of negotiation and organisation through which they have sought housing and improved access to the city. It is also a precarious one fraught with political opportunism, rendered even more volatile by legislation that can be exploited to support land grabs. From the point of view of poor residents, participatory forms of governance have been impeded by local political machinations and the municipality has been heavy-handed in its actions – particularly in its evictions and removals to clear land for municipal development. In 2017, residents torched the city hall after the sustainable provision of services in Mangaung, Botshabelo and Thaba Nchu locations collapsed and the municipality brought in debt collectors to recover service fees. Some residents have also taken the local council to court over inadequate service provision. In this context, protests, including against removals, and land grabs have become a way to be heard.

3.5 East London: A Rust-Belt City

Having suffered the depredations of deindustrialisation and forced removals since the early 1960s, East London has a complex, diverse urbanisation frontier. The popular movement back to the city has been influenced by efforts to reduce transport costs and distance from work opportunities created under apartheid; while movement to the edge of suburbs, where land appropriation and the expansion of informal settlements can take place with little interference from middle-class residents and business interests, has also been driven by the desire to access opportunities. In this regard, many of those who have targeted the city fringe have aggregated around key transport corridors. However, it is important to note the fluid nature of the urbanisation frontier due to the continuous nature of much of the movement between the city and its rural hinterland.

Overall East London lacks dynamism and economic growth as a city. With only 36% of households earning more than 1 500 in 2015, the overall unemployment rate stood

at about 45% in 2017. Urban decay due to deindustrialisation in the city is exacerbated by a lack of maintenance, overcrowding, crime, and the movement of businesses from the inner core of settlements to city peripheries. East London may be described as a hollowed-out rust-belt city. The population, which reportedly stood at 835 000 in 2016, is heavily dependent on state transfers and the salaries of the many civil servants based in East London and at the provincial government in nearby Bisho.

3.5.1 Housing and service provision

In 2015, Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality (BCMM) announced that the upgrading of informal settlements had been put on hold for three years because it was struggling to find suitable land. Over the following two years, it was reported that relocated families waiting for RDP housing were living in substandard one-room shacks and container homes. However, these deplorable conditions were deemed preferable to those awaiting them in the RDP houses that they were finally allocated up to nine years later which were unfinished and lacked doors, a roof or any windows. Almost all the residents of these new, small dilapidated properties on the city's edge agreed the housing provision had further limited their access to the city.

Meanwhile, land invasions, which indicate the supply of land is falling behind the demand, have been on the rise. Such occupation is creating a doughnut-shaped settlement pattern in East London. The failure to meet the overall housing needs of the residents of informal settlements, concerns over political favouritism or graft in allocating houses and complaints over inadequate water and electricity supplies have been central issues in continuing, at times violent, protests by thousands of residents. Meanwhile, land grabs which target facility-rich areas which are within walking distance of job opportunities or are well-connected to the transport network, can impede implementation of municipal development plans. The urbanisation frontier has become politicised.

In 2017, BCMM adopted a policy that combined upgrading informal houses with relocation to formal accommodation, although it acknowledged that its objective of moving all residents in informal settlements into formal housing was not feasible. It reported more 41 000 informal settlement houses located in over 150 informal settlements in the metropolitan area, with the highest densities and numbers of informal settlement structures located in Duncan Village within the city and

Mdantsane, which had originally been created as a large apartheid-era township on East London's outskirts.

Both Duncan Village, which had a population of about 100 000 in 2015 and Mdantsane, which has an estimated population of about 250 000, have been targeted by urban renewal initiatives. At both sites, black working-class communities which were systematically marginalised under apartheid continue to be effectively excluded in the creative reconstitution of capitalism. In Duncan Village, the municipality planned to provide formal housing for more than 21 000 households and integrated transport and other services. However, when it exhibited high-density show-houses to gauge the response of prospective state housing beneficiaries to this housing type, local residents blocked roads and burnt tyres in protest, claiming they had been deprived of promised government housing for many years. Meanwhile, in Mdantsane, a burgeoning informal economic sector fuelled by social grants has given rise to a system of informal enforcement and taxation in which officials are directly involved. To address the area's deprivation, the municipality has developed a five-year low-cost housing plan, which complements the identification of Mdantsane as a national urban renewal node. However, numerous housing protests indicate that many residents there still lack adequate housing.

Despite the challenges in housing provision, services have been delivered to some extent and the government has done some of what has been promised. The central development concept for BCMM is, in its own words, one of "beads on a string" within a clearly delimited urban edge. Recognising the pattern of low-density, urban sprawl in the municipality and the infrastructural inefficiencies that this has fostered, the local government is seeking to promote increased residential densities close to transport nodes, around which intensive mixed-use developments will be established. The concept further entails the creation of community settlements offering public facilities, community services and sports infrastructure.

Significant housing backlogs have persisted in the Buffalo City, which includes East London, its peri-urban fringe and surrounding rural settlements and nearby commercial farming areas. The municipality leased or rented sites for urban families to build their own housing structures in accordance with regulations. However, as demand for housing rose, vast tracts of municipal and private land were invaded by

shack dwellers. Planned boundaries and servitude lines for the rectangular suburban-style plots that had been allocated to households were rendered invisible as the shacks mushroomed. Such development was made all the more possible by the fact that these places housed large numbers of migrants who made little permanent claim to the city.

Following an extensive upgrading programme in 32 informal settlements, it was estimated in 2017 that more than 120 000 housing units were required to meet housing needs in Buffalo City. The municipality had previously concluded that it would take more than 50 years to build houses to address backlogs and meet future need. Meanwhile, as a result of relatively high land prices, the city's low-income housing programme has tended to concentrate on peripheral low-cost land which has reinforced rather than eroded the apartheid-era patterns of exclusion. The problem has been exacerbated by delays in land release caused by overlapping environmental, heritage and planning procedures.

As part of a five-year plan to be introduced in 2016, BCMM proposed formally recognising incremental settlement areas, thus putting in place the legal base from which further upgrading development interventions can follow; implementing a locally administered land tenure system; and implement planning to address households' basic needs and their dignity first, as well as their broad developmental needs. However, analysts have noted that, in the absence of a thoroughgoing analysis of the social economy, power dynamics and politics of the city's settlements, the assumption that housing provision can be simply provided on a continuum from the informal to incremental and site-specific interventions is problematic.

Meanwhile, black middle-class families are exiting the tax collection system by moving onto tribal land close to the city outside Mdantsane and building lavish houses on the R72 between King William's Town and Dimbaza. They and other former residents of the city people are creating new versions of "the urban" in the countryside. Tribal land is also used to offer a soft landing for poor people, as they invade land in "good places" with opportunities. However, there is no mechanism for the incorporation of such land invasions into the city and its infrastructure and network of services.

The vast majority of households in Buffalo City have access to shelter and basic water, and electricity services. The municipality has installed service points in informal

settlements to ensure access to water; and the percentage of households that use electricity for cooking, heating and lighting has grown steadily in East London, although the electricity network is in poor condition due to a restricted maintenance budget. However, 46% of households have no access to sanitation, or have to use systems below the minimum basic level. Bulk sewerage systems in the city are well beyond their design lives, are in poor condition and are operating at capacity. Residents of informal settlement also suffer the highest incidences of violent crime and are at the greatest risk from fire, in part due to inadequate roads which prevent emergency vehicle from accessing many shack areas. Such service-provision challenges are likely to rise with the population in these areas set to double within a matter of years.

3.5.2 Informal livelihoods

With only 260 000 of Buffalo City's 830 000-strong working-age population employed in the formal sector, the informal economy is crucial in providing livelihoods. However, the economies of the informal settlements are largely driven by space-based profit and rent-seeking, rather than local home-making investment. The desirable location of some these places, close to middle class suburbs and factories, make them attractive destinations for immigrants and South African migrants. Local tenants can pay between R600 and R1 400 a month, depending on whether they built their shacks themselves or are inhabiting those built by the landlord. Immigrants are asked to pay more than South Africans. In general, the business of the compounds is sealed off socially from the businesses of the street and the neighbourhood.

Migration is often circular and non-permanent, and transboundary migration has played a significant role in urbanisation processes. Migrants often speak of their home spaces, exhibiting a double-rootedness which informs their lives in the informal settlements. By accepting shack life as normal and rejecting opportunities for home-making in the town such migrants can deny the city the valuable investment that RDP beneficiaries were intended to bring to their neighbourhoods. Although there is much social integration in informal settlements and shack accommodation in East London, some settlements can become areas exclusively occupied by residents of particular cultural or ethnic groups, which can pose challenges to the delivery of housing and services. In other cases, incoming migrants and other poor residents may use their

own initiative and establishing associations and networks to access housing by establishing associations and for other purposes, such as the protection and supply of goods in the informal economy and for child care.

The transactional social relations of power and exploitation in the townships are fluid and contested and can explode publicly into inter-generational or xenophobic violence, or privately into gender violence, which can obscure inequality and vulnerability. However, women are not just vulnerable victims in a changing social economy, as they also break away from patriarchal households and set up their own matrifocal households and businesses. They truck and barter to secure advantage and present a threat to male entrepreneurs, who may use them to address consumer resistance and exploit their social capital to move goods and services.

