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The perceptions of social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to facilitate social housing in Johannesburg

Lwazi Sikiti

A research report submitted to the faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of the Built Environment in Housing.

Johannesburg, 2021

Declaration

I, Lwazi Sikiti, declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work being submitted for the degree of Master of the Built Environment in Housing at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted, in entirety or in part, at any other university for a degree.



_____

Lwazi Sikiti

20 July 2021

Abstract

South Africa faces a perpetual challenge of an ever-increasing housing backlog that indicates it is unable to keep up with the housing demands of its ever growing and rapidly urbanizing population. This has necessitated the government to look into subsidized rental housing as an alternative form of housing to meet the housing needs of the urban population. This research study explores the perceptions of social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan for the development of social housing. The study employed qualitative fieldwork interviews and conducted a thematic analysis of emergent themes from these qualitative semi-structured interviews. The study discussed these perceptions of stakeholders using literature identified in the conceptual framework to explain them.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this research to all the forces of change at the forefront of resolving the housing challenges in South Africa. It is my hope that this research will contribute in however little way it can to understanding the problems and opportunities presented by efforts to provide affordable housing. I would also like to thank my family and friends for being supportive along the way. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this research to my late mother Lindiwe Sikiti who instilled a passion for education self-development at a young age. It is with a heavy heart to know she will not be around to celebrate his son's contribution to the knowledge discourse of housing and urban studies.

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I would herewith like to acknowledge a number of people, organisations and companies that have made this research possible. Firstly, I would like to thank the Johannesburg Development Agency for all the support in making this research possible. I would also like to thank my supervisor Alison Wilson for providing the much needed support and guiding me along the way. I would also like extend my gratitude to following people for allowing me their time in the undertaking of this research:

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Acronyms and abbreviations

BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BNG	Breaking New Ground
BRT	Bus Rapid Transport
CBD	Central Business District
COF	Corridors of Freedom
COJ	City of Johannesburg
HDA	Housing Development Agency
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
JHC	Johannesburg Housing Company
JOSHCO	Johannesburg Social Housing Company
JSIP	Johannesburg Strategic Infrastructure Platform
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NASHO	National Association of Social Housing Organisations
NDOH	National Department of Human Settlement
NP	National Party
NSDF	National Spatial Development Framework
ODA	Other Delivery Agents
PGDS	Provincial Government Development Strategy
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PRASA	Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa
PRZ	Provisional Restructuring Zone
RCG	Restructuring Capital Grant
RZ	Restructuring Zone
SACN	South African Cities Network
SAF	Strategic Area Framework
SAHO	South African History Organisation
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SDP	Spatial Development Plan
SDZ	Special Development Zone
SH	Social Housing

SHI	Social Housing Institution
SHP	Social Housing Programme
SHRA	Social Housing Regulatory Authority
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
SSI	Semi-Structured Interview
TOD	Transit Oriented Development
UDZ	Urban Development Zone

CHAPTER 1: FOUNDATIONS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

1.1. Introduction

In the state of the nation address, President Cyril Ramaphosa (SONA, 2020) said “the social housing programme to build rental housing for low-income families is at implementation stage, which could leverage as much as R9 billion of private investment in the construction of 37 000 rental apartments”. The president was referring to the Social Housing Programme (SHP) which is a housing policy that makes provision for state subsidized rental housing projects as part of resolving the housing question.

This research study is about social housing, and its primary objective is to evaluate the perceptions of social housing stakeholders on the use of Restructuring Zones (RZs) in relation to the planning of social housing developments in Johannesburg. The Social Housing Act (2008:8) defines social housing as, “a rental or co-operative housing option for low to medium income households at a level of scale and built form which requires institutionalized management and which is provided by social housing institutions or other delivery agents in approved projects in designated restructuring zones with the benefit of public funding as contemplated in this Act”. The Social Housing Act (2008:8) also defines RZs as “geographic areas identified for targeted investment based on the need for social, spatial and economic restructuring of the areas”. This research seeks to understand the relationship of restructuring zones and their application in the planning of social housing residential developments in Johannesburg. It seeks to achieve this by assessing the perceptions of social housing stakeholders in Johannesburg on their experience of the restructuring zone process in the planning of social housing

The study does this through reviewing literature and theory identified in the conceptual framework to explain social housing. It also uses this literature and theory to provide the basis of explaining the emerging perceptions from social housing stakeholders on the restructuring zone process and its relationship to social housing. The study makes use of qualitative one on one semi-structured interviews with a purposefully selected sample of five social housing stakeholders operating in Johannesburg. The study develops and analyzes the interviews conducted as qualitative data that is organized thematically for coherence and logical presentation to the reader. The study then proceeds to summarize and conclude on the key perceptions that emerged from the interviews while further relating these findings to social housing literature and theory identified in the conceptual framework of the research as a means to answer the research question. .

1.2. Rationale of the study and how it shapes the research question and outcomes

The research question of this study is:

What are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

It is worth briefly discussing some conceptual definitions to assist in clarify to the reader the following key questions:

- Who are social housing stakeholders and why are they important?
- What are perceptions and why are they important?

1.2.1. Who are social housing stakeholders and why are they important?

Maani (2017:15) states that "in a connected and dynamic world, complex decision making involves engaging with multiple stakeholders, operating in different domains, with competing interests, differing perspectives, and conflicting agendas under uncertain and often adversarial conditions". Social housing policy like any policy is very integrated in nature meaning it has multiple stakeholders involved in its planning and implementation. These stakeholders assume a variety of functions in the social housing restructuring zone process and its implementation. Some of them are scholars, government officials, private sector players, as well as social housing advocacy groups and non-governmental organizations. In light of this complexity of actors and decision-makers in the social housing policy environment, this research explores a cross section of social housing practitioners (who are interchangeably called stakeholders in this study) involved in various capacities in the social housing restructuring zone process in Johannesburg.

These stakeholders were purposefully sampled to represent a diverse mix of senior officials in various disciplines of the built environment in the City of Johannesburg. They include senior officials of the Department of Development Planning, the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO), as well as Development Managers of a Johannesburg based Social Housing Institution (SHI) namely the Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC). The sample of stakeholders interviewed also consists of senior officials from the National Association of Social Housing Organisations (NASHO) that this study considers as representing a key social housing interest group and as an aggregated voice of many social housing organizations on matters involving social housing policy. A more in depth discussion on the sampling methods used for this study will be expanded in the research methods chapter.

The term stakeholder can present a semantical challenge given its broad and sophisticated meaning. McGrath and Whitty (2016:728) define stakeholders as "individuals or groups who

have an interest or some aspect of rights or ownership in the project", and that "can contribute in the form of knowledge or support, or can impact or be impacted by, the project". To use this latter definition, we can thus suggest social housing stakeholders as firstly being individuals or groups who have some level of interest, rights or ownership in the planning and development of social housing in Johannesburg. Secondly, they are individuals or groups who can contribute through knowledge and support for social housing. Thirdly, they are individuals or groups who can affect or be impacted by the delivery of social housing in Johannesburg. This research study therefore regards this definition as the broad definition of what it considers a social housing stakeholder.

The importance of these social housing stakeholders in the study is due to the complex decision making functions they assume as well as the wide varying interests they each hold in the planning and development of social housing in Johannesburg with the use of restructuring zones. Whilst the social housing policy makes normative prescripts around what ought to be the roles and responsibilities of different actors in the social housing development value chain. The basis of this study is to examine the experience of the social housing stakeholders in their use of restructuring zones to facilitate social housing development in Johannesburg.

1.2.2. What are perceptions and why are they important?

To answer the first question of what perceptions are; Reis and Moore (2005:3) define perceptions as being "a mixture of evaluative and non-evaluative understandings of a situation". They go on to suggest that perceptions are "a combination of cognitions (non-evaluative understanding); norms (internalized ideas about appropriate roles); and values (ideals about what might be)". Simply put, perceptions as described above are combination of learnings, beliefs and values that an individual or group attains as result of a lived experience in relation to a certain phenomenon which in this study is the restructuring zone process in the planning and development of social housing.

Figure 1 is a graphic illustration that summarizes of this study's conceptual understanding of what constitutes perceptions.

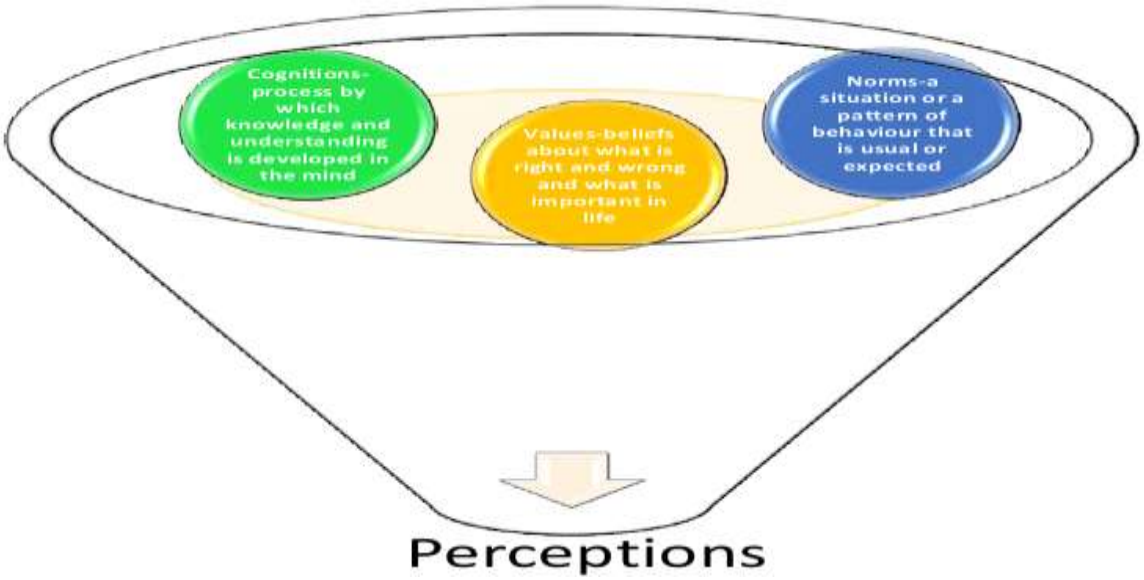

Figure 1: Graphic representation of what constitutes perceptions Source: Sikiti, 2021

Drawing from the above conceptual definitions of what constitutes perceptions. This research study seeks to organize and document the emerging perceptions from stakeholders by grouping them into the following two key themes:

1. Perceptions of the social housing stakeholders that are consistent with the identified literature in the conceptual framework
2. Perceptions of the social housing stakeholders that are not consistent with the identified literature in the conceptual framework but allude to new insights for this study

These two key themes will be further clustered into sub-themes through a thematic analysis process as shall be discussed in subsequent chapters of the study.

1.3. Research Context

When it comes to the question of adequate provision of basic services, the City of Johannesburg (COJ) is presented by the challenge of keeping up with the housing demand stemming from both natural population growth and from its status of having the highest rate of urbanization in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2016). With a population of just under 5 million according to Statistics South Africa (2016:8), the need to provide housing to an ever-growing urban population is further accentuated by the growing pressure on the limited resources and slow economic growth.

Aigbavboa (2014: 102) suggests that, the provision of housing as part of the basket of basic services for cities of the south is largely a function of their strength and ability, to “develop and tenaciously implement adequate housing policy programmes that will meet the demand of the

present and of the future". Aigbavboa (2014:102) describes policy making as involving "the process of making important organizational decisions, including the identification of different alternatives such as programs or spending priorities, and choosing among them on the basis of the impact they will have and on the specific context of implementation".

Given that social housing policy like any policy as described by Aigbavboa (2014) consists of a set of organizational decisions involving the mobilization of the available limited financial and non-financial resources in order to achieve the maximum impact which in the social housing context is urban restructuring. It is within this frame of reference that this study seeks to evaluate the policy experience of social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones in the implementation of social housing in Johannesburg. To this end, the study reviews carefully curated body of literature and theory that explains the social housing phenomenon in Johannesburg as presented in the conceptual framework. Secondly, it qualitatively documents the lived experience social housing stakeholders on the implementation of the restructuring process in Johanneburg. Thirdly, it analyses and discusses the lived experience with its curated literature as per the conceptual framework. Where the lived experiences of stakeholders are not consistent with the literature identified in the conceptual framework, the study proceeds to discuss these findings as new insights to the study.

1.4. Expected Findings

As suggested in the earlier sections, this research study is primarily an exploration of social housing stakeholders' perceptions of social housing policy as it relates to their lived experiences of implementing restructuring zones in the planning and development of social housing in Johannesburg. To this end, the study explores this through semi-structured interviews to identify emergent themes in the stakeholders' perceptions of this restructuring zone phenomenon. The research study is therefore premised on the following set of expected findings that are to date common knowledge regarding the restructuring zone process as suggested by literature reviewed on the topic:

- The social housing stakeholders' understanding of restructuring zones is expected to largely correlate with their understanding of urban restructuring as defined in social housing policy documents. This is due largely to the fact that social housing policy has a clear policy framework setting out the urban restructuring objective of social housing and this is espoused consistently in all government policy and related legislation on social housing.
- The study expects the interpretations of the restructuring zones process to vary slightly from the different stakeholders with some common elements around RZs as being

spaces to “live, work and play” given that this is the easiest element to grasp intellectually in the otherwise vague criteria used to identifying RZs as per the social housing policy.

- The study expects stakeholders to understand social housing as a means to provide TOD high-density residential developments since this is the official spatial policy development premise of the City of Johannesburg.

1.5. Factors affecting the choice of Johannesburg as a study area

The first factors influencing the choice of Johannesburg as a study area stem from existing literature on how the COJ has chosen and define its restructuring zones to extend to the entire city boundary as opposed to being more focused on a few nodes (see Figure 2 below).

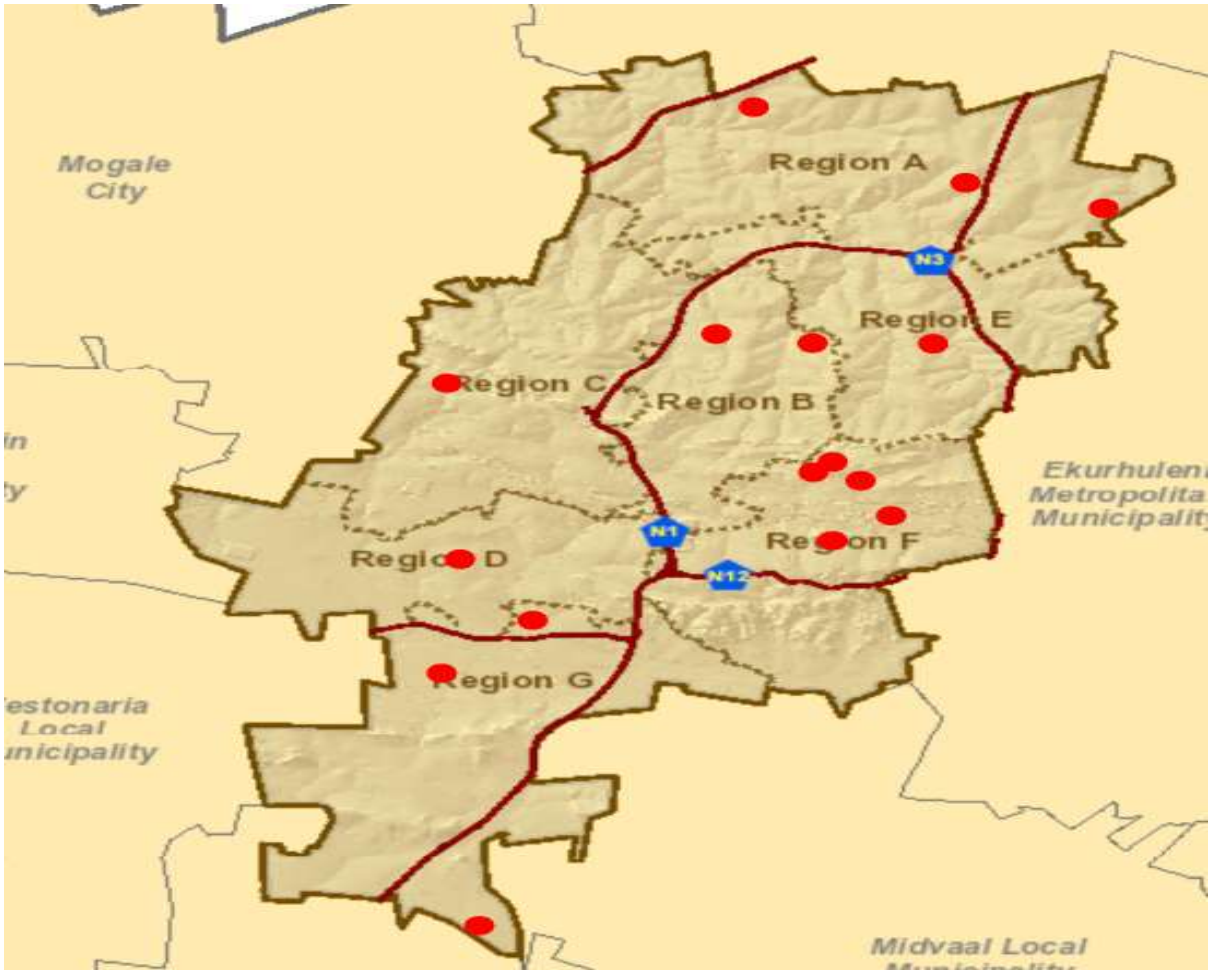

Figure 2: Distribution of social housing restructuring zones in Johannesburg (Source: Sikiti,2020)

The significance of this decision to demarcate the city’s boundary in its entirety as a restructuring zone can be interpreted as the strength of the COJ’s commitment to restructure the apartheid spatial legacy through social housing. This decision can also be interpreted as great forward planning insight for Johannesburg when compared to for instance the Cape Town Metro, which up until 2017 had no clarity on which parts of its boundaries were excluded

in the restructuring zones i.e. Sea Point and other parts of the central business district (City of Cape Town, 2017). The latter exclusions of some parts of the City of Cape Town have proven quite difficult to develop social housing in these areas as legally they have been challenged on the premise that they do not fall under the restructuring zone demarcation of the city. This by extension has come at a heavy cost to potential beneficiaries of social housing and thus rendered the legacies of spatial exclusion intact in the spatial configuration of some parts of Cape Town.

