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Housing policy and project implementation: the case of Cosmo City integrated housing project

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The need for spatial restructuring has directed much of the urban planning discourse, legislation and literature in post-apartheid South Africa (Mmonwa, 2007). There has been an emphasis on integrating communities that were segregated by apartheid spatial planning and therefore housing policy becoming more critical in this regard. Land development legislation such as the 1994 Housing Act, 1997 Housing Act, and 1995 Development Facilitation Act are the tools which have been used to confront urban fragmentation; however, their implementation has faced tremendous challenges (Mayekiso, 2003; Oelofse, 2003). Issues such as: integration (social, economic, institutional, and spatial), partnerships, public participation, institutional reform, tenure options, facilities/services, safety, and poverty alleviation have become central to the formulation of housing policy. Thus, it is the intention of this study to investigate the extent to which these areas are covered in the implementation of housing projects, hence the title: Housing Policy and Project Implementation: The Case of Cosmo City Integrated Housing Project.

The research specifically explores the beneficiaries' perceptions on the implementation of the project, land development legislature, as well as the literature that explores the relationship between policy and implementation of housing projects. The chapter outlines the background of the study; aims and rationale of the study; and research questions. It further summarises the structure of the report.

1.2 Background of the Study

Apartheid spatial planning, facilitated by Group Areas Act of 1950 and Group Areas Development Act of 1955, enforced unequal distribution of basic needs and services among different racial groups. This resulted in racial segregation ('group areas' and townships) with poorer housing and services, and undesirable locations that were far from economic opportunities. Increasing urbanization in the late 1980s was managed by

influx control laws that prevented Black from entering White urban areas (Watson 2003). This planning further encouraged spatial separation and segregation and made our urban settlements extremely dysfunctional and unsustainable (Department of Housing, 1997). There was imposition of 'buffer zones' which separated neighbourhoods racially (Hlongwane, 2007).

The introduction of political democracy in 1994 allowed South Africa to confront urban fragmentation that had been encouraged by the previous apartheid government. There was a need to have properly planned and managed human settlements that would enhance people's livelihoods. The formulation of the 1994 Housing White Paper was an attempt to deliver housing to the previously disadvantaged population, and it has been a means of alleviating poverty. However, the policy continued to locate subsidized low-income housing schemes on the peripheries of urban areas, often far from economic opportunities (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003). This and other challenges such as declining household income, unemployment, persistence of inequality and poverty, increasing urban populations, financial pressures on municipalities and increasing demand for basic services (mainly housing), have become a challenge to post-apartheid urban planning.

In 1995, Development Facilitation Act was introduced. It was a key short-term intervention to facilitate the speedy delivery of serviced land for low-income housing (Royston, 2003). This was followed by the 1997 Housing Act. All these documents strengthened the concept of 'integrated housing' as a tool in reversing the imbalanced spatial, economic and social patterns of the apartheid cities (Hlongwane, 2007). Integrated settlements were to be implemented through projects that were designed to ensure that development is planned and implemented in a participatory, integrated and environmentally sustainable manner, so as to bring about better living and working environments for all. However, there are still challenges facing housing delivery. For instance, access to well-located urban land is still a challenge and low-income housing projects are still located on the peripheries of the cities (Mayekiso, 2003; Royston, 2003). Post-apartheid spatial planning has tried to alleviate urban poverty through housing delivery. However, poor people are still being located on the peripheries of cities and still

have to incur travel costs to the city centres. Market-centred approach in housing delivery has also denied poor people an access to well-located residential neighbourhoods (Pottie, 2003b). This means that the broader land market as well as "fiscal conservatism in government expenditure" restricts the state from acquiring well-located land for public housing developments; thereby excluding poor people (ibid.). Furthermore, the new South Africa's leadership has experienced enormous urbanization and there has been insufficient formal housing to accommodate the Black majority. Consequently, informal settlements have become predominant 'housing delivery system' (Pottie, 2003b). Subsidized housing delivery (through projects) has become a tool in addressing housing demands. However, more rapid delivery compromise public participation and housing itself does not stimulate community development (Jenkins, 1999). The City of Johannesburg like all municipalities in South Africa has not been an exception in this regard.

The City of Johannesburg is characterized by high-cost residential development especially the north, whereas low-income takes the southern direction (Turok, 2001 cited in Hlongwane, 2007). Thus, the situation in the north has put pressure on the poor people who are automatically denied access to housing. Similar to other South Africa towns and cities, there is evidence of officially unplanned, illegal occupation of urban and peri-urban land for residential purposes in Johannesburg. Examples of informal settlements surrounding the area that is being studied in this research include: Zevenfontein, Riverbend and Cosmo farms. Huchzermeyer (2004) notes that following numerous studies to understand these urban situations and how they can be dealt with (eviction, demolition, relocation, or legislation and integration), there has not been adequate research and debate on these issues. On the other hand, the national Department of Housing policy of target-driven housing delivery has seen its implementation leading to lack of affordable well-located land and locating of people on the urban peripheries with limited integration (DoH, 2004). Furthermore, Huchzermeyer (2003b) states that the development of Breaking New Ground Policy as an informal settlement intervention was carried under enormous time pressure and mostly behind closed doors. Nonetheless,

further research, clear housing policies and their implementation could redress the problems associated with housing delivery and its outcome (ibid.).

1.3 Background of Cosmo City Housing Project

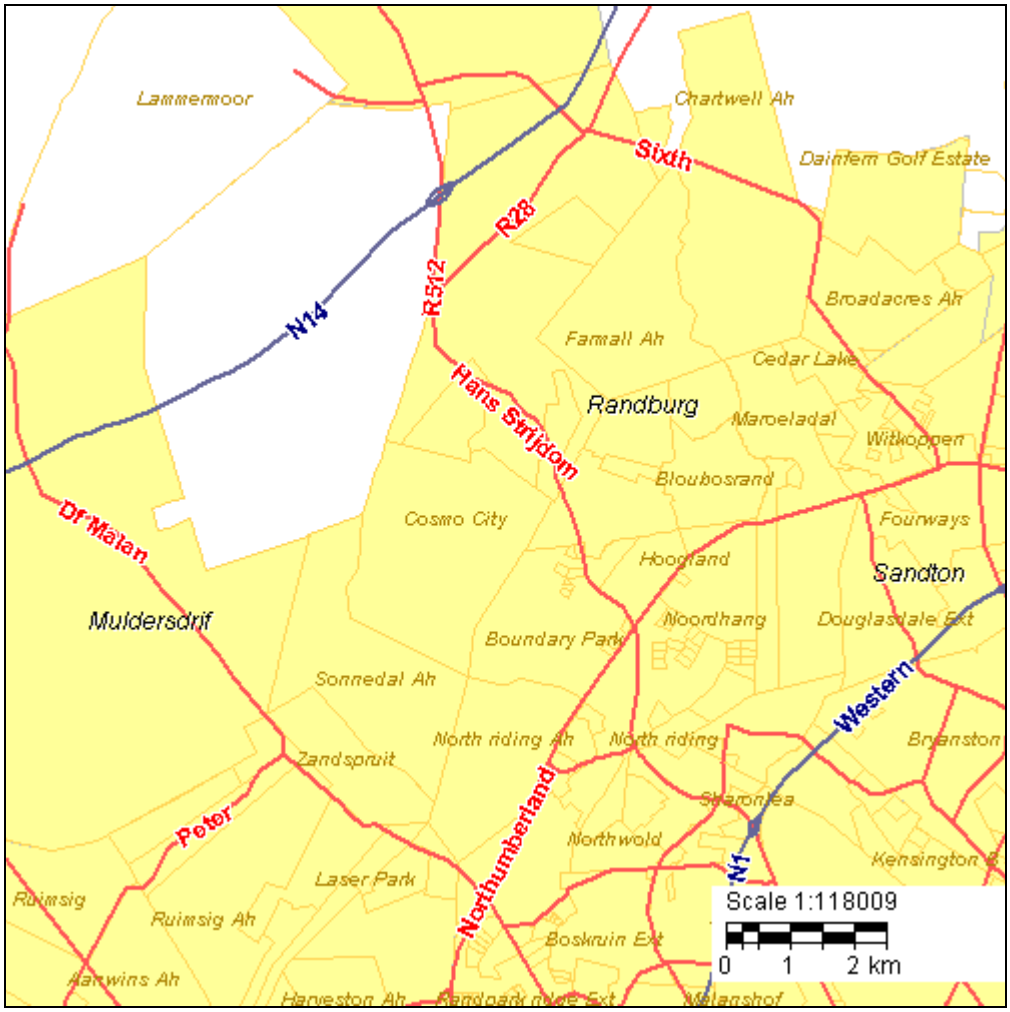
The project falls under the jurisdiction of region C of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Region C covers the greater Roodepoort area, parts of Randburg and northwestern suburbs like Olivedale, Northriding, and Jukskei Park. Cosmo city is the region's major development which is both mixed-use and mixed income. It is positioned between the three main roads, namely: Malibongwe (Hans Strijdom), DF Malan and Northumberland (see Figure 1), and covers an area of about 1 200 hectares. About 15% of the area, or 50 hectares, has been earmarked for parks.

Cosmo City emerged out of an urgent need to create accommodation for the informal settlers of Zevenfontein and Riverbend who had been illegally occupying private land in the north-west of Johannesburg. In response, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) and Gauteng Provincial Government took a decision to acquire land to relocate them into an integrated, mixed-use that would comply with the government's policy in terms of a sustainable development. Public-Private Partnership between the Local Authority, Provincial Government and the Private Sector would ensure implementation of the project. Codevco (Kopano ke Matla Investment Company and Basil Read Developments) were appointed as the developer of Cosmo City in 2000 after a proposal call by the City of Johannesburg and the Gauteng Provincial Government. The initial planning of the project started thereafter and the final approval was only received in October 2004 (Piek, 2008a).

It took some time between the planning and approval stages because the project was met with resistance from wealthy property owners close to the project area. They argued that the development would affect the value of their properties. The property owners applied to the Johannesburg High Court, opposing the development. However, they lost the case and the Provincial Township Board dismissed their appeal on 6 October 2004 http://www.southafrica.info. The pegging of the first phase commenced in November of

the same year and infrastructural work commenced in January 2005. The first beneficiaries took occupation of their houses in November 2005. December 2006 saw an accumulative total of 2978 houses occupied, a secondary school and two primary schools completed. The projected completion of the project is the end of 2009 (ibid.).

Figure 1 - Location Map of Cosmo City



Source: www.sa.c2a.co.za

Cosmo City is a multi-faceted mixed land use urban development that is providing three types of housing arrangements: Fully subsidized housing (known also as “give-aways”),

finance credit linked housing, and fully bonded housing (see Figure 2 below). In addition, the development is incorporating the implementation of the full range of municipal services and social facilities (such as schools, crèches, clinics, parks, large conservation area, etc.). The aim is to create a community based on the principles of sustainable development and CoJ has opted for a higher level of municipal services than the national standards for low-cost developments (ibid).

Figure 2 – Different Housing Typologies in Cosmo City



Source: The Researcher

The total cost of the project will be R3.55 billion; of which 20% will be used by the local authority for land, bulk services, and internal services to low-income area and community facilities. 19% will be used by the provincial government for subsidized 9000 units, schools and clinics. The last 61% will be allocated to the private sector (ibid).

1.4 Aims of the Study

The overall aim of the study is to investigate the extent to which the implementation of Cosmo City Housing Project has accomplished the intentions of housing policy. It is strongly trusted that this will provide a brief idea of the dilemmas surrounding the implementation of plans (housing in particular) in post-apartheid South Africa. All the areas that are explored, such as: integration, public participation, and partnerships will indicate whether the problems facing South Africa urban communities, such as poverty and social exclusion, are really being addressed through housing. Furthermore, the findings in this research could be used as the future research in the field of housing for the City of Johannesburg, South Africa and other developing countries (Mmonwa, 2007).

They can also be very significant in the designing of housing policy, as well as creating an unproblematic environment for the implementation of such policy.

The study explores South African Housing Policy, its implementation and its outcomes. Basically it explores the implementation process and outcomes; and it assesses the link between the two and the housing policy. The aims of the study can be summarised as:

- To investigate whether the implementation of housing projects adhere to housing policy.
- To explore the socio-economic status of people who have relocated to Cosmo City; and investigate whether they (especially identified beneficiaries) have stayed.
- To find whether people residing in integrated neighbourhoods such as Cosmo City have equal access to services and facilities rendered; and to uncover their daily life experiences. This finding will assist in investigating whether there is, really, integration in this mixed-income neighbourhood.

1.5 Rationale for the Study and Problem Statement

It is necessary to conduct this research because the empirical evidence and literature have indicated a gap between housing policy and project implementation in South Africa post-1994. What is stipulated in the land development legislation such as the 1995 development Facilitation Act, 1997 Housing Act, as well as the 1996 Constitution in relation to housing development has not been really seen on the ground. For instance, issues such as community participation, integration, poverty alleviation, environmental sustainability and cultural diversity have not been seriously taken into consideration in housing development. As it has been mentioned previously in this document, the study focused on Cosmo City Integrated Housing Project. The rationale behind the selection of Cosmo City has been influenced by the fact that the project has tried to honour the spirit of housing policy and the Constitution in as far as integration is concerned. However, the

fact that literature does not include the resident's voice in the planning of housing projects in South Africa compelled me to investigate on how Cosmo City was implemented, and to what extent it responded to economic, social and environmental needs of the beneficiaries. I had a strong believe that the implementation as well as the outcome of the project could have deviated somehow to what has been planned. Also, the rational comprehensive nature of how planning has been done, which assumes that planners are experts, justifies my hypothesis.

According to Sternberg (2000), planners refer to planning as rationalism, incrementalism, participation, group process and communication. These philosophies may be good in strengthening planning discourse as well as planning profession, but if they fail to translate into plan of action they are as good as not there. For instance, Khanya (2002) mentions different approaches to public participation. It is the discretion of the planner to choose the one they prefer. The tendency here is that planners will usually choose that which is convenient to the situation at that particular time and which makes their lives easier. This statement does not rule out the fact that there are always external pressures which are beyond planners' control. These are normally political pressures to deliver, which may compromise quality of the product; or it may be lack of political commitment, which may affect budget allocations. The communicative nature of planning is therefore 'good' on paper and not necessarily implementable on the ground.