4. SUBURBIA AND THE RE-URBANISATION OF RDP HOUSING

Even when studied in its own right, suburbia has typically been geographically imagined as an extension of urban cores, which reinforces the city-suburb duality. Changing such a deeply embedded dualism requires envisioning suburbia not as an “explosion” away from the centre, but as an emergence of new centres with different and often unique characteristics. Herein, we begin building a new theory of suburbia that is inclusive of old and new centralities. It is a theory that aims to understand “complete urbanisation. (Berger & Kotkin 2017: 10)

Neo-liberalism is the privatisation of economic decision-making and responsibilities over collection solutions. (Keil 2018: 45)

4.1 The trouble with pro-poor suburbia

The primary focus of the national housing policy is on the delivery of houses to individual families who meet the requirements of the policy. Pro-housing was not imagined by the state as a programme of suburbanisation in the first instance, but as a measure to attend to the basic needs of poor people who had historically been oppressed by colonialism, apartheid and a migrant labour system. It was not specifically conceived as an urban development and integration programme. The programme aimed primarily to seek redress and respond to needs of the poor where it found them. In fact, Joe Slovo, who was the first minister of housing after 1994, initially favoured supporting the poor in constructing their own houses by locating large warehouses across the country, from which those who qualified for subsidy support could come to claim building materials, while releasing land for the units that they built. Instead, the state offered a suburban dream as part of a policy that never engaged adequately with theories of the city or the historical role and function of suburbs. The third part of the report considers this problem by exploring the idea of a pro-poor suburbia and how this has been implemented and has evolved.

In his work on housing and citizenship, Ivor Chipkin (2003) stressed the peculiar lack of interest within the DHS during the first decade of democracy in building what he called “functional communities”, predicated on social forms, such as the nuclear family,

which could produce “virtuous citizenship” (see Ross 2010). He argued that encasing “dysfunctional” communities steeped in cultures of violence and drug-dealing, like those on the Cape Flats, in brick-and-mortar houses hardly constituted development. He criticised the adoption of a parochial view of the “democratic spirit” by the government, under which housing provision was regarded as a mere tool for redistribution, without considering the actual function of such provision in reconstructing communities. He lamented the fact that policy lacked any mechanism to domesticate new civic values and advance forms of social engineering that could rebuild family values so that children could be socialised in homes rather than on streets. By contrast with the post-Second World War suburbanisation drive in Europe, when the efforts to rebuild cities were as much about reconstructing social infrastructure as they about putting new houses on the ground, the democratic state in South Africa seemed to adopt a more laissez-faire approach.

The introduction of the BNG policy from 2004 brought the idea of integrated human settlements into focus, emphasising the need for infrastructural investment in housing estates. This meant coordinating development planning to provide more than just houses. In theory, the shift from the production of houses to human settlements brought the programme closer to the ideal of producing functional suburban communities. However, in practice, the silo mentality which prioritised the provision of built structures has remained in place as millions of houses on pavilion sites in suburban-style communities on the urban periphery have been delivered. In essence, the state housing programme was now a suburbanisation programme in the guise of a nationwide Under the flag of human rights and restitution, state housing policy has constituted a massive suburbanisation programme, without apparently recognising this and, as a result, failing to deliver the infrastructural and social forms upon which the success of such a scheme in enabling access to the city depends. In this context, for example, the BNG programme was relatively inward-looking, constituting a housing policy that remained focussed on the individual rights of selected residents rather than community development. Little thought continued to be accorded to how the new suburban residents, many of whom were living in far-flung sites, would actually connect to the larger socio-economic life of their host cities. The idea of the RDP house as a starter unit, which individual families would improve and develop into a fully-fledged suburban home, required urban access, which the policy did not address. In

fact, the realisation of the benefits of such a housing policy required the delivery of a social form – suburbia – which the policy refused to name.

Historically, in Europe and America – and in colonial and apartheid South Africa – the wealthy lived in city centres and the poor in isolated ghettos and low-grade peripheral residential areas, known as suburbs, far from employment and without the protection and benefits of urban life. However, this spatial dichotomy shifted as a nascent urban middle-class mushroomed on the basis of access to relatively cheap land and oil, an abundance of jobs, improved public transport networks and the mass production of motor cars and the construction of roads to service them. The transition from a centralised to suburban model for cities was underpinned by massive levels of state funding and subsidies, including in the form of tax relief on housing debt and public investment in roads, schools, clinics and provision of the physical and human resources infrastructure to deliver on-site water, electricity, sewerage and waste removal services. In America, the anchor investment in the suburban city was the freeway without which this new urban form would not have worked. (In South Africa, where the poor cannot afford motor cars, one of the keys to unlocking the city-suburb connection is public transport, which is in a poor state.) The idea of pro-poor suburbia in post-war America or Europe would have been considered an oxymoron. The suburb was built on access to urban jobs and relatively high working-class wages which allowed families to invest in home and social improvements to realise the ideal of suburbia. Kenneth Jackson (1985) concluded that the creation of suburbia in America depended on the income earned in the city being diverted to the suburbs. This is why Robert Beauregard (2006) described suburbanism as a form of “parasitic urbanisation”.

In South Africa, former apartheid townships, such as Soweto or Orlando, have achieved greater success in emerging as new suburbs because some of the ingredients required for the transition, such as access to formal employment, housing and public transport, were already in place. Most RDP housing estates, by contrast, lack the pre-conditions for such a transition. The idea that the poor can achieve this on their own has been undermined by their fundamental economic marginality, which has been exacerbated by the deindustrialisation of the country’s main urban economies. In the clear absence of the new industrial revolution which had been anticipated as the economic panacea at the introduction of democracy and which

would have offered a means of sustaining the poor, suburban communities established by the state, it would appear that a new paradigm is required – although analysts have noted that the new wishful thinking of the “megacity” propagated by the state, which represents a kind of “super-suburban”, is unlikely to provide the solution.

Notwithstanding the arguments about the virtues of the state’s housing in programme in South Africa, there is little doubting the significance of the state’s role in shaping the urban frontier, given its huge investment in the RDP programme since 1994. Indeed, one of the characteristics of modern South African cities has been the extent to which the urbanisation frontier has been shaped by state, rather than global capital, as is the tendency in many cities elsewhere. Which is not to say that the ecologies of the margins and the RDP estates that have been sited on them do not vary greatly from site to site and city to city across the country. Indeed, one of the main missions of this report is to understand the particular nature of these ecologies and draw conclusions from this analysis to shape future housing policy.

This report has broadly found that, at the one end of the spectrum, there are settlements that are disconnected from the city, which have come to be defined by their economic isolation and social sterility. Such areas have not improved since the original RDP houses were delivered because the residents lack the resources to upgrade their homes and the focus of the state and the city has moved elsewhere. Many of these communities exist today as satellite communities, which people leave at the beginning of the week to seek work in the cities, and then return to at the weekend. These places are socially dead and economically static. They also serve limited functions in term of urban *social* reproduction because their residents prefer to socialise in other places. On the other hand, there are better located RDP settlements, such as those explored in the report, that have shown themselves to be highly dynamics spaces of transformation and re-urbanisation since the delivery of RDP houses. The key question for policy makers is to discover where the dynamism of these settlements lies, where it comes from and where it is going. Are these places on a path of urban evolution and suburbanisation, or involution and slum formation, and what might those terms mean in the urban context of South Africa today. These RDP settlements are “parasites” on the urban edge because they can draw income from jobs in surrounding white suburbs and other places of employment, such as

decentralised factory sites or tourist destination. They have also been significantly “remade from within”, since the RDP development phase, as houses and land are repurposed. The striking feature of all these settlements is the speed with which they have moved away from the RDP suburban format through re-urbanisation. What can we draw from this experience, and how might it inform future housing policy in a context of urban land grabs.

4.2 The social life of gifts

Robert Fishman (2017: 20) wrote that “nothing is more hybridised – indeed chaotic – than morphology and land uses at the edge of a rapidly growing city” (also Neuwirth 2006). This report explores the extent to which pro-poor South African housing developments have conformed to accepted notions of suburbia. The study focuses on three communities in Cape Town: Joe Slovo Park near Montague Gardens industrial area in Milneron, Imizamo Yethu, which is a settlement embedded in the wealthy middle-class suburb and tourism centre of Hout Bay; and Delft, a former Coloured suburb engulfed in new waves of state-supported and people-led urbanisation. In all these areas, old RDP housing estates have been re-urbanised creating volatile, changing and internally stratified communities. The discussion starts with the idea of suburbia as a dream and an ideal. Suburbia, as Lewis Mumford (1961) stated in his book *The City in History*, is a “boring place” within which one can “live and die”. The longevity of suburbia as an ideal lay precisely in this promise of home-making in a single place, where residents could purposefully come of age, get married, live well and die in peace, while still accessing the opportunities of the city on which a fulfilling life may be built. Imagining the spatial formats within which this better life might be achieved has been the business of architects and town planners for more than a century, produced many variants on the theme, from the British “garden city”, to the “broadacre” urbanism of American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, the “radiant city” of French modernist Le Corbusier, and models of New Urbanism (see Parker 2004). However, the suburban ideal – a place to live and die – is not the same as the suburban dream. The latter is a social construction, associated with an imagination of endless growth, where consumption and the material markers of success, such as the car and the house, are fetishised as symbols of prestige. The ideological and, perhaps,

deceptive power of this dream is the promise that it is accessible to everyone, even the poor.

Both before and since the demise of apartheid, black urban and rural South Africans have been gripped by the promise of the suburban dream – of accessing the elusive “settler town”, as Fanon (1961) framed it. In this regard, the suburban dream has constituted an expression of national liberation. The state played a role in marketing this dream, such as through the television programme *Suburban Bliss*, and through the promise of serviced houses for the poor. According to the state, the suburban house should be available to all citizens. Indeed, it is considered a measure of national citizenship and progress. At the same time, the gift of the RDP house has developed a social life of its own, providing a scaffold for aspirational consumerism that can lead to indebtedness. The themes of the gifting, which embodies a search for social cohesion, and the unaffordable gift’s subsequent commodification have come to dominate everyday life in the new state-sponsored estates on the urban edge.

