

Report on evaluating interventions by the Department of Human Settlements to facilitate access to the city for the poor (REF: VA 50/259)

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Introduction: background and purpose

- The brief specified that the focus of the work should not be on any particular instrument or programme but should rather provide a high-level evaluation of the role of pro-poor housing delivery for urban access. The main objectives of this evaluation are 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.*

Introduction: evaluation questions

- The five main evaluation questions are:
 1. How has the *South African government, particularly the Department of Human Settlements facilitated access to the city for the poor and marginalised?*
 2. What has been the *role of partnerships, such as the private sector, communities, banking sector, households, etc. in facilitating access to the city?*
 3. How have people managed to facilitate access on their own? Do they have sufficient flexibility to negotiate their own access?
 4. Why should the concept of 'access' remain the key driver of government policies and programmes?
 5. How should access to urban spaces be better facilitated in South Africa?

Methodology and Approach

- HRSC team plus recent graduate students from SA universities as capacity building aspect to the project.
- Regular exchanges with DHS and DPME
- Literature review approach for this study
- People-centered anthropological orientations supported by the DHS, so focus on ethnography and city and settlement cases (ecologies)
- Rural towns and hinterlands were also surveyed and analyzed
- 5 primary selected major and minor metros: Cape Town; Johannesburg; eThekweni; Mangaung; Buffalo City.
- Selection based on size, per-capita income, history, location, population density
- Analysis of spatial inequality, services and migration using NIDS, Census Data, October Household Survey and other statistics (Dr. Justin Visagie)
- Fieldwork was conducted in three CT re-urbanised RDP settlements – Delft, Joe Slovo Park and Imizamo Yethu
- Graduates wrote city reports with HSRC support, core team provided the overall synthesis and analysis.

Evaluation Type

- 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.
- It does not ignore policy frameworks but is based on learning from experience to develop new or substantiate earlier theories.
- As there is no clear policy there is no way of assessing it deductively.
- Study is partially construed as a synthesis evaluation as it includes the synthesis of previous evaluation studies.
- Both a formative and summative evaluation
- Non experimental in design - considers the types of outcomes that emerge, intended and unintended, and how these relate to the government's strategies.
- Based on the concept of a Rapid Evidence Assessment and to ensure flexibility and incorporation of new information as it unfolds it adopts a critical realist approach.
- 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'

Theory of Change

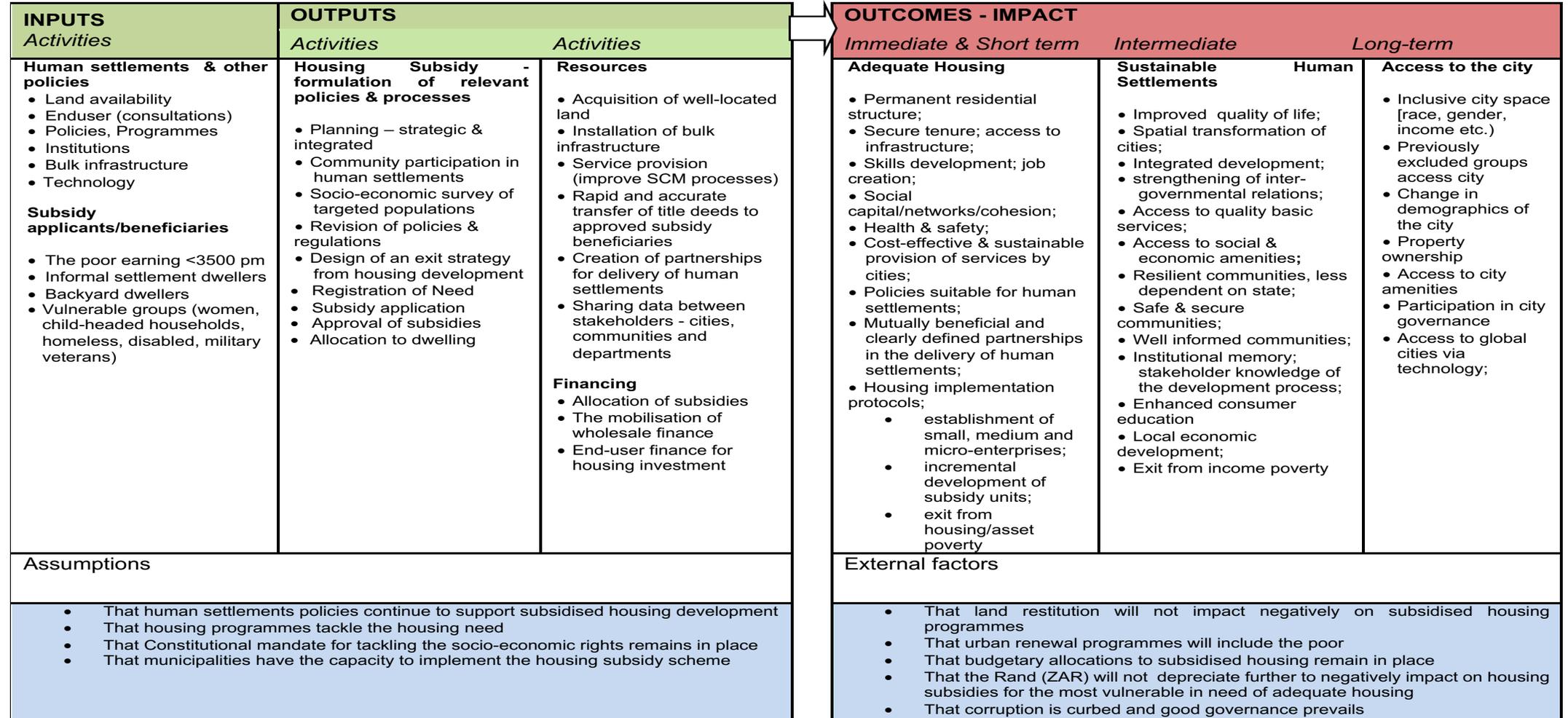
- The theory of change (TOC) assesses if interventions fail or succeed based on a predetermined policy or programme.
- TOC is part of the broader planning, monitoring and evaluation practices.
- It articulates the underlying beliefs and assumptions that guide policy makers and planners in designing an intervention that is considered to be important for bringing about desired change.
- TOC is a detailed description and illustration of how and why the desired change is expected to occur in a specific context.
- While we have developed a deductive TOC we used an inductive approach to the research as there is no official policy stipulating access to the city by the poor. In this regard a framework invoking the housing subsidy is used