The second factor influencing the choice of Johannesburg as a study area is the existence of a municipal social housing entity of the city dedicated to the roll out of the city's social housing development. The research deemed this as an institutional element that was a factor in the choice of Johannesburg as a study area. The third factor that contributed to the choice of study area includes the fact that Johannesburg faces a huge housing problem stemming from its historical underservicing by the apartheid government. This coupled with the growing post 1994 housing backlog that has been compounded by a high levels of natural population growth as well as the highest rate of urbanization makes Johannesburg a unique study area in comparison to its other metropolitan counterparts in South Africa.

1.6. Problem Statement

Tonkin (2008:2) alludes to the poor performance of South African housing in facilitating urban restructuring when she suggests, "the housing rights of the poor are compromised by sprawling, low-density settlements and a lack of affordable housing opportunities in well-located areas has thus relegated them to the urban periphery". She goes on to say that, "people living in peripheral dormitory suburbs have to commute to their places of employment in well-located areas at great costs to themselves, government, and the environment". Before the introduction of the Social Housing Act (2008). South Africa's housing policy in the period between 1994 and the early 2000s, was largely focused on the provision of single dwelling units that were in distant locations that had weak socio-economic infrastructure (Breaking New Ground,2004: 12). Tonkin (2008:2) outlines the shortcomings of this single dwelling model when she says, "over the past decade, housing and service delivery interventions for the poor have continued to perpetuate apartheid urban form" and that "this has resulted in the creation of large dormitory settlements of low-cost mass housing on the urban periphery where the price of land is cheap".

The observation made by Tonkin (2008:2) casts aspersions to the social and economic cost of a fragmented urban spatial environment that had become characteristic of the South African housing footprint post 1994 till early 2000s and the jobs and housing mismatch it resulted in. This study argues that the single dwelling housing policy delivery model adopted by the post

1994 government can be regarded as one of the central drivers in the perpetuation of a fragmented low-income housing footprint post 1994.

This study argues that, the introduction of the Social Housing Act (2008) as being instrumental in fostering a housing policy option that considers urban restructuring as a core objective. This study also argues that social housing heralded a significant policy shift to improve the previously poor integration of high-density rental housing opportunities in well-located areas. This study also argues that social housing policy remains a unique socio-spatial intervention in the housing policy landscape insofar as its ability to deliver low-income housing opportunities in well-located areas that provide access to socio-economic livelihood and that enjoy the connectivity of transport in order to connect these high-density residential units with reliable and affordable means of transport.

The National Housing Code published by the Department of Human Settlements (2009:11) suggests social housing has two primary objectives. The first objective is described as being "to contribute to the national spatial priority of restructuring South African society in order to address structural, economic, social and spatial dysfunctionalities thereby contributing to government's vision of an economically empowered, nonracial, and integrated society living in sustainable human settlements." The second objective is articulated as "to improve and contribute to the overall functioning of the housing sector and in particular the rental sub-component thereof, especially insofar as social housing is able to contribute to widening the range of housing options available to the poor" (Department of Human Settlements 2009:11).

The social housing policy makes explicit provision for both these objectives of undoing the apartheid spatial legacy and to stimulate low-income rental market to take place in well-located geographic areas demarcated as restructuring zones. The aim of the study is to explore the perceptions of social housing stakeholders on their lived experience of using these restructuring zones in the planning and development of social housing. The study also seeks to explain these perceptions using existing theory and literature. The ultimate objective of this paper to answer the following research question:

What are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

Based on the above research question, it can be argued that the focus of the study is to assess the stakeholders lived experience of social housing policy particularly as far as the restructuring zones is concerned. The study also explores the social housing stakeholders' knowledge, beliefs and understanding around what factors preclude or enable for the optimum functioning of the restructuring zone process using their lived experience and the policy

prescripts as key reference points of their understanding. Their understanding and interpretation of restructuring zones is analyzed and then presented in the study as their perceptions. The subsequent analysis of these perceptions in the study is to determine if these stakeholder perceptions correlates or not with existing literature in order to offer a rich qualitative analysis..

1.7. Aims and objectives of the research

Leedy and Ormrod (2019:21) define inductive reasoning as “the use of specific instances or occurrences to draw conclusions about entire classes of objects or events”. They go on to suggest that inductive logic involves observing a sample and then drawing conclusions about the larger population from which the sample was taken (Leedy and Ormrod, 2019:21). The objective of the research is to assess through an inductive logic the perceptions held by a sample of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan for social housing and to achieve urban restructuring in Johannesburg. The research also seeks to explain these perceptions of restructuring zones using a variety of spatial planning literature as to be further alluded in the subsequent sections of the report.

1.8. Research Question and sub-research questions

The research question of the study can be summed up as:

What are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

The sub research questions of the study can be described as:

- Are the perceptions of stakeholders consistent with existing literature on social housing and restructuring zones?
- Are the perceptions of stakeholders consistent with social housing policy norms i.e. what restructuring zones ought to be as communicated in policy?
- Can the perceptions of stakeholders be explained through relevant theory from literature?
- Are the perceptions of social housing stakeholders alluding to any new knowledge and understanding of the social housing phenomenon?

1.9. Introduction to literature

Johnson (2014:619) argues, “in a time where vast amounts of data are being collected and archived by researchers all over the world, the practicality of utilizing existing data for research is becoming more prevalent”. Johnson (2014:619) describes secondary data analysis as the “analysis of data that was collected by someone else for another primary purpose”. To this end the literature review of the study is made up of existing studies, theories and academic commentaries on the topic and subject matter of social housing as it relates to this study’s research question and objectives as set out in earlier parts of the research.

The literature review for this research draws from a wide array of theoretical concepts, academic commentaries, policy documents, and legislation on the subject of social housing, its urban restructuring objectives and its use of restructuring zones. The literature also reviews theories on the qualitative approach of using perceptions in evaluating social housing and the urban restructuring phenomenon as it occurs in restructuring zones. The literature is used to explain various facets of the social housing phenomenon and to enrich the discussion on their implications to the research question and the research findings. The literature also makes use of a conceptual framework that outlines the theoretical concepts used in shaping the discussion around research question and the research objectives.

1.9.1. Perceptions theory

In line with the research question of the study and its subsequent qualitative methodology of inquiry, the research discusses some literature on perceptions theory in order to develop a better understanding of its conceptual tenets as they relate to the research study. To this end, literature from Rabinof (2015) and Demuth (2013) on the cognitive process of individuals and groups in the shaping of their understanding of the world and their perceptions of it are discussed. The literature reviews various schools of thought such as internalism and externalism within perceptions theory as they pertain to the shaping of objective and subjective understanding of the world by research participants in qualitative research enquiry.

1.9.2. Social housing theory

Given that, the topic of the research study is social housing. Literature on the theory of social housing is explored and discussed with key observations on the international and local contextual meanings of social housing. Literature by Watt and Smets (2017) on the international development of social housing is discussed, while literature by Hansson and Lundgre (2019) on the development of a universal definition of social housing is also explored. Literature by Visagie et al (2020) and Scheba et al (2021) is also reviewed to frame the theoretical understanding of social housing as it relates to South African policy with focus on the urban restructuring phenomenon associated with social housing. Theory by Pillay (2008)

on urban restructuring is also explored and expanded while also framing it as a synonymous outcome within the local and international social housing theory discourse. Legal statutes such as the Social Housing Act (2008) are also reviewed with the intention of discerning the legal and policy definitions of local housing while framing these definitions within the broader social housing theoretical frameworks. Literature by Donaldson et al (2013) and Adair et al (2003) is also reviewed in an attempt to differentiate and contextualize the phenomena of urban regeneration, urban renewal and urban restructuring within the social housing theory and policy lexicon.

1.9.3. Apartheid spatial legacy

The study draws on available literature on the apartheid spatial planning and its subsequent legacy in South African cities and specifically in Johannesburg. The study develops the concept of apartheid spatial planning in order to contextualize the policy intent of social housing in facilitating urban restructuring. The urban restructuring of Johannesburg is therefore contextualized in the backdrop of apartheid spatial legacy and its lack of integration of urban spaces. To this end, literature by Newton and Schuerman (2013) is reviewed on the impact of the knowledge schism created by apartheid in the academic development of spatial planning in South Africa. Literature by Freund (2010), on the roots of spatial separation in South African cities date back through the 1950's Group Areas Act is also discussed. Literature by Van Wyk and Oranje (2014) on early forms of the exclusive local spatial planning in Johannesburg as far back as the1830s is discussed as well the significant role of legislation such as the Black Land Act of 1913 and its further implications on apartheid's racial and spatial inequalities.

1.9.4. Socio-spatial theory in explaining the urban restructuring function of social housing

The study also reviews literature on socio-spatial theory in explaining the phenomenon of urban restructuring as it relates to social housing policy. To this end, literature by Jessop et al (2008) on the concept of socio-spatial theory is reviewed. Literature by Van Wyk and Oranje (2014) on the post-1994 modernist planning orientation of South Africa and its use of socio-spatial theory to bring change and redress to the urban fabric of the country. The study also reviews literature by Symes et al (2000) which alludes to the international phenomenon of social housing as a built environment feature that can be best explained through socio-spatial theory.

1.9.5. Transit Oriented Development theory and social housing

This research study draws from Transit Oriented Development (TOD) theory to explain aspects of social housing and its urban restructuring objectives. It outlines the concept of TOD

theory drawing from Vijay (2019) and Belzer and Autler (2002) whose works trace TOD theory origins from the need to redress the sprawl densification of cities and towns that was largely a result of the automobile oriented spatial planning. This literature is used to explain the evolution of spatial planning practices from monocentric to polycentric models that are informed by TOD theory. The research also reviews work by Rubin and Appelbaum (2016), Todes (2014) as well as Harrison et al (2014) to explain the applications of TOD theory in the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (2018), its polycentric objectives, Corridors of Freedom development, and their relationship to social housing and in the identification of urban restructuring zones.

1.9.6. New Urbanism theory and social housing

This research also draws from New Urbanism theory in its bid to explore social housing and its role in facilitating well-located neighbourhood development. Since the social housing restructuring zone identification process takes into account, the holistic development of high-density neighbourhoods through ensuring the availability of social amenities that enable a live, work and play quality of life. Drawing from literature by Van Niekerk (2018) and Dirsuweit (2009) among others, the research discusses the neighbourhood development and place-making ideals of social housing by using new urbanism theory to explain them. This research also alludes to literature by Visagie et al (2020), Lucka (2018) and Talen (1999) to draw on the tenets of new urbanism theory as it relates to social housing.

1.9.7. Theories of policy in explaining social housing policy in South Africa

In light of social housing policy existing as a comprehensive policy framework with the South African housing policy landscape; this research study discusses and analyses social housing policy using the theory of policy change to typify it. To this end, the research paper draws on literature by Cerna (2013) and Scheba et al (2021) to draw theoretical narratives of how the social housing policy fits the descriptions of the theory of policy change. To historicize the evolution of social housing within the South African housing landscape the research also draws from the White Paper on Housing (1994) as the starting point of the evolution of the South African housing policy and culminating in the promulgation of the Social Housing Act (2008) as the pinnacle of this evolution of social housing policy. The paper then provides and overview of the social housing policy framework with a specific focus on its provision on restructuring zone development process and its rationale as envisaged in social housing policy. A review of existing literature on the social housing policy is also discussed with the view of developing an appreciation of existing knowledge on the urban restructuring zone phenomenon. The research paper then draws on work by Alfasi and Fenster (2014), Conolly and Steil (2009) and Everatt (2014) to explain urban restructuring zones using the theory of

urban justice as a befitting theoretical framework from which to describe and discuss restructuring zones and their role in facilitating urban restructuring. The research paper also draws on literature by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983), Cerna (2013), Marchler and Milz (2015) and Habermas (1984) to explain the social housing restructuring zones using theory implementation theory. By so doing, the study identifies the restructuring zones of social housing as the coalface of social housing implementation i.e. where the policy meets implementation and thereby draws on theory of policy implementation in discussing and explaining them.

1.10. The conceptual framework

In advancing the various objectives of the research and in facilitating for a coherent response to the research question. A conceptual framework outlining all aspects of inquiry from the, research question, literature review, and methodology was developed. Figure 3 below is a graphic depiction of the research study's conceptual framework. It is informed by the research question and theoretical concepts from the literature review:

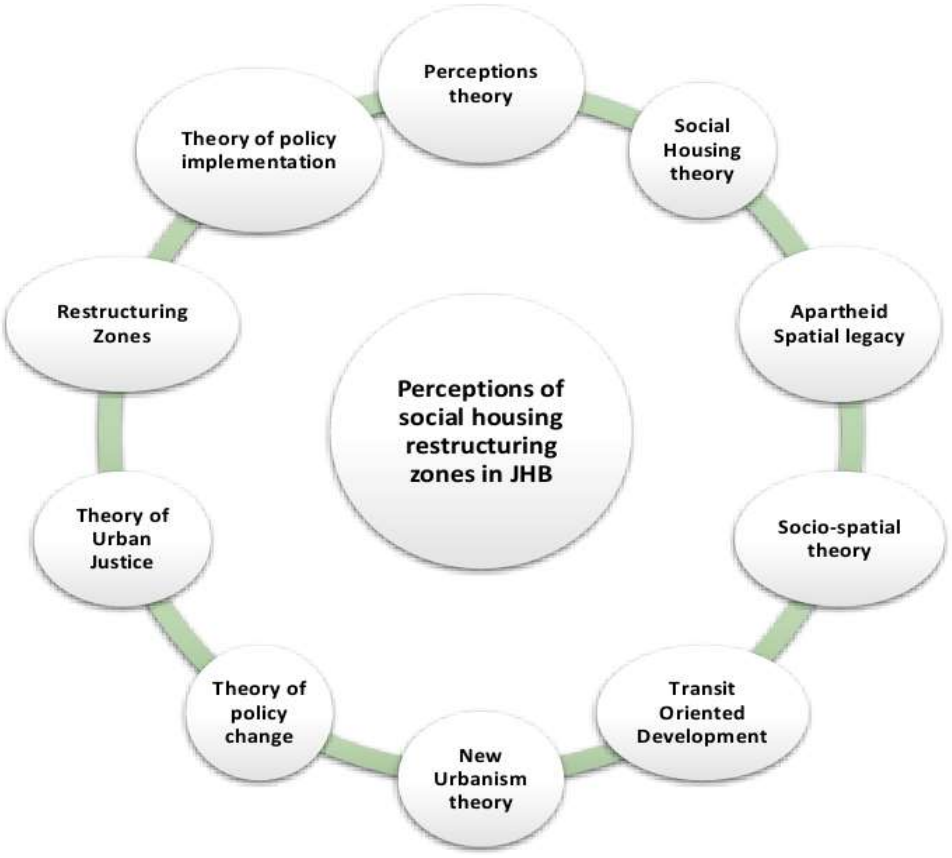

Figure 3: A diagram of the conceptual framework (Source: Sikiti,2021)

1.11. Summary

This chapter has introduced the research topic as the study of social housing and the planning thereof through the restructuring zone process. It has also discussed the rationale of the study and how it has come to shape the research question and the methods of enquiry applied to resolve these. The chapter has also briefly discussed key concepts from the research question i.e. what are stakeholders and what are perceptions as well as why they are important to the research. The chapter has also discussed the research context of the study and provided a discussion on factors influencing the choice of study area as well as the problem statement. This chapter has also provided an overview of the research and its expected findings as well as outlined the aims and objectives of the study as well as the research question. This chapter then introduced the literature, which included an overview of theoretical concepts explored in the study and provided an outline of the conceptual framework for the study.