In the metropolitan European tradition, dense cities constituted the cultural heart of the nation. Accordingly, the suburb has operated as a site of social reproduction within an urban geography that compresses the place of work with that of home-making. By contrast, “citiness” was less revered in the colonial world, where access to the spiritual, humanising life-force of nature was often contrasted to the moral degeneracy and danger of the city. In South Africa, the history of migrant labour and apartheid homelands and forced removals, as well as a short, flawed post-1994 history of “parasitic suburbanism” for black residents, has meant that the countryside continues to enjoy considerable power as a space for the social construction of personhood.

In this regard, while black South Africans pursue livelihoods, income and wealth in the city, many of the functions of home-making and social reproduction are allocated to the countryside (although this is changing among the black middle class, which is increasingly urban-based and committed to domesticating the former settler city as home [see Bank 2019]). For the majority of the poor, insecurity in the job market and lack of access to urban land and resources encourages a form of double-rootedness, in which the family home is anchored in a rural heartland (Bank 2015), while the urban house functions as a site of income generation in the city. In this context and given the difficulties of integrating into the urban job market, the gift of the house becomes the

most important asset for the poor to build livelihoods in the city and generate the income needed to attend to the needs of social reproduction. While the favoured location for such reproduction continues to be rural at present, it may increasingly be urban, depending on the resources and opportunities that become available to households there.

RDP houses are often, although not always, transformed from a gift into a commodity by the owner in the absence of the possibilities for, using Beauregard's term, "parasitic urbanism". Such transformation can take the form of a larger people-led process of re-urbanisation in which production (for profit) is prioritised over social reproduction. As part of this process, space – within the house, in the backyard and nearby – is desocialised and privatised to enable profit-making, while limits are placed on efforts to expand public spaces and promote social integration. Analysis of the social life of the gift – the RDP house – can promote understanding of the developmental dynamics in some of the better located state-established suburbs (Mauss 1990; Appaduria 1986). It was further found that women have become leaders in the domestic rental market, while men seem to dominate the extraction of surplus value from public spaces through their leadership of local street and areas committees. It was further found that a process of desocialisation was required to convert the gift into a rentable commodity. To extract rent from kin and neighbours, as David Graeber (2011) showed, they somehow have to be rendered as strangers who cannot claim the service of accommodation outside a market-related financial transaction. Rising rents in urban backyards and the growth of other new forms of tenancy in RDP suburbs may be viewed as an expression of this dynamic. However, in poor communities with dense social ties, the level of social estrangement required to maximise rents maximising can be difficult to implement and justify. In this regard, the report shows that the presence and social marginality of African immigrants Cape Town has been exploited to escalate rents and privatise land use. The commodification of yards, sites and public spaces has made residential access to Cape Town difficult for new arrivals, who may be declared outsiders by urban "citizens" or *borners* (*Abemi*).

Commodification of the gift can take a range of forms. In some cases, families maintain some elements of social reproduction in the neighbourhood while turning a profit by attaching micro-flats to their improved RDP homes. Other owners demolish the RDP

house completely to allow for the construction of double-storey block houses with between 10 and 20 units for rental at around R2 000 a month. On these sites, there is little space for family and community life, which means that the owners are usually building (or living) elsewhere in the city or the countryside. Owners also built double-storey shacks to maximise rentals; or allowed tenants to build shacks in their yards, changing them for rent and services such as electricity which may be sourced from illegal connections. Such transformations of the built environment increasingly separated the house space from the space of the street and the wider community. High walls to make tenants feel safe and block prying eyes have been built. The landlords and landladies also sought to minimise official surveillance of their business and development practices, lest they be required to pay for services or adhere to formal building standards. In Imizamo Yethu in Hout Bay, when a shack fire destroyed neighbourhoods, the city seized the opportunity to enter the space with plans to redevelop the neighbourhood. This angered former RDP beneficiaries seeking to protect their rights as landlords who tried to drive the state away through protests and violence (Robins 2008). The internal dynamics within RDP settlements and townships have also driven forces behind the increasing number of land grab in Cape Town in 2018.

The report further analyses the socio-economic and cultural impacts of the demand-led administrative processes by which RDP houses are delivered. In essence, it is argued, those at the margins of the city participate in a political economy of what may be termed “waithood”, seeking to occupy a priority place on the lists for new housing. In Cape Town, this political economy has given rise to a speculative futures market in shacks that offers the prospect of jumping the housing waiting list. Certain shacks, irrespective of their condition, may fetch more than R30 000 in this market. This process undermines the spirit of the gift and encourages people to disinvest in informal neighbourhoods on the basis that they are waiting for something better (also see Anton Harber [2011] for an account of this in Diepsloot in Johannesburg). State classifications, such as “transitional” settlements, sharpen local ideas about future possibilities. The fact that housing lists can be adjusted locally at the ward councillor or municipal level also contributes to this process.

Waithood can also drive service-delivery protests, of which there were almost 1 000 a year nationwide from 2013 to 2018 (Lancaster 2018). Such protests are almost always informed by local-level politics and community dynamics. In the case of Delft, a place called “Suburbia Bliss” by the apartheid state, local residents anticipating fulfilment of the suburban dream on adjoining land have been confronted by land grabs and intrusions into a formerly ethnically defined urban space with the arrival of newcomers from various informal settlements in Cape Town. Meanwhile, in Joe Slovo Park and Imizamo Yethu, the capacity of African nationals to access employment and commercial opportunities and pay rents to access better housing has enrages poor South African residents stuck on housing waiting lists in backyard shacks. Incidents of xenophobic violence have been recorded in these areas and this report analyses The rise of vigilantism in fractured RDP communities, uncovering evidence of self-appointed people’s forums disciplining residents and recording cases of corruption and witchcraft. In many instances, moral and organisational imperatives imported from the rural heartland of the Eastern Cape are re-invented in highly volatile urban spaces to re-establish patriarchal power and assert an exclusionary form of nationalism.

Suburban formations are well known for their capacity to support racialised politics. The lack of social complexity and multi-ethnic civic engagements in these spaces have been criticised by numerous scholars (Jacobs 1961; Mumford 1961; Jackson 1985; Beauregard 2006). In America, it has often been stated that the social success of the suburb as a site for social reproduction was predicated on its refusal of diversity. In South Africa, the racial and ethnic homogeneity of the suburban landscape imposed under apartheid and still evident in many areas has fuelled tension. In some of the places in Cape Town explored in this report, the diversity of the new communities in a context where the politics of tolerance and civic engagement is weak has promoted conflict, which has been exacerbated by the privatisation of domestic and public spaces as well as the divisive tendencies of rental capitalism. The prominent American urban planner Jane Jacobs favoured urban complexity, contradictions and richness over simplicity. Richard Sennett in his 1993 book, *The Fall of Public Man*, contrasted the classical ideal of order and universality, which drives architects and planners to seek the universal solutions, with the spirit of disruption, dislocation and disorder. Sennett, like Jacobs, believed that density and cosmopolitanism are strong features of robust cities, even if they can create dangerous, unpredictable spaces where

deconstruction and disorientation often prevail. The melting pots of the new RDP settlements have created and continue to create many unpredictable consequences. However, the challenge for the policy community is not to find new ways to create an illusion of order by re-segmenting these high-density settlements, but rather to integrate them in ways that are functional to the city and to a public culture of tolerance that consider the interests of all urban residents.

4.3 The dynamics of social reproduction

The final section in this part of the report explores the role of extended social reproduction and contemporary processes of rural urbanisation in South Africa. The discussion notes the pervasive suburban aspirations of poor and middle-class black South Africans. The report highlights how the families of the miners who were killed at Marikana in August 2012 were gifted suburban houses by the Association of Mineworkers and Constructors Union (AMCU) as a symbol of prestige expressing success in democratic South Africa. The desire for self-designed suburban houses in rural areas is indicative of what Brenner (2010) has called the globalisation of the urban form. In rural areas, the phenomenon has been described as “displaced urbanism” (Bank 2015; Aliber 2018). Access to large tracts of land, the existence of social networks and the possibilities for providing the appropriate facilities, such as rondavels, for family ritual activity and burial, elevate the value of rural places as spaces for social reproduction. In addition, the natural environment in these areas may be embraced in spiritually empowering ways which can soothe the corrosive effects of prolonged urban residence and rural disconnection. Accordingly, investment in rural homesteads for retirement is a priority for many of those struggling in the city. Meanwhile, the proximity of large supermarkets and building supplies stores, which are located in rural towns, means that the suburban dream remains close at hand for those with the means to embrace it in a rural context. Large amounts of income and resources leave the cities via remittances and credit transfers to build the suburban home in the countryside – although such locations were never planned as suburbs and are devoid of local employment, which aggravates the social and developmental costs of the failed urban transition.

5. EVALUATIVE CONCLUSIONS

The national housing programme has evolved from a mandate to satisfy the basic needs of poor families migrating to the cities after a long history of enforced labour migration and restricted urbanisation for the majority of the population. The imperative of the policy framework has been to address the rights and constitutional entitlements of individual households who could apply to the state for assistance based on a needs test. The housing subsidy programme was intended for the poorest of the poor, especially those who earned less than R1500 a month. The provision of housing to the poor was a gift from the state to meet the housing needs of the poor. It was not intended, first and foremost, as a means to access the city.