Theory of Change: How housing 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 style="text-align: center;">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	<p>Land availability End-user consultations / participation Policies & Programmes Institutions Bulk infrastructure and services Information and other Technology</p>	<p>Subsidy applicants/beneficiaries</p> <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 	<p>Human settlements plans Intergovernmental Relations (IGR) forums Human settlement Institutions Capacity, skills in the built environment Administrative capacity</p>	<p>Budgetary allocations Wholesale finance Retail finance</p>
Assumptions	<p>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.</p>			

Logical Framework for Evaluation

Figure 1: Subsidy housing logical model



Indicators

- Key indicators drawn from the evaluation are as follows:
 - Formalisation and upgrading
 - Holistic and integrated planning
 - Safety and Security and Gender Discrimination
 - Land affordability
 - Accountability and Inclusiveness
 - Participation and Choice

Theories of the city: rights and access

- The DHS is striving to achieve right to the city but also wants to ensure access to the transforming city
- A constitutional imperative is right to the city and a decent life, i.e. access to the facilities, services and amenities
- Perhaps one is being achieved at the cost of the other?
- The main approach is policy development and financial support
- Main strategies are housing subsidies for RDP/BNG housing, rental housing and informal settlement upgrading
- The slides below illustrate the different theories of rights to access and the subsequent outcomes

Theories of the City: access to the city

INCLUSIVE INDUSTRIAL CITY

Burgess (1925) *The Concentric City*
Perlman (1977) *Myth of marginality*
Castells (1976) *The Urban Question*,

INCLUSIVE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

Glaeser (2011) *Triumph of the City*
New Urban Agenda, (2016) *Habitat*
Turok (state-led) and Bernstein
(market-led) inclusion in SA

RUST BELT--NEO-LIBERAL CITY

Harvey (2006) *Short History of Neo-liberalism*
Sassen (2014) *Expulsions*
Davis *Planet of Slums*
Waquant (2008) *Hyper-ghetto*
Murray (2014) *City of Extremes*



SOUTHERN URBANISM

Robinson, J. (2006) *Ordinary Cities*
Huchzermeyer (2011) *Cities with Slums*.
Parnell and Oldfield *Routledge Handbook*.
Watson (2018) *Conflicting rationalities in
Contested Urban Space*.

SUBURBANIZATION

Brenner (2010) *Global Urbanisation*
Keil (2018) *Suburban Planet*
Charlton (2018) various writings of co-
production at the urban edge

DECOLONISATION AND THE CITY

Fanon (1961) *Wretched of the Earth*
ANC/SACP (1960) *Colonialism of Special
Type*
ANC 1994 *National Housing Policy*