2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

The research question of this study is what are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing? In attempting to answer this research question, the study delves into a number of theoretical concepts underlying social housing and restructuring. These include scholarly thinking around the pre-apartheid, during apartheid and post-apartheid spatial legacy. Theory of perceptions is also considered insofar as it the chosen qualitative method of inquiry for this study. Theory on social housing is also discussed in length with the aim of understanding the social housing phenomenon locally in South Africa as well internationally in other parts of the world. Socio-spatial theory is also reviewed with the objective of explaining the social housing phenomenon as a socio-spatial concept. Literature on the Transit Oriented Development (TOD) is reviewed in order to explain how the social housing phenomenon aligns with its concept of forming high-density residential units that are interconnect through convenient public transport. Literature on New Urbanism theory is also reviewed in relation to its theoretical concepts of housing as catalytic agent of urbanism and how this resonates with social housing. Theory of policy change is also reviewed in order to understand the evolution of the South African social housing policy over 1994 to 2008 when the Social Housing Act (2008) was passed. Theory of policy implementation is also reviewed in order better explain the restructuring zone process as a policy phenomenon. Theory of urban justice is also reviewed in order to explain the urban restructuring and spatial redress in social housing literature.

2.1.1. Perceptions theory

As discussed in earlier sections this research study is a synthesis of various social housing stakeholders perceptions of social housing's restructuring zones in facilitating social housing in Johannesburg. The study considers perceptions as cornerstones of knowledge and just mere subjective opinions of an individual or group. To this end, the research draws from established theoretical concepts on perceptions and their cognitive process in informing the mind of individuals and groups. Given the intent of this study, core to this are the perceptions of social housing stakeholders insofar as their understanding of restructuring zones as policy tools to guide the planning, location and development of social housing in Johannesburg. Secondary to the above are the broad understanding of the interviewed stakeholders on the notions urban restructuring as an overriding objective of social housing as espoused in the social housing policy.

Rabinof (2015:721) suggest, “Aristotle thought of animals and humans as having what we might call private cognitive activity, inner lives that are separable from their engagement with objects in their environments”. The study of individual and group perceptions therefore involves the interaction of the private cognitive events and inner lives of individuals and groups as well as how these shape their understanding of objects outside their immediate environment. Demuth (2013:11) suggests, “most thinkers are convinced that the sources of cognition can be divided into two basic groups according to whether the sources exist within the subject or outside of it”. He goes on to say “proponents of the first approach are called internalists” and that “internalists are convinced that pieces of knowledge or their sources and principles can be found within the subject, and cognition is nothing else but discovering them or developing already existing (a priori) pieces of knowledge”. Demuth (2013:11) cites Plato and Descartes as proponents of this internalist view as demonstrated by their argument that “knowledge is nothing else but recollecting already acquired contents”. The second approach Demuth (2013:12) describes is the externalist one, which asserts that all our knowledge has an external source. He describes the externalist view as one that argues, “the mind is more or less a blank sheet of paper (tabula rasa) and all knowledge is being imprinted in us from external reality”. Demuth critiques these approaches and their limitations insofar as not being adequate in explaining what are the determinants of a given phenomenon to be a subject of cognition and by extension, how it will be interpreted and comprehended by an individual or a group of individuals. Demuth (2013:12) argues that “both basic theories — externalism and internalism — face the question of how to explain the awareness of new reality in our consciousness, how information (external or internal) is elicited or, in other words — how we meet the world”.

A possible third mitigating approach to the two approaches described above is purported by phenomenalist scholars who by Demuth’s (2013:12) account are “actually convinced that the world is a sum of information surrounding the subject” and that “what we call the world is nothing else but a set of various perceptions, feelings and ideas”. These scholars therefore set the belief that “that only our perceptions are the subject of our cognition” and that “what we perceive are only perceptions and there is nothing else accessible to us except perceptions”. These scholars then introduce the evaluative intellectual dimension of cognition when they suggest, “what we assume is behind our perception and what allegedly causes it, is just a rational construct” and that “besides perceptions, we thus possess images, rational constructs and ideas we create ourselves”.

2.1.2. Social Housing theory

In analyzing the international landscape on social housing theory it quickly, becomes apparent that the phenomenon of social housing is defined contextually rather than universally in literature. According to Watt and Smets (2017:1), “social housing estates — as developed either by local states (viz. public/ municipal housing) or voluntary sector housing associations — became a prominent feature of the twentieth century urban landscape in many Northern European cities, and also to a lesser extent in North American and Australian cities”. The authors allude to the historical links of social housing to urban renewal efforts when they suggest, “many of these estates were built as part of earlier urban renewal, “slum clearance” programs especially in the post-World War 2 heyday of the Keynesian welfare state”. They describe this urban renewal process as largely being commercial in nature with minimal social benefits which they claim are evidenced in the large scale demolition of “old, overcrowded, slum areas of private rental housing to make way for new modernist housing blocks and estates which provided physically improved and affordable rental housing for workers and their families”. This international description of social housing as described by Watt and Smets (2017) alludes to a number of scholarly challenges on the notion of social housing namely the applicability of contextual rather than a universal definition of social housing.

In highlighting the definitional challenges of social housing theory, Hansson and Lundgre (2019:149) argue that “when evaluating whether any system or policy can serve as a solution, it is important to know the specifics of such a system or policy”. They go on to say, “the lack of a definition of the term social housing often leads to misunderstandings, rather than constructive dialogue on the advantages and disadvantages of such a system” and that “when evaluating the literature on the definitions of social housing it is clear that there is no consensus on the definition of social housing”. The authors also suggest a good definition of social housing is one that “should be possible to apply in practice, in academia, by politicians, by policy advisors, etc”. Hansson and Lundgre (2019:151) also allude to a great challenge in studying social housing when they say, “an investigation into “social housing” that applies an improper definition (i.e. a definition that suffers from counterexamples, e.g. by being too broad or too narrow) will risk including data into the study which should not be included”. They go on to argue, “likewise, if one wants to produce a policy concerning “social housing” it is important to classify what to include and what to leave out”. This absence of a universal definition for social housing as alluded by the latter scholars lends importance to idea of context in the framing of social housing as a phenomenon. From literature reviewed in the study it is apparent that this contextual definition of social housing is largely geographic i.e. it depends on which part of the world one’s audience is in. It is for this reason therefore that is should be

borne at all times that the overriding definition of social housing for this research is drawn from the South African context and policy but in this section of the literature this definition will be reviewed and analyzed comparatively in relation to theoretical concepts on the topic.

Visagie et al (2020:4) outline similar observations to those of Hansson and Lundgre (2019) on the absence of a universal definition of social housing in theory when they say, “there is no agreed-upon meaning for the term social housing however, in examining multiple definitions common threads can be found”. They go on to suggest, “globally, social housing is noted to be a response to reinforcing housing market failure where well-located housing becomes unattainable and the excluded become spatially marginalized”. They also observe social housing as a universal concept as “often targeted at low to middle-income households and provides an affordable housing option”. Drawing from the common factors that are observable in social housing Hansson and Lundgre (2019:156) identify the five key criteria from international literature that are universally consistent in the definition of social housing including in the South African context as “target group, form of tenure, type of provider, public intervention and subsidies”. This research study will demonstrate how this five point criteria is very useful in framing a universal understanding of social housing in the absence of a universal definition and will also demonstrate its utility in framing social housing definitions in the South African context

Visagie et al (2020:4) describe social housing as “government-subsidized rental housing provided by local authorities or third sector (non-profit) organisations, with the rent set well below market levels in order to be accessible to low income groups”. They also suggest, “in post-apartheid South Africa, the focus has been on non-profit organisations, with increasing efforts made to finance, regulate and support the development of an independent social housing sector”. Visagie et al (2020:4) describe the allocation process of social housing stock in South Africa to tenants as being “on the basis of their relative need, as well as their ability to pay a basic rental”. They go on to suggest the social housing allocation process “gives low to middle income households access to better quality accommodation and a more secure and stable living environment than they could otherwise afford, with consequent benefits for their general health, welfare and productivity”.

In using the above social housing theory definitions in alignment to a South African social housing policy level it is worth reviewing the legal definition of social housing in the South African policy framework. To this end, the Social Housing Act (2008:8): defines social housing as:

“a rental or co-operative housing option for low to medium income households at a level of scale and built form which requires institutionalised management and which is provided by social housing institutions or other delivery agents in approved projects in designated restructuring zones with the benefit of public funding as contemplated in this Act”

The Social Housing Act (2008) prescribes that rental or co-operative housing options for low-income persons must be provided by accredited Social Housing Institutions (SHIs) and Other Development Agents (ODAs) and in designated Restructuring Zones (RZs). The Social Housing Act (2008) defines RZs as ‘geographic areas identified for targeted investment based on the need for social, spatial and economic restructuring of the areas’ (Social Housing Act, 2008). Social housing projects developed in these areas, are to be SHRA accredited and developed by SHIs and accredited ODAs who may apply for the Restructuring Capital Grant (RCG) in order to finance the planning and development of social housing schemes.

Using the earlier, five point criteria developed by Hansson and Lundgre (2019) a social housing theoretical framework to unpack Visagie et al (2020) and the Social Housing Act (2008) definitions of social housing in South Africa. It can be argued the five common criteria of social housing outlined by Hansson and Lundgre (2019) are consistent in the definitions social housing alluded to by Visagie et al (2020) and the Social Housing Act (2008). The first basis of this definitional consistency relates to the five point criteria’s first condition that social housing has an inherent target group that in this case is explicitly defined as being low to middle income households as alluded to by Visagie et al (2020) and the Social Housing Act (2008). The second basis of the definitional consistency of social housing based on the five point criteria of Hansson and Lundgre (2019) relates to the second inherent condition of social housing as providing some tenure to beneficiaries. This tenure is outlined as rental tenure in the South African context as outlined in the Social Housing Act (2008) and by Visagie et al (2020). The third condition of the five point criteria that relates to social housing as having some type of provider is also consistent with the sentiments outlined in the Social Housing Act (2008) and by Visagie et al (2020) of social housing institutions as key actors in the provision of social housing. The fourth and fifth conditions of the five point criteria of Hansson and Lundgre (2019) as it relates to social housing being a public intervention and involving

subsidisation can also be argued to be consistent in the definition of social housing as outlined in the Social Housing Act (2008) in the definition provided by Visagie et al (2020).

With the above five point criteria by Hansson and Lundgre (2019) as a framework in arriving at a universal definition of social housing and the accompanying discussion on its consistency in defining South African social housing. The second challenge identified from social housing theory literature is concerned with the evaluation of its urban restructuring objective, which also happens to be an explicit objective in the South African social housing policy context. In unpacking this urban restructuring objective of social housing in the literature, Scheba et al (2021:3) argue, "the government's social housing programme is the only housing tool that is explicitly aimed at restructuring the form of cities and towns and encouraging higher density housing in well-located areas". They also suggest social housing policy "has the potential to perform a unique role in the repertoire of housing and social policies in the country". They also describe the urban restructuring objective of social housing as being the ability of social housing "to give low paid workers closer access to job opportunities and important services such as education and healthcare". Scheba et al (2021:3) also argue that social housing achieves this objective "by constructing affordable rental stock that is protected and maintained for low income households by being retained in social ownership in order to avoid gentrification and displacement by higher income groups". In reiterating, this theoretical description of social housing's restructuring objective in the literature. The South African Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) (2018:1) describes the aim of the Social Housing Programme (SHP) as "to redress spatial inequities entrenched by apartheid, by providing low- and middle- income households with good quality and affordable rental housing opportunities in well-located areas of cities". It also suggests that social housing also "aims to improve the functioning of the housing sector by contributing to the range of housing options available to the poor". It is from this theoretical basis that an argument can be made to suggest that the urban restructuring objective of social housing theory considers social housing as more than just developing high density housing units but as rather a programme to also undo the spatial configuration of South African cities through urban restructuring.

Visagie et al (2020) caution against the over-simplification of the impact of social housing on urban restructuring when they suggest "it becomes important to highlight the importance of having a defined context, as not all socio-economic benefits of social housing are produced by a direct causal relationship. They also allude to the fact that socio-economic benefits of social housing are instead a result of a complex system where outcomes reinforced by a multitude of socio-spatial variables as shall be discussed further in the research study literature in the subsequent section on socio-spatial theory in social housing. For now it is

suffice to acknowledge that based on international and local literature it can be argued that the challenge of evaluating urban restructuring as an outcome of social housing as being a reality that needs to be borne in mind at all times. This challenge of evaluating the many nuances of urban restructuring as a consequence of social housing is a significant finding from the literature and bears some implications in the analysis of the study's findings that will be discussed in subsequent sections.

The third scholarly challenge identified from literature on social housing is very much linked to the first and second challenges alluded to above i.e. establishing universal and contextual definitions as well as the identified contextual implications of evaluating urban restructuring outcomes of social housing. This third challenge identified from social housing theory literature mainly concerns the close association of social housing with other urban phenomena such as urban renewal, urban regeneration and urban restructuring as well as the ambiguity of these phenomena since they also lend themselves to contextual definitions rather universal ones. Since the terms urban renewal, urban regeneration and urban restructuring are often used loosely in social housing theory literature, it therefore becomes very important to note the differentiated meaning of the terms urban renewal, urban regeneration and urban restructuring particularly as they relate to the South African context of social housing. South Africa's social housing policy makes explicit mention of urban restructuring as an overriding objective; and the Department of Human Settlements (2009:23) defines urban restructuring as being "the social, physical, and economic integration of housing development into existing areas, likely to be urban or inner-city areas". According to Pillay (2008:113) the idea of 'urban restructuring' emerged in the 1980s as an alternative spatial thinking developed when "a number of planners proposed a sustained critique of apartheid planning practices". Ideas associated with urban restructuring included the notion of "less divided urban forms which were proposed in an integrated city and coordinated development framework". These ideas proposed by the 1980s planners came to be understood as early forms of urban restructuring thinking in the South African urban and spatial lexicon. Pillay (2008:113) also argues that these ideas carried through from the 80s to the 90s culminating in them finding a voice during the South African transitional planning during the "1990s forums and were later incorporated into the urban development policies". In current social housing policy context therefore, 'urban restructuring' is one of the key notions of the post-apartheid planning language. It encapsulates the interlinked ideas of compaction (combating low-density urban sprawl), integration (redressing apartheid- inspired spatial fragmentation and segregation), and connection (densification and more effective public transportation)" (HDA and Nasho, 2013:10).

The Urban Renewal Programme (URP) on the other hand which is a programme where the term urban renewal in South African social housing policy derives from is described by Donaldson et al (2013:629) as being “an area-based approach which would form part of a 10 years initiative to address poverty and underdevelopment in targeted areas” and that “it had a specific emphasis on improving joint government planning and implementation”. They also allude to the two socio-spatial priorities of the URP as being firstly to undo the systemic exclusion of apartheid spatial design particularly in townships and secondly as a means to address poverty and crime in the areas where the URP was implemented.

When it comes to clarifying urban regeneration as concept that is commonly synonymous with social housing theory literature, Adair et al (2003:374) describe urban regeneration as “a concept that encapsulates the perception of decline in inner city economies as well as incorporating the process of renewal to establish a basis for economic growth and social well-being”. They also go on to suggest “urban regeneration has been defined as the process of reversing economic, social and physical decay in our towns and cities where it has reached that stage when market forces alone will not suffice, Based on the above, urban regeneration can therefore be considered as a localized turnaround property strategy for inner cities and towns, which “generally targets areas with potential in terms of economic return on investments and includes CBDs that have suffered from urban decay” (HDA and Nasho, 2013:10).

With the above contextual definitions of the concepts of urban restructuring, urban renewal and urban regeneration as they relate to social housing theory literature. It can be argued the notion of social housing in the South African context, is more explicitly aligned with the concept of urban restructuring as articulated in social housing policy. It can also be argued that the notions of urban regeneration and urban renewal are not as explicitly mentioned in the South African social housing policy. This represents a significant finding that differentiates the South African policy context of social housing from that of international social housing literature. It can also be argued that from a comparative evaluation of international literature on social housing theory we can deduce that urban restructuring is the most fundamentally consistent urban phenomenon associated with social housing policy in South Africa. Based on this it can also be observed that notions of urban renewal and urban regeneration contrary to international literature are not the most fundamental nor pervasive urban phenomena associated with social housing and that their consistency is only observable in certain areas such as the inner cities and towns and to a limited extent in townships where the Urban Renewal Programme was implemented as a standalone multi-faceted development programme and in which perhaps low cost high density residential units were elements of its

housing development. These findings are therefore of significance to the study because firstly they outline key differentiating factors of social housing theory literature internationally in relation to that of South Africa. Secondly, they resonate with research question of this study as they allude to the notion of urban restructuring as a fundamental synonymous outcome of South African social housing policy.

2.1.3. Apartheid spatial legacy

Newton and Schuerman (2013:579) argue that apartheid was not only detrimental in the fragmented spatial configuration it brought about through its policies but also that it was detrimental on the development of progressive academic knowledge particularly around housing development due to the international boycotts apartheid generated on the academic front. The authors note this when they suggest, “immediately after the repeal of the apartheid laws, the international academic community paid a lot of attention to the housing situation and the built environment in South Africa”. They go on to suggest “while an academic boycott had blocked meaningful interactions between South African scholars and their colleagues from the rest of the world for most of the 1970s and 1980s, the 1990s were marked by a growing international interest in the spatiality of apartheid and post-apartheid cities”. Having missed meaningful interaction on growing bodies of work in spatial development and housing discourses internationally, Newton and Schuerman (2013) suggest that South Africa in the 1990s had to play catch up with its international counterparts in terms of modernizing its spatial develop approach away from that of apartheid. This section of the research study alludes to detrimental legacies of apartheid and its spatial planning and also contextualizes social housing as normative redressing policy to this pervasive legacy of apartheid spatial planning.