The South African pro-poor housing programme was thus unique insofar as it specifically targeted the poor and vulnerable. It is also unique in the extent of state investment in the programme over the past 25 years which has provided over 3.5 million housing opportunities. Excluding China, the South African state-led housing programme is among the largest in the world. One consequence of a scheme of this magnitude is that the state rather than the market or private capital has set the agenda for urbanisation since the end of apartheid. In his book, *Cities of Power*, Goran Theborn (2017) argued that theories of the city often under-estimated the role of the state in shaping cities and urbanisation. Most theories focus on market mechanism as the defining feature in determining urban access. In poor communities in South Africa, this report argues, the state is central to the way cities have evolved over the past 25 years. The decision of the state to locate new pro-poor housing developments on the fringes of South African cities has, for example, helped to reproduce the spatial disadvantages township residents experienced under the apartheid government, when workers commuted long distances to jobs. Today the vast majority of new housing developments for the poor are still located far from economic opportunities, which restricts access to the city and opportunities for employment among the poor.

But it is not just the distance from urban employment which has impeded access to the city for the poor. Several other factors have also been identified as critical. First, it has been noted that the demand for housing subsidies still far exceeds supply. This means that many of those who urbanise, or leave existing townships due to congestion, go to informal settlements. The most overcrowded informal settlements

are those located close to good urban infrastructure, with access to transport services and employment opportunities. Second, the provision of housing as a gift has created expectations that such houses should be available to all. The poor wonder why some beneficiaries are gifted houses while others are not. This generates anger and protests for better services and more houses on the fringes of the city. This report observes that the struggle for housing and the city has generated a complex, differentiated urban ecology, which is defined by what might be called “insurgent citizenship” (Holston 2009). The politics of patronage and the promise of houses and services defines this terrain of struggle.

Popular definitions of citizenship have also been decisively shaped by the state’s housing programme. Citizenship has become associated with access to a serviced house. Those without such an asset are often perceived to be without proper citizenship in the new democratic state. The report notes that people aspire to this ideal and will work to acquire such houses wherever they can access land, including in the rural areas. Many shack dwellers invest in expensive suburban-style homes far from the cities to express their citizenship as suburbanites of the new South Africa. This has made the suburban house an object of desire and a source of family and individual prestige. Those who live in shacks claim that they are not yet proper citizens of South Africa because they do not live in proper family houses made of cement blocks and mortar. Housing is therefore both a technical and aspirational problem for the state.

In her work on the Angolan capital Luanda, Claudia Gastrow (2017) argued that political citizenship there is defined by the materiality of houses in which those made of cement blocks (*casa de bloc*), stand in contrast to shacks or houses made of corrugated iron (*chapa*). The same distinction applies in South Africa, which is one of the reasons that people who are confined to shacks in the cities are so frustrated and determined to build with blocks somewhere. To be without a house of cement blocks is, this report argues, to be stripped of modern citizenship. This also explains why the competition is so intense and the desire is so great for free state houses in South Africa’s cities.

In packaging housing for the poor, the state has generally adopted a suburban format. In other words, houses have been delivered as part of projects in which multiple units,

often hundreds or even thousands of houses, are delivered on greenfield sites as fledgling “suburbs”. The initial focus of the policy on delivering houses meant that many of these new estates lacked the services needed to support suburban life, such as schools, clinics, taxi ranks and shops. In 2004, the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy attempted to address this problem by trying to ensure that the state delivered “sustainable human settlement”. But this was often easier said than done because the delivery system was already entrenched and assessed in terms of units delivered rather than communities created. Municipalities and provincial governments were reluctant to support slower delivery for fear of losing access to housing subsidy support from the central government. So, while the BNG policy provided some of the mechanisms needed to create more sustainable communities, the policy was often not implemented effectively because the housing mandate essentially remained a numbers game. The new policy also supported informal settlement upgrading and rural housing provision, which struggled to gain traction because of the way that success was measured.

This report argues that the government alone should not be blamed for the delivery format because, as is noted, the cement house constitutes so much more than a dwelling, it has become a mark of social mobility and modernity. In addition, even where community services, schools, shops and transport infrastructure have been put in place, the question of sustainability has remained a challenge because the individuals and families in the houses are often too poor to make significant investments in improving their homes or neighbourhoods. Accordingly, the report explores different approaches to the creation of suburbs and suburbanisation and notes that access to urban jobs was absolutely critical to the creation of sustainable suburban communities in the global north. Beauregard (2006) argued that suburbs were basically a “parasitic” urban form because their viability always depended on resources residents could bring in from the city. The wealth and prosperity of the suburb was thus a function of the quality of access its residents had to the city beyond the suburb.

The relative disconnection of many state-funded housing estates from physical and economic access to the city, together with the low levels of skills and private capital possessed by those who have been granted houses, has made suburbanisation in this

traditional “northern sense” difficult to achieve. In this context, a more useful comparator is provided by Keil (2018) who suggested that the American-style suburb is no longer the global norm. He noted that suburban forms have continued to reproduce themselves in different ways across the globe, even outside a centre-periphery model of economic development. Many more suburbs today, he suggested, rely on decentralised opportunities as people “make do” with what they have within their “own backyards” in the places in which they live. He also explained that suburbia is now much more stratified than was the case in the past. This broader definition of suburbanisation is useful in the context of South Africa’s cities, which are expansive and multi-centred.

The report shows how the disjuncture between places of economic agglomeration and residential concentration has created barriers to urban access because of the relative absence of formal jobs in the places where the poor reside. This trend is compounded by low levels of economic growth in a labour-shedding economy. In the absence of easy access to formal-sector jobs or cheap physical access to the city centre, diverse processes of residential and economic involution and stratification have emerged at the margins. These processes are revealed in detail in the five city reports presented in this report, which document diverse state strategies in housing provision and popular responses to them. One of the major findings of the report is that the new settlements created by the state often re-urbanised rapidly as they were exposed to secondary forms of urbanisation and informalisation. Without proper town planning for shops and formal trading sites, informal commercial strips emerged along major thoroughfares. House sites were also often converted into shops or trading sites to support local forms of “penny capitalism”, which engulfed new settlements. Many housing beneficiaries, who were unable to reproduce themselves through formal sector jobs, turned to the backyard rental market as a source of additional income to survive. Although, housing recipients were generally not in favour of transforming their sites into “compounds with shacks”, poverty and the pressures of urbanising kin often made it difficult for them to refuse these opportunities. This process led to densification and placed the urban infrastructure under duress, as residential populations exceeded the original carrying capacity five- or ten-fold. Political and social implosion followed in many cases, while municipal system and officials struggled to sustain services.

The political economy of involuted, rental capitalism at the margins is predicated on social alienation and estrangement which drives factional politics and stokes internal conflict within pro-poor suburbia. The two processes are closely connected, and the absence of regulation in these markets by the city and the state contributes to their ungovernability. The commodification of residential sites for rent extraction has created considerable social and economic differentiation in old townships and RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) settlements, based on internal exploitation within poor communities. Resulting high, exclusionary rents have significantly impeded access to the city for the non-land holding urban poor due to high, exclusionary rents. The unregulated presence of foreign nationals in yards is also a matter of concern for local tenants because they tend to dominate the informal economy.

South African cities, especially the larger ones, are developing communities which are increasingly dense, socially complex and internally stratified. Local perceptions of rights and entitlements can clash with those of the state as residents make their own distinctions between various categories of insiders and outsiders; foreigners and locals, settlers and residents, urbanites and migrants. State policy and planning still broadly view its beneficiaries as belonging to one community, although almost every settlement features a variety of interest groups and classes competing for limited resources. In the single-storey, monochrome, one-family one-site models of pro-poor suburbia propagated by the state, there is a growing gap between what should drive policy (planning for complexity and diversity) and what actually drives policy (planning for homogeneity). Social complexity and density are difficult to manage and are thus often seen as a threat to urban growth and development in the current policy formats, although they are increasingly common in new settlements in South African cities.

The report raises important questions about the ways in which houses are converted into assets in new state-funded housing estates and consider how a new kind of housing ladder has emerged as a result. It notes that, while there is evidence of state houses being bought and sold, the housing market in these settlements is most active in the rental sector. There is less evidence of people wanting to move up the ladder by selling in one area and buying in another than there is of them wanting to transform and in some cases even destroy the RDP houses they have been gifted to maximise

the rental income on their sites. The report introduces a set of concepts to analyse this process of change, which do not assume as housing markets theorists can do, that these settlements represent “flat economic spaces” in which the asset value of houses can be determined by their physical and locational features. Instead, this report identifies common “pathways” along which families move as they develop their houses as assets. These pathways, it is noted, have been shaped by social and cultural factors as profoundly as they have been by local economic realities. A more complex theorisation and understanding of the housing ladder is produced by charting the paths and trajectories of houses as gifts and how they have become entangled in social, cultural, economic and political processes at the local level.

The report suggests that the state needs to understand the market as socially constituted and fundamentally shaped by factors such as gender, generation, customary rules and the social composition and authority structures of households. The absence of title deeds in many settlements has contributed to confusion around inheritance after the death of the beneficiary. One of the contradictions has been that, while the state regards houses as individual assets (belonging to a beneficiary it has chosen), ordinary people and their families often viewed these gifts as “family assets”, which cannot be located outside the normal rules of customary inheritance and family practice. An obvious contradiction that has been identified is that, while the state uses housing to empower vulnerable groups such as women and their dependents, families have not always recognised the rights of the official beneficiaries to decide on the allocation of what is viewed as family property. Accordingly, it is suggested that the gifts of the state (the houses) developed their own “social lives” which need to be better analysed and understood for improved policy-making. Simplistic notions of the market and a housing ladder need to be revisited in the context of a better understanding of what this report calls “pathways”, “thresholds” and “household trajectories”.