Furthermore, the history of housing delivery in South Africa is such that there has been: capacity constraints existing in all spheres of government; slow and complex processes associated with the release of state-owned and private land; and declining delivery linked to the withdrawal of large construction groups from the state-assisted housing sector due to low profit margins (Department of Housing, 2004). These challenges are more associated with implementation rather than policy itself.

The planners' view of planning as rationalism gives them power to decide what should be done for the communities, not necessarily what is desired by those affected by planning products. Housing is not an exception in this case. For instance, people who design

housing policy have little direct experience of poor households' livelihood strategies. This means that whatever is captured in the general principles of housing policy in South Africa may have not been communicated with those who are directly affected (Baumann, 2003). Mayekiso (2003) also argues that post-apartheid planning has not really addressed the needs of the poor. Low-income housing is still located on the peripheries of major cities, where land is of low economic value, and where people are unable to exercise their right to be heard (Huchzermeyer, 2003a). This conclusion is not based only on local experience, but also on the international history of housing delivery (ibid.).

Additionally, the new housing policy has continued to locate subsidized low-income housing schemes on the peripheries of urban areas, often far from economic opportunities (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003). This and other challenges such as: declining household income, unemployment, persistence of inequality and poverty, increasing urban populations, financial pressures on municipalities, and increasing demand for basic services (mainly housing), have become a challenge to post-apartheid urban planning (Bond, 2003). In the realisation of these challenges, the City of Johannesburg, in partnership with Gauteng Department of Housing, made a decision to implement Cosmo City Integrated Housing Project. It is therefore the intention of this research to investigate the extent to which the implementation of this project has redressed urban segregation. This is done through seeking responses to the questions that follow.

1.6 Main Research Question

To what extent does implementation of Cosmo City Integrated Housing Project accomplish the aims of South African housing policy?

1.6.1 Sub-questions

a) Is the project implemented as planned?
b) Who has actually come to live there? Have they stayed?
c) Do people have reasonably equal access to facilities? What are their experiences?

1.7 Structure of the Report

The structure of the report is outlined as follows:

- **Chapter one: Introduction**

This chapter presents a brief description of Cosmo City, the background of the study, justification of the study and the problem statement. It also presents the research questions, which shape the basis or objectives of the study.

- **Chapter two: Literature review**

The chapter identifies the four key concepts in the study, which are: housing, policy, project and implementation. These concepts are clearly defined and discussed in relation to housing delivery in Cosmo City, South Africa and other developing countries. It further reviews relevant literature and theories and apply them to the case study.

- **Chapter three: Research design and methodology**

The chapter presents the research tools used in the study and sample composition. It also includes procedures followed during the gathering of information, ethical issues considered, as well as limitations of the study.

- **Chapter four: Presentation of findings**

The findings are presented in a qualitative form. They provide evidence on the implementation of Cosmo City, and most importantly, they respond to research questions.

- **Chapter five: Analysis of findings**

The findings in the preceding chapter are analysed and explained though literature, theories, and experiences from South Africa and other development contexts.

- **Chapter six: Conclusions and recommendations**

This chapter draws conclusions and recommendations for policy formulation and implementation of housing projects in South Africa. It relates the hypothesis to the findings and also highlights the possible areas for future research.

1.8 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter has provided a brief description of Cosmo City, the background, aims, rationale, and problem statement of the study. It has also outlined brief structure of the report. The research questions were also asked in relation to the effectiveness of the project implementation, identified beneficiaries and accessibility to services and facilities. It is therefore indispensable to explore the literature and theories that are relevant to implementation of housing projects in South Africa and other developing countries and this will be done in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW & THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The post-1994 housing policy debate focused much on the issues of quantitative delivery, with less emphasis on spatial, economic, as well as social integration (Baumann, 2003). However, the late 1990s saw an acknowledgement by the Department of Housing on the problems associated with quantity rather than quality in housing delivery (ibid.). Authors such as Royston (2003) and Mayekiso (2003) have argued that there are still challenges confronting the objective of sustainable human settlements in post-apartheid South Africa. Challenges associated with access to well-located land, integration, public participation and poverty have been given little attention in housing delivery (Baumann, 2003). Consequently, the afore-mentioned conditions impede the aims of housing policy, and there seem to be a missing link between housing policy and project implementation. This chapter will review some literature that is relevant to housing practice in South Africa and other developing countries. It further explores some theories which have informed housing policy in South Africa, and their application to Cosmo City Integrated Housing Project.

2.2 Housing Sector Development in Developing Countries.

This section discusses some key challenges facing the implementation of housing projects in developing countries. These challenges are centered on developmental and demographic considerations; and globalization.

2.2.1 Developmental and demographic considerations

The challenges facing housing sector development are associated with urbanization, which results in urban population growth (Pugh, 2001). In most developing countries, the demographic growth is attributable to earlier ages of marriage and improved primary health care (ibid.). This means that cities play an increasingly dominant role as centres of production and consumption; and policy reform is fundamental in responding to challenges of urbanization (You and Waceke, 2003). Norms and standards regulating

housing development and provision of services are in most cases outdated as they are designed to cater for small fraction of urban population (ibid.). As urban populations increase, there is an increasing demand for urban services such as housing. This implies that massive rural-urban migration results in millions being born into urban poverty; and such considerations as access to housing, basic services, security of tenure and methods of land development call for macroeconomic policies that are aimed at alleviating poverty (ibid.).

According to Volbeda (1989), the United Nations has devoted its attention on low-income housing in the Third World. This is because the increasing urban populations require infrastructural provisions and services. For example, in Sao Paulo the population of slum dwellers is growing substantially faster than the population of the metropolis as a whole; and as a result, many families reside in the informal settlements or *favelas* (ibid.).

2.2.2 Influences of globalization

Alongside the developmental challenges, globalization has played a pivotal role in shaping the development of human settlements in developing countries (Pugh, 2001). The World Bank and other international agencies have been promoting and applying their theories and practices of housing in developing countries, not considering political, economic and cultural conditions of such countries (ibid.). These international influences do not necessarily help in alleviating poverty in developing countries. As noted by Harrison (2003), the neo-liberal nature of globalization has been linked with fragmentation in most developing countries. This is because globalization increases integration and connectivity at the global level, and there is no connectivity at the local level.

According to Moser (1996) Local networks are very important in the arena of housing and poverty alleviation. The opportunities (such as electricity and water) offered by housing to home-owned enterprises are most important for women, allowing them to contribute to household income. This means that housing is an asset that can help households to move out of poverty. As much as poverty alleviation requires economic

policy; there is also a need for social policy (Moser, 1997). Social policy is concerned with the structures of society, and it promotes public participation in development processes such as provision of health, education and shelter (ibid.). Housing policy has been very important in addressing social needs of society, and therefore countries such as South Africa have embraced this policy on a fundamental understanding that housing is a basic need (DoH, 1997; Huchzermeyer, 2001). Furthermore, access to affordable housing and basic services becomes an essential mechanism for addressing urban poverty and social exclusion (You and Waceke, 2003).

2.3 Post-Apartheid Land Development Legislation

Since 1994, new planning legislation has been put in place mainly to facilitate and speed up the implementation of Reconstruction and Development Programmes in relation to land, especially low-income housing development. Negotiations within National Housing Forum from 1992 to 1994 gave birth to a new Housing White Paper (Huchzermeyer, 2001). This piece of legislation would facilitate a shift from the previous apartheid housing delivery to more integrated and inclusive human settlements (ibid.). For the purpose of this study, not all land development legislature will be reviewed. Only those which informed the implementation of Cosmo City are explored. These include: the 1996 Constitution, 1995 Development Facilitation Act, and the 1997 Housing Act.

The 1996 Constitution becomes the main piece of legislature which provides rights to citizens; and among these rights, housing has become crucial for South African urban planning. The 1995 Development Facilitation Act has been responsible for the release of land for low-income housing developments; whilst the Housing Act of 1997 promoted the notion of “sustainable human settlements”. The following sub-sections provide details on how each afore-mentioned legislature relates to housing development.

2.3.1 The 1996 Constitution

Section 26 of the 1996 Constitution stipulate that everyone has access to adequate housing; and sub-section 2 states that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this

right. These provisions afford every citizen an opportunity to access land and housing without any discrimination; and they also aim at redressing urban segregation which has been encouraged by the apartheid legacy (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003; Bond, 2003; Mayekiso 2003; Oelofse, 2003). As Huchzermeyer (2003a) notes, housing policy (a plan of action in housing delivery) should provide solid mechanisms that lead to a more equal society, as provided in Section 9 of the Constitution.

Furthermore, the notion of sustainable use of resources becomes central to housing delivery in South Africa (as noted in the 1996 Constitution). However, there should be more commitment from the implementers and proper use of these resources. As noted by Boshoff and Irurah (2003), the need for appropriate policy, legislation and implementation frameworks becomes crucial not only in ensuring optimal use of resources, but also in strengthening state institutions. Section 24 of the Constitution promotes the development of human settlements that are environmentally sustainable, and which are not harmful to the health or well-being of the inhabitants; and Section 152 ensures that municipalities provide services to the communities in a sustainable manner. Lastly, in promoting integration in human settlements, the Constitution provides that every member of community should not be denied the right to enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language (Section 31).

2.3.2 Development Facilitation Act of 1995

DFA became a significant piece of legislation that aimed at promoting well-located development and integration. Royston (2003) notes that the 1994 Housing White Paper saw DFA as the key short-term intervention that would facilitate the speedy delivery of serviced land for low-income housing developments. Section 3 of DFA stipulates land development policy should promote integrated human settlements; effective public participation by those affected by development; and it should create environmentally sustainable land development processes. Despite these provisions, low-income housing projects are still located on the peripheries of the cities, far from economic activities (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003; Mayekiso, 2003; Royston, 2003). Once more, the fact

that local governments are seen as mere implementers of national programmes limits public participation at the local level (Huchzermeyer, 2001).

2.3.3 Housing Act of 1997

Section 1 of the 1997 Housing Act defines housing development as the establishment of habitable, stable and sustainable public and private residential environments to ensure viable households and communities in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities, and to health, education and social amenities in which all citizens and permanents residents of the Republic will, on a progressive basis, have access to: (a) permanent residential structures with secure tenure, ensuring internal and external privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and (b) potable water, adequate sanitary facilities and domestic energy supply. This definition implies that every housing development is not complete without basic services and facilities, safety and security of tenure.

Section 2 stipulates the General Principles of housing development which promote integration (spatial, economic, institutional and social) and sustainability in human settlements. Despite these progressive provisions, the low-income housing projects in South Africa are still not meeting most of the aims of this legislation. However, the new housing projects such as Cosmo City have tried to adhere to these principles, but it is important to investigate the extent to which these principles are met.

2.4 Post-Apartheid Spatial Development Frameworks – Successful mechanisms in redressing urban fragmentation?

Spatial development frameworks adopted soon after 1994 by cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town gave planning profession a legal status. Introduction of integrated development plans by the 1996 Local Government Transition Act would ensure that objectives and plans are aligned with the budgeting process (ibid.). However, implementation of integration plans has been proven to be problematic in areas such as housing and transport (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003). While the objective is to integrate communities, subsidized low-income schemes are still located on the peripheries. These

areas are far from economic opportunities and they impose a major burden on the provision of subsidized transport (ibid.). Royston (2003) reveals several obstacles to integration, such as: the absence of coordination in the national sphere; sectoral fragmentation at the local level; and rigid land-use zones. Municipalities are also faced with obligations to adopt forms of planning such as integrated development plans, but little attention is given on how they are to resource these processes (ibid.). In addition, the country has experienced a 30% increase in the absolute number of households, where only a 10% increase was expected. This has been caused by the drop in average household size from 4.5 people per household in 1996 to 3.8 in 2001 (DoH, 2004). Therefore it is logical to conclude that the drop in household size has resulted in an increase in housing demand. While the situation indicates improved living conditions, it may results in increased housing demand due to qualifying subsidy beneficiaries.

In 1995, South African government in recognition of the current and future importance of its cities and towns in meeting the needs of the growing population adopted Urban Development Framework (UDF). This is a national policy guided by Reconstruction and Development Policy (www.housing.gov.za). It supports the development of urban settlements that are spatially and socio-economically integrated; centres of economic and social opportunity where people can live and work in safety and peace; and centres of vibrant urban governance (ibid.). In summary, this policy promotes the sustainable use of space (marked by good housing, infrastructure, and effective services) and resources through partnerships. However, Bond (2003) argues that the government does not have enough resources to provide the necessary basic infrastructure in municipal areas. The policy also does not provide interventionist policies which attempt to prevent urbanization (ibid.). The following section evaluates the implementation of housing projects in South Africa.

2.5 Performance of Housing Projects in South Africa

The performance of housing projects in South Africa has been observed by authors such as Lizarralde and Massyn (2008), who state that there are a number of technical, urban, social and economic factors that have been associated with the performance of low-cost

housing projects in South Africa. In their paper entitled “Unexpected Negative Outcomes of Community Participation in Low-cost Housing Projects in South Africa”, they cite Napier (2005) who criticized the urban qualities of subsidized projects in South Africa. Dewar (1982) associates these projects with deficiencies such as repetition, fragmentation and low density.

This section reviews the literature on the relationship between the housing policy and implementation in post-apartheid South Africa. In short, it looks at the performance of housing projects and how it influences the outcomes in that regard. The purpose of this reviewing is to uncover how several authors view the performance of housing projects. This assessment is done against the following areas of housing policy: partnerships, public participation, basic services and integration. However, each sub-section is not limited to area mentioned, the problems are all inter-linked.

2.5.1 Partnerships and public participation

According to Bond (2003), implementation of urban projects is failing because of inefficiencies in municipal delivery. There is a desperate need for more rapid public-private partnerships and outsourcing of funds for delivery of municipal services. There is also more emphasis on ‘greenfield’ developments that are usually located on the peripheries of cities. Moreover, Mayekiso (2003) notes that uneven development within cities is such that the White upper and middle-classes live in walled enclaves (gated communities). In an attempt to promote integration, these communities are surrounded by low-income dwellings. The walls have created ‘buffers’ that separate different income groups and address NIMBY (Not-In-My-Back-Yard) issues. Again, integration strategies have been applied in the inner city of Johannesburg. Oelofse (2003) indicates that social housing institutions promote mixed-income projects by providing affordable rental accommodation. This is also done to spatially integrate people in relation to social and economic activities (ibid.). Watson (2003) mentions the adoption of a new planning model (integration) by the Cape Town city in the late 1980s. The model would not only promote mixed land-uses, higher densities, well-located sites; but also could promote an image of planners and other built environment professionals as progressive. The very

same professionals are seen by Sandercock (2003) as “really only cogs in some machine that others are in control of”. The partnership between professionals and the public becomes crucial in this regard.