Scheba et al (2021:3) suggest, “South Africa is undergoing a process of urbanisation that has the potential to accelerate socio-economic development if it is managed effectively”. They go on to suggest, “the legacy of apartheid and inertia in the built environment mean that the spatial form of cities is extremely segregated and fragmented”. They go on to outline some of the negative implications of the apartheid spatial planning when they say “this worsens unemployment, poverty and inequality by imposing high transport costs on poor households” and that “it also undermines economic productivity and job creation by imposing a transport burden and agglomeration constraints on firms”. Scheba et al (2021:3) also outline some observable post-apartheid changes in South African spatial planning after the 90s when they suggest, “many national and local plans advocate a shift to more compact and connected urban development, including higher residential densities in city cores and along selected transport corridors”. They do however note some challenges at the rate and pace these post-apartheid changes are happening when they say “shortcomings in government policy and

implementation mean that progress in overcoming the inherited apartheid geography has been slow" and that "indeed, current patterns of development in urban areas are tending to reinforce the spatial and social divisions of the past".

The South African History Organisation (SAHO) (2019) suggests that the term apartheid as a racially separatist development policy has its origins in the Afrikaans language that translates it as meaning 'apartness'. As a policy and an ideology, apartheid was supported by the National Party (NP) government it was official policy in South Africa since 1948.

Apartheid advocated for separate development that was based on racial prejudice that sought to advance the development of the white minority at the expense of black deprivation. SAHO (2019) argue that for apartheid to gain policy declaration it was camouflaged on paper as development system that espoused equal development and freedom of cultural expression. This was developed on the assumption that blacks have their own autonomy in the designated Bantustans and therefore white groups were to be left to their own self-determination in the white settlements.

The gap between in its purported liberal principles of equality and freedom was visible in its implementation. Apartheid legislated laws that forced the different racial groups to live separately and develop separately, and grossly unequally in the process (SAHO,2019).

This study draws on available literature on the apartheid spatial planning and its subsequent legacy in South African cities and specifically in Johannesburg. The study develops the concept of apartheid spatial planning in order to contextualize the policy intent of social housing in facilitating its urban restructuring.

2.1.3.1. The Group Areas Act of 1950

According to Freund (2010), the roots of spatial separation in South African cities date back to the 1950's Group Areas Act. The act exclusively granted legitimate urban citizenship to whites and gave legal authority to the government to enact the "forced removal of people so that race groups could be separated" (Freund,2010:1). The subsequent resistance against the apartheid state in the black urban townships Freund (2010) argues was informed by among things inadequate spatial development of black spaces. These were evident in the mass demonstrations that were protestations of "demands for better schools, housing, transport, employment opportunities, etc." which remain a constant feat in the current post-apartheid society (Freund,2010:1). Freund (2010) goes on to suggest that the legacy of the Group Areas Act (1950) has been central in informing policies of spatial development as evidenced in the post 1994 government's efforts to attack the problem of the cities. Freund

(2010) also argues the ethos of spatial redress and deracialization of the apartheid city in the policy lexicon is largely premised on undoing the impact of the Group Areas Act.

2.1.3.2. Early 19th century land use regulation in Johannesburg

According to Van Wyk and Oranje (2014:353) early forms of the state's measures to regulate the use of land in South Africa can be dated as far back as the1830s. The early measures they suggest "included restrictive covenants inherited from Britain, as well as 'official conditions' aimed at ensuring good order, dignified conduct and enjoyment of property in villages and small towns". The key actors in these covenants were the state and the Dutch Reformed Church. The state and the church were therefore the only two entities that could establish towns and these covenants they argue; were elementary features of Johannesburg spatial regulation that in turn informed the South African town planning scheme regulation.

The covenants were followed by the old South African Republic' enacting of 15 Gold Laws that were designed "to bring order and prevent a recurrence of earlier uncontrolled and haphazard mining activities on the Witwatersrand gold fields" (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014: 354). The Gold Laws restricted the right to mine and settle in these establish town areas to Europeans only. Van Wyk and Oranje (2014:354) suggest that the elementary town planning laws of the 19th century "effectively represented the beginning of the tie between economic exclusion and spatial separation based on race that would reach its pinnacle in the apartheid model of the 1960s".

2.1.3.3. The Black Land Act of 1913

The promulgation of the 1913 Black Land Act which sought to "divide land on a racial basis at national level by setting aside 'scheduled areas' and 'released areas' for the exclusive occupation and acquisition by African people (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014:354). From a planning perspective, the legacy of this act and its successors were severe because the existing spatial planning system was 'supplemented' with a separate system that was specifically applicable to 'black land' (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014:354). Subsequently, African people were further divided into 10 'national units' or 'Bantustans' "based on their language and ethnicity, and forming the basis of 10 homelands that became either self-governing territories or 'independent' states" (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014:354). Outside the areas demarcated under the Black Land Act (1917) a settlement typology of 'locations' were established along the "peripheries of the 'white' towns to accommodate African people who were required to spearhead the cheap labour to man the country's economy" (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014:354). This division of land and separation of people required, and resulted in, the introduction of separate spatial planning legislation for each of the different areas.

2.1.3.4. The introduction of the Municipal Planning legislation in the 1970s

Van Wyk and Oranje (2014) suggest that during the 1920s, a cross section of the South African town planning community advocated for the introduction of town planning legislation. This advocated planning legislation was to draw inspiration from European and British models of town planning. Once it was legislated, the apartheid state planning system proved to be a far cry from the modernist principles it was purported to be modelled on such as comprehensive, plan-led and socially responsive spatial principles. What became evident was that the introduction of town planning legislation in South Africa "did little more than concretize the measures to establish new settlements and extend existing settlements, and provided for the introduction of land-use zoning in the form of town planning schemes" (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014:355) . These new regulatory functions enacted under the South African town planning legislation were staffed by members of what would over time become "a distinct town planning community/ profession" (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014:354). Through its proximity to the apartheid government, this profession progressively became very central in being a legitimate authority in undertaking the control tasks as ordained by the legislation (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014). The separatist spatial principles of separated planning along racial lines were regressive from the British, European and North American town planning movements, and their modernist ideals.

The introduction of the municipal master/structure planning framework with its 20-/25-year planning horizon in the 1970s did very little to improve spatial justice in the apartheid planning legislation. This was due mainly to the segregationist outcomes the planning system was bound by. The introduction of the master planning frameworks also proved ineffective due to the limited powers of municipalities in the centrally driven apartheid state. Another key constraint lay in the "lack of statutory backing for the 'forward plans', and the absence of a link between these plans and government financial planning and budgets" (Van Wyk and Oranje:2014:354). Some of these early master planning challenges of the state remain in the post-apartheid period.

The enforcement of the municipal master plans has proved to be a challenge as they were treated with little respect by property developers and the role of municipalities in implementing them was confined to proposed developments that were supported by the apartheid central state (Van Wyk and Oranje,2014). If the plan did not support the central government's intentions it was simply dismissed as being non-statutory and comprising a scenario within a basket of others that can inform the central government's supported development. The issue of enforcement in the social housing policy is also a component of the proposed study's research findings. This study qualitatively assesses these through examining the perceptions of social housing stakeholders on the enforcement of the social housing policy framework and

the effect of this on social housing development. The disintegrated apartheid spatial planning this study argues has had "a deep and lasting impact on the spatial development and creation and distribution of wealth in the country" (Van Wyk and Oranje,2014:356).

2.1.4. Socio-spatial theory and the notion of urban restructuring

The socio-spatial theory is based on the idea that spatiality does not exist in a one-dimensional fashion but rather in an interwoven set of related geographic and sociological concepts. In unpacking socio-spatial theory, Jessop et al (2008:2) argue that socio-spatial theory has been largely underpinned by the four concepts of territory, place, scale, and network. They also argue that although these concepts of socio-spatial theory "problematize different issues; they are actually closely intertwined theoretically and empirically".

The authors then suggest socio-spatial theory as defined along the above concepts has undergone intense changes due to the "intensification of 'globalization', and the concomitant restructuring of inherited geographies of capital accumulation, state regulation, urbanization, social reproduction and socio-political struggle". Jessop et al (2008:2) also suggest the socio-spatial theory also rejects the "inherited notion of place as a fixed, areal, self-contained, and more or less unique unit of socio-spatial organization" and instead opts for the notion of place as "increasingly understood as relationally constituted, polyvalent processes embedded in broader sets of social relations". Jessop et al (2008:2) go on to dispel the "implicit assumption that the territorialization of political power was established around national boundaries by national states and also served to define societies as nationally bounded" and suggest the Westphilian theory of national territory and sovereignty has been subject to great unbundling. The latter point on the unbundling of national sovereignty from national territory bears great relevance to decentralized spatial planning prerogative of municipalities as underpinned by the Spatial and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA). As piece of spatial legislation, SPLUMA (2015:2) was developed with the view of among other things "to provide for the inclusive, developmental, equitable and efficient spatial planning at the different spheres of government". To further reinforce this decentralization pattern of absolute spatial planning power from the national sovereign state as discussed in socio-spatial theory. Van Wyk and Oranje (2014) also further argue that in South Africa; the post-94 spatial lexicon is informed by a modernist planning philosophy that shuns the top-down, centralist model, in favour of a more integrated, cooperative long-term strategic spatial development planning model by all three spheres of government in a proactive, developmentally minded state (Van Wyk and Oranje,2014:357). This demonstrates the consistency of socio-spatial theory in explaining the decentralization of the pervasive national and provincial government spatial planning influence to a more fine grain local government empowered method of planning.

The socio-spatial theory can also be used to explain and better appreciate some normative elements within the social housing literature internationally and in the South African context. The socio-spatial theory does this by normatively suggesting there is universality in the multi-dimensional principles of achieving spatial and social redress through social housing. In unpacking this universality of the socio-spatial theory on social housing Symes et al (2000:304) first suggest, “making a housing stock available economically which can accommodate the needs of all social groups is a continuing problem for policy-makers and housing providers”. They go on to say this is because, “there are two interrelated aspects to be considered, sociological and spatial.” What Symes et al (2000) are alluding to here is the universality in social housing literature of the convergence of social and spatial transformation as an outcome of social housing. This universal socio-spatial convergence of social housing objectives is also explored in this research study as a means to explain the dual intent of South African social housing insofar as redressing the apartheid’s spatial fragmentation on one hand while also addressing its racial cohesion in her cities. Further to this attention is also given on the perceptions of restructuring zones as policy tools to achieve this as framed in the research question.

In deepening, the contextual understanding of the socio-spatial imperatives that inform urban restructuring and social integration in the social housing policy. This study also draws on literature to explore the historical marginalization of the black population through apartheid. This study discusses this historical marginalization of apartheid in order to develop a better appreciation and understanding of social housing’s urban restructuring objective as purported by social housing policy. Since social housing policy was formulated in the backdrop of undoing the legacy of apartheid spatial exclusion of black people whom through racialization of poverty and working class are also the dominant beneficiaries of social housing’s urban restructuring objective. What this means is that, the concept of the undoing of apartheid spatial legacy and accompanying objective of restructuring the urban landscape of South Africa socially and economically as espoused in social housing policy is indeed consistent with literature that suggests social housing to be as much about spatial reform as it is about socio-economic reform of the urban landscape. To this end, socio-spatial theory assists in developing the normative and positive analysis of social housing restructuring zones in facilitating the planning and development of social housing units that bring about urban restructuring.

2.1.5. Transit Oriented Development theory and social housing

Vijay (2019:1) defines Transit Oriented Development (TOD) to be “a moderate to high-density development (either new construction or redevelopment) within an easy walk of a major transit stop, with a mix of residencies, employment, and shops”. He also traces its origins to the post

World War 2 period in which “people started to gather around the center of the city where everything was readily available and were only willing to move far if there was a transit option open for them”. The author also suggests TOD as a seismic shift in urban planning conceptual from the monocentric built form and function of cities and towns. He also cites TOD as representing a shift from the automobile oriented planning in which “highways, street roads, main roads, etc dominated development planning but only as a path for the automobiles and were not human-friendly resulting in traffic congestion, air pollution and urban sprawl”. Belzer and Autler (2002:51) also echo Vijay (2019) when they suggest that “since World War II, two mutually reinforcing processes have characterized U.S. cities: decentralization and an increasing reliance on the automobile”. They go on to argue, “heavy investment in roads and other implicit subsidies of automobile use, combined with comparatively low levels of transit funding, have facilitated decentralized urban development patterns and inefficient use of land”. The latter observations by Belzer and Autler (2002) about the inefficiencies of land use in decentralization represent the underlying normative essence of TOD as a theory that seeks to redress conditions of sprawl which it considers to be inefficient insofar as land use in the development of urban spaces. Despite their criticism of decentralization and sprawl Belzer and Autler (2002:51) acknowledge the organic development of it when they state, “although decentralization initially helped bring relief from crowded industrial cities, and the auto- mobile spelled newfound mobility for millions, it has become increasingly apparent that these trends have gone too far”. When one relates the latter ideas of TOD theory by the authors to the urban development trajectory of Johannesburg and social housing policy. It becomes very apparent how TOD theory has become a cornerstone in both social housing policy and in Johannesburg’s urban development policies. Johannesburg is very explicit in its use TOD theory to rid itself of the disingenuous patterns of sprawl; and its perceived inefficiencies in curbing carbon emissions, overall health and wealth of its citizens as well as its strain on the transport system as symptomatic in traffic congestions in the transport network.

In further reinforcing TOD theory in explaining the Johannesburg spatial development trajectory, Rubin and Appelbaum (2016:3) suggest, “recent urban thinking, including the New Urban Agenda launched at the Habitat 3 conference in Ecuador 2016, seeks to reverse the negative effects that sprawl and continual outward growth has on our cities”. They argue that the Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2040 “seeks to create more efficient urban forms, where people, including the poor, live in areas that are well located in terms of jobs, schools, healthcare facilities, parks and other urban amenities”. They outline the main features of a TOD influenced approach to the Johannesburg SDF when they state the city spatial thinking as one that seeks to create “compact cities that promote higher density living environments that increase efficiency in all facets of urban life”. Rubin and Appelbaum

(2016:3) also outline some of the socio-economic benefits of this compaction approach when they say, “in compact, connected cities, people spend less time and money travelling, emit less carbon, increase opportunities for social mobility and economic growth, and as more people share infrastructure reduce costs and increase efficiencies for city administrations”. They expand on the centrality of TOD thinking in the city’s desire to achieve compaction when they suggest, “the specific focus of compaction is Transit Oriented Development (TOD), where more people, jobs and urban amenities are concentrated around public transit, giving urban inhabitants convenient and affordable access to all of the opportunities cities have to offer”. Rubin and Appelbaum (2016:3) also lay bare some normative statements about TOD as a spatial redressing principle in taming the phenomenon of sprawl when they argue, “in Johannesburg, our Transit Oriented Development Programme has been widely recognized as a leading plan towards reversing the trends of exclusion and inefficiency in our city”. They then outline the key dominant modes of transport that make up Johannesburg’s TOD strategy when they say the TOD strategy “is specifically focused around the city’s new Rea Vaya BRT infrastructure, but also around train stations, including Gautrain and PRASA stations”. Rubin and Appelbaum (2016:3) also throw some cautionary statements around the use of the TOD approach to spatial development in Johannesburg when they suggest, “Transit Oriented Development is a long term process and not a quick fix, and it brings risk and even possible failure”. They also allude to some mitigating factors that need serious consideration in its successful implementation when they argue, “TOD needs to be translated carefully into individual contexts, with a deepening understanding of, and engagement with, the different needs, interests and expectations of the people it affects”.

2.1.5.1. Transit Oriented Development in Johannesburg and social housing

Harrison et al (2014:4) make an interesting observation when discussing the spatial transformation solutions of Johannesburg when they say in Johannesburg, “there is a tendency to address spatial change generically in terms of broad categories, rather than in relation to the specifics of actual places in the city”. This statement rings true when one considers the manner in which Johannesburg approached the social housing restructuring zone demarcation process in which it declared almost the entire city as a restructuring zone as opposed to a place based approach that outlines key nodes or corridors. Figure 5 below illustrates the sparse distribution of 16 restructuring zones as published in the government gazette by the Department of Human Settlements (2011).