The failure of the state and its planners to find ways of domesticating suburban aspirations within a sustainable version of the “suburban ideal” (see Beauregard 2006), by combining housing and services with land, income and access to the city, undermines urban stability and development. Some of the key indicators impeding attainment of this ideal include:

- *Formalisation and upgrading:* The formalisation of housing structures through the conversion of corrugated iron houses into cement block homes, which was seen as a priority, as the popular contrast between shacks or “inadequate housing” and formal “proper houses” became increasingly politically ingrained.
- *Holistic and integrated planning:* Improved quality of life, which is not just a matter of gaining access to better incomes, but also involves living in a healthy environment, accessing recreation facilities and education, health and transport services, and civic protection and law enforcement. Residents wanted to see massive improvements in these areas of state policy.
- *Safety and Security and Gender Discrimination:* Issues of crime and gender inequality, which emerged as lightning rods of discontent in many places. Young men often felt that preference was being given to women in the allocation of houses and they complained about what they considered to be a strong gender bias in the housing allocation programme. Women, on the other hand, claimed bitterly of pervasive crime and youth criminality which they presented as a problem driven by young men. They asked for protection and stronger law enforcement.
- *Land affordability:* A lack of affordable land, especially in Cape Town, but also in other cities. This was a significant contributory factor to land invasions, according to many respondents.
- *Accountability and Inclusiveness:* A lack of information about local development. Residents complained they had to rely on hearsay and rumours, which fuelled perceptions of corruption and irregularities in the allocation of resources. They asked for better public information campaigns at the city- and settlement-level to foster civic participation.
- *Participation and Choice:* A perceived lack of participation and choice in the housing development process. Residents claimed that while they were given the impression that they would be involved and be able to exercise choice, they were, in effect, marginalised in the development process.

Creating more complex, stratified urban communities presents a major challenge for the Department of Human Settlements (DHS). In the past, suburban communities have been seen as comprised of people on similar economic trajectories with similar

(working) class backgrounds. In South African cities, many new housing estates or informal settlements start out this way, but quickly evolve into stratified, fractured spaces. The report also notes that while the state has been driving pro-poor suburbanisation in the cities considerable self-led, concrete housing building has been undertaken in rural areas, where small towns and rural settlements have been transformed by new building technologies and approaches. The report explores some of the reasons for these trends, which it argues have been largely off the radar of state planning and settlement formation. The informal and unplanned suburbanisation of the South African countryside poses many challenges for state policy, especially since these areas are supposed to be sites of agricultural production rather than places of displaced urbanism.

In short, current housing policies are essentially too rigid to allow for more imaginative and adaptive responses to actual complexities. Some cities seem to appreciate these complexities better than the central state, leading to tension between local and national planning agendas. Policy failure is also seen in the increasing intensity and momentum of urban land invasions, which, are driven by both a gross shortage of well-located land for settlement and growing inequalities within re-urbanised, townships established under apartheid, as well as new housing estates. The inability of traditional leaders and small-town authorities to manage rural urbanisation and land management present another challenge for the state's economic development policies.

The right to the city may be viewed as a struggle to reintegrate a de-alienating urban space dominated by the capitalist principle of exchange value into a web of social connections through which residents create use-value and make a place for themselves. As individuals reclaim space within the city, they give new shape to the urban layout and settlements. In order to facilitate access to the city, government agencies need to operate with a better understanding of how people, despite the difficulties they face, actually manage to access the city, often as part of informal networks of employment, deliberately avoiding formal systems and/or developing strategies to bypass those systems which are impossible to access. In this regard, promoting access would seem to entail finding ways to work with and leverage informality to the benefit of poor, urban residents.

The kinds of shelter and access to the city sought by migrants who are looking for jobs rather than the opportunity to settle permanently will be different from the kinds of shelter and access sought by longer-term residents of the city who may have generational and family ties there. The municipality needs to look at tailoring its housing supply to the different actual needs of the various groups. Municipalities should also adopt principles for implementation that promote inclusivity, including through accommodating incremental development; supporting community participation; engaging in partnerships; building capacity and empowering stakeholders; and adopting a human-rights focus that seeks to address basic needs, including for residents of informal settlements. Municipal authorities should be more proactive in enabling access to the city for the majority of residents and not only react when there is a crisis.

The marginalisation of the poor must be addressed politically in order to effect sustainable change. On a practical level, the have-nots need accessible, inexpensive and time-effective access to systems of government, including through consumer or tenant protection agencies, and assistance with paperwork such as contracts, title transfers and tax.

Incremental settlement represents a pro-poor approach. The process may take place in an in-situ context in which people have already occupied the land illegally and the area is then formalised and upgraded over time; or in a greenfield context in which the land is undeveloped, and the area is prepared for future settlement and upgraded over time. However, the logic that seeks to deliver housing along a continuum from the formal to the informal may fail to address the broader needs of the marginalised in accessing the city.

One opportunity that presents itself as a means of promoting pro-poor development is small-town regeneration in rural areas, where populations gather in home spaces, which requires little formal planning. Small towns might prove useful places to try new models and approaches to urban management and settlement delivery, particularly given the availability of land in these locations.

6. RECOMMENDATIONS

1. *Managed self-led development:* The form of state housing delivery must move away from models that entrench ideas of housing as a “gift economy” and encourage greater joint ownership of the development process. The evidence shows that cement block houses are desired not only as forms of shelter, but also as expressions of citizenship. It has also been noted that, where the state does not build these houses at scale, such as in rural areas, people make their own arrangements to build them with local builders. Accordingly, the state should encourage carefully planned and managed self-led community development in cities. The Department of Human Settlements should re-engage with forms of housing delivery in cities to foster the involvement of individual families in building processes. This will create more sustainable and peaceful communities.
2. *Suburbanisation as a means of accessing the city:* The state needs to recognise that “accessing the city” in the conventional way, through formal sector employment, has become the exception rather than the rule in many places. The DHS should therefore adapt the way settlements are planned, imagined and developed to accommodate many more local income opportunities and strategies. Urban planners need to be more sensitive to this reality and better understand the complex, diverse forms of suburbanisation that are emerging in South Africa. Greater experimentation with new development models is required.
3. *The state must retain its presence post-settlement:* Greater community and household participation in establishing and building new urban suburbs must be encouraged to enhance local commitment to place-making which is an essential part of building stable urban settlements. The perceived withdrawal of the DHS from communities once the ribbons have been cut and the “gifts” have been delivered undermines the post-settlement role of the state and city authorities as stewards of urban place-making. Re-urbanisation is extremely common but is not a focus of policy development. The costs of this oversight were clearly seen in all the cities reviewed in this report.
4. *Integrated holistic development:* National housing policy should place greater focus on urban integration and city access than housing provision. The creation

of new human settlements as residential islands remains a national problem. The balance of state investment in creating new suburbs has been skewed towards the construction of houses rather than facilitating the infrastructures necessary to greater urban integration.

5. *Need for better understanding of suburbanisation:* Research to support a more sophisticated understanding of the diverse processes of suburbanisation in South Africa should be conducted. Rather than merely evaluating the existing policy framework, such a study should appreciate the newness of the urbanisation process as experienced in particular localities in order to ground state policy more effectively.
6. *Improved understanding of pro-poor housing markets and effects:* The basic assumptions about how pro-poor housing markets evolve and develop need to be better understood, so that more appropriate strategies and products can be developed. On-site advice centres that attend to post-settlement issues, including the granting of title deeds, and secondary urbanisation issues such as the replanning of residential sites to accommodate tenants must be addressed. The impacts of mushrooming backyard shacks on densification and rental dynamics have to be addressed as a priority in policy rather than ignored.
7. *Sustainable communities and social reproduction:* More attention should be given to questions of social reproduction in order to create sustainable urban communities which are able to thrive. Suburban place-making as an ideal is most effective when people wish to live and die in the city. Too much attention has been paid to the issue of economic production in the city in isolation, without considering the impacts of cultural factors, such as double-rootedness, which can lead to the repatriation of urban wages and resources to the countryside at the expense of effective urban development in the places where people spend most of their lives. Deferring the dream of suburban living to another place (“my rural home”) or another time (“when I retire”) does not address the need for greater urban inclusion today.
8. *State regulations and municipal by-laws:* State regulation is essential to manage exploitation and stabilise communities. The state cannot assume that local politics and economics are disconnected and should approach engaging local communities from this point of view and be open to flexible solutions based

on well-informed situational analysis. This report notes that vested interests in many urban communities seek to keep the state out of settlements. Landlords are often opposed to greater state intervention because they feel it will lead to increased taxes and service fees. The failure of the state and city officials to make their presence felt in these communities and enforce regulatory systems and proper urban management damages the interests of those who are already most vulnerable and subject to exploitation in these communities.

9. *Sustainable and incremental housing delivery:* The regulatory frameworks in many cities need to be reviewed in relation to the informal economy and the built environment. It is as inappropriate to apply highly formalised and expensive building regulations, as it is to tolerate unsafe and exploitative local economic practices. The government should invest more in People's Housing Process programmes which enable households to realise their housing needs and aspirations in a sustainable way.
10. *Availability of reasonably priced rental housing:* The state needs to intervene in markets by offering reasonably priced rental units for the poor constructed on a vertical scale (which can address issues of densification). Additional land should be released to build new kinds of house which should differ in format and scale from those provided under the RDP scheme. Existing hostels need to be upgraded to accommodate the changing needs of the occupants and their families. The state should seek to control the informal rental markets emerging in re-urbanised RDP settlements by offering alternative rental products to undermine usurious landlordism and protect vital public spaces. Actions should be taken to integrate landlords as tax- and service-paying citizens.
11. *Inclusive coverage:* The DHS should work with the Department of Home Affairs and seek to ensure that legal immigrants in the settlements occupied by the poor and marginalised are protected against unfounded claims that they have an unfair advantage in the city. Action should be taken to include African immigrants in community development forums and structures. There is also a need to address tensions between different ethnic communities in South Africa, such as has occurred in Mitchell's Plain and elsewhere in the Western Cape.
12. *Greater participation and Inclusiveness:* A more participatory and inclusive politics at the local level should be fostered to advance the cause of localised

place-based development and rectify some of the more extreme injustices and inequalities in these suburban spaces.