Community participation is enhanced through an interaction between the community, the developer and other stakeholders (social compact). However, Tomlinson (1995) argues that these compacts have a tendency of coming apart at the implementation stage of a project. This might be due to the fact that recipients feel they were not consulted enough and therefore reject the implementation. The heterogeneity of communities also makes it quite difficult to establish social compacts. In some cases, Bremmer (2000) notes, host communities are not informed of the proposed developments because of possible delays which are linked to involving communities.

In addition to problems associated with lack of public participation, Todes (2003) in explaining whether planning is powerful or not, writes about development in Newcastle, Kwazulu Natal. She concludes that the outcomes of planning were different from what was intended. She looked at both local and international factors that influenced the performance of the project. The problems can be summarised as: world economic recession due to contraction of international markets; rational planning which did not look into demographic dynamics; top-down decision of central government; and growth of the functional area exceeding population projections. In a nutshell, the unintended outcome was the over-provision of infrastructure, increasing vacant land and unsustainable economic boom. All these could be associated with ‘master planning’ of the area, which of-course did not recognise public participation, changes in population, and market behaviour.

In analyzing the differences in perspective on urban policies and implementation in post-apartheid era, Bond (2003) compares the *mainstream* and *critical* approaches to planning. The former presumes that cities must be market-oriented and operate through market principles, and that their economies should be determined by globalization; while in contrast, the latter advocates for positive economic, social and environmental benefits

that come from strong public policies and programmes. In areas where public participation is enhanced, privatization of municipal services is supported.

2.5.2 Basic services

Difficulties encountered in the implementation of plans are not only associated with institutional arrangements, but also have to do with socio-economic setbacks. There is a lack of appropriate institutions and funds to carry out activities surrounding provision of bulk infrastructure. Tomlinson (1995) states that in an attempt to get delivery off the ground, the MEC for the Northern Province instructed the Provincial Housing Board to forget the bulk infrastructure and just 'deliver something' (1995: 23). Land is also the most complex and time-consuming development issue.

2.5.3 Integration and integrated housing

The contextual meaning of integration refers to the process of opening a group, community, place, or organization to all; regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or social class (http://Encarta.msn.com). Housing is referred to as a permanent shelter for human habitation, together with services and facilities rendered. In post-apartheid South Africa, the notion of integrated housing has been embraced to confront urban fragmentation perpetuated by apartheid planning (Charlton, 2003; Harrison, 2003; Huchzermeyer, 2003a; Oelofse, 2003; Todes, 2003).

Bremmer (2000) notes that residential segregation; buffer zones between races, 'peripheralisation' of the black population and long distances between residence and workplace still exist (2003: 88). There is continued segregation of low-income settlements which is promoted by locating people on the peripheries of the cities (Mabin, 1995). Access to well-located land and integration remain fundamental challenges in confronting the objective of sustainable human settlements (Royston, 2003). A study conducted by Boaden and Karam (2000) emphasizes that housing is not always a priority for low-income families. They found that many low-income families in the townships of South Africa sell their homes and plots 'when Christmas approaches and people urgently need cash'. Others sell their subsidized units at a fraction of the real replacement costs in

order to pay for family funerals or to pay debts (cited in Lizarralde and Massyn, 2008). Payment of rent and utilities such as electricity and water is also not favoured by residents. Another study conducted by Development Action Group demonstrates that residents of Netreg (Cape Town) are three times more likely to stop paying rent during bad times than stop paying funeral insurances and funeral savings. The study concluded that 'more than 40% of households skip rent payments, electricity payments, etc. during bad times'.

The continuing urban segregation is observed by Bond (2003) who cites Statistics South Africa's 2002 report for socio-economic demographics. There have been declining average Black household income and increasing unemployment in the period between 1995 and 2000. Housing and service provision has not kept pace with household formation, and the situation has had a negative impact on social coherence and crime (Department of Housing, 2004). Furthermore, authors such as Oelofse (2003) and Todes (2003) who present a debate against the nature of compaction in South African cities become vital in explaining why planning is flawed. Oelofse (2003) mentions problems faced by poor people after being integrated into the inner city, where the poorest cannot afford rentals required to maintain apartments at acceptable levels. According to Todes (2003), research suggests that decreasing formal employment and increasing reliance to survival strategies by the poor means that relocating them makes their lives difficult as they cannot afford high cost of services in the city. Both these arguments question the importance of urban compaction in relation to issues of equity and social change.

In planning practice, reality tends to depart from policy. The intended outcomes sometimes deviate from what was in the plan; and there are some identified motivations to such situations. The deviations normally emerge as a result of unforeseen social, economic as well as environmental changes; or sometimes problems associated with institutional capacities of stakeholders such as local authorities. The unintended outcomes as viewed by Tomlinson (1999) in reviewing South African Housing Policy had to do with: NIMBY issues, land availability and costs, subsidy and capacity issues; to name but a few. Furthermore, the impact of institutional organisation in the implementation of

housing projects had earlier got an emphasis in Tomlinson's research report (1995) entitled: "From Principle to Practice: Implementers' Views on the New Housing Subsidy Scheme". The report gives an analysis of capacity and operations in implementation of subsidy scheme. Among other things it looks at commitment to the policy, approved standard of housing and 'teething problems' in all nine provinces. The main core problem is the distribution of functions and powers between the national department and provinces. The fact that provinces are expected to implement a policy that is formulated at a national level is in itself a problem in the implementation. Therefore lack of autonomy by provinces to formulate housing policy has resulted in less commitment on its implementation. Bremmer (2000) views that Rapid Land Development Programme in Johannesburg failed in areas where there was lack of political commitment.

According to Tomlinson (2006) problems associated with housing delivery still persist. A shift from private to public sector driven delivery means that under-resourced local authorities have a slow delivery. On the other hand, spatial planning framework continues to direct municipalities on the location of low-income housing projects. Again, the contribution (R2,479 in 2001) expected from low-income earning households in accessing housing subsidy, which is aimed at giving them a stake in housing delivery has resulted in a decline in housing delivery (ibid.).

The call for urban integration by several legislation papers such as the 1997 Housing White Paper, Local Government Act of 1998 and Breaking New Ground Policy of 2004 has been outclassed by implementation. For instance, Tomlinson (1999) mentions obstacles to locating low-income housing projects within the fabric of the city. A well-located land seems to be costly for municipalities to implement housing projects. This land is usually privately owned and quite expensive. In some cases residents are not willing to accommodate low-income projects close to their neighbourhoods (Not In My Backyard Issues – NIMBY issues). Bremmer (2000) asserts that objections usually arise from the middle-class property owners who feel that the value of their properties is being compromised. Bureaucratic logjams associated with approval of plans and acquisition of land also compromise urban development and alleviation of poverty. Projects are run as

public enterprises and are therefore exposed to political influences. Outcomes can also change as political agendas diverge. For instance, Mayoral Executive Committees (MECs) argue that housing is a political issue and therefore calls for delivery. Therefore change in politics means change in policy (Tomlinson, 1999).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, approval of layout plans, ensuring that land is proclaimed, opening township registers and signing land availability agreements are key reasons for slow delivery and unintended outcomes in the implementation of projects (Tomlinson, 1995). Local authorities with their tendency to drag their feet are responsible. Inefficiencies of these local authorities due to lack of capacity to understand complex policies is another factor. There are also problems associated with acquiring well-located land in urban areas as well as tenure issues in rural areas (Ibid.). The land in rural areas if often not legally documented, and therefore projects cannot be easily completed. In urban areas, access to well-located land and integration remain fundamental challenges confronting the objective of sustainable human settlement development (Royston, 2003). There are a number of inadequacies in the planning system which results in unintended outcomes of housing project. As Royston (2003: 241) notes
" …procedural complexity and inherited legal fragmentation, inconsistencies and gaps in post-1994 provincial legislative reform, inflexible land use management and multiple sector planning requirements".

In my view, the complexities in the arena of planning do not allow a linear relationship between planning and implementation. Means do not necessarily determine ends; there are often overlooked hindrances in the implementation of plans. Planners have always been overly-idealistic, ignoring the realities surrounding planning environment such as socio-economic, environmental as well as political issues. Huchzermeyer (2006) explores the notion of 'informal settlement upgrading' in Gauteng, in which she concludes that there is a need for capacity building within local governments in regard to constitutional rights of the poor. She mentions that local government officials on the ground face the difficult task of weighing off human-needs driven demands of informal settlement communities with those of the discourse of global competitiveness, which is increasingly

legitimised by South Africa's task of hosting the 2010 Soccer World Cup. This situation undermines obligations placed by the constitution and other relevant policies in the implementation of plans.

Having explored some literature on the implementation of housing projects in post-apartheid planning, it is inevitable to look at relevant theories. As mentioned earlier, not all planning theories are to be uncovered, but those which the researcher finds most preferable in explaining the problem statement and aims identified for this study are explored.

2.6 Main Theoretical Frameworks of the Study

This section discusses the theoretical frameworks that have guided the study. These are: the Just City Approach and Collaborative/Communicative theories. These theories have been identified as central in explaining the key concepts in the study, and are therefore applied to the implementation of Cosmo City Project. The section starts by outlining the history of planning thought to give a brief background of how planning has been carried out in the world.

2.6.1 History of planning thought (Since World War 11)

Early post-war planning (Second World War) theorists viewed towns as scientific and objective. According to Taylor (1998) cities were perceived as systems of interrelated activities. There was more emphasis on reconstructing European cities that were destroyed during the war. Therefore urban planning gained recognition at this particular time. There were two conceptually distinct theories of planning – systems theory and rational comprehensive theory (ibid.). Muller (1992) mentions the philosophical evolution of planning which has been drawn from either empiricist/positivist or rationalist epistemologies in this modernist stage. Planning required rational decisions that were based on empirical knowledge, and therefore town planners possessed these special skills. Moreover, modernism relied on reason and science and had its roots in the European Enlightenment (Healey, 1997). This planning thought faced a strong rejection

from the late 1960s (Taylor, 2003). There followed a recognition of social life and economic activities by planners (ibid.). Healey (1997) claims that socio-economic inequality; social exclusions; and environmental degradation led to the growing interest in the management of socio-spatial relations within cities. Because of this new approach to planning, the 'blueprints' or master plans were no longer realistic. This implied that a city could be seen as a process rather than an end-state. Jacobs (1961) claims that successful city areas were those with mixed uses; whilst Sandercock (2003) recognizes the effectiveness of planning in having planners, residents, politicians and mobilized communities negotiating a consensus about the best ways of living together.

2.6.2 Collaborative or communicative theory

This is a normative planning theory that recognizes that a town planner have some specialist skills that can be used to manage the process that will arrive at a decision. He mediates between different interest groups involved in land development. He is viewed as not so much of a technical expert, but more of a facilitator of other people's views about how a town should be planned (Healey 1997). This is a planning thought that focuses on social interaction and on networks, rather than rational method (Friedman, 1987). Planning is interpreted in terms of communicative rather than a technical rationality. Plan making is seen as a process of dialogue between different systems of meaning in the search for areas of consensus (Healey, 1997 and Innes, 1998).

Collaborative planning recognizes that all forms of knowledge are socially constructed, and therefore experts are just actors of what is decided by social discourses (Healey, 1997). This theory realizes that policies that are designed to manage co-existence in shared spaces can only be efficient and successful if beneficiaries of such policies have a stake in the decisions made for them (ibid). Udy (1995) discusses public policy in terms of the roles of the politician, and explains how conflicting values of politicians may affect policy formulation and implementation. For example, it is very difficult for a politician to make his view in such a way that it reflects his commitment because this may reduce his manoeuvrability. In essence, this means that if a politician is more commitment to formulating an inclusive policy, he may move parallel to the vocal elements of his

constituency, thereby being forced to change the policy or resign (ibid.). It therefore means that there are external forces that may control the way a politician exercises his values, and consequently this weakens democracy.

Watson (2002) notes that communicative theory is one of the three normative planning theories; others being the Just City approach and multiculturalism. All these theories advocate for the interaction of different interest groups in such a way that ideas are communicated, arguments are formed and differences are constructively debated (ibid.). Communication is core to these normative theories although there may be some important differences. For instance, Sandercock (1998) believes that civil movements are primary agents of change. She is influenced by both multiculturalism and radical planning. Watson (2002) regards multiculturalism as both a variant and development of communicative theory. Although there may be differences in these theories in terms of the arena in which they are exercised, they are both influenced by post-modernism and cultural turn in thinking (ibid.). Processes and discourse which shape planning become very fundamental in this regard (Sandercock, 1998).

According to Healey (2002) the physical planning tradition has shifted to be aware of the relationship between social processes, spatial organization and urban from. This relationship, she asserts, generates a complexity of demands for local environmental management. There is a move by policy analysts from the traditional emphasis on scientific knowledge, to a greater understanding of how ordinary citizens can influence decisions through dialogue. The recognition of social processes in spatial planning is a reflection of identity and bases of knowledge; and it is labelled communicative planning (ibid.). For instance, urban reconstruction in post-apartheid South Africa incorporates far wider participation and a developmental viewpoint than the previous apartheid planning (Mabin and Smith, 1997). Research on practice indicates that formal information (used in rational planning) rarely influence decisions (Innes, 1998).

However, like all planning theories, communicative theory has been susceptible to critique. Harrison (2002) argues that communicative planning is too idealistic for

assuming a universal consensus, in which all participants have an equal opportunity to participate in dialogue. There is also concern by authors such as Healey that the consensus reached in communicative processes limits future discussion and innovation (ibid.). Again, the issue of power remains problematic in communicative theory. The fact discussions are held in multicultural societies may mean that the most powerful group becomes more vocal (Watson, 2002). In some cases, communication action around technical information changes the player's attitudes about the problem (Innes, 1998). It is therefore crucial that academics learn how information functions in the practice of planning. This means that practices that are ethical and effective should be defined, and there should be a clear explanation on how and why plans and policies are made (ibid.).

Sandercock (2003) affirms that story telling plays an important role in communicating the needs of the society. However, community actors usually have great stories to tell, but no means of telling them. The fact that those who experience poverty are in a position to understand it better and communicate it, means that if they are not allowed to tell their stories, there will be not much written on poverty issues. Again, even if poverty issues are written, those who write them (academics) cannot communicate their findings in a persuasive manner. Therefore their findings may not influence policy (idid.).