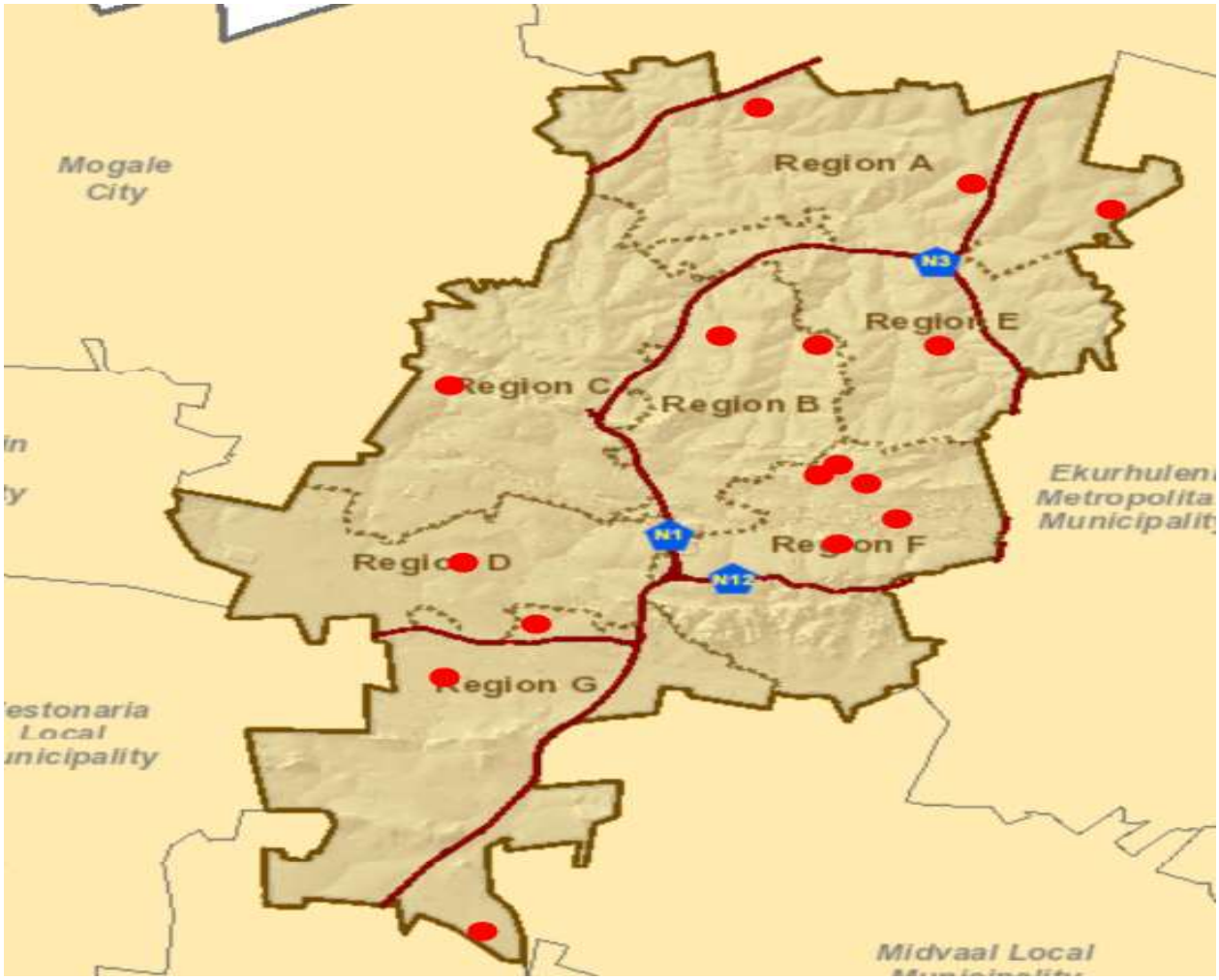

Figure 5: Distribution of social housing restructuring zones in Johannesburg (Source: Sikiti,2020)

The broad and generic approach that Johannesburg took in identifying its 16 restructuring zones has left scholars and practitioners divided on whether or not this approach augments or whether it dilutes the urban restructuring impact of social housing. To mitigate the broad and generic spatial approach to its spatial development Harrison et al (2014:8) suggests that "the growing complexity of urban form has reinforced the importance of the transport sector". Harrison et al (2014:8) go on to suggest this as being evident in "the expanding infrastructure supporting the private automobile, but also in the continually developing minibus taxi industry (a form of 'privatised' public transport) and investments in public transport, including the Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) system and the rapid rail system (known as the Gautrain)".

To further advance the notion of the transport oriented solution to spatial integration the City of Johannesburg states in its Spatial Development Framework (2016:86) that "Transit Oriented Development (TOD) was identified as a priority programme, with the objective to encourage the optimal development of transit hubs across the city, that provide access to

affordable accommodation, transport, high quality spaces, amenities and social services". The SDF goes on to suggest "these are nodes in the city that are specifically linked to transit facilities such as the Gautrain Stations, PRASA rail stations, BRT corridors and stations and other major public transport facilities" (City of Johannesburg, 2018:86). The City of Johannesburg in its Integrated Development Plan (2019:20) also alludes to "the construction of social housing and rental accommodation within the inner city and urban core as well as the construction of housing opportunities along the transport corridors". This reaffirms the notion suggested by Harrison et al (2014) of the increasing importance of transport in mitigating the generic and broad categorization of spatial transformation in Johannesburg as mirrored in the sparse distribution of its restructuring zones across the city.

2.1.5.2. The Corridors of Freedom

Todes (2014:83) states, "in 2013, the new mayor of the City of Johannesburg, Parks Tau, announced the city's commitment to 'Corridors of Freedom' in his State of the City Address". She goes on to suggest "these Corridors, centered on Bus Rapid Transport (BRT) routes across the city, would connect strategic urban nodes and attract high-density mixed-use development, shifting the city away from the sprawling urban form inherited from apartheid". The Corridors of Freedom have been part of the Johannesburg's spatial framework since 2013 when the then Mayor Parks Tau introduced them in his state of the city.

The corridors were underpinned by a set of development principles that were espoused in the strategic area frameworks. The Strategic Area Framework of the City of Johannesburg (2015) states that "past spatial planning practices have left Johannesburg with sprawling low-density areas of settlement, lacking viable public transport systems". It goes on to say, "the majority of working class and poor citizens are still living on the fringes of the city, commuting daily, often at considerable cost, long distances to access work and economic opportunities". The strategic area framework also suggests "future growth in and around the corridors is envisaged as medium to high-rise residential developments growing around the transit nodes, gradually decreasing in height and density as it moves further away from the core". This suggests Johannesburg in its spatial development framework demonstrates a spatial development trajectory of aligning high densification around transit corridors and nodes as well as the fact that it made social housing planning a part of this spatial restructuring. The strategic area framework of the City of Johannesburg (2015) make this explicit when suggesting "one of the critical outcomes of the Corridors of Freedom is to change the urban planning model by providing affordable and social housing along these BRT development corridors, which are adequately serviced by transport, economic and social infrastructure".

The use of transport as the backbone of spatial development in Johannesburg can be argued to be one of the factors in the decision to locate restructuring zones sparsely around the city boundaries. This can be premised on the idea that transport provides access that proximity does not, in other words if places cannot be close to each other, then transport will quicken access between them and thereby mitigating the challenge of distance.

This reliance on transport for spatial restructuring however comes with its fair share of challenges as described by the City of Johannesburg (2013:6) Strategic Integrated Transport Framework when it acknowledges, “all spheres of government play a significant role in Johannesburg’s transport system”. This can present its own set of challenges insofar as the alignment of local spatial plans with other transport state entities operating at different spheres of government. The transport framework outlines how “the national sphere is responsible for the freeways (N routes), passenger and freight rail”. It also details how “the provincial Department of Roads and Transport builds and maintains various provincially-owned roads in Johannesburg, is the contracting authority for various bus services in Johannesburg, for administering economic regulation of public transport through the issuing of operating licenses, for vehicle licensing and for the Gautrain high-speed rail system in the province, and builds public transport infrastructure on provincial roads”. The City of Johannesburg (2013:6) Strategic Integrated Transport Framework also acknowledges that “Johannesburg runs a municipal bus service called Metrobus and the Rea Vaya Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system” and that “it builds and maintains the roads owned by the City, including two freeways (M1 and M2), and builds public transport infrastructure on city-owned roads and off-street”. The framework also goes on to suggest, “the Transport Department is also responsible for all transport planning in the city”. This transversal approach to the Johannesburg transport planning framework opens up a set of challenges to a spatial transformation plan whose approach and logic is centered on transport as the driver and solution to urban restructuring. This could also explain why the corridors of freedom were centered on the rea vaya BRT that is the transport system directly within the municipality’s authority as opposed to those managed by PRASA and the Gautrain provincial agency.

2.1.6. New Urbanism theory and social housing

This section of the research paper seeks to explore social housing and its role in facilitating well-located neighbourhood development using the theory of new urbanism theory to explain this phenomenon. The social housing restructuring zone identification process takes into account the availability of social amenities that enable a live, work and play quality of life but it will be discussed in the findings of the research whether these contribute in the new urbanism theory's neighbourhood creation and place making.

Van Niekerk (2018:68) suggests the concept of 'housing as urbanism' as being an approach to housing that "considers the social, political and economic components of housing, which, in reality, translates to housing that is closer to employment, municipal services, public spaces, healthcare, schooling facilities and social services, while also providing the household with the physical infrastructure necessary for a good quality of life". DeFilippis (2013:69) argues for the universal convergence of spatial, social and economic dimensions to housing policy and its neighbourhood place making intent when he says "we almost never do housing policy for its own sake; that is, to provide or ensure the provision of "a decent home and suitable living environment". His observations reiterate the views of new urbanism theory insofar as explaining and theorizing the spatial-social and neighbourhood place-making effects of social housing policy in South Africa. Dirsuweit (2009:76) suggest an ideal city according to new urbanism theory "is one where socio-political institutions are democratized; difference becomes commonplace and accepted; and connection and solidarity between different urban residents is part of the politics of everyday". She also alludes to the role of open spaces in facilitating this ideal when she says "public space has been recognized in international literature and in the urban vision documents of the city of Johannesburg as key to the delivery of urban social justice and public spaces (or spaces of interaction) have been rapidly constructed in the city of Johannesburg" and that "these have been developed following the principles of new urbanism as public-private partnership".

NASHO (2012:3) describes neighbourhood development in the context of social housing as being "'community development' activities that target specific local neighbourhoods across a range of issues to improve the quality of lives of different people living in that neighbourhood". It also goes on to suggest, "neighbourhood development' is one form of community development" and that "it is likely to be the predominant form in community development linked to social housing". While the subject of this research is not community development nor neighbourhood development. It is important to highlight the importance of place-making functions of social housing since these form a suit of decisions based around the restructuring zone demarcation process whose preoccupation is the topic of this research paper.

Visagie et al (2020:4) correctly locates new urbanism theory's social and place-making elements within the built environment response of social housing when they say, "within the poorest communities in countries of the global South, housing often serves as little more than physical shelter protecting people from the elements". They go on to say, "these deprived neighbourhoods lack many of the support systems and safeguards to their health and safety arising from formal government rules and procedures relating to building standards, land-use zoning, environmental protection and routine public policing".

Lucka (2018:18) describes new urbanism as an emergent theory which was born from "an urbanistic movement which originated in the United States and which advocates the establishment and reinforcing of communities through planning activities". She also states the proponents of the theory as being well vexed in the ideas that claim "the proper design of space leads to the development of a local community". Talen (1999:1361) describes new urbanism theory as one that "encompasses `neo-traditional development' as well as `traditional neighbourhood design". She also argues at its core, the theory "lives by an unswerving belief in the ability of the built environment to create a `sense of community". Lucka (2018:18) also alludes to new urbanism theory as being "a complex planning paradigm and social movement that has recently become influential in planning, residential development, and government housing circles". She then asserts, "through comprehensive urban design and planning, New Urbanism seeks to foster place identity, sense of community, and environmental sustainability". Talen (1999:1361) also suggests that new urbanism theory is "grounded in the idea that private communication networks are simply no substitute for real neighbourhoods, and that a reformulated philosophy about how we build communities will overcome our current civic deficits, build social capital and revive a community spirit which is currently lost. She also states, "new urbanists assert that the main defect of standard suburban development is not aesthetic or even environmental, but is its insidious social effect". It is this 'social' effect of social housing policy that underlies this research paper's use of new urbanism theory to explain social housing and its restructuring zones as tools for high-density neighbourhood place making.

Lucka (2018:18) argues at the core of new urbanism is an overriding social doctrine that suggests "certain architectural and urbanistic solutions directly influence people's behavior" and that "interactions among inhabitants, as well as a sense of community, might be strengthened by a proper organisation of space". She then describes this principle of urban form as influencing urban functions as originating from the principle of spatial determinism. Lucka (2018:18) asserts that new urbanism theory scholars "note that modern societies are characterized by a weakening or even disappearance of communities and communal aspects of life". She goes on to suggest "individualism and the erosion of communal ties bring negative

effects in the socio-political domain i.e. alienated individuals do not get involved in social or political activity". She then makes the argument that new urbanism theory is at the heart of "many theoretical approaches that emphasize the necessity of community rebuilding, and the search for factors which could foster it".

NASHO (2012:3) suggests, "in a number of SHIs in South Africa, community development has become an important function closely linked to the overall social housing programme" and that "in others it plays little or no part at all". It goes on to suggest, "where it is happening, it is making important positive contributions not only to the social housing environment and its tenants, but also to broader neighbourhoods within which social housing is functioning". This suggests that place making and neighbourhood development though it is important but it is not a core requirement of social housing in South Africa at least from the social housing institutions' point of view as alluded to by NASHO (2012). The SHRA (2018:1) also suggests "in terms of social housing's contribution to neighbourhood development, the evidence shows that tenants are spending in the areas around the social housing projects, which will lead to improvements in the local economy; however, beyond these direct increases in local aggregate expenditure the impacts of social housing on the neighbourhoods of the case studies is limited".

The social housing restructuring zone identification process takes into account some of these sustainable neighbourhood principles discussed in new urbanism theory but given the scope of this research it may not be able to dwell in detail on these issues as they would require a different methodology to assess neighbourhood development and would also entail assessing the end users of social housing as opposed to its current focus on a cross section of planning practitioners. It will be however worthwhile to note if these come up in the subsequent analysis of findings.

2.1.7. Social housing policy in South Africa

2.1.7.1. Theories of policy change in explaining the evolution of social housing policy

In evaluating the social housing policy in South Africa, it is of paramount importance to frame it within theories policy change. This is due to its discernable evolution the policy has undergone from the post-apartheid period of 1994 to the period of the late 2000. In order to commence this evaluation Cerna (2013:3) suggests, "first of all, it is important to distinguish 'policy change' from 'policy reform' as the terms are often used interchangeably in the literature". She goes on to suggest, "policy change refers to incremental shifts in existing structures, or new and innovative policies" while "reform usually refers to a major policy change". To this end, this research study considers the social housing policy as befitting the

former notion of having gone a path of change as opposed to having gone the path of reform as shall be discussed in the next sections of the paper.

Cerna (2013:4) outlines a number of theories to explain policy change starting with the theory of path dependence which she describes as “a model that argues that it is generally difficult to change policies because institutions are sticky, and actors protect the existing model (even if it is suboptimal)”.She suggests that path dependence theory argues that “once a country or region has started down a track, the costs of reversal are very high” and that “public policies and formal institutions are usually designed to be difficult to change so past decisions encourage policy continuity”. To this end, this research study traces this path of dependence theory undergone by social housing policy within the greater housing policy framework as having commenced in the development of the housing White Paper (1994) and culminated in the adoption of the Social Housing Act (2008). Within this path of dependence theory as a frame of reference for social housing policy’s evolution the study discusses the change from a single stand ownership emphasis of housing policy to a rental tenure involving the use of social housing.

Cerna (2013:5) also alludes to a second theory of policy change called the Advocacy coalition framework that can be argued to be relevant in explaining the evolution of social housing policy. She describes this policy change theory as one that “specifies that there are sets of core ideas about causation and value in public policy; these coalitions form because certain interests are linked to them”. She also argues, “it is possible to map these networks of actors within a policy sector” and that “change comes from the ability of these ideas to adapt, ranging around a whole series of operational questions and what works in any one time or place”. Cerna (2013:5) further suggest this theory of policy change “occurs through interactions between wide external changes or shocks to the political system and the success of the ideas in the coalitions, which may cause actors in the advocacy coalition to shift coalitions”. To this end, this research study argues that the evolution of social housing policy can be explained using this theory based on the fact that its evolution involved considerations of advocacy actors ranging from the private sector, NGOs, academics and other stakeholders as shall be discussed in the subsequent section of the research.

Cerna (2013:6&7) also alludes to a third theory of policy change called the policy learning theory which can be used in explaining social housing policy’s evolution within the housing policy framework of South Africa between 1994 and 2008. Cerna (2013:6&7) describes the policy learning theory of policy change as referring to “the relatively enduring alterations of thought or behavioral intentions which result from experience and which are concerned with the attainment (or revision) of policy objectives”. She goes on to suggest “policy learning is

an important aspect of policy change and can alter secondary aspects of a coalition's belief system; changes in the main aspects of a policy usually result from shifts in external factors such as macro-economic conditions or the rise of a new systemic governing coalition. To this end, the research study argues the policy learning theory of policy change can be effective in explaining the evolution of social housing policy due to a set of lessons in the 1994 to 2008 period of South African housing policy as well as the changes in its external environment which all worked in tandem to garner the government to move away from single stand ownership biased delivery model towards a low income rental model in the housing policy.

2.1.7.2. Background to social housing policy in the South African housing policy framework

This section of the report seeks to review the social housing policy framework of South Africa with the view of developing a greater understanding of its development trajectory, its overall intent as well as its application of restructuring zone for the planning and development of social housing.

As a precursor to social housing, the government of South Africa developed the White Paper on housing as a guiding document of all future housing policy efforts. According to Scheba et al (2021:19) the White Paper "recognized that housing is more than shelter" when it outlined that "a housing programme cannot be limited to housing, but needs to give meaning to the goal of creating viable communities". It also went on to explain that "government should strive for the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities". Land as well as an integrated spatial planning framework were seen to be a critical enablers in the efforts to create such a viable housing policy and this is captured by Scheba et al (2021:19) when they say "the White Paper also identified the important role of land and integrated planning in creating sustainable communities, arguing that a new approach was required to make this a reality". They argue this approach as being an "efficient assembly and release of appropriately located land for housing as critical to achieving the desired rate of delivery of housing".