Earnest W. Burgess (1925) Chicago Ecology Model

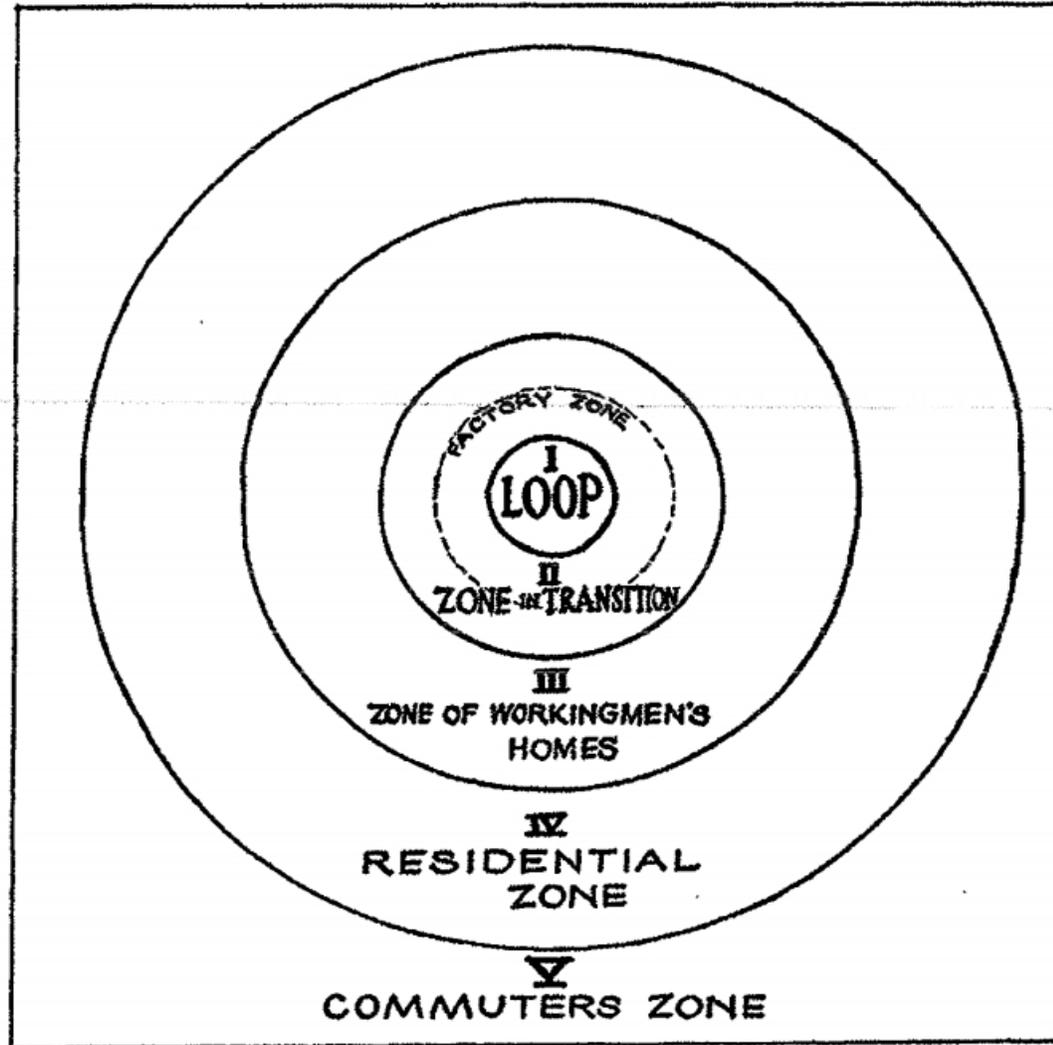
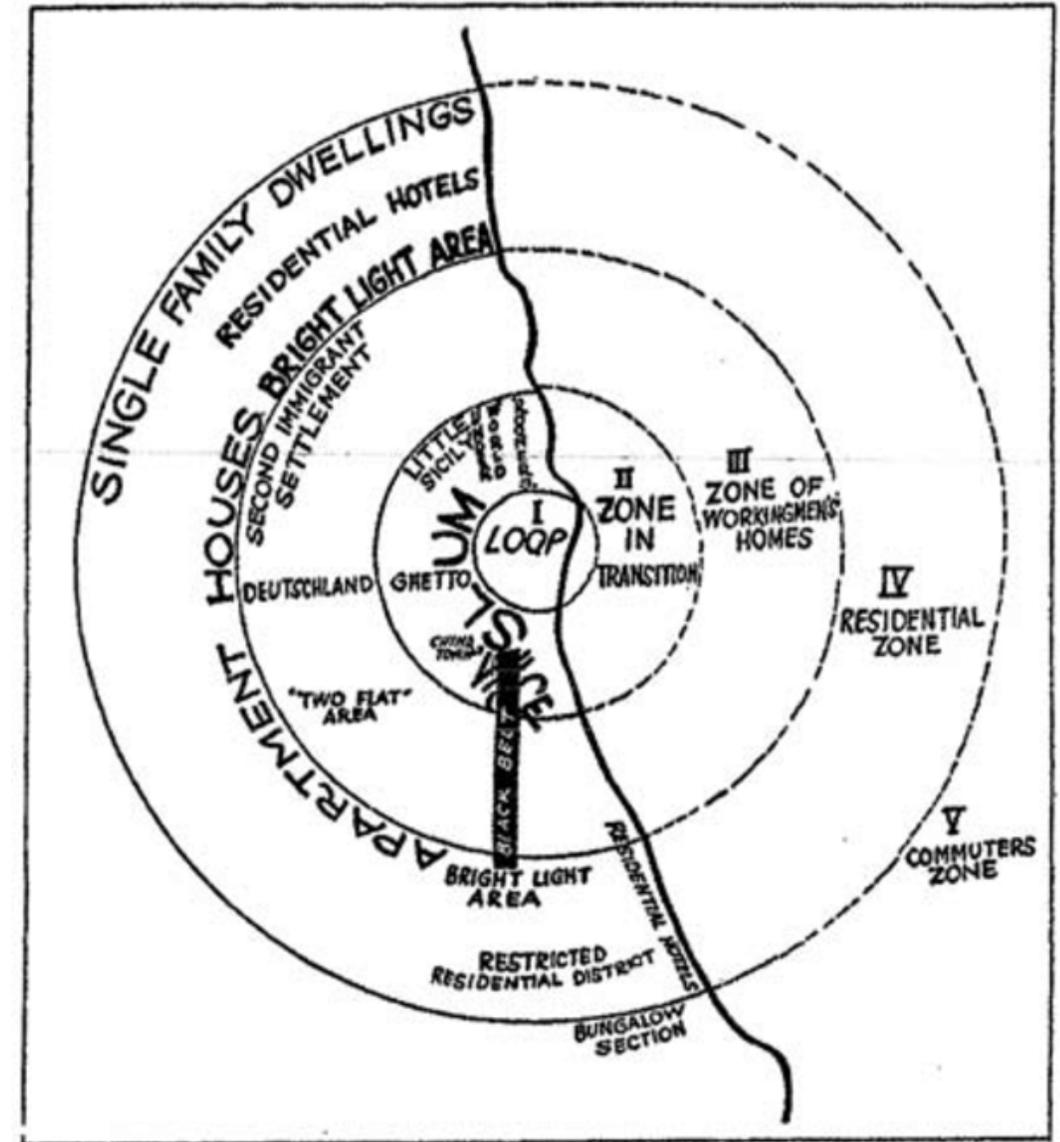
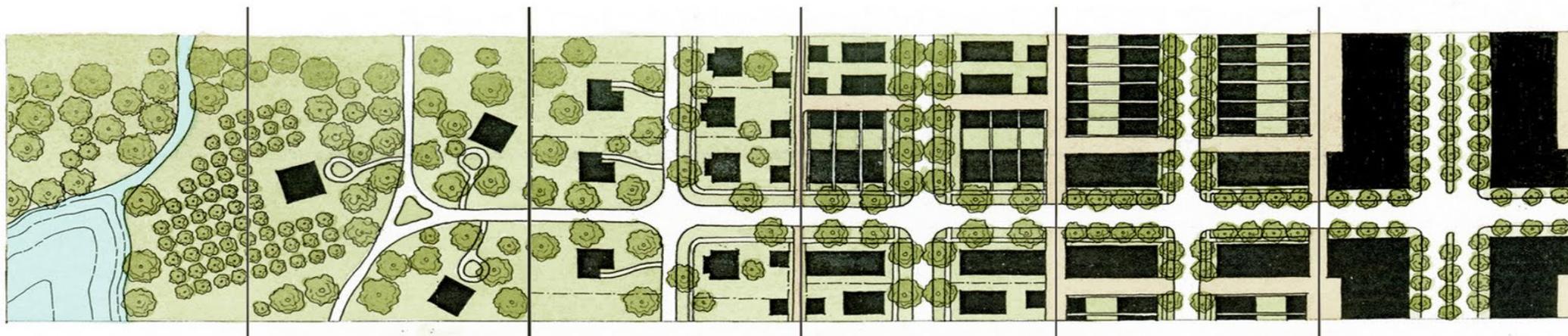