2.6.3 Just City Approach

The Just City approach advocates for both social and political equality in society (Davidoff, 1965). The model recognizes a need for an environment in which citizens are able to play an active role in the process of deciding public policy. This is achieved through a process political debate, where decisions are based on choice rather than fact. Furthermore, the model affirms that it is fundamental for urban politics to reduce central bureaucratic control over developmental processes (ibid.). Davidoff (1965) maintains that the inclusion of citizens in decision making should not only be about them being heard, but it should allow them to be well-informed about core reasons for planning proposals.

Fainstein and Fainstein (1996) argue that planning decisions cannot be reached outside the arena of politics. Planners recognize that the public is the decisive authority in the

formulation of plans and they can make a distinction between personal interests and public interests. Arguments from the disadvantaged groups can merge with those of the equity planners to come up with concrete decisions that promote social justice in societies. However, democracy does not allow preference of the interests of a particular group, therefore there is always a confusion over which group should be involved in the formulation of plans (ibid.). This challenges the hypothesis that society can be transformed from the voices of those at the grassroots level, and that 'just' local processes can impact on the distribution of resources (Watson, 2002).

Furthermore, the Just Approach defines the importance of the civil society (non-governmental organisations and autonomous civil movements) in driving democracy (Watson, 2002). NGOs are viewed by development organisations and donor agencies as central in driving for development and change. However, the evaluation of the NGOs which are funded by Western donors reveals that many use a top-down approach in development processes (ibid.). In this theory therefore, the notion of communication and how it is carried out become critical in ensuring social justice in society.

2.7 Accomplishing Social Justice in the City of Johannesburg.

This section reviews the application of the above discussed theories in South African context. Johannesburg is identified as the main area of discussion because Cosmo City project falls under its jurisdiction. Like all South African cities, Johannesburg is implementing policies that aim to confront urban fragmentation imposed by the previous government. Therefore, social justice becomes fundamental in redressing economic, social and spatial integration in Johannesburg.

Social justice in the South African context is described as an essential component of mixed-used developments or compact cities. It advocates for social equality in cities which is encouraged by among others, suburban growth, increased densities and spatial integration of diverse social groups and urban activities (Oelofse, 2003). The above-mentioned theories both play a fundamental role in assessing the achievement social

justice in the in the implementation of Cosmo City Project. The following outlines the summary report on the development of the project and its objectives by the Project Manager, Davina Piek.

2.7.1 Cosmo City in brief

The aim of the project is to create sustainable integration of communities and homeowners with widely varied financial, cultural and social backgrounds, while incorporating very high standards for environmental compliance. The aim is to create a community based on the principles of sustainable development and CoJ has opted for a higher level of municipal services than the national standards for low-cost developments. The partners in the implementation of the project are: The City of Johannesburg (CoJ), Gauteng Provincial Government and Codevco (Pty) Ltd.

Cosmo City is a multi-facilitated mixed land use urban development that is providing three types of housing arrangements: 5000 fully subsidised housing (known also as "give-aways"), 3000 credit-link housing and 3300 fully bonded housing. In addition, the development is incorporating the implementation of the full range of municipal services and social facilities (such as schools, crèches, clinics, parks, large conservation area, etc.). There are approximately 50 ha that is zoned for commercial and industrial uses and approximately 200 ha are zoned as Public Open Spaces (POS) and conservation purposes.

Floor area of the fully subsidised houses is 36 m^2, which is divided into two bedrooms, living area and a bathroom with a flush toilet, and the area of each plot is 250 m^2. There is pre-paid water supply to every house (including the provision of 6 Kl of free water); pre-paid electricity supply to every house; fully water-borne sanitation, and tarred roads throughout the entire development. Cosmo City accommodates the identified beneficiaries of Zevenfontein, Riverbend, Cosmo Farm workers; and it is estimated that the project will accommodate 65 000 - 70 000 people upon its completion.

In contrast with the above information, the project has faced some challenges during its implementation. The main problem has been associated with budget. The City of Johannesburg does not have enough to complete the project in required time frames. Other challenges include: additional funding for social housing development; illegal businesses which are blamed for increased crime; and the encroachment by Itsoseng informal settlement (an adjacent area) into Cosmo land.

2.8 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has defined the key concepts that were identified in the study. Most importantly, it has illustrated the major challenges faced by developing countries in the implementation of housing projects. Urbanisation and globalization were identified as some of the key challenges for housing sector development in developing countries. In addition, the chapter has explored some major challenges facing South African housing policy and implementation. An evaluation has been done against the following areas: public participation, partnerships, integration and basic services. Furthermore, the two theories (communicative theory and the Just City Approach) were identified as relevant in explaining the implementation of Cosmo City Project.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter presents the research design and methodology employed in this study. This is an explorative, case study research that used a qualitative research approach. Thus, the qualitative information became fundamental in responding to the following research questions: 1. Was the project implemented as planned? 2. Who has come to live in the project? Have beneficiaries stayed? 3. Do residents have equal access to basic services and facilities? What are their experiences? Furthermore, the sampling procedures, ethical considerations, data collection and analysis process, and the limitations of the study are discussed in detail in this chapter.

3.2. Research Method

Access to the residents in Cosmo City was done through the Project Manager, Davina Piek. She introduced the researcher to the Codevco Environmental Control Officer, Stanley Mahlalela, who then helped the researcher in organizing the residents for interviews. The researcher has personally administered the research questionnaires (open-ended and semi-structured) to the residents of Cosmo City through home visits. This has facilitated in the provision of residents' perception on the intended outcomes of Cosmo City Project, thereby achieving the research objectives. Furthermore, the researcher conducted interviews with the Project Manager and the Environmental Control Officer to draw data that covered the implementation of the project. At the national level, a review of the housing and planning policies was done; whilst a review of the Spatial Development Framework was done at the municipal level in relation to the implementation of housing projects.

3.3. Research Design

The application of a qualitative approach was very crucial in ensuring that respondents' opinions in regard to housing policy and its implementation were captured. Therefore the

research could be described as an exploratory or investigative research seeking perceptions of the implementers (City of Johannesburg and Codevco) as well as residents who benefited from the outcomes of the project. One-to-one interviews with all respondents were conducted, and this became a mechanism to collect the interviewees' perceptions of implementation of Cosmo City housing project. In this process, open-ended and semi-structured questions were asked (with the full consent of the participants), which allowed an open discussion between the researcher and the each respondent. All questionnaires had a provision for note-taking, thus allowing all responses to be recorded by the interviewer, and thereby ensuring confidentiality. Each interview session took an average of twenty minutes, depending on the participants' ability to respond to questions.

3.4. Sampling Procedures

Twelve participants were chosen as respondents for the study. There were six RDP residents, two credit-linked residents and two bonded housing residents. The other two respondents were the Cosmo City Project Manager and the Environmental Control Officer (ECO) for Codevco. All these respondents were identified as key for information needed for the research. The reason for having more respondents from the RDP units was because they formed a bigger proportion of the whole settlement and their opinions as beneficiaries were fundamental for this research. The study implemented was qualitative and therefore did not employ any statistical sampling theory. The identified respondents fell into five categories (Project Manager, ECO, RDP residents, credit-linked residents, and bonded housing residents). Different categories require a stratified sampling method, which required the exact number of respondents. However, the researcher decided not to employ this sampling method because: 1) it is a quantitative research tool and therefore not suitable for this research, 2) there were more relocations taking place at the time of data collection, and this would make the results invalid. Therefore this means no sampling method was used, the researcher chose households randomly. This has been a limitation of the study as the findings would not represent the whole community of Cosmo City. However, the findings will form a basis for future research in the field of housing.

3.5. Data Collection Process

The researcher administered the research questionnaires personally to the residents of Cosmo City community, the Project Manager and E.C.O. This method of collection ensured that individuals answer the questions independent of any external influences. Thus the presence of the researcher could guarantee the reliability and validity of the findings. Also, in cases where there were low levels of literacy or where the questions were not clear to the respondents, the method allowed the researcher to probe the responses and clarify ambiguous questions. Interviews were conducted for the total of three days because it was not easy to get respondents from both credit-linked and bonded houses. The appointments for the respondents who could not be found during the day were arranged with the help of Environmental Control Officer.

3.6. Data Analysis

Thematic method was used to analyse the data collected. This is a tool for data analysis often used for a qualitative research (Aronson, 1994). It focuses on identifiable themes and patterns that emerge from conversations during interviews (ibid.). In this case the research questions were used as themes in order to ensure that the analysis explains the research findings and most importantly, achieves the objectives of the research. The use of themes in the presentation of findings and their analysis has played a central role in managing the raw data. This method has also made it quite unproblematic to integrate relevant literature, empirical knowledge and theories which explain the findings of the study. Moreover the conclusions and recommendations were drawn from the analysed data. This means there was a linear correlation between the research findings, analysis, conclusions and recommendations.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

The following ethical considerations were upheld in the process of the study:

- The research participants were not forced to participate in the study. An informed consent was read to each one of them before the interview started. This gave the respondents a right to withdraw from the study anytime during the interview.

- It was made clear to the participants by the researcher that she was in no way linked to the organization that implemented Cosmo City project. This was done through stating the intentions of the study.
- The researcher did not ask leading questions. She only assisted where the questions were not clear to the respondents.
- The researcher offered no payment or reward to the research participants. She also made no promises to address issues raised by the participants in regard to the implementation of the project.
- The researcher explained to the participants that the data collected would be confidential and anonymous. Moreover, the report would be accessible to the respondents if need be.
- The information collected from the participants was not revealed to anyone, including my supervisor.

3.8. Limitations

Having explained the research design and methodology, it is important to note some factors that were beyond the control of the researcher, but which had an impact on the processes and possibly the findings of the study. Therefore the following are identified as the limitations of the study:

- The sample population is not representative of the whole community, and therefore the findings cannot be generalized. However, the findings might lay a foundation for future research and policy formulation in the field of housing.
- The information gathered in this study is qualitative or subjective; therefore its analysis may reflect the beliefs and values of the researcher. However, care was taken to maintain neutrality of the findings to the researcher's hypothesis.
- Language might impact negatively on the findings as some of the respondents might not understand some technical words used in the field of housing.

- The researcher can only speak one indigenous language (Sesotho), therefore this becomes almost impossible to communicate with participants who speak other languages. Again, this might distort the research findings.
- The researcher feels she did not cover most of the literature on housing policy and the implementation of projects due to time constraints. However, she believes there is a fair reflection of the issues around this field in this report.

3.9. Summary of the Chapter

The chapter has presented the methodological process and procedures employed in this study. The study employed a qualitative research approach using structured interviews, as this was relevant and necessary to capture subjective perceptions of residents regarding implementation of Cosmo City project. The data collection process was administered by the researcher personally, and amongst others this has enhanced the reliability of data. Furthermore relevant ethical considerations to this study were upheld throughout the research process. Finally the limitations of the study were acknowledged in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The findings of this study are presented in detail in this chapter. The information is drawn from the primary sources (interviews) and secondary sources (land development legislation, Cosmo City documents and housing literature). In presenting these findings, a Thematic Content Analysis is used. This is a qualitative method which involves the identification of frequent themes, often used on interview records and the responses to open ended questions on questionnaires (Zhang, 2006). It allows the researcher to interpret social reality in a subjective but scientific manner (ibid.). However, this research uses research questions as themes in order to ensure that findings clearly respond to the objectives of the research. Thus the research presents the findings with respect to: (i) Was the project implemented as planned? (ii) Who has come to live in the project? Have beneficiaries stayed? (iii) Do people have equal access to facilities? What are their experiences? The findings are presented in the sub-headings (4.2 to 4.4) below.

4.2 Is the project implemented as planned?

The objective of this research question is to investigate the implementation of Cosmo City Project in relation to housing policy. Thus, this section presents findings that respond to issues such as partnerships, tenure security, and integration (institutional, economic and social).

4.2.1 Partnerships

The project has been implemented through public-private partnership (City of Johannesburg – land owner; Gauteng Department of Housing – subsidies; and CODEVCO - developer). This is highlighted in the Cosmo City general information and progress reports which were made accessible to the researcher by Cosmo Project Manager, Davina Piek. Public-private partnership (PPP) in the housing development is stipulated in the General Principles of Housing Act 107 of 1997. Together with the 1996 Constitution, and the 1995 Development Facilitation Act, the Housing Act has informed and shaped the development of Cosmo City Project (Piek, 2008a). PPP also find an echo

in the 2004 Breaking New Ground Policy which is a plan of action for housing development, although it came into action five years after Cosmo City was conceived. In Part 4 of the Housing Act, as one of functions of municipalities (2 (a) (iii), it is stated that: Any municipality may participate in a national housing programme in accordance with the rules applicable to such programme by entering into a joint venture contract with a developer in respect of a housing development project (DoH, 1997). This function promotes PPP in the implementation of housing projects.

It has enhanced private sector investment in a sense that Codevco as a private developer has sub-contracted other private construction companies to do the actual implementation of the project. These companies include Phuma, M5 Developments, JSE Projects, Kwezi V3, Basil Read, Arcus Gibb, Trinamics. The City of Johannesburg through its regulation policy has implemented the project using its agencies such as Johannesburg City Parks, Johannesburg Property Company, JHB Water, City Power, Johannesburg Roads Agency and ESKOM. Urban Dynamics has designed the layout plan of Cosmo City Project (Piek, 2008c). The 1997 Housing Act stipulates [General Principle 1 (k)] that national, provincial and local spheres of government must use public money available for housing development in a manner which stimulates private investment in, and the contributions of individuals to, housing development (DoH, 1997). The developer was selected through a tendering process and this is supported by the 1995 Development Facilitation Act which stipulates clearly that: Policy, administrative practice and laws relating to land development should stimulate the effective functioning of a land development market based on open competition between suppliers of goods and services (www.info.gov.za/acts/**1995/**a67-95).

4.2.2 Tenure security

Cosmo City has provided different tenure options through its three different housing typologies (RDP, credit-linked and bonded units). This is stipulated in the general information on Cosmo City Project, Project Business Plan and progress reports given to the researcher by Cosmo Project Manager. The idea of having different tenure option has a legislative support in the 1997 Housing Act and the 1995 Development Facilitation Act,

both which have informed the development of Cosmo City Project. Section 1 (c) (i) of the Housing Act affirms that national, provincial and local spheres of government must-provides as wide a choice of housing and tenure options as is reasonably possible; whilst section 3 (c) (v) of DFA asserts that policy, administrative practice and laws should promote a diverse combination of land uses, also at the level of individual erven or subdivisions of land. Section 26 of the 1996 Constitution provides that everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.