13. Emphasise stable, integrated and sustainable human settlements:

Notwithstanding the massive achievements of the DHS in providing shelter for the poor over the past 25 years, the housing policy framework should be revised to prioritise greater access to stable communities and economic opportunity in the city.

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Annex 2: Detail of the methodology

Introduction

The current study follows an inductive, evidence-based methodology, which means it starts with peoples' experiences of urbanization and access to the city rather than with any policy framework. However, it does not ignore policy frameworks but is based on learning from experience to develop new or substantiate earlier theories. The reason for adopting an inductive approach is because access to the city, as the conceptual and theoretical framework document explained, is and cannot be exclusively defined by government policy because it is a much broader process than simply policy-making and implementation. There are also no pre-existing policies or strategies specifically focusing on access to the city. In the science of policy assessment (evaluation), the work is deductive. It starts with the policy and moves to reality and practice. Evaluation studies start with the policy assumptions and then assess how they apply to the implementation process and proposed outcomes (so, for example, the policy says housing is an asset, so the social scientist assesses the extent to which this is realized in practice). However, where there is no clear policy there is no way of assessing it deductively. Therefore, an attempt is made here to consider what a possible existing policy derived ToC might entail. A potential ToC will be refined once all the evidence from the study is in place and will be presented towards the end of the report.

The evaluation carried out in this study can be partially construed as a synthesis evaluation in that it includes the synthesis of previous evaluation studies to identify an explicit or implicit ToC. A synthesis evaluation enables the cross-sectional integration of individual studies and overall aggregation of findings (Olsen and O'Reilly, 2011). Accordingly, it will adopt the approach outlined by the DPME (2014: 1,2):

Evaluation synthesis brings together existing studies, assesses their relevance and reliability, and draws together their data to answer specific questions. An evaluation synthesis aims to bring together what is known about a particular type of programme or a particular issue in service delivery. It can explain how, and under what conditions, what type of programmes does (and does not) work. It is more than a listing of the results of individual studies and may take a variety of forms.

The purpose of the synthesis evaluation is to enable informed policy decisions to be made based on the results of previous evaluations. However, the earlier evaluations are arguably insufficient in terms of the data which inform their analysis. Such data may be skewed to meet specific terms of reference and client needs and may only partially cover, or even fail to address, the issue of providing housing and shelter in relation to access and rights to the city understood in broad terms. Furthermore, the frameworks for these evaluation reports do not necessarily coincide with that posited by this study and its sample of cities researched as case studies. Nor were these earlier frameworks and reports initiated and conducted to answer the core questions posed by this assignment. Accordingly, a review of multiple sources of literature is required, including evaluations conducted by other organisations; reports; unpublished theses by students; journal articles; and other articles, including news pieces, on issues relating to the ability of housing and shelter to provide a platform for gaining access to the services and multiple opportunities that purportedly attract people the city and how people (mainly the poor and vulnerable) are able to transact in order to obtain such access. The approach used here is that of an expanded synthesis evaluation established on case studies of selected metropolitan areas all with their own unique structural and social landscapes and characteristics.

Type of evaluation

This assessment constitutes both a formative and summative evaluation (Scriven, 1967). A formative evaluation is usually carried out during the implementation of a programme to advise on progress, effectiveness and to enable changes. A summative evaluation is conducted at the conclusion of an intervention or programme to make judgements regarding its efficacy, that is: does it do what it intended to do? As the DHS programme of how housing promotes access to the city for the poor has not yet been completed (or clearly designed in relation to a ToC), this assessment constitutes a formative and summative evaluation, with the emphasis on the formative component. Although there is a need to take stock of what has happened to date in respect to housing delivery and its efficacy in enabling access to the city for beneficiaries (the summative evaluation), there is also a need to determine what can be done to improve the process and outcomes (formative evaluation) based on the evidence drawn from peoples' diverse and common experiences evidenced by the city case studies. By their nature, policies and related programmes continually undergo shifts and changes in

emphasis, so the formative evaluation emphasis is logical – assessing the outcomes and development of the programme at a particular point in time, advising on its efficacy and providing preliminary suggestions and possible adjustments to enable traction and relevant responses in the future. The intention is not to make a final judgement on DHS programmes, but rather to provide suggestions for how they may be changed and improved.

The evaluation design

Evaluation design refers to how the research process is structured to acquire the relevant information to answer the evaluation's core questions. The design here is non-experimental and focuses largely on outcomes to date, as outlined in previous evaluations and various literature sources relating to the topic of housing and its contribution to access to the city. These sources are as recent as 2018. The study seeks to understand whether the strategies undertaken by the DHS and their focus are sufficient and efficient to ensure that the poor achieve access to the city and how they do so and, if so, how these outcomes are attained and what form they take (planned and/or unplanned). To this end, this evaluation considers the types of outcomes that emerge, intended and unintended, and how these relate to the government's strategies. Causal links are thus relevant but not the only deciding factors. The preference is to understand the meaning of the patterns more clearly and how they manifest out of continually transforming situations

The evaluation design is systematic, rigorous, with an element of flexibility as argued above. It is based on the concept of a Rapid Evidence Assessment (REA) (DPME 2014), using an ordered structure to collect and review relevant reports, documentation and other literature. Most of the literature is expected to be categorised as books, book chapters, journal articles. The remainder is expected to be postgraduate dissertations, grey literature and consultancy reports. To ensure flexibility, the review adopts the approach of a critical realist review. The value of critical realism and research hinges on its ability to inform evidence-based policy making (Pawson and Tilley 1997, 2004; Tilley 2000). In this respect, the contributions of critical realism are that it views and treats policy as theory, yet avoids typical epistemological binaries while recognising the significance of knowledge content and context relationships. And possibly of greater importance for evaluation studies, it

acknowledges and accepts the intricate nature of human behaviour and attempts to elicit causal relationships, even if these are not derived from ideas about 'universal truths'. Meaning and subjectivity are also considered important in understanding relationships. Because they are less rigid critical realist reviews enable the inclusion of new material throughout the process, as and when this becomes available. This might lead to the exclusion of other material but ensures that the most pertinent information is used to compile the evidence and formulate the arguments.

In South Africa the Centre for Development Support argues that realist reviews are vital as they guide five crucial questions: "(1) What are the embedded institutional knowledge and attitudes?; (2) What mechanisms are at play? (Understanding and describing existing processes and different layers of reality that impact on causality); (3) What is the context? (Geographical location and historical context are two important aspects to be considered.); (4) What regularities can be seen (i.e. patterns, associations or outcomes)?; and (5) What change is seen to be occurring and what triggers this change?" (CDS 2015: ix,5).

In line with the above the current study:

1. Distinguishes between and clarifies the concepts of access and rights to the city and their relevance at the international and national level.
2. Reflects on the DHS's current theory of change drawing from policy, strategy and evaluation documents.
3. Proposes an evaluation framework in which the evaluation research is positioned in terms of concepts and the DHS's prevailing theory of change, enabling the inclusion of a new, adjusted theory of change should this be required by the evidence.
4. Synthesises previous evaluations and existing literature.
5. Entails a comprehensive case study assessment of five metros to draw out commonalities and nuances. To reflect on the process of accessing the city, five metropolises of different sizes in different provinces, with similar and different histories of migration and demands for access were selected to serve as case studies.

6. Selects two or three specific areas within each of these five metros in consultation with the DHS to serve as specific cases. This will increase knowledge and awareness of activities taking place within “hotspots” in these metros.
7. Offers findings of the evaluation synthesis and the analysis thereof in light of the framework.
8. Proposes policy recommendations and conclusions outlining a potential new or revised theory of change, as necessary and informed by the evidence.

Methodological questions and themes

The methodology used in this study comprises a review of literature relating to how government departments and the DHS, in particular, facilitate and contribute to the ability of the poor to access the benefits of the city. To develop an evaluation framework and understand the theory of change the literature review seeks to answer the following questions:

- What is the prevailing theory of change?
- How are the concepts of access and rights to the city understood and used in contemporary debates and discourses? How do they differ?
- What thresholds and indicators for adequate access exist and who identifies these? Are they unanimous?
- Have state policies and programmes facilitated access to the city by the poor?
- In what ways have the poor and others facilitated their own access?
- What partnerships have been used/are in use and where and how successful have they been with regard to enabling access to the city by the poor?
- What opportunities can be realised to improve access to the cities, and should access remain a key driver of government?
- Is an alternative or modified approach possible to facilitate access to urban spaces and ensure place-making?

Sourcing the literature for the evaluation research

It is necessary to source multiple types and topics in the literature to answer these key questions. For example, it is necessary to access literature explaining the overlaps and dissimilarities between the concepts of access and rights at the international and local levels. It is also necessary to look at local and international policy research findings and explanations. At a more localised level, it is necessary to focus on literature that covers access, poverty and human settlements in South Africa and specifically in the selected case study metropolises. Much of this literature is known to the HSRC research team and recent debates were verified by colleagues through a process of networks of information exchange. Various databases such as prominent journals, as well as search engines such as ProQuest, EBSCO-Host, Google, Google Scholar, Yahoo and Bing, were used to source the literature. Literature was also recommended and provided by the DHS and the DPME to increase the body of potentially relevant literature.