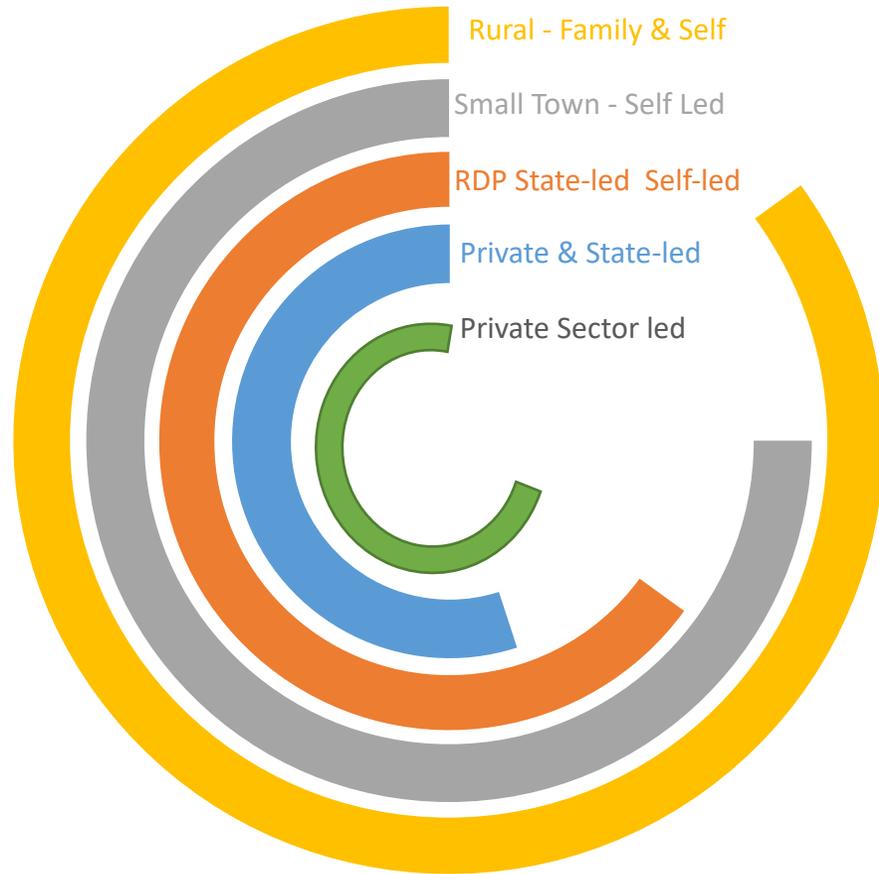
CHART I. The Growth of the City



From urban to suburban: conventional



Drivers of Sub-urbanism



Rural

Investment is changing the built environment and the house come mainly through remittances. Welfare grants go into survival.. This process is self-led.

Small Towns

Small towns in the former Bantustans are gathering population as urban residents exist into semi-rural broad acre urbanism – Mthatha, Butterworth etc. Self-led.

Urban Edge

This is the zone where the state delivers RDP houses. It is a concentrated area of settlement because the free house gives access to the city. This zone is shaped by the social economy of the gift.

Suburban Fringe

Private sector finance is sometime available here, together with state gap and social housing products.

Settler City

Suburban development is sponsored by banks and private lending through formal institutions. Rates are collected and municipal by-laws apply.

Theories of the Suburb Ideal

Social Reproduction: Rural in the Urban

Classical theories

The Garden City-Suburb

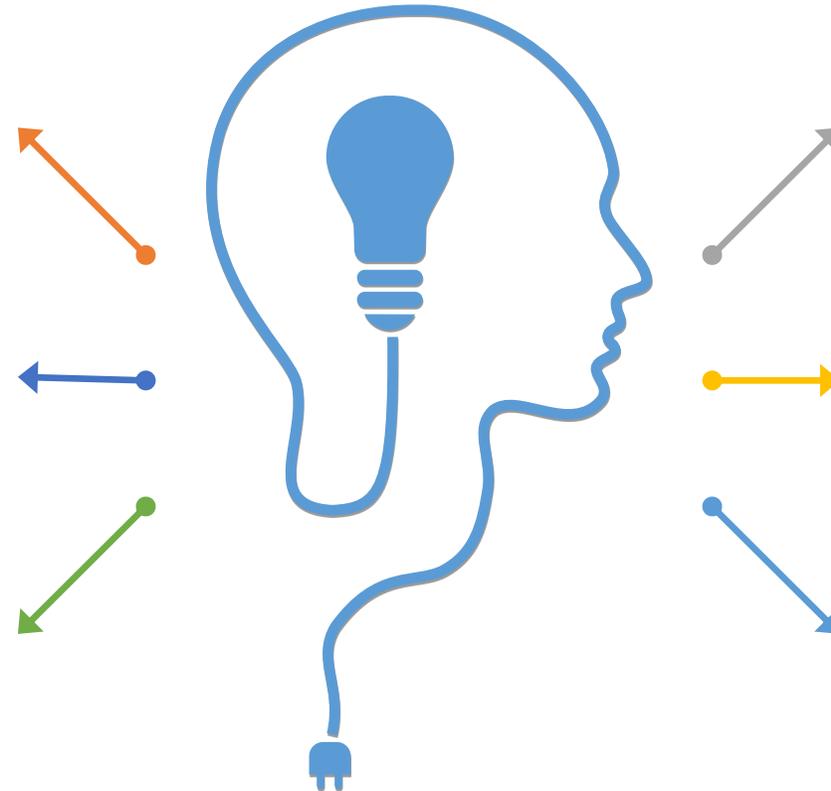
The garden city was a response to the pathologies of the Victorian slum. Howard tried to combine the city and countryside in a single places – designed for life from the cradle to the grave. This rise of suburbia in the USA embraced this spirit