Moreover, the project has stimulated residential property market through credit-linked and bonded housing. Bonded units are open for market to any individual who wishes to reside in Cosmo City. The 1997 Housing Act asserts that housing has to promote the effective functioning of the housing market while levelling the playing fields and taking steps to achieve equitable access for all to that market [General Principles 1 (e) (v)]. It is envisaged that Cosmo City is going to have 3,300 bonded units upon its completion (Piek, 2008a). 1,000 institutional (rental) units are also going to be constructed. The number of both rental and bonded houses adds up to 4,300 and this forms part of the overall 12, 300 housing units in Cosmo City (ibid.). This ensures that property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment. (DoH, 2004).

4.2.3 Social integration

The project has promoted integration. Cosmo City has deviated from product uniformity in housing delivery, and there are different housing typologies which accommodate people with varying financial, racial and cultural backgrounds. Out of ten residents interviewed, seven felt that there is both spatial and social integration in Cosmo City; the other three feel that there is no social integration among residents. Although the sample size does not represent the whole population, it highlights the residents' perceptions of social integration. Out of the three respondents who did not believe there was social integration, two occupied RDP units while one respondent resided in a credit-linked house.

4.2.4 Institutional integration

Section 1 of 1997 Housing Act states that housing development should be economically, fiscally, socially and financially affordable and sustainable; and it should be based on integrated development planning. Section 3 (c) (i) of DFA stipulates that land development policy should promote the integration of the social, economic, institutional and physical aspects of land development. In Cosmo City there are different institutions that are involved in the implementation of the project. These institutional structures were approved on 29 August 2001 and later improved, and the final form approved at a sitting of the Section 79 Steering Committee held on 18 March 2005 (Piek, 2008a). The structures are in the form of committees, and they are presented below.

Mancomm (Project Management Committee) – it was created to take fast decisions and remove obstacles in the path of project implementation. Meetings are held bi-weekly.
Representation: High level CoJ officials from key departments such as Housing, Environmental, Transportation and Finance; high level decision makers from Johannesburg City Parks due to the strict Record of decision and the large conservation area demarcated in Cosmo City; high level management of the developer (Codevco).

Steering Committee - Section 79 Steering Committee has meetings on a quarterly basis. Progress reports are being presented and discussed. Issues of importance to the project implementation are being debated and resolutions made.
Chair: Councillor
Representation: Nominated Councillors by Mayoral Committee; Ward Councillors; adjoining Ward Councillors; any other Councillors as nominated by Council; chairpersons of the sub-committees; one elected member of each sub-committee; developer representatives; Council officials and their consultants.

Technical committee – It meets on a monthly basis and deals with purely technical issues (construction, services, etc.).
Chair: Technical competent person nominated by Council

Representation: A representative from the developer; a representative from interested parties; Council officials; Consultants.

Environmental Mitigation & Management Committee - This committee was established as a requirement of the Record of Decision as well as a forum where all environmental matters can be discussed and relevant information disseminated to Interested and Affected Parties.). Meetings are held on a monthly basis and chaired by a representative of the "objectors" to the project as elected by the forum.
Representation: The communities surrounding the development; the source communities; constructors; GDACE; City of Joburg.

Cosmo Development Forum – The committee provides a platform and feedback and to allow discussion for clarification on the project.
Chair: Councillor
Representation: Ward Councillors; adjoining Ward Councillors; Council Officials and their Consultants; Developer Representatives; Interested Party Representatives

Community Development Forum (CDF) - This body consists of members of the beneficiary communities and was formally introduced to the project at the first meeting of CDF and Codevco on 22.02.2005. It was intended that CDF should provide the communication lines between the beneficiary communities, the City of Johannesburg and the developer. Subsequently it became evident that information shared at meetings was not filtering back to the communities thus creating a gap. Therefore was a need to establish a body that would represent thoroughly the interests of the beneficiary communities and provide continuous channels of communication and participation.

Interdepartmental Co-ordination Sub-Committee - This Sub-committee has regular meetings on a monthly basis, where all project stakeholders and role-players participate with the aim to ensure that Cosmo City is developed as a multi-facilitated and integrated mixed land use urban development incorporating the principles of sustainability. In addition, this forum ensures from a practical point of view that such a new approach to

the housing provision (i.e. amalgamating homeowners from different social, financial and cultural backgrounds) is successful so it could be utilised as model for future developments.

Chair: Council Project Manager

Representation: The Housing Sub-committee; Developer Project Manager; Developer Consultants; representatives from relevant Utilities and Agencies; representatives from relevant Council departments; representatives from relevant Provincial Departments; Representatives from Eskom; representatives from Telkom; Project Manager jointly appointed by Province, Council and Developer.

Housing Sub-committee – The committee was established to handle all matters pertaining to the housing provision programme such as beneficiary administration, relocation and allocation of units, among others. Its regular meetings are held on a monthly basis, but as the project gained momentum and the first houses were being erected, this Sub-committee started holding its meetings almost weekly to ensure that the relocation and occupation of houses is carried out in an orderly manner in accordance with the rules, regulations, processes and procedures for housing provision to legitimate beneficiaries.

Chair: Council Housing Department

Representation: Members of the beneficiary communities; Council officials; developer.

Urban Management Sub-committee -This committee was established to fulfill the role of ensuring that the construction works of top structures are carried out in accordance with the National Building Regulations as well as that there is a strict compliance with the City of Johannesburg's by-laws in terms of urban management. Its meetings are conducted monthly, but should there be a need for resolution of urgent issues, special meetings could be called for.

Chair: Council Development Management

Economic Development Sub-committee - The Economic Development Sub-committee is in the process of establishment. It is intended to deal with the economic development

of the community of Cosmo City in conjunction with the economic development of the immediate area and the City of Joburg as a whole. Terms of Reference are being drafted.

These institutions facilitate active participation of all relevant stakeholders in housing development (DoH, 1997); and also promote land development which is within the fiscal, institutional and administrative means of the Republic (www.info.gov.za/acts/**1995**/DFA).

4.2.5 Economic integration

The Project Manager (CoJ) and Environmental Control Officer (employed by Codevco) both emphasised that the project was sustainable because it did not only address spatial segregation but issues such as environmental management, community participation, job creation and capacity building were given great attention. However, all the residents interviewed had a different view. They stated that informal trading in the area was an indication that there was serious unemployment. Six out of ten respondents resided in the RDP units. All of them claimed that while they were happy to have been relocated to the new settlements, their survival strategies were not taken into consideration by those who implemented the project. Baumann (2003: 97) argues that people who design housing policy normally have limited experience of poor households' survival strategies. The issue of sustainability is covered under Section 24 of the 1996 Constitution; Section 1 (c) (ii) of the 1997 Housing Act, and Section 3 (c) (iii) of DFA.

Once more, the report on land-use management by Cosmo Environmental Control Officer (30/06/08) revealed that there are 206 informal land uses. 171 informal land uses are in the RDP area, 24 are in the bonded area, while the last 11 are in the credit-linked area. Summary of these activities is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1 – Summary of informal economic activities in Cosmo City

Summary of illegal land uses	**Frequency**	**Percentage (approx.)**
Spaza shop	60	29
Shebeen	37	18
House extension	85	41
Car wash	3	2
Tyre shop	1	1
Public phone	8	3
Container	11	5
Caravan	1	1
TOTAL	**206**	**100**

Source: Cosmo E.C.O (30/06/08)

The project has not provided informal and formal trading facilities as it was envisaged in the plan. The Economic Development Sub-committee is also not yet established and this has made it difficult to speed up the implementation of trading facilities (Piek, 2008). It has also not provided a public clinic for its residents. The table below (table 2) summarises socio-economic activities in Cosmo City.

Table 2 – Evaluation of planned activities in Cosmo City

Planned Projects	**Successes**	**Challenges**	**Source**
Construction of RDP houses	- 5000 units - To date 3162 units have been completed and occupied. - The Record of Decision made	1. Progress delayed due to City of Johannesburg budget constraints and rain; and Gauteng Department of Housing new	- Cosmo Progress Report (June, 2008) - Technical Design Meeting

	provisions for most units to be north facing.	inspection process which turn over a period of three weeks prior to relocations. 2. Lack of generation capacity by ESKOM.	(17/06/08)
Construction of credit-linked houses	- 3000 units. - 702 units completed and 625 units occupied.	1. Progress delayed due to CoJ budget constraints and rain. 2. Lack of generation capacity by ESKOM.	- Cosmo Progress Report (June, 2008). - Technical Design Meeting (17/06/08)
Construction of bonded houses	- 3300 units. - 2839 have been completed and 2547 units occupied.	Delays due to budget constraints.	- Cosmo Progress Report (June, 2008). - Technical Design Meeting (17/06/08)
Development of recreational facilities (parks)	- 50 ha - 5 parks have been completed and handed over to Johannesburg Property Company. - JPC has compiled Parks Management Plan – approved by GDACE.		- E (16/05/2007) - Technical Design Meeting (17/06/08).
Construction of Cosmo schools	- 2 primary and 1 high school have been completed for enrolment beginning of		-Technical Design Meeting (17/06/08)

	2007. - Construction of one more private school will begin soon.		
Cosmo clinic	- There is a private clinic - Public clinic for provision of free primary health care will be coming soon. Construction is expected to commence by September 2008.	- In the meantime some residents cannot afford the costs of the private clinic. - They still have to travel distances to get affordable medical care.	-Technical Design Meeting (17/06/08) - Cosmo Progress Report (June, 2008).
Urban management	- There is prohibition of spaza shops and shebeens. - Codevco has identified a site for a shopping centre. The zoning of this site is in progress.	- Illegal trading exists due to absence of trading facilities. - There is no law enforcement for illegal house extensions.	- Environmental Control Officer's Report (June, 2008)

Source: The Researcher

In summary of this section, Cosmo City's implementation has been informed by Housing Act of 1997, DFA of 1995 and the 1996 Constitution. Physical implementation went according to plan, although there have been some delays due to budget constraints in the Local Authority. These land uses are due to absence of trading facilities and unemployment. It is provided in the General Principles of the 1997 Housing Act that housing should reduce poverty and create wealth. However, plan of action in this regard has not been adequately explored. Residents' survival strategies are not sufficiently taken

into consideration before and after relocation, hence the unexpected outcomes (in a form of informal land uses) in the implementation of Cosmo City Project. The Project Manager stated that the inability to deal with the unauthorised land uses is due to lack of capacity in the Council.

4.3 Who has actually come to live in the project? Have beneficiaries particularly with lower incomes stayed?

This section presents findings that respond to the question of who are really staying in Cosmo City. It further looks at whether the relocated beneficiaries have stayed in their new homes or they have sold their homes and moved to other places. This is done by looking at issues such as race, culture and economic status of Cosmo City residents. In addition to the information drawn from interviews with residents, relevant legislature such as the 1995 Development Facilitation Act, 1996 Constitution, and 1997 Housing Act are used in support of these findings.

People with varying financial, cultural and racial backgrounds have come to live in Cosmo City housing project. Section 2 (e) (iv) of the Housing Act of 1997 states that housing development should promote the process of racial, social, economic, and physical integration in urban and rural areas. The condition finds an echo in Section 3 (c) (i) which asserts the promotion of social integration in land development. This means that the notion of integration should not only be spatial, but also social in order to ensure sustainability in the outcomes of housing development. Again, there should be measures to achieve the integration. Section 2 (e) (vi) signifies that housing development should promote measures to prohibit unfair discrimination on the ground of gender and other forms of discrimination, by all actors in the housing development process. This provision is strengthened by the 1996 Constitution of which Section 3 indicate clearly that the state shall not discriminate any of its citizens on the basis of their socio-economic background.

The study also found that lower income housing (RDP) is occupied by Black Africans, except one White family residing in this area. This point has been worth noting because it was very unusual to find a White family occupying RDP house. According to Davina

Piek (Cosmo Project Manager), the family used to own one of Cosmo Farms before the implementation of the project and it refused to be relocated to any other area. This finding, however, does not rule out the fact that the majority of RDP dwellers are Black South Africans.

In contrast, it emerged from the study that there is more racial diversity in credit-linked and bonded housing areas. The dominance of Black Africans in RDP dwellings is linked to household income, which limits these residents from other forms of housing in the area. The economic situation of Black people in South Africa cannot only be attributed to their exclusion in the apartheid legacy. An explanation for increasing unemployment and poverty among this racial group is to be found also after 1994, in South Africa's joining World Trade Organisation and the rapid decrease in tariff protections against imports (Tomlinson, 2003). There has been formal sector loss of jobs which has been replaced by insecure informal jobs (ibid.). Tomlinson (2003) cites Schlemmer (2002) who reports that poverty among Blacks increased from 51% in 1989 to 62% in 2001. Cosmo City General Information indicates the relevance of household income to the type of house a family occupies. People with the lowest income (0 – 3,500) qualify for RDP housing. Those in the middle (3,500 – 7,500) occupy the credit-linked, while those with high income qualify for the bonded housing (Piek, 2008a).

All relocated beneficiaries (in RDP houses) come from the identified areas of Zevenfontein, Riverbend and Cosmo Farms. This information was made available in the form of documents to the researcher by Cosmo City Project Manager. The identification of informal settlements of Zevenfontein and Riverbend was done under the provision of Section 2 (e) (iii) of Housing Act of 1997 which promotes establishment, development, and maintenance of socially and economically viable communities and of safe and healthy living conditions to ensure the elimination and prevention of slums and slum conditions.

Three (50%) of six RDP residents interviewed reported that they would be comfortable to stay in the informal settlements provided there was an upgrading done. They felt that their survival strategies had not been taken into consideration, and that it was really

difficult to pay for utilities such as electricity and water. Huchzermeyer (2004) argues that *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements could be a better option for South Africa. She refers to the Implementation Manual of the Housing Subsidy Scheme which acknowledges *in situ* intervention but does not elaborate any plan of action for such intervention. In her paper presented at the Southern African Housing Foundation Conference & Exhibition, Cape Sun (9-11 October 2006), she reported the case of three informal settlement communities in Gauteng province, which have struggled in their efforts to engage in informal settlements upgrading programmes; their requests being met with reluctance from local government. This is in contravention with Section 3 (a) of DFA which stipulates that land development policy should facilitate the development of formal and informal, existing and new settlements. Also, the government has undermined its mandate to consult meaningfully with individuals and communities affected by housing development [Section 2 (a)].