To strengthen the process, the literature search was guided by several hypotheses about housing and its role as a mechanism for the poor to access the city. To this extent, we formulated 5 themes or hypotheses, by reviewing existing literature and debates globally and within in South Africa based on the team's knowledge of the subject. The key terms developed from these themes we included in a search utilising ProQuest, EBSCO-Host, Google, Google Scholar. Further literature around these hypotheses was identified during the course of reviewing the initial literature sourced. The five themes developed, from which indicators about access to the city by the poor can be extracted are as follows:

1. access through housing provision, policy and implementation including housing achievements, progress and backlogs.
2. changing access through basic service provision dynamics (other services including water, sanitation, electrification, transportation, clinics, health and safety facilities, and recreation, all in relation to proximity to state housing settlements). This looks at spatial arrangements of housing provision and servicing (water, sanitation, refuse collection, energy), along with accessibility and proximity of other urban services and opportunities.

3. economic opportunities for inclusion in or exclusion from the city (employment and self-employment in the formal and informal economy'). This looks at spatial patterns of housing and employment opportunities.
4. power dynamics and participation as mediating factors in development/access and inclusion/exclusion (civic contributions to the city, passive and active involvement in accessing the city and its structures and institutions – includes engagement in/with state, civic and criminal institutions/gangs). The focus here is on enabling activities by the state and by the poor residents and thus emphasises the placement of agency.
5. the impact of migration dynamics, including segmentation of the poor along the categories of gender, people with disabilities and generation/age cohort in accessing the city. This then also looks at issues of agency.

We sourced previous evaluations from the DHS, the DPME and some from work undertaken by HSRC colleagues. This strategy is crucial for the initial evaluation synthesis to explore what work has been undertaken in this area and what evidence was used to provide the findings, conclusions and recommendations. This and the aforementioned literature review are vital to identifying the required indicators and a threshold for understanding access to the city – for example, minimum or maximum access – and if such a threshold is realisable and makes sense. The literature also enables a broad overview of the DHS's theory of change and its transformation to its current state. Combined, this literature has enabled the formulation of the evaluation framework which is established to meet the evaluation's purpose and answer the questions relating to this posed by the terms of reference of the client.

The case study of five cities requires that literature is sourced in several ways. First, senior researchers provided the five case study researchers with local and international literature about the rights and access to the city based on their knowledge of the subject and contemporary debates. Relevant articles and other publications (reports, grey publications and book chapters) that include sociological and anthropological themes such as place-making, settlement histories, notions of marginalisation and so forth, based on local research and international work, were screened and also provided. Second, the case study literature reviewers used their own documents based on their experience in this field and those provided through

personal networks and individuals. They then sourced further documents from the internet using search engines such as Google Scholar, Google, Bing and Yahoo. Much of the information also came from government sources and included metropolitan municipal integrated development plans (IDPs). The third source of literature was provided by the HSRC information consultants drawing on literature in the HSRC Institutional Repository and included research reports, journal articles, press pieces, popular articles and book chapters written by current and former HSRC experts in the fields of poverty, human settlements, housing, urbanisation, access and rights to the city. Again, keywords were extracted from the five themes. This activity yielded a total of 54 scientific articles, client reports, news pieces, policy briefs and other articles authored by HSRC scientists.

A fourth source of literature involved various searches using keywords derived from the five themes or sub-hypotheses. These were then entered into scientific search engines such as ProQuest and EBSCO-Host by the HSRC Information Consultants. The following keywords and phrases were used in this search: “housing” and “human settlement” in South Africa. This was expanded by using the same keywords for Bloemfontein, Mangaung, Durban, eThekweni, East London, Buffalo City, Johannesburg, and Cape Town to ensure nothing was overlooked in the broad South African search. Other keywords and phrases in both levels (national and city) of searches included “human settlement”, “housing provision”, “housing policy”, “housing backlogs”, and the combinations of “poor people” and “human settlement”, and “poverty” and “housing”. This exercise yielded 118 articles across all five themes. Most were in Theme 1 (56), Theme 2 (22) and Theme 5 (21). Abstracts were then sent to the reviewers to revise and request full papers of national and city-specific interest.

A fifth and final, crucial source of literature information was that provided through ongoing discussions with the DHS and the DPME as well as reviewing the literature and continually doing web searches and obtaining information from peers as this was released during the course of the project. The process followed illustrates the importance of the flexibility of the critical realist review approach. It is important to note that not all the literature covered and reviewed is included here because of space but also particularly due to its need to be directly relevant to the study.

Five-city case study sampling procedures

Various resource constraints prevented the preferred inclusion of all eight metropolitan municipalities (metros) in South Africa and some of the important and burgeoning secondary cities, such as Polokwane, Kimberley, Rustenburg, Mthatha and others in the rural hinterland. The research team selected five metros that had distinguishing characteristics. First and foremost are the historical relationships of these cities with increasing numbers of migrant workers before, during and after the apartheid era. These cities were further identified by using the following provincial and city characteristics: provincial poverty levels (using gross domestic product per capita [GDPpc] as a proxy indicator); provincial population numbers; metropolitan municipality population numbers and population density; information on housing activities by the Department of Human Settlements and its partners in the provinces and from the metros. These features or layers are then incorporated to generate a sample of metros. A final crucial factor is the existence of literature on these metros which determines the depth of analysis that may be attained through a literature review.

Those cities under the greatest pressure for housing and services and with the most literature on human settlements and access to the city are Cape Town, Johannesburg and eThekweni. However, there are some similarities and differences across these three metros in terms of housing and shelter provision. In order to ascertain the similarities and differences in relation to smaller, established cities, the metros of Buffalo City in Eastern Cape and Mangaung in the Free State were selected. Cape Town and Johannesburg lie in the two wealthiest provinces. Mangaung is a small metro and lies in a medium-wealth province. eThekweni is a major metropole but lies in a relatively poor province. Buffalo City lies in the poorest province in the country. Rustenburg/Marikana in the North West and Polokwane in Limpopo were considered, but it was decided that the focus should remain on the well-established metropolises where the greatest, continuing pressure for human settlements and shelter prevails. Lessons from the larger and smaller metros may provide useful guidance for policy development and implementation in burgeoning cities in the South African hinterland.

The final selection determined by the research team includes:

- City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality in the Western Cape;

- City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality in Gauteng;
- Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality in the Free State;
- eThekweni Metropolitan Municipality in KwaZulu-Natal; and
- Buffalo City Metropolitan Municipality in the Eastern Cape.

Provincial selection: wealth and household numbers

Based on GDPpc, Gauteng, followed by the Western Cape, is the richest province in the country (World Atlas 2018). These provinces respectively comprise populations of 4 951 137 and 1 933 876 households (Stats SA 2016). The Free State has a comparatively middle-of-the-range GDPpc, similar to those in Mpumalanga, North West and the Northern Cape (World Atlas 2018), none of which have a metropolitan municipality. The Free State has a comparatively smaller population of 946 639 households (Stats SA 2016) compared with the Western Cape and Gauteng. KwaZulu-Natal has a population of 2 875 843 households (Stats SA 2016) and a declining GDPpc close to that of Limpopo (World Atlas 2018), which does not have a metro. The Eastern Cape is the poorest province in South Africa (World Atlas 2018) and has a population of 1 773 395 households (Stats SA 2016).

Suitable and comparative metros

The next step in the sampling process was to look at which of these five provinces had a suitable metro, as some have more than one. Here sampling was based on the population density of the metros. The overall intention of the sample was to get a balance between different metros in the country that would illustrate the features of the main urban centres. To achieve this, it was necessary to not always focus on the densest or largest and most well-established metros. There was also a need to include smaller metros as these would illustrate some features that might be common to emerging urban spaces in provinces without metros. Examples of burgeoning cities in such district municipalities include: Kimberley in the Frances Baard District of the Northern Cape; Rustenburg with an enormous and increasing migrant mine worker and family population in the Bojanala Platinum District, North West; Polokwane in the Capricorn District, Limpopo Province; and Nelspruit in Ehlanzeni District, Mpumalanga.

Population size and density: selecting metros from provinces with multiple metros

The *Statistics by Place* website of Stats SA was used to collect up-to-date information on the populations and population densities of the various metros (Stats SA 2018). According to Stats SA (2018), the City of Cape Town has a total population of 3 740 026 and a population density of 1 500 people per km². The City of Johannesburg has a population of 4 434 827 people and a population density of 2 700 people per km², almost double that of Cape Town. Another metro in Gauteng, the City of Tshwane, has a population of 2 921 488 people and a density of 460 people per km². Ekurhuleni, the third metro in Gauteng, has a population of 3 178 470 and a density of 1 600 per km², indicating a slightly greater population density than that of Johannesburg. Given that the existence of Ekurhuleni stems from the phenomenal growth of Johannesburg, of which it formed a part until 2000, the decision was taken to include Johannesburg in the sample and exclude the other two in Gauteng. Mangaung has a population of 747 431 and a population density of 120 people per km². eThekweni has a population of 3 442 361 and a population density of 1 500 per km², which is similar to that of Cape Town, despite it being the third poorest province. Buffalo City has a population of around 755 200 with a density of 300 people per km². The more established metro of Nelson Mandela Bay has a population of approximately 1 150 115 and a density of 590 people per km². The decision was made to focus on Buffalo City because of its stronger contemporary and historical links to the former Transkei and Ciskei homelands, which surround it and from which areas many migrants continue to come.