Radiant Tower Block Urbanism

The Radiant City is an urban masterplan by Le Corbusier, first presented in 1924. Designed to contain effective means of transportation, better living as well as an abundance of green space and sunlight,

New Urbanism

New urbanism is the revival of our lost art of place-making, and promotes the creation and restoration of compact, walkable, mixed-use cities, towns, and neighborhoods. areas



South African variations

RDP State-led sub-urbanism

Offers housing in suburban format without schools, clinics, recreational facilities or green spaces. Department of Housing changed its name to Human Settlements without changing its delivery models.

Self-led Incubator Urbanism

Various pathways transform the house and land into income earning opportunities but fail to make provision for cultural aspects of social. This heightens rural nostalgia in the city.

Rural Broad-acre sub-urbanism

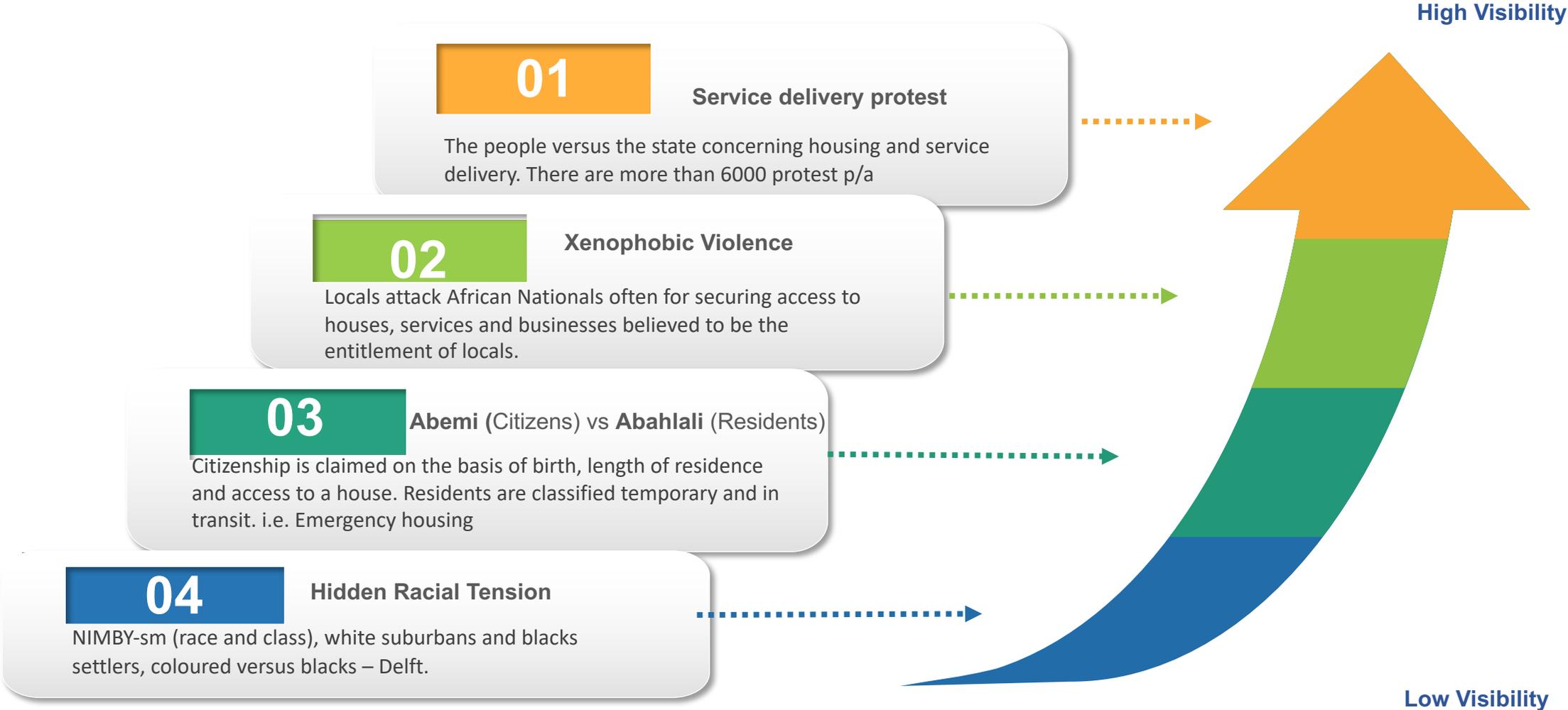
Combines a suburban house, preferably with services, with a traditional rondawels as well as gardening spaces and enclosures for chickens and stock. It represents an African version of what Frank Lloyd Wright called "Broad Arce Urbanism". But households struggle to reproduce themselves materially so houses stand empty.