Despite the above issues, all RDP respondents were happy about the quality of their new houses and services rendered. This is in contrast with the study record by Charlton and Zack (2003) which indicated that beneficiaries were dissatisfied with the quality of their housing. Cosmo City has been a great move towards sustainability of physical structures, although the socio-economic sustainability is still very much questionable.

On the issue of the length of stay in their dwellings, the study found that beneficiaries of as well as all other residents of Cosmo City have not left or sold their homes. Conducted interviews with the Project Manager and Environmental Control Officer have proven this statement. This finding is in contrast with the conclusion of the study conducted in by Boaden and Karam (2000) - cited by Lizarrald and Massyn (2008) - which concludes that housing is not a priority for low-income families because plots are sold when people urgently need cash.

4.4 Do residents have reasonably equal access to facilities and services? What are their experiences?

The objective of this question was to find whether there is social and economic integration, which are determined by residents' accessibility to basic services and

facilities. The findings further respond to residents' experiences on the issue of accessibility. Bulk services include water, electricity, basic sanitation and roads; whilst facilities include schools, health facilities, recreational facilities and economic facilities.

4.4.1 Basic services

All residents have access to bulk services such as water, electricity, basic sanitation, roads (Piek, 2008c). This has been a great improvement in delivery of housing, especially for the lowest income group. It emerged from the study that both water and electricity are pre-paid. This is a problem to residents who cannot afford to pay for these services and it limits their accessibility as such. One female respondent from RDP units stated that: "*I am very happy to have a new house as I do not have to worry about rainy days anymore; however, I sometimes have no money to pay for water and electricity"*.

The roads were all tarred in Cosmo City. While walking around the area, the researcher realised that pot-holes were already emerging in some streets. This indicated that the roads were not of good quality. This statement was supported by the researcher's interview with the Project Manager, who stated that the City of Johannesburg had budget constraints and therefore it had to cut road construction costs.

The study found that every household had access to basic sanitation. It is important to have this service because, as Boschoff and Irura (2003) states, the by-products of urban metabolism impact negatively on the natural environment. Therefore the presence of basic sanitation ensures a healthy, environmentally sustainable human settlement (ibid.). The accessibility to basic services also finds an echo in Section 24 of 1996 Constitution, Section 3 (h) (iii) of 1995 DFA and Section 2 (e) (iii) of the 1997 Housing Act.

4.4.2 Facilities

Children from different households (RDP, credit-linked and bonded) play together although each area has its own park (see Figure 3 below). However, one of the respondents from the credit-linked units indicated that children from the lowest income group (RDP) are the ones who normally visit both the credit-linked and the bonded areas to play in the parks. "*I hate it when children from RDP units play in our park for the*

reason that there are usually fights. I think they come in our area because the parks in different areas (RDP, credit-linked, bonded) do not have the same facilities".

Figure 3 – Recreational Park in Cosmo City



Source: The researcher

The study revealed that schools in Cosmo City accommodate children from different backgrounds but some parents still take their children elsewhere. At the time of the study, there were six schools already built and it is envisaged that the project will have twelve schools upon its completion (see Figure 3 below). These schools have excellent recreational facilities which are also used by residents while the multi-purpose community centre is still under construction. One female responded from the bonded housing area, who is also a teacher in one of the schools responded that: *"There are very good recreational facilities in the schools, I don't understand why they should build the multi-purpose community centre, it is not a priority at the moment. They should build a shopping centre instead".*

Figure 4 – Schools in Cosmo City



Source: The researcher

There are only two churches (Catholic and Pentecostal) at the moment. This means that those who belong to different denominations and religions do not have access to these facilities. Also, there is only one private clinic in the area. Apart from the fact that it is small, not all residents can afford to pay for the services it provides (see Figures 5 below). This means they still have to travel to get medical assistance.

Figure 5 – A Catholic Church and a private clinic in Cosmo City



Source: The researcher

It emerged from the study that there is lack of formal trading facilities the area. This becomes a problem to the lowest income group because most of the residents are unemployed and use informal trading as their means of survival (see Figure 3 below). One respondent from the RDP housing stated that *shebeens* open until very late at night and this is a security thread in the area. Additionally, one respondent from the bonded housing claimed that there have been reported thefts in their area and the culprits were identified as residents from the RDP units.

Figure 6 – Informal trading in one of RDP homes



Source: The researcher

Absence of a shopping complex also means that residents have travel either to the nearby shopping mall (Northgate) or as far as Johannesburg city centre. There are taxis already operating from Cosmo City and therefore residents who do not have private vehicles can use the public transport facility. However, the issue of public transport imposes a major burden to poor residents, especially those who reside in settlements that are on the peripheries of the urban centres, such as Cosmo City (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003).

4.5 Summary of the Chapter

Chapter four used housing policy and relevant literature to demonstrate the processes as well as the outcomes that were involved in the implementation of Cosmo City. These processes included the partnership between the City of Johannesburg, Gauteng Department of Housing and Codevco; and institutional framework that comprises the implementing committees. It also presented an evaluation of the outcomes of the project, such as tenure security; integration (economic and social); and accessibility to basic services and facilities. Most importantly, it has identified the beneficiaries of Cosmo City and presented their views on the implementation and outcomes of the project.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of main research findings. The content that is being analysed principally draws from secondary as well as primary data drawn from the interviews. The analysis seeks to build a discourse on integrated housing development in South Africa. Just like in the presentation of findings, the chapter uses research questions as tools for analysis. Thus the research analyses the findings with respect to: (i) Was the project implemented as planned? (ii) Who has come to live in the project? Have beneficiaries stayed? (iii) Do people have equal access to facilities? What are their experiences? The discussion is presented in the sub-headings (5.2 to 5.4) below.

5.2 Was the project implemented as planned?

The previous chapter showed that the project was implemented through the partnership between the City of Johannesburg, Gauteng Department of Housing and Codevco. The objective was to promote sustainable and optimal use of scarce resources, and create an enabling environment for housing development (DoH, 1997). The partnership would ease the implementation of the project because each partner had resources and roles to play. For instance, the City of Johannesburg was responsible for the release of land for development; Department of Housing took care of subsidies; while Codevco was the overall implementer of the project (Piek, 2008a). The idea of PPPs has also been found to enhance service delivery in Sub-Saharan governments (Farlam, 2005). It is imperative to note that governments cannot afford large investments and therefore private sector investment is required to assist in this regard, hence the introduction of PPPs in implementing development projects (Bond 2003; Bult-Spiering and Dewulf 2006; Rhodes 2006).

As an approach to good governance, PPPs imply the involvement of all players (governments, private parties, citizens and interest groups) in the implementation of development projects, and ensure efficiency in that regard. Governments are therefore

able to retain ownership while contracting private firms to perform precise roles such as construction and maintenance of infrastructure (Bult-Spiering and Dewulf 2006, Farlam 2005). This characteristic is essential in solving the complexities of service delivery and act as a tool to change the way governments function – a shift from input-orientation to result-orientation. Also, this kind of involvement by the private sector suggests the importance of what Rhodes (1996) terms *hollowing out the state*, which is defined as: "the loss of functions by central and local government departments to alternative delivery systems, such as agencies" (1996: 661). The approach allows the Local Authority to carry out implementation of development projects by using private agencies, thus creating an environment for local private investment. Milward and Provan (2000) regard these private agencies as third parties which deliver social services and act on behalf of the state. This means that no one organization can provide all services needed by individual clients. Tomlinson (2006) affirms that there is lack of appropriate institutions and funds to provide bulk infrastructure in South Africa. The involvement of private sector in the implementation of projects is therefore indispensable. Jones and Pisa (2000) note that in partnerships, each player contributes resources has a stake in the success of a project. This allows risk to be reduced due to combination of skills and experience from different stakeholders (ibid.).

PPPs are derived from New Public Management (NPM), a model that supports private management practice, and that which countries such as Britain use in its *hollowing* process (Rhodes, 1996). The model seeks to bring a corporate culture in public enterprises. Harrison (2006) notes that NPM is linked to competence drive of the 'neo-liberal' approach to governance. In South Africa, NPM has been introduced under President Mbeki's leadership within the framework of cooperative governance; whilst at the continent-wide scale it has emerged under New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). The adoption of PPP in the implementation of Cosmo City has therefore had both international and continental influences.

5.2.1 Integration

It also comes out from the findings that Cosmo City is the first 'greenfields' project that has endeavoured to comply with integration and sustainability principles as per governmental policies and legislation (Piek, 2008a). It is therefore the responsibility of the City of Johannesburg to ensure that these principles are met (ibid.). However, the issue of integration is partly realised in Cosmo City, with spatial and institutional integration successfully achieved and social integration quite questionable. The findings further reveal different perceptions on social integration. The number of residents (three in this case) who feel that there is no spatial integration may not be a significant figure, but it gives an idea of how residents perceive integration; and it becomes a necessary unit for qualitative analysis. It also came out from the study that Cosmo City has provided different tenure options (Piek, 2008a).

It emerged from the study that the layout design of Cosmo City provides different tenure options (RDP, credit-linked and bonded units). This planning approach is referred to as *mixed-use development* (Grant 2005, Myerson 2003; Oelofse 2003; Pieterse 2003; Smith 2003, Todes 2003; and Watson 2003). Mixed-use development, of which integrated housing is a component, gained international recognition by the close of twentieth century (Grant, 2005). In regard to housing, Grant mentions different methods of mixing uses, and these can be summarized as: increasing the intensity of land uses; a mix of forms and tenures; increasing the diversity of uses through compatible mix; and integrating segregated uses. Mixed use has promised the restoring of vitality, environmental equality, equity and efficiency in post-industrial cities (ibid.). Different tenure options in Cosmo City did not only ensure effective use of competing spaces, but also promoted sustainability and integration in the development of the project (Myerson, 2003). Different tenure options acknowledge the diverse housing needs and priorities, especially of the poor (Khan, 2003). Apart from the housing stock currently provided by Cosmo City project, it is envisaged in the plan that public rental housing for low-income households will be implemented. This does not only address the problem of housing in a form of physical structures, but also allows for integration of residents with varying

economic and social backgrounds (ibid.). Moreover, the concept of integration in housing development can be explained through normative planning theories such as multiculturalism, social justice, communicative planning and urban sustainability. All these theories are significant in explaining the objectives as well as challenges that face integrated development planning both locally and internationally. This means achieving integration may not be an easy mission.

According to Smith (2003), multiculturalism is not easy to practice. He draws his conclusion from Jerusalem, a city that is extremely divided and strongly contested because of different religious, cultural and ethical orientation between Jews and Arabs. Moreover, he notes that the internal segregation is a common characteristic in most cities in the world, whether capitalist or socialist in orientation. Todes (2003) specifically presents an argument on the issue of integration in which she evaluates its feasibility, giving special emphasis to housing, urban development and compaction of cities. Oelosfe (2003) argues that social justice is regarded as an essential component of urban integration yet it has been given little attention by researchers. He suggests that poor people residing in mixed-use neighbourhoods are not better off in absolute terms, as compared to other people in segregated communities. This implies that integrated housing projects do not necessarily promote social justice to citizens; and socio-economic inequalities among residents still exist. The views of these scholars become relevant in explaining why Cosmo City residents perceive integration differently. The fact that 67% of residents who believed there was no social integration belonged to the lowest income group (residing in RDP units) may imply that social justice is limited in Cosmo City. Social integration, as defined by United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (1994), is an inclusionary goal implying equal opportunities and rights for all human beings. To some people social integration is an unwanted imposition of uniformity and this means that increased integration has negative outcomes (UNRISD, 1994). Different meanings given to social integration explains different perceptions from respondents.

According to Pieterse (2003) the South African government employs integration to achieve its vision for sustainable human settlements. This integration (as stipulated in chapter four) is social, economic, institutional and physical. Cosmo City has employed all these forms of integration in its implementation. The objective in this regard was to make a statement towards integration along racial grounds and the negative perceptions that exist around such integration (Piek, 2008a). Nevertheless, Harrison (2003) does not divorce integration from globalization. He points out that globalization is seen locally as fragmentation. In his view, its discourse has emerged in the North (specifically Southern California and New York – USA); and the discourse on that subject has directed the way planning is done in the South. This may imply that while it is vital to establish integrated settlements (such as Cosmo City), especially in developing countries, their implementation is largely influenced by global policies rather than what people need at the local level. This explains why the National Department of Housing takes full responsibility in formulating policies that are implemented at the local level (e.g. 1994 Housing White Paper and 2004 Breaking New Ground Policy). Local governments do not play strategic roles (such as policy formulation and allocation of funds) in housing development; rather, they implement what has been decided at the national level (Department of Housing, 1997).

In addition, Thring (2003) argues that local governments in South Africa do not have power to change the macroeconomic, fiscal and legal situation which condition and affect housing delivery. I affirm that it becomes a challenge to local authorities when they have to communicate to local people decisions that are made at the national level. The idea of communicative planning (as championed by scholars such as Healey, Innes and Sandercock) is limited in this regard. Communication is seen as "… a consensus building through communication that is the integrative mechanism in the schema of planning" (Harrison, 2003: 21). In the implementation of Cosmo City Project, the City of Johannesburg did not allow for public participation at the planning phase and therefore beneficiaries did not have a choice on the means of integration they desired; hence the conflicting perceptions on the nature of integration in Cosmo City. On this note, I strongly believe that integration should be communicated with the local people in order

to meet its objectives and the objectives of housing policy in South Africa. People should have a choice of what they consider appropriate to their situation; however, there should not be a list of demands and unrealistic expectations (Pottie, 2003a).

5.2.2 Institutions

It comes out from the findings that there are different institutions involved in the implementation of Cosmo City. Institutional integration plays a pivotal role in bringing together different elements of the project which complement the housing stock. These institutions operate through committees (as outlined in the findings), and have been critical in the project because, apart from housing stock, there are other facilities such as schools, clinics, trading facilities, churches, transport terminus and parks which need different stakeholders in their implementation.