Scheba et al (2021:19) also suggest, "some National Housing Forum (NHF) participants argued for a mass rental housing programme as well, but this was rejected because of concerns over the administrative and financial burden on the state". This finding is consistent with theory of path of dependence discussed earlier by Cerna (2013:4) which argues, "it is generally difficult to change policies because institutions are sticky, and actors protect the existing model (even if it is suboptimal)". This finding is also consistent with the second theory of policy change of Advocacy coalition framework suggested by Cerna (2013) and which

argues stakeholder advocacy coalitions in the form of the NHF in this case, as having been instrumental in shaping the evolution of the South African social housing policy.

Scheba et al (2021:19) also suggest, “local authorities were already struggling to manage their existing rental housing stock because of rent boycotts, capacity constraints and perceptions of unfair beneficiary selection”. They also allude to the issue of rent boycotts as a perceived challenge in the implementation of rental housing post 1994 when they say “rent boycotts had become an important resistance strategy under apartheid” and that “there was also popular pressure for home ownership as a way to create wealth among blacks”. This finding is also consistent with the theory of policy lessons suggested by (Cerna, 2013) earlier, in which she alludes to lessons over time as being instrumental in shaping social housing policy. To this end, it can be argued the proclamation of the Social Housing Act (2008) and its establishment of a regulatory authority whose function was to mitigate these earlier identified challenges of rental boycotts among other social housing regulation functions.

Scheba et al (2021:20) allude to the post 1994 political fixation of housing policy on quantity over quality when they write “the ANC government set a bold target to build a million houses in its first five years” and that “the resulting preoccupation with quantity had a profound effect on the way the new housing policy was implemented”. Scheba et al (2021:20) also make an explicit comments around how this quantity over quality prerogative of the post 1994 government resulted in the reinforcement of further sprawl when they say “the Housing Act recognized multiple dimensions of the right to housing and sustainable neighbourhoods, but the political pressure to deliver large numbers favoured mass provision of uniform units on cheap peripheral land, thereby relegating other forms of housing tenure and neglecting the importance of location”. To this end they note, more than 1.5 million houses were developed but criticism was rife over the quality of the housing stock built as well as its poor location and social impact. Scheba et al (2021:20) make this point explicit when they suggest, “instead of creating sustainable communities, the scheme created monolithic dormitory settlements on the outskirts, which reinforced the dysfunctional form of South African cities and exacerbated spatial inequalities”. These findings are once more consistent with the theory of policy learning suggested by Cerna (2013) earlier which suggests that lessons learnt over a period of time as having a bearing on the changes in thinking and behavior in the implementation of housing policy between 1994 and 2008 when the social housing policy was officially incorporated as rental scheme in the delivery of housing in South Africa. In this instance, the challenges of the single stand ownership and its perpetuation of urban sprawl and poor socio-economic impact can be regarded as lessons that came to inform the implementation of social housing policy.

Scheba et al (2021:20) argue that the establishment of an institutional subsidy that "provided funding to institutions to develop and manage affordable housing with forms of tenure other than immediate ownership (i.e. rental, instalment sale, share block and cooperative)" was what marked the beginning of social housing post 1994. They also note that despite the existence of the institutional subsidy which provide elementary social housing support, "there was no effort made to formulate a social housing policy, and critical issues were not addressed including defining the specific role of social housing, developing an institutional and regulatory framework, identifying ways of managing the housing stock and devising suitable funding instruments". They also note that "there was also no strategy put in place to implement social housing projects" and this created a suite of problems such as "bankrupt SHIs and decay of the housing stock many projects encountered serious financial difficulties, caused by rent boycotts, poor governance and/or inadequate subsidy arrangements while others suffered from inexperienced management, political interference or inadequate policy support". This resulted in a need for a comprehensive social housing policy framework in order to deal with the above shortcomings. This culminated in the development of the Social Housing Policy in 2005, which outlined an institutional and regulatory framework for the sector for the first time. This was committed in the Housing Code, which was passed in 2007 and later revised in 2009, and later culminated in the development of the Social Housing Act in 2008. The above findings by Scheba et al (2021) are consistent with theory of policy learning insofar as how the lessons of the shortcomings on the institutional housing subsidy came to inform the development of a more coherent policy framework for social housing in order to mitigate some of the challenges identified in the preceding years of the existence of the institutional subsidy and culminated in the social housing policy framework of 2008 as shall be discussed next in the research study.

2.1.7.3. An overview of the social housing policy framework

The Social Housing Act (2008) is a central piece of legislation that was intended to enable the development of a sustainable social housing rental market in South Africa. The act outlines the roles of the three spheres of government in the delivery of social housing. The act facilitated the development of the Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) for the regulation of Social Housing Institutions (SHIs) which are not for profit entities that obtain grant funding under the policy to undertake social housing in areas earmarked as restructuring zones (RZs) through the RZ demarcation process that will be deliberated in more depth in the subsequent sections.

The Social Housing Act (2008) also gave effect to the recognition of SHIs as implementing agents of social housing together with Other Delivery Agents (ODAs) such as private

companies and Public Private Partnerships (PPPs). It also developed a compliance and regulation framework to govern the delivery model of SHIs and government entities on the delivery of social housing.

The Social Housing Act (2008) makes provision to grant exclusive financial and technical support to accredited SHIs and ODAs to implement social housing in proclaimed restructuring zones. The task to oversee and regulate this is given to the Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) which is responsible for overseeing the accreditation and regulation of the operations of SHIs as implementing agents of social housing.

The SHRA as a regulatory institution was established to oversee and monitor a framework to govern the implementation of social housing through SHIs and the state. The Social Housing Act (2008:18) describes some of the functions of the SHRA as being:

- to promote the development and awareness of social housing and to promote an enabling environment for the growth and development of the social housing sector
- Provide advice and support to the Department of Human Settlements in its development of policy for the social housing sector and facilitate national social housing programmes.
- Provide best practice information and research on the status of the social housing sector
- Support provincial governments with the approval of project applications by social housing institutions and assist, where requested, in the process of the designation of restructuring zones
- Enter into agreements with provincial governments and the National Housing
- Finance co-operatives to ensure that implementation by these entities is co-ordinated
- Provide financial assistance to social housing institutions through grants to enable them to develop institutional capacity, gain accreditation as social housing institutions and submit viable project applications
- Accredit institutions meeting accreditation criteria as social housing institutions and maintain a register of social housing institutions. In addition, conduct compliance monitoring through regular inspections and enforce compliance where necessary. In addition intervene in the affairs of a social housing institutions in cases of maladministration
- Approve, administer and disburse institutional investment grants and capital grants and obtain applications for such grants through engagement with provincial

The SHRA (2021) describes its strategic functions as being as follows among others:

- To increase the rate of social housing delivery by leveraging additional public and private sector investment into social housing delivery
- To increase the number of social housing units delivered through the active engagement of the private sector in social housing delivery
- To contribute to urban restructuring through targeted investments in appropriate, well located social housing projects that make a meaningful impact on the urban structure of the city and town in which the project is located
- To promote the development of the sector through investment in social housing projects and capacity development processes and projects
- To ensure that the public sector funds investment in social housing is viable and protected
- To promote the development of the sector through effective regulation and intervention to prevent institutional collapse
- To promote employment equity in the workplace and BBBEE in terms of procurement
- To promote productive partnerships and cooperation between all relevant stakeholders in the sector
- To develop best practice and organisational expertise in respect of investment management and regulation practices

From the above we can deduce that the SHRA is a critical stakeholder in the development of social housing particularly as it relates to funding the social housing institutions in the development of social housing in South Africa. It for this reason that the research also seeks to explore the perceptions of the participants of the study on its role and responsibilities as shall be discussed in the findings and analysis chapter of this study.

2.1.7.4. An overview of the restructuring zone process and its role in social housing development

According to the Social Housing Act (2008), Restructuring Zones (RZs) are spatially demarcated zones in which social housing can be developed and funded through the RCG grant. The National Housing Subsidy and Programme by the Department of Human Settlements (2010:10) makes it clear that the “Social Housing Programme therefore applies only to restructuring zones which are identified by municipalities as areas of economic opportunity and where urban restructuring impacts can best be achieved”. The Department of

Human Settlements (2006) in the social housing guidelines outlines the identification of these RZs as a phased process involving three phases as illustrated in Figure 5 below.

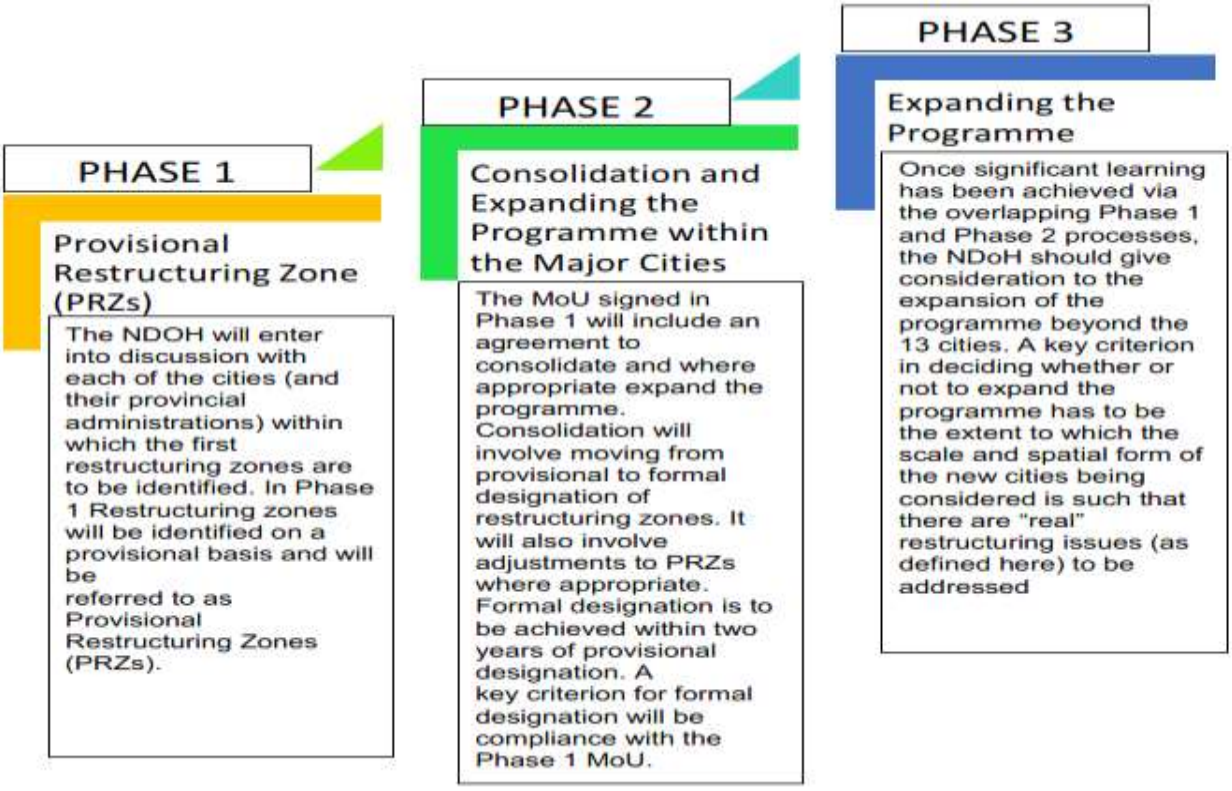

Figure 5: An overview of the RZ demarcation process (Source: Sikiti,2020)

Phase 1 comprises of the process of identifying Provisional Restructuring Zone (PRZs) that meet a pre-determined criterion that is outlined in Figure 6 which a diagram is showing the criteria followed by 13 municipalities in developing restructuring zones. The criteria consists of seven conditions that range from land availability, proximity to the Central Business District (CBD), areas that service social and economic functions and areas that are deemed in need of apartheid spatial redressing (Centre for Municipal Research and Advice,2012).

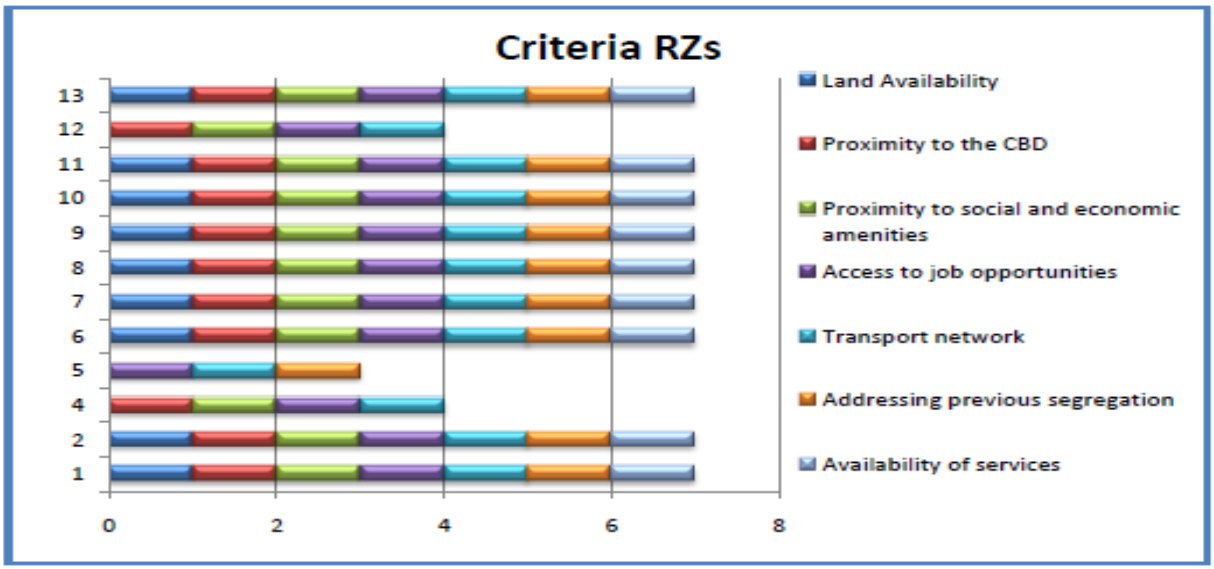

Figure 6: Criteria for restructuring zones (Centre for Municipal Research and Advice,2012)

The provisional restructuring zones should be formalized in a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the parties (Local Authority, Province and NDoH) in respect of an agreement and commitment to the process of PRZs. The memorandum should be signed by the properly mandated representatives of each party. The Department of Human Settlements (2006:13) in the Social Housing Programme Guidelines suggests at that a minimum the MOU should include the following:

- A formal recognition by all parties of the area(s) that have been identified and demarcated as Provisional Restructuring Zones.
- A commitment on the part of the Province to make top-up restructuring grants available in the identified PRZs from their equitable shares housing allocation. This should also include a commitment from the Province to timeously make the necessary arrangements for efficient administration of the top-up process.
- A commitment on the part of the Local Authority to mobilize the social housing sector and the private sector within its jurisdiction (where applicable) and to call for proposals for projects within the PRZs.
- A commitment on the part of all parties to undertake the steps necessary to move from provisional to full designation and to expand the number of restructuring zones (in accordance with the provisions spelled out under Phase 2 below).

Phase 2 involves the inclusion in the MoU signed in Phase 1 of an agreement to consolidate and where appropriately expand the social housing programme of a municipality. This is called the consolidation process and it involves progressing the municipality from provisional to

formal designation of restructuring zones. It also involves adjustments to PRZs where appropriate. For municipalities in which provisional restructuring zones are identified and agreed upon, formal designation is to be achieved within two years of provisional designation. A key criterion for formal designation entails compliance with the MoU agreed upon in phase one. Should municipalities wish to extend the demarcation to include other areas not initially included in phase 1 then the key criterion to expansion will be demonstrating that a restructuring logic applies and the meeting of due process requirements (Department of Human Settlements, 2006:14)

The Department of Human Settlements (2006:16) highlights the following factors as central in the determination for approval of restructuring zones:

- Good progress in the Provisional designation period (if relevant) including good compliance with the MOU signed in Phase 1.
- The provision of a sound restructuring logic in motivating the application. This is the key criterion.
- Clear specification of restructuring outcomes and indicators.
- The satisfactory identification of outputs considered necessary to achieve restructuring outcomes
- Successful incorporation of Restructuring Zones into the normal planning activities/processes of the applicant municipality.
- The specification of adequate Zone management arrangements
- Satisfactory execution of due process requirements including consultation with existing/affected residents conducted

Phase 3 involves the monitoring and evaluation of commitments taken by the municipality and other relevant stakeholders with a view of possibly expanding the programme to meet emerging restructuring objectives.

The Centre for Municipal Research and Advice (2012:29) suggests, “restructuring Zones are a new phenomenon in South Africa and municipalities are all trying to search for the right locations that fit the criteria as they were published by the National Department of Human Settlements”. It goes on to suggest “it may be recommendable for municipalities to share more about what makes a certain area suitable as a RZ and what the role of social housing should be in that area to achieve the objectives as they are described in the national social housing policy.”.