Waiting for Gifts: The House and the Housing List

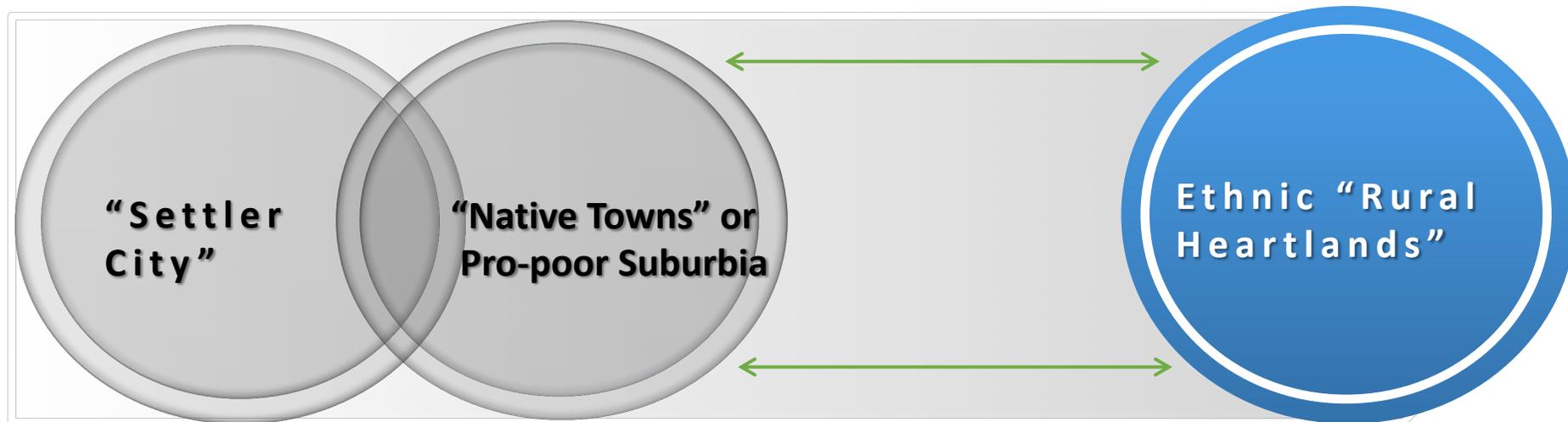
- Waiting means waiting and locating, not changing things.
- Shacks have no real value, except as future houses. They are viewed as “hokkies”.
- Focus on struggling to get higher on the list
- Creating an “emergency” can get you up the list – fires, floods, settling wetlands.
- The commodity values of shacks reflect the process of waiting.
- The futures market in shacks in Delft – measuring value.
- Real value of access to the city is in the land, not in the house.
- The power of citizenship of the serviced house is not displaced by informalization.

Right to the City

The Violence of Gifts



SUBURBAN POLITICAL ECOLOGIES: Cross-cutting boundaries



- Settler Town**
- A. Politics of liberalism and inclusion
 - B. Isolated sub-urbanism
 - C. Opposition to the native town

- Pro-poor suburbs**
- A. Politics of liberalism and suburban dream
 - B. Socialism and communalism
 - C. Africanism and new nationalism

- RURAL**
- A. Ethnicity and the old nation
 - B. New urban nationalisms and service delivery
 - C. Traditional leadership

Pathways of the RDP House

'Self-led' Sub/Re-urbanization in Joe Slovo Park



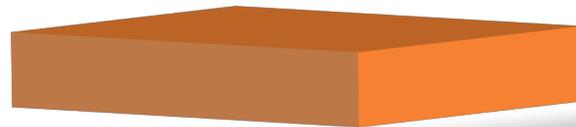
Anchor RDP House

RDP houses were delivered to residents from Cuku Town in JSP in the late 1990s. They were gifts from the state to the poor living in informal settlements.



Backyard Shacks

This pathway can be described as varying in two basic ways: An anchor RDP house with 4-7 shacks, whilst the second requires some saving or access to financing which gives rise to an anchor house with 1-3 back flats in the back, detached from the house



Formalised Micro-flats

Micro-flats are essentially small blocks of flats that contain mainly studio type apartments. Each apartment has its own toilet and shower and one large open plan room where residents both cook, live and sleep.