According to Paul (1983) projects or programmes that offer a single commodity or service integrate different inputs and activities to promote such service. These are referred to as multisectoral integrated projects. Inter-departmental coherence has become a strategic move in the implementation of projects in South Africa. However, the involvement of the community in the Cosmo City is not in the form of social organization; rather, members of the community form part of the Housing Committee. This is due to the fact that the initial Community Development Forum failed in its mandate to filter information to the communities. Olowu (2002) affirms that civil organizations have not been successfully linked to either the system of local or central government in Africa. His argument is based on the fact that these movements have been very active in driving their countries to democracy; and some have moved from being oppositional to performing incredibly in the policy development, thereby contributing to good governance. Good governance is described in terms of effective institutions which play a pivotal role in implementing development initiatives. But what happens in the absence of effective institutions leaves a lot to be desired.

Kumssa (2004) acknowledges the complexity of the relationship between institutions and development. It has been found in Cosmo City that the Economic Development Sub-

committee has not been established. This situation has hindered progress in the implementation of trading facilities. This explains complexities that are associated with bringing institutions together for development purpose. Kumssa compares Africa with East Asian countries and concludes that well-functioning institutions (as evidenced in East Asia), can promote economic growth ad reduce poverty. He asserts that economic growth can be achieved through providing a desirable environment for development projects to be implemented effectively and in a sustainable manner. In order to achieve the afore-mentioned objectives, it is crucial to strengthen the institutional capacity of African governments in order to improve the utilization of economic and human resources. Pieterse (2003) states that inter-governmental coordination and partnerships with the private sector and the social movements form institutional integration and ensure good governance.

In case of the implementation of Cosmo City, Section 79 of the Local Government Municipal Systems Act of 2000 has informed the establishment of the Steering Committee as an internal organ in the implementation of the project. Provision of services through external mechanisms has informed other committees in the execution of the project. Provisions of these sections advocate for effective use of resources in the implementation of development projects and avoid duplication of efforts by different departments. Integration of institutions also helps in the consolidation of different action plans which aim to achieve sustainable development and poverty alleviation.

5.3 Who has actually come to live in the project? Have beneficiaries, particularly with lower incomes, stayed?

It was found in the study that the identified beneficiaries of Cosmo City housing project come from informal settlements of Zevenfontein and Riverbend; and some come from Cosmo Farms. This finding justifies the fact that government subsidised housing is targeted at poor people who do not have access to land and housing stock; whilst other housing stock (credit-linked and bonded) accommodates residents with varying economic and cultural backgrounds. This means that the principle of integration (as stipulated in the

Housing Act of 1997, 1995 DFA and the 1996 Constitution) is observed and implemented. The complexities surrounding integration in South Africa, such as Not-In-My-Backyard (NIMBY) issues, access to well-located land for low-income housing developments, require a variety of policy instruments (Royston, 2003). Moreover, these policy instruments have to be communicated effectively with communities affected and should ensure social justice, not only at a rhetorical level, but also in practice (Oelofse, 2003).

The Project Manager interviewed mentioned that people with different backgrounds have come to live in the project. The idea of integrating people with varying financial, cultural, as well as racial backgrounds is an attempt to confront urban fragmentation that has been promoted by apartheid spatial planning (Harrison, 2003; Smith, 2003). In South Africa, racial discrimination has dominated urban planning principles such that the non-White populations (Blacks, Coloureds and Indians) were segregated through the establishment of 'group areas' and townships (Mabin, 1992; Smith, 2003). Residential areas have been differentiated by socio-economic status and this has left non-White people in peripheral locations (ibid.). The apartheid legacy could not allow the natives to own land, especially in urban areas. This justifies the reason why informal settlements are normally occupied by Blacks, and why beneficiaries to Cosmo City are Black people. But, it is worth celebrating that Cosmo City has provided security of tenure and urban land accessibility to poor people who are usually deprived these opportunities by their economic status.

The South African attempt to confront urban fragmentation is one of the motivations for mixed-use development (Harrison, 2003). The dysfunctional cities that have resulted from the injustice of racial inequality of the apartheid urban planning have been evident in the new democratic government (Bond, 2003). The situation has been due to the market-centred approach to low-income housing delivery (ibid.). Mayekiso (2003) also argues that nothing much has changed in housing development. These findings have not been limited to scholars; and policy implementers have also given much attention to this unfavourable situation. Cosmo City Project is the beginning of a new chapter in the implementation of sustainable human settlements; this is what Orange (2003) terms

'cultural turn' in planning – demonstrating a greater sensitivity to diversity. This has become a positive shift from housing delivery which Huchzermeyer (2003a) defines as the populist plan by ruling parties to gain short-term political support through short-term exciting rates of subsidised housing delivery. The result here is the establishment of policy mechanisms that prioritise fast-tracking the release and servicing of land for housing construction, thus compromising the quality of the product. This kind of housing development was enhanced by Development Facilitation Act of 1995 which Royston (2003) criticises as promoting wasteful private and public expenditure patterns as a result of continuing peripherality of housing delivery.

Although the principle of integration is clearly stipulated in the Housing Act of 1997, 1995 DFA and the 1996 Constitution, its implementation is still very much challenged. Economic inequality and peripheral townships still remain (Mayekiso, 2003); and access to well-located land is challenged by high land costs and private ownership (Royston, 2003). A variety of policy instruments and their implementation becomes pivotal and there should be an effective communication between policy makers and those who benefit from its implementation (ibid); thereby ensuring social justice, not only at a rhetorical level, but also in practice (Oelofse, 2003). Integration has become relevant in South African situation but what remains important is the manner in which it is being encouraged.

All the six relocated residents interviewed in Cosmo City claimed that they neither had any choice of housing products, nor were they consulted on the preparation of the 'layout' planning of the project. They were rather informed of what was decided in the planning stage. This limited participation by beneficiaries is what Khanya (2002) terms *passive participation*, in which people are informed on what has been decided for them. Again, the outcomes of such integration do not reflect the objectives of the plan, which is social justice (Oelofse, 2003). In Cosmo City, integration has not necessarily translated into social justice for citizens. Empirical evidence has confirmed that residents are not necessarily better off in absolute terms as compared to other people in segregated communities. In my view, contribution of housing in the alleviation of poverty seems to

be limited to physical structures rather than socio-economic empowerment of communities. Once people have been relocated, they find themselves trapped in the same poverty cycles, neither able to afford daily living expenses nor payment of utilities. Huchzermeyer (2004) affirms that plans to alleviate poverty are not clearly incorporated into housing developments.

It emerged from the study that all relocated beneficiaries of Cosmo City have not sold houses that have been allocated to them. They were happy to be in their new homes because they could not worry about rainy days and cold winters, as it was the case in the informal settlements. On the other hand, the findings revealed that the first relocations were done in November 2005. The time factor may have played an important role in determining the length of stay of residents. This means that it might be too soon for people to relocate to other new areas.

5.4 Do residents have reasonably equal access to services and facilities? What are their experiences?

5.4.1 Basic services

The previous chapter showed that there is provision of basic services (water, electricity, basic sanitation, refuse removal and roads) in Cosmo City. The supply of such services shows the government's commitment to create sustainable and integrated human settlements, so as to improve housing in a form of basic services delivery (Mayekiso, 2003). This also rationalises the new housing vision in post-apartheid era which aims to promote social cohesion and improve the quality of life of the poor (DoH, 2004).

Nonetheless, the narration of some of the respondents illustrated that they were not satisfied with the fact that they have to pay for electricity and water. This finding can be explained in terms of poor people not being able to pay for services rendered. The fact that beneficiaries' economic lives have not really changed after relocating to Cosmo City explains why they still cannot afford such services. The physical structures on their own cannot change people's lives for the better; rather, there should be a clear plan of action

on how to alleviate poverty in disadvantaged communities. The South African government view housing as a subordinate component of macroeconomic policy. Its role in delivery of services has shifted away from direct intervention in economic and social areas towards enabling markets to become more efficient mechanisms in the distribution of such services (Khan, 2003). For instance, Joburg Water is the main supplier of water in the City of Johannesburg, and since it is a private company aiming for profits, people have to pay for the water. The unequal distribution of wealth among residents in Cosmo City can be seen as a major factor in determining accessibility to basic services. As noted by Mitlin (2003), insufficient income results in inadequate consumption of necessities including food and safe, sufficient water.

According to Bond (2003), Black South Africans have been proven to be at the lower margin of the economy. Black household income declined 19% from 1995 to 2000, whereas White household income was increased by 15% (ibid.). The declining formal employment for Black people also explains their consumption behaviour. Goebel (2007) explains how the neo-liberal macro-economic policies of the ANC government have encouraged the marginalisation of the poor, increased unemployment rates and therefore resulted in poor payments of basic services by the poor. Huchzermeyer (2003a) also notes that these neo-liberal policies have limited funds for programmes aimed at alleviating poverty, meaning that the low-income housing programme is under-funded. Nevertheless, she celebrates the ability of the low-income housing and service delivery programs to increase access to urban services by the poor; an achievement that has been recognised internationally.

It emerged from the study that solid waste collection Cosmo City is done by the private sector – Pikitup. Solid waste management is the responsibility of the local governments, however, Kassim and Ali (2006) mention that due to inadequate capacity in the public sector of most developing countries, the private sector has been involved in solid waste collection services. Therefore the researcher finds it appropriate for the City of Johannesburg to have regulated this service to the private company, to ensure effective and efficient management of solid waste in Cosmo City. At the time of this study, the

respondents from the RDP units mentioned that refuse removal was satisfactorily done. The Environmental Control Officer admitted that there had been some problems with supply of rubbish bins earlier in the implementation of the project but the crisis had since been solved.

5.4.2 Facilities

It emerged from the study that accessibility to some services such as schools and clinics is determined by income level of each household. Six residents residing in RDP units stated that they were unable to use the local clinic because it was expensive, and they would prefer a public clinic in the area. Four residents from both credit-linked and bonded units did not have a problem with consultation costs at the clinic; rather, they complained that the clinic was small and could not offer some of the services such as x-ray. Therefore between different income groups, accessibility is explained differently. For poor people, lack of accessibility is not necessarily determined by lack of facilities; while for other income groups, lack of accessibility may be explained in terms of lack of enough facilities. Also, there are no trading facilities and this affects survival strategies of poor people who cannot occupy formal jobs. Even those who occupy formal jobs cannot do their shopping in Cosmo City because there is no shopping centre. Residents either have to travel to the city centre to do shopping or have to use the illegal trading facilities in Cosmo City.

In explaining the issue of facilities, Khan (2003) and Royston (2003) assert that the accessibility to a range of amenities and opportunities in integrated communities is a challenge to housing policy makers and practitioners. Royston (2003) argues that development interventions such as integrated housing projects undermine the survival strategies which were adopted by poor people during the apartheid era. Royston (2003) notes that ‘integration’ is defined not only in physical terms, but also by of social and economic activities. In Cosmo City, physical integration is not only in papers but also visible. However social and economic integration both face some challenges, and therefore one could conclude that the project has not really achieved its entire objectives.

The study revealed that the level of poverty and absence of trading facilities are responsible for 206 informal economic activities in Cosmo City. It was found that the illegal activities in RDP dwellings are due to the fact that residents have been engaged in this kind of activities as their survival strategies, even before they were relocated. Therefore they are desperate to continue even if facilities are not rendered. In contrary, the main reason why residents occupying credit-linked and bonded units engage in informal trading is that there are no facilities for such activities. This is an extra income to their households, not necessarily the main income like in RDP.

According to Baumann (2003), the relationship between housing policy and the drive to poverty alleviation remains unexplored in South Africa. He asserts that housing should be considered as a major component of the overall anti-poverty policy in South Africa, so as to strengthen the implementation of such policy. Research findings suggest that the most successful delivery mechanisms adopted in South African housing delivery (which emphasise credit access and assume formal employment) do not reach the lowest income groups, who constitute the highest population of the housing policy beneficiaries (ibid.).

5.5 Summary of the Chapter

In summary, it can be highlighted that the original objectives to develop Cosmo City have been partly achieved. The project has assisted in meeting the pressing demand for housing in the north-western part of Johannesburg; endeavoured to comply with integration and sustainability principles as per governmental policies and legislation; assisted previously disadvantaged people to gain access to the formal urban system which was previously denied; and promoted integration along racial grounds. However, some of the economic needs of beneficiaries have not been really addressed by the project. Residents still find it difficult to earn a living, hence illegal land uses such as spaza shops and shebeens. While the issue of spatial integration is addressed by the project, social and economic integration remain questionable.

CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main conclusions and recommendation of the study. The categories discusses in this chapter have been used in research findings, and they look at the housing policy implementation and outcome. The main areas which form the concluding part can be summarized as: partnerships; economic integration, spatial integration; social integration; and institutional integration. The research further recommends what it regards as an ideal housing delivery in South Africa, and lastly suggests areas that require more research in terms of housing delivery.

6.2 Conclusions

The main finding of the study in relation to Cosmo City project implementation discussed issues of partnerships, integration (spatial, institutional, economic), and public participation.

The study found that the partnership between the City of Johannesburg, Gauteng Department of Housing and Codevco successfully facilitated the implementation of Cosmo City. In the light of this finding, it is concluded that there has been an effective use of resources for the implementation of the project. The partnerships could be seen as an integral part of urban governance; and also, it has emerged as a central component of urban policy both locally and internationally (Harrison, 2003). It is also concluded that the partnership creates an environment where skills are transferred from one sector to another, enabling capacity building at all levels of the implementation structure. The fact that Codevco has sub-contracted other local private construction companies means that there has been local private investment. This does not only encourage economic growth, but also ensures sustainability of the project. The sub-contracting of the private companies has been informed by the housing legislature (1997 Housing Act) and the theory of New Public Management (NPM). NPM ensures transparency and accountability in governance. In case of Cosmo City, all stakeholders have clear roles to

play; each one of them has a contribution to make for the implementation of the project; and each action is done openly and accounted for. Rhodes (1996) sees this model as seeking to bring corporate culture in public enterprises, and in so doing ensuring efficiency. In city planning, the model encourages a shift from the traditional physical form to strategic imagination that creates a relationship between different actors who are continually reshaping urban areas (Healey, 2002).

The geographical location of Cosmo City has played a pivotal role in determining the success of the project. Johannesburg is the richest city in South Africa and it has the most active private sector. Its local authority (City of Johannesburg) has deregulated some of its functions such as water, property management, electricity, roads, recreation to development agencies and they have become useful in the implementation of Cosmo City. It is therefore concluded that there was an element of trust on the performance of these private companies.