2.1.7.5. An overview of existing insights from South African social housing policy literature on the implementation of restructuring zones for social housing

This section of the report outlines some of the existing insights that relate to the implementation of restructuring zones in the policy literature reviewed in South Africa.

2.1.8. Spatial bias in the rationale of restructuring zones with poor integration of the economic and social dimensions of restructuring

When it comes to principles of restructuring zones, Cadre Plan (2017:14) note that there are three dimensions of restructuring namely spatial, social and economic. They also note that despite these three principles being clearly outlined in the social housing policy, most municipalities interpreted these restructuring dimensions in a very simplistic manner when it comes to how they designed their restructuring zones. This means that their interpretation of urban restructuring tended to be more biased towards one dimension i.e. the spatial dimension at the expense of the social or the economic dimension. This suggests municipalities develop their RZs without a full appreciation of the interrelatedness as well as the depth and breadth of these three dimensions of restructuring.

In a policy review report on restructuring zones carried by Cadre Plan (2017:13); it is suggested that, “ideally a restructuring zone should be motivated on the basis that it contributes to all three types of restructuring”. It is also suggested that, “promotion of economic access on its own is, however, a sufficient motivation so, too, is race and class mix (where social housing brings predominantly lower income people into higher income areas)”. The report goes on to suggest, “as a general rule restructuring zones cannot be justified on the basis of spatial morphology alone (i.e. it cannot be solely motivated on the grounds that it contributes to changing the form of urban areas from low density areas with low-rise single unit dwellings to higher density areas with medium-rise buildings)”. The report also states, “these objectives of urban form and intensity of use should be pursued via other planning mechanisms such as density policies”. These findings suggest that the implementation of restructuring zones has some inconsistencies with the prescripts outlined in the policy. This is largely due to poor interpretation of these by practitioners and decision makers on the development of restructuring zones. Since this study explores the perceptions of practitioners on the use of the restructuring zones this is expected to be an issue to be further explored in the findings of this study.

2.1.8.1. Misconceptions of urban regeneration, urban renewal and urban restructuring in the development of social housing

In the earlier parts of the social housing literature of this paper, a discussion of what constituted the notions of urban regeneration, urban renewal and urban restructuring as they relate to social housing was provided. The Department of Human Settlements (2006) in its Social Housing Guidelines also makes a similar distinction between regeneration/urban renewal zones and restructuring zones. In its assessment of restructuring zones, Cadre Plan (2017:14) notes, "many municipalities have established City Improvement Districts (CIDs) and the 'Urban Development Zones' (UDZs) tax incentive was designed to encourage property investment in CBDs". It goes on to suggest, "the agenda of CIDs and UDZs are mainly 'urban renewal' for areas in need of upliftment and investment". Cadre Plan (2017:13) then suggests, "these areas may have latent economic potential but the guidelines argue that 'often they are not areas from which poor people have been excluded by virtue of the operation of the land market. It goes on to suggest "the likelihood of an overlap of the concepts and note that restructuring zones will frequently coincide with nodes and corridors of economic opportunity". This suggests that some municipalities often conflate urban renewal and urban regeneration with urban restructuring despite these terms not necessarily being entirely consistent with the idea of the three dimensionality of urban restructuring as discussed earlier in the paper. This tendency to conflate these concepts is also persistent in some of the social housing theory as discussed in earlier parts of the paper.

2.1.8.2. Poor spatial representation of restructuring zones in most municipalities

The poor spatial representation of restructuring zones is a recurring phenomenon in the policy literature reviewed on the subject as it relates to social housing. In the duration of the writing of the research paper there was also a notable dearth of spatial representation of the Johannesburg restructuring zones with these only existing as suburb names and their boundaries in the official gazetted restructuring zones. An evaluation report on the impact of social housing by the Department of Monitoring and Evaluation, and the Department of Human Settlements (2016:4) it is noted, "there is a lack of well-defined Restructuring Zones (RZs) in South Africa to guide the location of, and further investment in RZ areas". The report also suggests, "the legislative and regulatory provisions, as well as guidelines for RZ planning, identification, promulgation and review are not thorough, and this framework has not been systematically implemented". The same report also goes on to suggest "in a majority of cases RZs have not been carefully and appropriately defined and established, nor monitored and reviewed since designation". The evaluation report also says, "RZs generally do not fully take guidance from, nor support other levels of planning at city level, and are not subject to review in line with spatial planning reviews". The report further concludes, "generally, too many cities

have RZs designated for social housing investments, and designated RZs are large and do not provide sufficient focus to meet a clear SH restructuring agenda".

In another report by Cadre Plan (2017:6) similar observations are noted around the poor spatiality of restructuring zones when the report says, "restructuring zones are not clearly demarcated in all municipalities, which created a challenge for assessment". The report also notes "boundaries in eight municipalities could be resolved with accurate cadastral boundaries" and that "the remaining five municipalities restructuring zones are only defined in terms of gazetted names". This recurrence of poor spatiality of restructuring zones is a significant finding and one that the study argues is endemic of the poor level of efforts by municipalities in raising the profiles of restructuring zones as targeted spaces not just for social housing but for catalytic investments that would make them more integrated spaces for human settlement.

2.1.8.3. Social housing restructuring zones and urban justice theory

This research study considers restructuring zones as representing an interesting phenomenon of study in the social housing policy since they are targeted spaces or demarcated territories within municipal boundaries for the implementation of social housing. As a subject of this study this makes them spatial areas which can be used by municipalities such as City of Johannesburg to direct and target the planning and implementation of social housing in order to provide not only housing opportunities but also achieve spatial restructuring and its associated socio-economic impact. To this end, this research study perceives restructuring zones as areas that present the city with the opportunity to unlock urban justice as described in the urban justice theory to be discussed.

Alfasi and Fenster (2014:1) in examining the Israeli and Palestinian conflict allude to an urban justice theory that they argue exists in the same theoretical spectrum as socio-spatial theory which was discussed earlier in this research study as a theory to explain urban restructuring in relation to social housing. Even though the authors do not refer to social housing but their urban justice theory applies to the plight of many urban poor and economically marginalised groups. They frame the urban justice theory as being built on the premise of the "notion of spatial planning justice and human rights". Conolly and Steil (2009:1) describe urban justice theory as being "in part, an effort to realize the transformative potential of urban theory" and that "it is a search that begins by examining the everyday reality of city life and then seeks a means to reshape that reality and re-imagine that life". The latter statements by the authors contain some key insights that can be argued to be consistent with the urban restructuring process phenomenon of social housing. Firstly, Conolly and Steil (2009:1) in their latter statements argue for the existence of scope for spatial potential to the undoing of spatial

injustice and they capture this as the “transformative potential of urban theory”. Secondly, they allude to everyday city life as being an observable phenomenon from a just and unjust evaluative lens. To this end, this study argues these sentiments of urban justice theory as being consistent in the restructuring zone demarcation process given that restructuring zones as this paper will argue are meant to be spatial areas with which social housing can unlock some urban justice by providing affordable rental housing to pockets of the population who would be otherwise rendered out of those areas by prevailing property market forces in these spaces.

In further unpacking the urban justice theory Conolly and Steil (2009:1) suggest the notion of urban injustice as stemming from “the injustices that have come with rapid urbanization—the violence, insecurity, exploitation, and poverty that characterize urban life for many, as well as the physical expressions of unequal access to social, cultural, political, and economic capital that arise from intertwined divisions between race, class, and gender categories”. According to Statistics South Africa (2016), the City of Johannesburg (COJ) has the highest rate of urbanization in South Africa. In expanding on the issue of high levels of urbanisation as being characteristic of Johannesburg Everatt (2014:66) describes the city as one “of migrants, with an annual population growth of some 2.6 per cent, and a democratically elected government seeking to deliver an entire package of social support interventions to an ever-growing population”. To further bring nuance to the issue of urban injustice there is also the pervasive apartheid spatial legacy that also fostered deep seated injustices along race, class and spatial lines as discussed earlier in the research. Given that Conolly and Steil (2009) suggest urban injustice as stemming from rapid urbanisation as well as the historical and current high rates urbanisation of Johannesburg as described by Statistics South Africa (2016) and Everatt (2014), it can be argued then that Johannesburg by virtue of these characteristics is more predisposed to urbanisation’s accompanying urban injustice as described above by the authors.

Conolly and Steil (2009:1) further suggest “to search for a Just City requires the creation of coherent frames for action and deliberation that bring the multiple and disparate efforts of those fighting against unjust urban conditions into relief and relate their struggles to each other as part of a global orchestration improvised around the single tenor of justice”. The idea of restructuring zones as characteristic of integrated planning and transversal development efforts from a wide array of development actors is consistent with the idea of urban justice requiring multiple actors around the table as suggested by the authors. The idea of social housing being a rallying point for this purpose is also consistent with the authors suggestions of a need for a coherent framework of multiple actors with the a unified goal of achieving

urban restructuring. The integrated planning and transversal nature of social housing restructuring zones in fostering urban restructuring and its relation to the ideas of coherent framework for achieving urban justice will be discussed further in subsequent sections of this paper. The idea of justice as a being normative statements that explain a perceived injustice is also consistent with the normative nature of restructuring zones insofar as they provide an alternative spatial reality to a perceived unjust urban spatial condition. What this means is that restructuring zones as targeted spaces to unlock restructuring and provide affordable housing are by their nature normative as shall be discussed further in the findings of the study.

The social housing policy makes an explicit requirement for social housing and its twin objectives of restructuring the apartheid spatial legacy and to stimulate low-income rental market to take place in well-located geographic areas demarcated as restructuring zones. The Social Housing Act (2008:6&7) defines a restructuring zone as "a geographic area which has been identified by the municipality, with the concurrence of the provincial government, for purposes of social housing; and designated by the Minister in the Gazette for approved projects". The process of proclaiming a restructuring zone is provided and outlined in the social housing policy and will be discussed briefly in this section of the research report.

Since good location is central to the objectives of social housing, restructuring zones become the prime spatial locales that municipalities use to make a business case for the development of social housing units that can positively affect urban restructuring and low-middle income rental opportunities. Scheba et al (2021:28) describe restructuring zones as "zones that are intended to provide geographic focus for accommodation opportunities for low-income people close to facilities, amenities and income generating opportunities". They also observe "social housing developments must influence and be influenced by integrated development planning, and should therefore be in line with local Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and other related plans created for the promotion of integrated development in urban areas". Given the research question of this study is what are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?, restructuring zones and their logical processes in informing the planning and development of social housing are therefore central to the research enquiry of this paper. The next section of the paper therefore attempts to develop a greater appreciation of what they are and how they work in order to inform and analyze the richness of their qualitative perceptions by the study's participants.

2.1.8.4. Restructuring zones and policy implementation theory

Based on a review of the South African social housing policy literature it can be argued that the process of implementing social housing policy through the identification and proclamation restructuring zones is both largely technical and political in nature. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983: 20) define implementation as "the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions". They go on to suggest, "a policy decision 'identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued and structures the implementation process". To draw some consistency to the latter definition of policy implementation by Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983), it can be argued that social housing policy has its own incorporated statute in the form of the Social Housing Act (2008). It also has clearly defined objectives of urban restructuring and low-income rental housing development; and social housing has a clearly defined implementation process that is articulated in the urban restructuring process.

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983: 20) allude to a great caution in the policy implementation process when they suggest, "passing policies does not guarantee success on the ground if policies are not implemented well". In drawing context from the latter, given that social housing policy has a technical dimension i.e. spatial planning competence and a political dimension i.e. dependent on state decision-making. It can be argued that the prospects of its success or failure as a policy are also a function of both sound technical and political decision making in its implementation of the restructuring process.

To expand on the mitigating factors around the success or failure of a given policy's implementation, Cerna (2013:17) suggest, "it is difficult to say which factors or conditions facilitate successful implementation since so much depends on the political, economic and social context". She goes on to suggest "for instance, local factors (e.g. size, institutional complexity) matter for policy responses" and that "only looking for general solutions and not acknowledging the particular context can lead to incoherent implementation efforts". To this end, Cerna (2013) is alluding to the role of a localized context and its multiplicity of nuances as also having a bearing on the prospects of success or failure in the policy implementation process, which in this case would be social housing policy. In other words, she suggests policy implementation as not being a one size fits all process and that generalizing its applications without contextualizing can further influence its prospects of success or failure.

In relating the above insights to the social housing policy and the restructuring zone process; what these theoretical findings suggest is that in as much as the restructuring zone process is well articulated in the social housing policy. Its prospects of success or failure are largely

dependent on the soundness of the technical and political decisions in the socio-spatial realm they are being implemented in as well as the socio-spatial contextual dynamics being taken into consideration. Cerna (2013:17) further highlights the importance of the above insights when she suggests, “local capacity and will, matter for policy success; adequate resources and clear goals are important too”. Based on the latter insights in relation to social housing policy, it can be argued that local capacity, local will as well as adequate resources and clear goals are a function of an adequately communicated restructuring zone process as well as a coherent cognitive understanding of it by those responsible for implementing it. Given that this research study is about the perceptions of restructuring zone implementing stakeholders/practitioners, it seeks to assess their understanding of restructuring zones as social housing implementing instruments in the Johannesburg municipality. This study therefore considers a clear and coherent cognitive understanding of the restructuring zone processes by the implementing stakeholders as being a function of a clear and coherent communication of these by the social housing policy. In order to assess this communication coherence of the restructuring zone planning process and by extension its adequate understanding by social housing practitioners, the study makes use of communicative planning theory as shall be discussed in the next section.

Marchler and Milz (2015:17) argue, communicative planning theorists, challenged the systematic model of planning head on when they suggested, “instead of relying on research to explain how the world worked, they suggested that the role of planning research was to understand social phenomena”. They go on to assert, “planners were not experts that were called in to solve problems, but just one other stakeholder in diverse problems, usually deeply entwined in the problems themselves”. They cite Habermas’ (1984) analysis, which “proposed that reality existed, but was hidden under socially constructed understanding, language, and action”. Marchler and Milz (2015:17) go on to suggest, “these socially-constructed meanings reinforced the power relationships of certain groups that had initially constructed this “knowledge”, and therefore this distorted understanding of the issue was reinforced”. They then suggest in light of this socially engineered understanding of knowledge “planners were not neutral participants in a problem, and they were not just harmlessly transmitting knowledge” but “instead, information was being distorted in the choice of words and communication styles that planners were using, and they were reinforcing their power, even if they were not aware of it”.

Marchler and Milz (2015:20) suggest that Habermas (1984) “offers a way to avoid the trap of reinforcing existing power imbalances through our communication of knowledge”. They capture this sentiment when they allude Heberman (1984) suggestion “to know is to expose and critically reflect on these socially-constructed meanings to understand where they came

from, and how they affect people". They also suggest that this critical reflection can be achieved "by engaging in a well-managed dialogue around a problem, where people confront each other and challenge each other's assumptions". Marchler and Milz (2015:21) then assert that these critically engaging dialogues "provide a template for dealing with the issues that stymied more traditional, scientific attempts at understanding and dealing with planning problems which often only incorporated one perspective- that of the traditionally scientific planner – of looking at problems".

When using these communicative planning theory concepts to explain the social housing policy and its implementation through the restructuring zone process, it becomes necessary to understand that knowledge as indicated by Marchler and Milz (2015) has a power dynamic. Therefore as indicated earlier that the restructuring zone declaration process has a technical and political dimension, it can be argued that the knowledge and associated power dynamics of the social policy implementation process through restructuring zones also carries this duality of technical and political tenets. This means the restructuring zone demarcation process as prescribed in policy can be argued as negotiated power relationship between a top down and a bottom up approach of translating urban restructuring between local municipalities and the overarching national government objectives of the social housing policy. Given that, the research question of this study is to explore the perceptions of social housing practitioners/stakeholders, it therefore important to consider how these policy power dynamics are negotiated by stakeholders in their pursuit of implementing restructuring zones for social housing.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction to methodology

Srivastava and Hopwood (2009:77) describe the qualitative researcher as being constantly "on the hunt for concepts and themes that, when taken together, will provide the best explanation of "what's going on" in an inquiry". In staying true to that view, the research methodology of the study assumed the form of a qualitative methodology of phenomenology and the study of perceptions in the phenomenological discourse. Lester (1999:1) suggests, "the purpose of the phenomenological approach is to illuminate the specific, to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation". He also suggests, "this normally translates into gathering 'deep' information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participant(s)". To this end, the study made use of a series of five semi-structured interviews that were transcribed in verbatim from which a narrative analysis was conducted, along with a thematic analysis to organize the findings from data.

At its core, phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual. Used in conjunction with perceptions analysis it makes for a rich analytical framework from which it can answer the study's research question, which is:

What are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

Lester (1999:1) states, "epistemologically, phenomenological approaches are based in a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasize the importance of personal perspective and interpretation". He goes on to suggest "as such they are powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom".

In the context of this study, perceptions are important because they are informed by the lived experience of social housing stakeholders as they engage in the work of planning and developing social housing. To this end, social housing stakeholders are the people at the coalface of where the restructuring zone policy planning meets the actual implementation of social housing. The research therefore seeks to use their perceptions to explore at a glance this phenomenon of restructuring zones as interpreted and understood by those responsible for its implementation. The study further enriches these identified perceptions by analyzing them using literature identified in the conceptual framework to assess for any consistencies or

inconsistencies of the stakeholders perceptions to the theoretical literature of the conceptual framework. Where inconsistencies do not exist, the study highlights these findings by analyzing them as new insights despite them not having consistency with the identified literature in the conceptual framework.