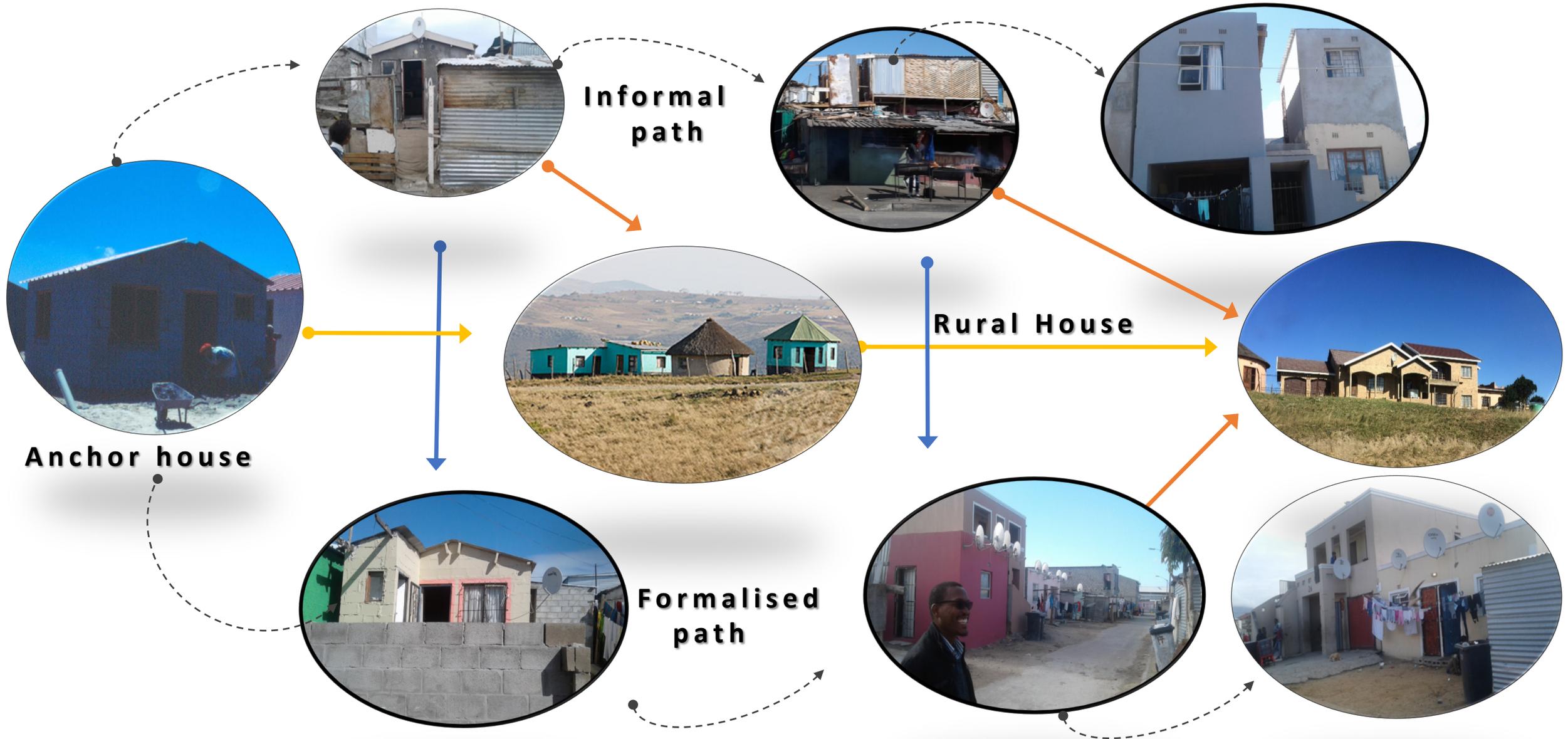


Multi-story Boarding Houses

A boarding house is a large house with multiple rooms which are made available for rent. These are often double storey L-shape or U shaped units with up to 10 flats on each floor



Social Life of Gifts



Self-driven suburbanization of rural homesteads



General City-specific Findings

- The distinctions are not always clear unless you really get to the crux of the matter and tease out beyond general findings. This is difficult to do with the evidence based on 5 cities but gives a good idea of where to start probing
- E.g. Conurbia provides a case of private and public sector but will it really benefit the poor despite its mixed housing settlements and little integration
- Human settlements in eThekweni are scattered and far from the employment opportunities. The new corridor stretching westward does not appear to cater for those in the North of the city.
- In both Cape Town and Mangaung we see the need for cultural or ethnic specific residential areas – this is already taking place. We probably find this in COJ but with regard to borners and new immigrants.
- All cities seem to have a problem with ‘borners’ and new immigrants competing over housing opportunities
- There are perceptions of women being favored over men
- Government plans are not really working with their lists as people circumvent these and the 1994 suburban intentions.
- Protest to a large extent in all cities and towns about service delivery generally and housing residence patterns
- In cities such as Capet Town and Mangaung informal top structures are competing with bulk services. There is some evidence of this in COJ and East London
- All residential areas in the 5 cities are expanding in various ways giving them their unique features
- COJ seems to be the only one with these cities with patchwork settlements cropping up all around the city while the GDH pays little attention to the inner-city deterioration following the attempted turn of the century urban renewal strategy.
- Most migrants still flocking mainly to CT and COJ/Gauteng Region – but some flock from Lesotho to Mangaung where they have virtually formed their own settlement area
- Buffalo city living in the past on its dreams of again becoming a Motor-City with foreign investment. However, manufacturing seems to be dying in most cities with services becoming the economic sector of note.
- Most people seem to be trying to get into the suburbs as the increasing middle and richer classes provide opportunities for construction work, domestic work. As suburbs move outwards so the demand for service oriented labour increases following construction trends and the post-construction opportunities

Cape Town – a city divided

- Physically/spatially and socially divided – municipal settlement policy maintains divides, while natural features add to this challenge
- poorer residents excluded from genuine participation in municipal decision-making in a situation of enormous income disparity
- Migrants pay high rentals for accommodation – many youth attend the 4 universities
- 2018 housing backlog at 400 000 or a 1/3 of all households – increasing
- Numerous administrative challenges and breakdown in cooperation between different tiers of government
- Rising property values, rates and rentals are driving the poor out of centrally located areas – backyard shacks provide solutions and support strong social networks that increase resilience to poverty.
- However they are underserviced and far from the city center and employment and services

Cape Town – a city divided

- Remodeling of city centre has driven out the homeless and ushered in expensive high-rise accommodation
- Informality shapes the housing need and often undermines government intentions
- Limited official awareness and accommodation of housing needs of diverse residents – including ethnic, cultural, migrants and permanent residents (borners) – gender challenges also prevail
- City needs rates and the poor need cheaper accommodation – mismatch of intentions and needs
- Incompatibility of improved housing leading to access and the costs of housing and transportation imposed by a neoliberal model of development

Johannesburg – the polycentric city

- Housing, employment and services far apart – some attempts such as Cosmo city to bring about integrated suburbs/settlements – but Cosmo city not mentioned in study
- 37% of residents below poverty and 69% of households live in shacks
- Polycentric city – meaning formal employment opportunities available at nodal points and not only in the city center and there is a highly developed informal sector
- Backyard shack and formal housing differ across the nodal points in terms of how they are utilized and the socioeconomic opportunities they provide – leading to different means of exploitation
- High growth rate of particularly the elderly but 2021 will put pressure on housing and services
- Housing backlog in 2015 was 250 000 with 170 000 households living in shacks in the 180 informal settlements across the city
- the poor lack services and cannot afford serviced housing