The study presented the role of institutions in strengthening the partnership. It was found in Cosmo City that the implementing structures were in a form of committees and sub-committees. It is therefore concluded that these institutions have played a central role in managing the overall implementation of the project. For instance, activities of the project involved different departments that would ensure that its objective of creating an integrated and sustainable human settlement is achieved; hence a need to have the Interdepartmental Co-ordination Sub-Committee. Just like in partnerships, multiplicity and involvement of different stakeholders in the implementation of Cosmo City creates an environment where each stakeholder skilfully plays their role; and this influences decision outcomes (Bolan, 1973). However, the success of this collaboration depends entirely on the strength and commitment from each stakeholder.

The research found that not all identified institutions were established in Cosmo City. For instance, the Economic Development Sub-committee was not yet in place. This affected the outcomes of the project and the roles of this committee (such as providing trading facilities) could not be performed. Interdepartmental relations find a provision in the

1997 Housing Act, and therefore are legally binding. A failure to implement them implies that policy execution is not as successful as it should be. Moreover, lack of commitment from the department of education resulted with lack of funds for the construction of schools. It was revealed in the study that the developer (Codevco) had to use its money to build schools, on the condition that the department would pay back the money. It is therefore concluded that the planning of Cosmo City assumed an ideal implementation where all identified stakeholders would be committed. It did not take into account the unforeseen complexities that normally affect the implementation of plans such as lack of commitment or resources. Pieterse (2003) affirms that institutional integration rests on a strong system of inter-governmental coordination. Lack of commitment and the nature of governance may be seen as factors affecting implementation of plans is South Africa and most developing states.

The main findings in relation to economic integration were centered on the survival strategies of the poor. These findings revealed that most of the residents occupying RDP units were not employed in the formal sector. This means that most of their household incomes were earned from informal activities. An attempt by South African government to create sustainable and economically viable human settlements seems to be challenged in this regard. Three years since the first relocations, there are still no trading facilities in Cosmo City. The absence of a shopping centre and an informal trading area has not only undermined survival strategies of the poor people, but also inconvenienced everyone who resides in the area. Support of informal activities would improve the livelihoods of those who are not engaged in formal economic activities, thus driving towards social justice.

Moreover, it emerged from the study that some of the beneficiaries were trained through Expanded Public Works Programme in order for them to get employment in construction companies that operate in the project, whilst some residents were employed mostly as ‘general workers’ by Basil Read (the implementer of the project). While this is good for capacity building and employment creation in Cosmo City, it has not benefited the majority of the beneficiaries. This leaves most families still struggling to make ends meet. Taking account the survival strategies of the poor before their relocation would

ensure a focus on promoting justice; developing a social unity and integration; lowering levels of vulnerability; and protecting livelihoods (Khan, 2003). It is important that the project respond to the capacity needs of the beneficiaries, ensuring that they are empowered through trainings and job creation – as outlined in the Breaking New Ground Housing Policy (Department of Housing, 2004).

Another key factor that hindered the economic sustainability of the project as well as the well-being of the beneficiaries was the fact that poor residents struggled to pay for utilities such as water and electricity. While this guarantees environmental sustainability (sustainable use of resources) in that people normally do not waste what they pay for, it limits their access to these basic needs. In addition, the proposed rental accommodation may not serve as an intervention for housing delivery for poor communities such as Cosmo City (Mmonwa, 2007). Poor people usually cannot afford to pay for rental accommodation provided by the state, no matter how affordable it may sound; and therefore their accessibility is limited in this regard. The research also suggests that poor people prefer places that allow diverse survival strategies; and those which allow them to avoid the high costs of services (Todes, 2003). This means that they do not necessarily favour formalised city areas because they are unable to maintain social networks. New developments usually disrupt social networks that people create in informal settlements. For instance, a neighbour in an informal settlement might not necessarily be a neighbour in a formal settlement. This means that whatever networks exist among neighbours in an informal settlement can be disrupted when they relocate to a new settlement.

In relation to social integration, there were different perceptions from respondents on its meaning in Cosmo City. It is concluded in this regard that the residents did not have a choice on what they would consider appropriate for integration. A planning environment that encourages public participation would ensure that issues such as income levels, which segregate communities, are significantly addressed throughout project implementation. Some respondents from bonded houses illustrated that their area experienced a lot of theft and they claimed that some residents from the RDP units were responsible. While this may have been true, it indicates how powerful class differences

can influence the way people in high-income areas perceive those belonging to low-income groups. The fact that poor people are seen as thieves indicates how difficult it may be to integrate different income groups. What people fail to acknowledge is that certain illegal activities such as theft may not necessarily be influenced by low income. This is proven by the fact that the Environmental Control Officer in Cosmo City reported that some concrete palisades fencing the conservation area were stolen by a resident from the high income area. Furthermore, it also emerged from the study that each income group held their own meetings. It would be expected that activities would be inclusive of all residents, but this has not been the case in Cosmo City. As in all multicultural societies, the most difficult question facing Cosmo City is the level of acceptance of differences (Smith, 2003).

In contrast to the above-mentioned challenges facing integration, spatial integration and environmental sustainability have been maintained in Cosmo City. Different housing typologies representing different income groups are an empirical evidence of spatial integration. Also, the protection of environmental conservation area, management of solid waste and provision of basic sanitation denote environmental sustainability. There were no major environmental challenges reported in Cosmo City. The provision of basic services and facilities at Cosmo City has indicated the government's commitment in creating healthy, integrated human settlements. Conversely, the accessibility to such services and facilities has been undermined by the economic situation of the poor residents.

In summarizing this section, conclusions indicate that the implementation of Cosmo City went as planned, but there were unintended consequences. To large extent, issues of partnership, spatial integration and environmental sustainability were addressed. In contrast, economic and social integration seemed to have some limitations. Nonetheless, the achievements of Cosmo City can be celebrated, while the shortcomings point towards an improvement in housing policy, practice and research.

6.3 Policy Recommendations

It is recommended that the City of Johannesburg and other Local Authorities should promote the principles of housing legislation in terms of public participation. Planning should be done collectively by all stakeholders; at all levels; and should include communities that benefit from the development. Ensuring effective public participation gives priority to the needs of the poor. This also offers an opportunity for people to choose what they consider as desirable in the lives (Oelofse, 2003). Effective community participation ensures a longer term ownership of the project and all services and facilities that it offers. Policy makers should ask themselves whether integrated communities really translate into social justice.

There is a need to strengthen the capacity of the Local Authorities in terms of housing policy formulation and implementation. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, hold the principle of co-operative government, and defines the three spheres of government (i.e. National, Provincial and Local) as "distinct, independent and interrelated", see Chapter 3 Section 40 (1) of the Constitution. In essence the above concept of co-operative government decentralizes power, more importantly, to the local sphere (Constitution of South Africa, 1996). The move is appropriate and key for integrated development since the local authority is close to local communities, thus it is able to identify and respond to the needs and challenges experienced by these citizens in the area. In contrast, the concept of co-operative government as enshrined in the South African Constitution of 1996 appears to exist in principle. This is due to the fact that both the Provincial and National spheres of government hold more power in relation to development issues as opposed to local government. This is reflected in Schedule 4 Part A of the Constitution of 1996, which holds that development issues such as housing, health and education are concurrent national and provincial responsibilities as opposed to local sphere. Automatically this removes power from the local authority to decide on important developmental challenges affecting urban citizens, including informal settlers.

Furthermore, while it may be seen as a good practice that policy making be the responsibility of the national and provincial government, the local sphere of government should participate as it is the one that carries out the implementation of such policy. This practice can be integral in strengthening the relationship between local government's budget and allocation of funds by the national sphere of government. Efficiency in the execution of these roles can avoid cases where the local authority budgets and the national government is unable to release enough funds, as it has been happening in the implementation Cosmo City. The project has been delayed due to budget cuts.

There is a need for the City of Johannesburg to extend its Local Economic Development initiatives into Cosmo City community, as this could empower residents who are involved in the informal economic activities, for instance, by working with informal sheebeens, formalize street traders into co-operatives and impart skills to local people. Consequently this would mitigate poverty and other related socio-economic hardships faced by community members.

6.4 Recommendation for Future Research

Future research should concentrate more on ensuring that there is a general acceptance of differences among community members before integration takes place. This means that the implementation of integrated housing projects could successfully attain their objectives if people are psychologically prepared for integration and allowed to participate effectively. Again, the research should focus on exploring different integration mechanisms, and the one that suits the local situation be implemented. The recommendations are summarized as follows:

- There is a need for further research on participatory governance within the housing delivery in Johannesburg, South Africa and other developing countries.
- There is a need for a thorough research on urban poverty, such that it is clearly incorporated into housing policy.

- Through research, the notion of ‘integration’ should be redefined to suit the situations not only in South Africa, but also in other developing countries.

6.5 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented the main conclusions and recommendations of the study. In relation to the former, the study found out that Cosmo City is spatially and institutionally integrated, whilst economic integration and spatial integration have limitations. Therefore there is a need to strengthen urban development policy to tackle these issues. In addressing these limited components of integration, the chapter recommended amongst others: a need to accept and deal with socio-economic differences among people in South Africa and other developing countries; effective public participation; empowerment of the local governments; and promotion local economic growth. The recommendations for future research were also made in this chapter. Finally, the conclusions and recommendations in this chapter were based basically on the literature and perceptions of residents, which were both utilized to achieve the objectives of the study.

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8. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Introduce the survey

My name is Relebohile Lebeta and I am from ***Wits University***. I am conducting ***Research Survey*** for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning.
I have randomly chosen some residents some residents to participate in this study, and you were chosen.

The purpose of this survey is to get qualitative information from key stakeholders (City of Johannesburg, Codevco and residents) in regard to the implementation of Cosmo City project.
I have some questions that I wish to ask you about your experiences before and after relocating to Cosmo City.

ALL INFORMATION THAT YOU PROVIDE WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL

CONSENT QUESTIONS ***CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER***	Yes	No
Do you understand the purpose of the study, and what will be required of you if you agree to take part?	1	2
Have your questions concerning this study have been answered?	1	2
If no, what further questions do you wish to ask?	RECORD QUESTION	
Do you understand that at any time you may withdraw from this study without giving a reason?	1	2
Do you understand that this study is in no way linked any government organization or any developers company?	1	2
Do you agree to take part in this study?	1	2

VERBAL CONSENT: I, the interviewer/fieldworker, confirm that the respondent gave verbal consent to be interviewed

Signature of interviewer/fieldworker…….

A	Date		__ __/ __ __ / __ ___	
B	Name of interviewer			
C	Time started interview		Time finished interview	
D	Place of interview			
G	occupation			

APPENDIX B: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH TOOLS

Research Questionnaire for Cosmo City Residents

General Questions					
1				M	F
2		18-24	25-34	35-44	45+
Personal Questions					
3	Where did you live before relocating to Cosmo City? ……				
4	When did you relocate? ……..				
5	What type of house do you occupy? ……				
6	How do you find your new home in terms of services (water, electricity, sanitation, roads)? …… ……				
7	Do you have access to facilities in Cosmo City (eg schools, clinic, parks)? Explain …… …….				
8	How did you earn income before relocating to Cosmo City? …….				
9	What is your source of income after relocating to Cosmo City? ……				
10	If you are engaged in the formal sector, how much distance do you travel to work? ……				
11	If you are in the informal sector, where do you run your business and why? …….. ……..				

12	Has the project created jobs for people who reside in Cosmo City? Explain. …….. …….
13	In your opinion, has your life changed after relocating to Cosmo City? Explain ……. …….
14	At what stages of the project did you participate? ……
15	Describe how you participated. …… ……
16	How are you normally informed about the implementation and monitoring of the project? …….. ……..
17	How do you relate with other community members from other income groups? …….. ……..
18	In your opinion, is Cosmo City a safe place to live? Explain …… ……
19	What do you understand by the word ‘integration’? …….. ……
20	In your opinion, is Cosmo City an integrated housing development? Explain …….. ……..

2. Research Questionnaire for Cosmo City Project Manager

General Questions					
1	Gender of respondent			M	F
2	Age of the respondent at last birthday	18-24	25-34	35-44	45+
Project Implementation Questions					
3	When did the project start? …….				
4	What housing policy informed the implementation of the project? ……. …….				
5	Who initiated the planning of the project: …….				
6	Who the main role players in the project? …….				
7	How is the project implemented? Stakeholders/institutions. …….. …….. ……..				
8	What is your role in the project? …… …… ……				
9	Has the project achieved its main objectives? Explain …… …… …….				
10	Who has come to live in the project? …… ……				

11	Have the identified beneficiaries stayed? ……....
12	If not, why did they leave? ……..
13	What problems do you encounter in the management of the project? (building control, land use mngt, conservation area mngt, solid waste mngt) **……** **……** **……**
14	How do you deal with the challenges identified in question **13**? **……** **……** **……**
15	How are the basic services offered? (water, electricity) **……** **……**
16	What facilities does the project offer? **……** **……**
17	Do people have equal access to these services and facilities? Explain **……** **……**
18	Did the project achieve the aims of housing policy? Explain …… …… ……
19	In your opinion, does the housing policy adequately address the needs of the poor? Explain. …… …… ……

20	…… …… …….....
21	What do you suggest for the improvement of housing policy and project implementation in South Africa? …… …… ……....

2. Research Questionnaire for Codevco Environmental Control Officer

General Questions					
1	Gender of respondent			M	F
2	Age of the respondent at last birthday	18-24	25-34	35-44	45+
Project Implementation Questions					
3	When did the project start? ……....				
4	How long have you been working for Codevco? ……				
5	How is your organization involved in the project? ……..... ……				
6	Which other organizations are involved in the project? …….. ……..				
7	Does your organization carry out construction work or does it sub-contract other companies? Give details. ……..... …….. ……..				
8	What are the main objectives of the project? …….. …… …… ……..				
9	Have these objectives been achieved? ……..				
10	If not, what are the challenges? ……..				

	…… ……..…… ……..
11	How are the challenges addressed? …… …… …… ……
12	Who have come to live in the project? ……. …….
13	Have the relocated beneficiaries stayed in Cosmo City? …….
14	If not, why did they vacate? …… ……
15	What problems do you encounter in the management of the project? (building control, land use mngt, conservation area mngt, solid waste mngt) ……. ……. ……. ……
16	How do you deal with the challenges identified in question **15**? …… …….. ……..
17	How are the basic services offered? (water, electricity) …… ……
18	What facilities does the project offer? ……..

	……..
19	Do people have equal access to these services and facilities? Explain …… …… ……
20	In your opinion, how is the overall performance of the project? …… ……