Annex 3: Revised Theory of Change (TOC) Logframe

Figure 1: Theory of Change: How housing and other programmes have facilitated access to the city for the poor

PROGRAMMES	Interventions by DHS in the form of different programmes			
ULTIMATE OUTCOME	<p style="text-align: center;">Access to City Inclusive city space [race, gender, income etc.]</p> 			
INTERMEDIATE OUTCOME	<p>Sustainable Human Settlements (Improved quality of life; spatial transformation of cities; integrated development; strengthening of inter-governmental relations; access to quality basic services services; access to social & economic amenities; resilient communities, less dependent on state; safe & secure communities; well informed communities; institutional memory; stakeholder knowledge of development process; Enhanced consumer education; access to global cities via technology; local economic development; exit from income poverty)</p> 			
OUTPUTS: (short-term)	<p style="text-align: center;">Adequate housing, permanent residential structure; secure tenure; access to infrastructure; skills development; job creation; social capital/networks/cohesion; health & safety; cost effective & sustainable provision of services by cities; policies fit for human settlements; mutually beneficial and clearly defined partnerships in delivery of human settlements; housing implementation protocols; establishment of small, medium and micro-enterprises; incremental development of subsidy units; exit from housing/asset poverty</p> 			
ACTIVITIES	<p>Policies Formulation of relevant policies</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning – strategic & integrated • Community participation in human settlements • Socio-economic survey of targeted populations • Revision of policies & regulations • Design of exit strategy from housing development • People-centred 	<p>People</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Registration of Need • Subsidy application • Approval of subsidies • Allocation to dwelling • Allocation of title deed • Connection to water, sanitation, electricity • Registration of account for water and electricity at the municipality • Participation in consumer education 	<p>Resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acquisition of well-located land • Installation of bulk infrastructure • Service provision (SCM processes) • Transfer of title deeds to approved subsidy beneficiaries • Creation of partnerships for delivery of human settlements • Sharing data between stakeholders-cities, communities, and departments 	<p>Institutions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing regulation institutions • Housing finance institutions (Mobilisation of wholesale finance • End-user finance for housing investment) • Provinces • Municipalities • Non-governmental organisations • Agencies involved in housing development

INPUTS	Land availability End-user consultations / participation Policies & Programmes Institutions Bulk infrastructure and services Information and other Technology	Subsidy applicants/beneficiaries <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The poor earning <3500 pm • Informal settlement dwellers • Backyard dwellers • Vulnerable groups (women, child-headed households, homeless, disabled, military veterans) • Encouragement of active citizenry 	Human settlements plans Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) forums Human settlement Institutions Capacity, skills in the built environment Administrative capacity	Budgetary allocations Wholesale finance Retail finance
Assumptions	The sovereignty of the constitution; People-centred development; non-discrimination; state as an enabler and impartial facilitator; freedom of choice; housing as a basic human right; budgetary allocations to subsidized housing, bulk infrastructure and basic service connections, social & economic amenities; transportation network; safety and security.			

Pathways to Change

In the TOC, depicted in Figure 1 above, the DHS interventions that facilitate access to the city, identify the underlying assumptions on which the DHS and other government interventions are based. These include the understanding that the Constitution entrenches the right to adequate housing and that the national and provincial governments will formulate policies and design programmes to realise the Constitutional mandate with regard to ensuring the provision of adequate housing. Key to realising adequate housing is the allocation of budgets to various programmes to ensure housing delivery and cooperation between all tiers of government.

The pathways to change are presented in Figure 2. This subsidy housing logical model, indicates that when the inputs (land, housing finance, institutions, infrastructure, policies and programmes) are in place this leads to crucial activities to realise outputs. At the activity level, the formulation and revision of policies and regulations, strategic and integrated planning; community participation; and data collection to create a profile of those in need of housing, all lead to specific outputs that are vital to ensuring access to the city.

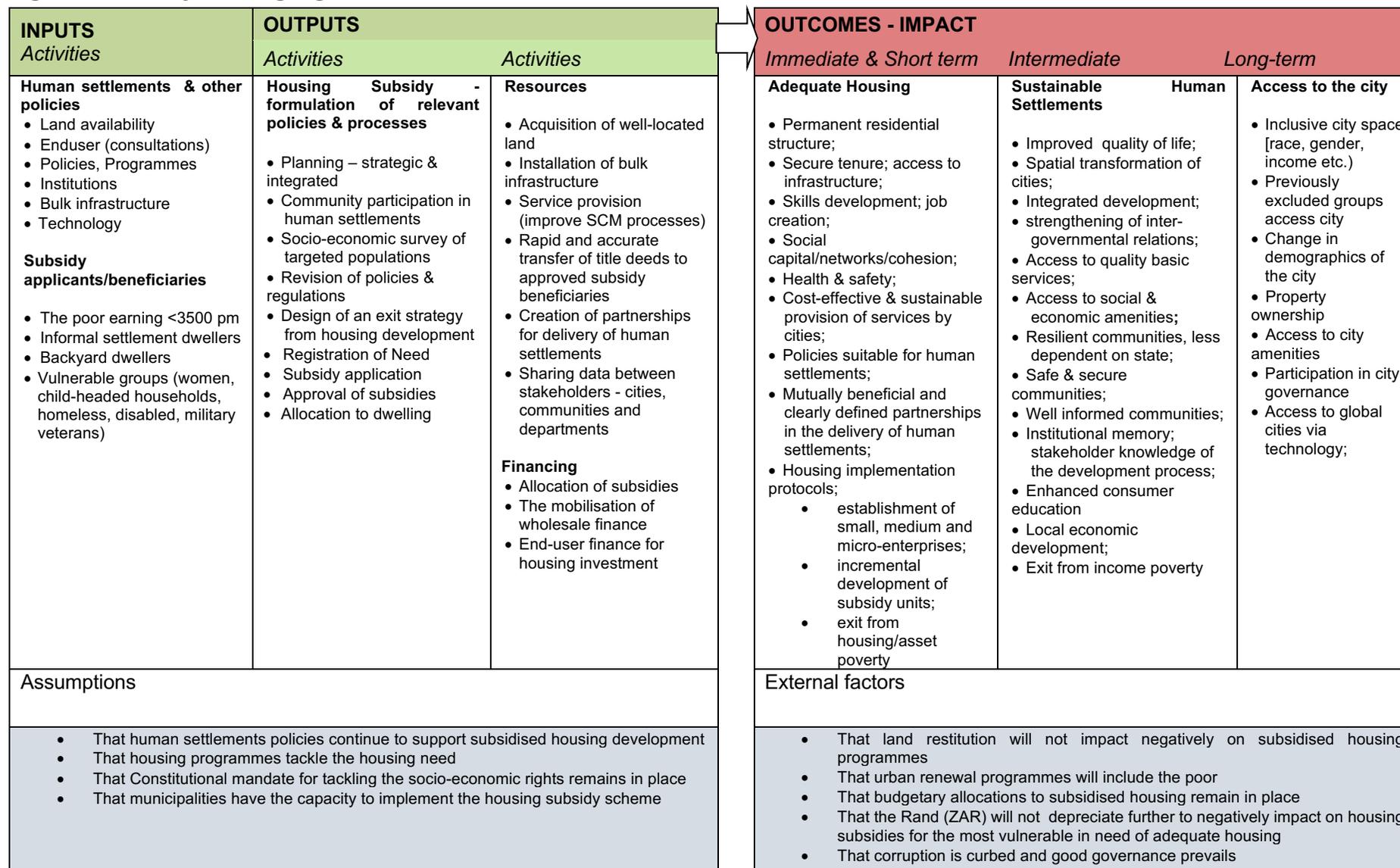
Thus, both the inputs and activities, are expected to lead to specific outputs in human settlements. These outputs include access to infrastructure, secure tenure, access to social and economic amenities, skills development and job creation, and the cost-effective sustainable provision of services by cities. The outputs result in adequate housing. The replication of adequate housing across projects and regions results in sustainable human settlements. As described in the intermediate outcomes, sustainable human settlements should embody elements of improved quality of life; the spatial transformation of cities; integrated development; strengthening of inter-governmental relations; access to social and economic amenities; and safe and secure communities amongst other tangible and intangible outcomes. Outputs and outcomes must include an exit from housing poverty; acquisition of a tradeable asset in the property market and a departure from income poverty as a result of the opportunities availed by subsidised housing. Through housing delivery, the acquisition of various forms of skills also contributes to tackling skills poverty amongst the poor. Thus housing becomes an exit strategy from poverty and a vehicle to empowerment and sustainable development as beneficiaries become less dependent on the state for

basic needs. The development of small, medium and micro-enterprises contributes to the local economy where subsidised houses are built, thus allowing money to circulate within the communities rather than being transferred to other areas that are considered the nodes of economic activity, or to rural areas and even neighbouring countries.

The ultimate goal of DHS interventions is to ideally grant access to the city although this is not a core objective. The long-term and ultimate outcome of creating sustainable human settlements is to achieve access to cities that are inclusive in terms of race, gender, class and other critical variables, such as tolerance, respect and dignity, that demonstrate that the people within a city are part to it.

Participation in the cultural, economic, political and other aspects within the city enables the poor access to the city. Access to the city denotes not just the physical ability to secure goods and services in the city but also participation in the broad life of the particular city or secondary town. Access to the city includes access to the global city through enhanced access to affordable technology, such as information and communication technologies, where subsidised housing is developed.

Figure 2: Subsidy housing logical model





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