Johannesburg – the polycentric city

- The outcome is the sale of these houses or their rental to other who can afford them or commonly resistance to service payments, while others added rooms or shacks to lease to ensure payment of rates and services
- But some sites lack the necessary bulk infrastructure – generally many new neighborhoods lack public transport and residents are exposed to the competitiveness (sometimes violent) of private taxi associations
- Several RDP neighborhoods lack amenities and education and health facilities
- In other areas people are quick to turn and maintain there neighborhoods into a what they regarded as decent, appropriate suburban life adhering to local and state regulations and keeping neighborhoods tidy and safe
- Diversity of residents - younger view entitlement to government housing and services while the older residents perceive that it is earned through their experience of the struggle for democracy and social cohesion
- As with Cape Town there is a thriving informal housing market in many areas – this lack of regulation provides further challenges to the poor. Similarly the density of some neighborhoods results in health and environmental hazards

eThekwini - A city of colliding expectations

- As with other cities the desire of inclusive socio-economic outcomes for the poor and marginalised conflict with the priorities of a neo-liberal economic model.
- Fractured and segregated nature of the city. Main formal employment is in the south and central districts but population density in the north – harms employment prospects.
- 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
- a multi-pronged approach to the delivery of shelter, services and development.
 - 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 – 1200ha greenfield private-public partnership at Cornubia City has created misgivings and tensions
- In other areas the city has been proactive and has sought close consultation with poor residents – Kennedy Road
- repurposing of the formerly men-only hostels into family spaces under the CRU rental programme unfortunately became sites of violence

eThekweni - A city of colliding expectations

- Housing backlog at 1.2 million in 2008 – shortage of funds, suitable land, community conflict and bureaucracy
- Much land falls under traditional leadership or is state land and municipality has little authority and impact there
- Service provision has been similarly affected for most of the same reasons along with the growing population, although marginal gains in basic services still result in protests
- As in other cities the poor engage in a range of tactical urbanism processes
- Migration is circular and there are some 514 informal settlements on the urban margins here too backyard-shack dwellers cannot access subsidies and are subject to exploitive rentals
- Also they are in peripheral locations or on steep land or flood plains, exacerbating their exposure to the impacts of climate change
- 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
- Campaigns demand dignity and autonomy and challenge the normative definitions of urban citizenship and residency that are often applied by the municipality in its policies and efforts

Mangaung – the truncated city

- Provision and access is characterised by a series of historical, geographical, administrative and political disjunctures
- These have pitted officials against residents, many of whom have found themselves increasingly marginalised from the area's socio-economic opportunities
- Integration of former apartheid settlements and Botshabelo homeland in 2000 created an elongated residential frontier across the urban/rural divide
- Rather than merging town and country, the municipality has sought to promote a compact city through densification and the imposition of an urban edge to maximise efficient use of infrastructure
- While the provincial government built large quantities of low-income housing there was little infrastructure development or upgrading of informal settlements and fewer greenfield developments as housing delivery slowed
- Subsidies focused on middle-to-higher income groups at the expense of the poorer and indigent
- After 2004 when the municipality (as opposed to the province) had the housing provision mandate and BNG focused on building more inclusive communities with access to a range of amenities
- However there has been continual disjuncture between the provincial and municipal arms of government in conceiving and implementing their service-delivery mandates
- In 2016 housing backlog stood at more than 31 000 houses with most of the demand in the RDP/BNG, affordable (gap) and rental markets
- Bureaucracy has hindered most of the municipalities good intentions.

Mangaung – the truncated city

- Mangaung has 5 different urbanisation frontiers to which the municipality has responded differently. The consequence is wide diversity of actors and housing outcomes
 - The CBD has been perceived as a core municipal asset and has been characterised by processes of public and private gentrification projects
 - The south-western quadrant features a mix of affluent and poor areas
 - Spatial fragmentation and urban sprawl in the north-western section are being curbed through zoning to facilitate infilling and densification
 - 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 – many of these people walk the great distances to work as there is insufficient public transport
 - Most of the municipality's efforts to improve housing delivery and services are directed at the residents of informal settlements in this quadrant – but lots of dissatisfaction
 - The eastern peripheral frontier where Botshabelo is sited, 45km from Bloemfontein has been shaped by processes of intensification and densification and provides rural migrants with access to services that they did not have. 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. Many businesses have moved here as the CBD declined after 1994. Housing development in this area, 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
- 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
- informal settlements – dwellings in the south-east 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.
- As with other cities service protests occur over service delivery and forced removals from state-owned land. Land grabs appear to be one form of getting attention.

Buffalo City – the rust-belt city

- Has suffered the depredations of deindustrialisation and forced removals since the early 1960s resulting in a complex, diverse urbanisation frontier
- Movement back to the city are attempts to reduce transport costs to and from work
- 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
- Lacks dynamism and economic growth as a city – a rust belt city
- In 2015 BCMM announced that upgrading of informal settlements placed on hold because suitable land not available.
- People established shacks while they waited for RDP housing which upon receipt many were incomplete structures 'limiting their access to the city'
- Land invasions targeting facility rich areas within walking distance to employment opportunities occurred in the absence of the BCMM finding suitable land. However, these actions can can impede implementation of municipal development plans.
- Failure to meet housing needs have resulted in 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.
- 41 000 informal houses located in over 150 informal settlements in the metropolitan area. 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
- To address Mdantsane'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
- 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

Buffalo City – the rust-belt city

- 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.
- 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.
- 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
- Black middle-class families are exiting the tax collection system by moving onto tribal land close to the city and building lavish houses on the R72 between King William's Town and Dimbaza, creating new versions of "the urban" in the countryside
- The vast majority of households in Buffalo City have access to shelter and basic water, and electricity services but bulk sewerage systems in the city are well beyond their design lives, are in poor condition and are operating at capacity. 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
- 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
- Shack lords charge immigrant migrants more than they do South African migrants, creating tensions (a similar trend applies in COJ), while migrants often see the city as simply a period of employment and dwelling on a semi-permanent basis with little intention of remaining permanently. They often 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.
- 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 some break away from patriarchal households and set up their own matrifocal households and businesses.

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.

Conclusions

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.

Conclusions

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.

Conclusions

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

Recommendations

- *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.
- *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 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.

Recommendations

- *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.
- *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.
- *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.

Recommendations

- *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.
- *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 be open to flexible solutions based on well-informed situational analysis.
- *Sustainable and incremental housing delivery:* The regulatory frameworks in many cities needs to be reviewed in relation to the informal economy and the built environment.

Recommendations

- *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).
- *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.
- *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.
- *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.