3.2. Research design

The phenomenological orientation of the study's methodology was supported and facilitated by a number qualitative research methods. Those methods consisted of the following:

- Purposive sampling
- Secondary data review
- Semi-structured interviews
- Thematic analysis
- Narrative analysis

Figure 7 below is a diagram that illustrates how the different qualitative methods were used in the various steps of the qualitative research process.

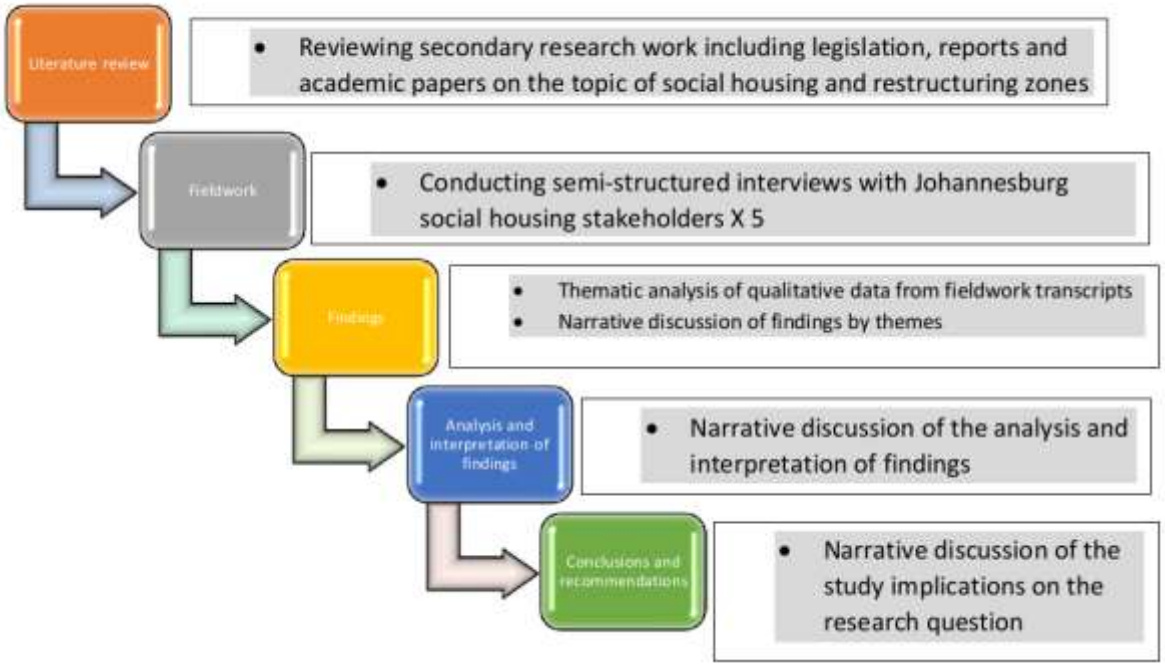

Figure 7: Diagram of the various steps of the research process (Source: Sikiti,2020)

3.2.1. Purposive sampling

Palys (2008:697) suggests “to say one will engage in purposive sampling signifies that one sees sampling as a series of strategic choices about with whom, where and how one does one’s research”. The purposive sampling method followed in undertaking the research study involved the researcher answering such questions as with whom is the research going to be conducted as well as to what end would the choice of participant aid in answering the research question. Palys (2008:697) argues there is no single best sampling strategy and that each is dependent on the research objectives.

He goes on to argue that because qualitative researchers tend to be concerned with why certain people feel the way they do as well as what informs their attitudes. It therefore becomes imperative to consider where they are located within a group. Palys (2008) goes on to suggest that participants are not created equal and that one well identified informant interview can generate more insight than a group of 50 randomly sampled interviews. It is for this reason therefore that purposive sampling was chosen a method of research sampling. It is because of the freedom it granted the researcher to choose the best placed individuals to draw insights from.

The table 1 is a list of five identified informant interview participants with whom the semi-structured interviews were done. The sample consists of a cross-section of social housing stakeholders who are involved in various capacities with the development of social housing in Johannesburg. The sample comprises of respondents from the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) and Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) as Johannesburg based Social Housing Institutions (SHIs). It also includes the Department of Development Planning as the key spatial planning competence within the City of Johannesburg. The sample also includes the National Association of Social Housing Organizations (NASHO) which is a national affiliation of SHIs. The informant respondents from these organisations were identified as adequately informed about the restructuring zone process in the development of social housing. The participants were therefore purposively selected based on their work in relation to the development of social housing and comprised of the following respondents:

Table 1: A list of purposively selected respondents for the study

Respondent		Name and Surname	Organisation	Position
1.	COJ Municipal departments and entities	Eric Raboshakga	COJ Department of Development Planning	Director
		James Maluleke	Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO)	Project Manager of developments
2.	Johannesburg social housing experts, practitioners and policy makers	Bathandwa Gumede	NASHO	Project Manager
		Malcom McCarthy	National Social Housing Association (NASHO)	General Manager
3.	Johannesburg accredited Social Housing Institutions (SHIs)	Matthew Jackson	Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC)	Development Manager

3.2.2. Secondary data research

Johnson (2014:619) argue that "in a time where vast amounts of data are being collected and archived by researchers all over the world, the practicality of utilizing existing data for research is becoming more prevalent". Johnson (2014:619) describes secondary data analysis as the "analysis of data that was collected by someone else for another primary purpose". To this end, a literature review of existing studies on the topic relating to the research question was conducted. The research question of the study is: what are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

3.2.3. Semi-structured interview methods

Adams (2015:493) describes Semi-Structured Interviews (SSIs) as interviews that are "conducted conversationally with one respondent at a time, the SSI employs a blend of closed- and open-ended questions, often accompanied by follow-up why or how questions". He goes on to suggest "the dialogue can meander around the topics on the agenda—rather than adhering slavishly to verbatim questions as in a standardized survey—and may delve into totally unforeseen issues". Adams (2015:493) goes on to suggest SSIs duration as being "about one hour is a reasonable maximum length for SSIs in order to minimize fatigue for both interviewer and respondent". The research study employed the use of semi-structured interviews with a total of five respondents representing a cross section of social housing stakeholders in Johannesburg. The participants were identified by the researcher through

purposive sampling. The interviews were conducted in Johannesburg at different venues that were convenient to the participants and they lasted approximately an hour. Findings from the interviews are discussed in length in chapters four and five of the research paper.

3.2.4. Thematic analysis methods

The use of thematic analysis as a qualitative research method for this paper has provided the opportunity to rigorously unpack and analyze the data to answer the research question of:

What are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

The thematic research analysis method involved an inductive analysis of themes emanating from a series of semi-structured interview questions focused on the following two themes from the stakeholders' perceptions of restructuring zones:

1. Perceptions of the social housing stakeholders that are consistent with the identified literature in the conceptual framework
2. Perceptions of the social housing stakeholders that are not consistent with the identified literature in the conceptual framework but allude to new insights for this study

These two themes are further broken into corresponding sub-themes in order to facilitate a coherent arrangement and organised logic of presenting them to reader.Thematic analysis according to Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3352) is "the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data". They go on to suggest that "the goal of a thematic analysis is to identify themes, i.e. patterns in the data that are important or interesting, and use these themes to address the research or say something about an issue" (Maguire and Delahunt,2017:3352). They describe thematic analysis as being much more than simply summarizing the data and that a good thematic analysis exercise interprets and makes sense of the data. To this end, the data typically needs to be summarized through transcripts and organized into emergent themes from the questionnaire, and then analyzed using a narrative analysis and interpretation methods.

3.2.5. Narrative research methods

Feldman et al (2004:147) point to the importance of narrative analysis when they say, "stories are useful to both participants and observers of organizations because they are a basic tool that individuals use to communicate and create understanding with other people and for themselves". They go on to suggest, "narratives are useful data because individuals often make sense of the world and their place in it through narrative form". They go on to say,

"through telling their stories, people distill and reflect a particular understanding of social and political relations". This research study made use of narrative analysis to capture the fieldwork data generated through semi-structured interviews. The discussion of findings also employed narrative tools to communicate the emergent themes generated through thematic analysis.

3.3. Data collection and processing

Empirical data was gathered from semi-structured interviews of the individuals who make up the social housing stakeholder base in Johannesburg. Rubin and Babbie (2015:623) define semi-structured interviews as "a form of qualitative interviewing that lists in outline form the topics and issues that the interviewer should cover in the interview, but allows the interviewer to adapt the sequencing and wording of questions to each particular interview". A review of literature in the form of secondary data or information sources such as academic articles, policies, strategies, books, reports and statistical data (see chapter two). The review of literature or secondary sources allowed for a thorough and grounded analysis and interpretation of qualitative findings derived from the interviews and therefore forms a critical component of the study's findings.

3.3.1. Undertaking qualitative interviews

Empirical qualitative data collection was done through conducting semi-structured interviews with the identified respondents in the research sample. Interviews lasted about an hour and were facilitated by an interview guide covering a range of relevant themes and accompanying questions. The questions were open-ended so they allowed both the researcher and the respondent to occasionally veer from the interview questions when an emergent topic or theme necessitated further probing.

After permission was acquired from the participants, interviews were recorded using a voice recorder and then transcribed in verbatim to allow for a narrative analysis.

3.4. Approach in analysis

In uncovering meaning, the study used thematic analysis that has earlier been described by Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3352) as "the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data". The approach of thematic analysis in this study is to identify themes, i.e. patterns in the data that are important or interesting, and use these themes to address the research question or say something about an issue that forms an item of interest to the research question. This essentially means the report does much more than simply summarizing the data in transcriptions but adds value to the data by organizing and analyzing it in themes.

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3353) distinguish between two levels of themes i.e. semantic and latent themes. Semantic themes they go on to argue is data "within the explicit or surface meanings from which the analyst is not looking for anything beyond what a participant has said or what has been written". In contrast, the latent level "looks beyond what has been said and starts to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations and ideologies that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data" (Ibid). The research study explored both approaches to thematic analysis in the development of themes.

3.4.1. The six steps approach to thematic analysis

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3354) outline the six-step approach to thematic analysis as being the following:

Step 1: Become familiar with the data,

Step 2: Generate initial codes,

Step 3: Search for themes,

Step 4: Review themes,

Step 5: Define themes,

Step 6: Write-up.

3.4.1.1. Step 1: Become familiar with the data,

This step is regarded as the most basic in any qualitative analysis and it involves reading, and re-reading the transcripts until a researcher develops a good familiarity with the text.

3.4.1.2. Step 2: Generate initial codes,

In this phase, it is all about starting to organize data in a meaningful and systematic way. To this end the study used open coding; which simply implies there were no pre-set codes, but rather the study developed and modified the codes as it worked through the transcripts and coding convention.

3.4.1.3. Step 3: Search for themes

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3356) describe a theme as "a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and/or research question".

3.4.1.4. Step 4: Review themes

During this phase, the focus is to review, modify and develop the preliminary themes that we identified in Step 3 while probing for whether they make sense. At this stage, it helps to collate all the data that is relevant to each theme.

3.4.1.5. Step 5: Define themes

This is the final refinement of the themes and the aim is to identify the 'essence' of what each theme is about i.e. what are they saying and whether they are related or not etc.

3.4.1.6. Step 6: Write-up

This step involves the stitching together of all the elements or themes that emerge and organizing these around existing ideas in literature that assists in explaining or relating them to the research question or elements of its enquiry.

3.5. Ethical considerations

The research project underwent a long ethics clearance process to grant the researcher the permission to schedule interviews. The clearance was eventually granted by the Ethics Committee of the School of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Witwatersrand.

3.6. Summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology of phenomenology. It has also discussed the different qualitative research methods employed by the study. The chapter also discussed the study's approach to the analysis of findings. It also profiled the sample of respondents that were identified through purposive sampling.

4. CHAPTER 4: QUALITATIVE DATA FINDINGS

4.1. Approach to qualitative data analysis

The qualitative data was compiled through a series of four semi-structured interviews with a purposively selected sample of five Johannesburg social housing stakeholders as participants. The sample comprises of respondents from the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) and Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC) as Johannesburg based Social Housing Institutions (SHIs). It also includes the Department of Development Planning as the key spatial planning competence within the City of Johannesburg. The sample also includes the National Association of Social Housing Organizations (NASHO), which is a national affiliation of SHIs. The informant respondents from these organisations were purposively identified as being adequately informed about the restructuring zone process in the development of social housing and were therefore seen as having the required insight to assist in answering the research question of this study. In order to protect the participants from being linked to their opinions the research refers to them as respondents as per the participant information sheet distributed to participants prior the interview process.

4.2. The empirical data and the research question

The research question is what are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing? This research is qualitative and uses a theory of perceptions as its methodology to answer the research question. This research makes use of an inductive analysis of themes emanating from a series of semi-structured questions that sought to explore the following two themes:

1. The perceptions of stakeholders consistent with existing identified literature and theory on social housing policy and restructuring zones
2. Perceptions of social housing stakeholders not consistent with identified literature and theory but alluding to new insights on the social housing phenomenon in Johannesburg

To achieve this the research employed thematic analysis in analyzing the interviews with the goal of establishing the empirical findings, which inform the data, used to answer the research question.

4.3. The six steps approach to thematic analysis

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3354) outline the six-step approach to thematic analysis as discussed in chapter three as becoming familiar with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining themes and culminating in the write-up of

findings. Below is a more elaborate discussion of what each of these thematic analysis steps involve.

Step 1: Becoming familiar with the data

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3355) suggest as a starting point for this step the researcher "should be very familiar with your entire body of data or data corpus (i.e. all the interviews and any other data you may be using) before you go any further". This meant a series of reviews of the interview transcript data with the aim of deducing emerging themes. Upon reading and rereading, the interview transcripts and the first impressions of the data were noted and highlighted by the researcher.

Step 2: Generating initial codes

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3355) suggest that this step is concerned with organizing data in a meaningful and systematic way with the aid of coding in order to reduce lots of data into small chunks of meaning. The data was reviewed with the aim of answering the research question. The research question is what are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

The initial coding process used pre-codes built into the semi-structured interview questions based on how they sought to explore themes of the perceptions of stakeholders around specific issues i.e. urban restructuring, restructuring zones, decision making during the planning of social housing and gaps and improvements in the social housing status quo.

In other words, the questions were rallying points upon which the data was generated and organized. The process involved working through each transcript coding every segment of text that seemed to be relevant to or specifically address our pre-determined codes as well as the research question.

In light of this, extra care went into coding each segment of data that was relevant to or captured something interesting about the research question. In other words, this step did not code every piece of text or sentence of the transcripts but rather statements and extracts from the transcripts that related to the research question.

Step 3: Searching for themes,

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3356) suggest that a theme is a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and/or research question. In our case, because the two themes were pre-determined with the data organized under each of these established

themes. The next step was to organize the data into sub-themes or categories under a given theme.

Step 4: Reviewing themes,

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:3356) suggest this step is involved with the review, modification and development of the preliminary themes that we identified in Step 3. It also involves asking questions such as do the identified themes make sense. Moreover, whether all the data is relevant to each theme?

Step 5: Defining themes,

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:33511) suggest this step as being the final refinement of the themes and the aim is to identify the 'essence' of what each theme is about. They also suggest it involves answering questions such as what is the theme saying. If there are subthemes, how do they interact and relate to the main theme? Also importantly is how do the themes relate to each other?

Step 6: Write-up.

Maguire and Delahunt (2017:33511) suggest this step as being "usually the end-point of research is some kind of report, often a journal article or dissertation. In the write up of the findings, the confidentiality of the interviewed respondents was maintained as per the ethics clearance requirements of the university. In places of their actual names, they have been accorded pseudonyms of Respondent 1, Respondent 2 etc.

4.4. Thematic analysis of the qualitative data

The following section discusses the initial findings that are organized under the identified emergent themes. It also discusses the data in a narrative method and captures the initial impressions of the researcher in relation to the research question and the sub research questions of the study.

4.4.1. Perceptions of stakeholders that are consistent with existing literature and theory on social housing as per the conceptual framework of the study

This section of the research paper discusses the perceptions that were consistent with the literature theory of the study in the analysis of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders' perceptions on the use of restructuring zones for the development of social housing.

4.4.1.1. Perceptions of urban restructuring as a form of spatial justice in the undoing of apartheid spatiality

The role of restructuring zones in undoing of the apartheid spatial system was a recurrent perception among the respondents in explaining their understanding of urban restructuring. An analysis of the interview transcripts shows the stakeholders understood urban restructuring as a social housing objective to mean the redressing of the old apartheid spatial city in Johannesburg.

Respondent 1 summed this up when he said “our cities are including Johannesburg are the most unjust cities in the world from a spatial point of view or a transport, housing, and even service delivery point of view” (personal communication, Respondent 1, 2019). The observations of Respondent 1 on the unjust spatial configuration of Johannesburg is consistent with the theory of urban justice that characterizes social housing restructuring zones as spaces that can be reimagined and redressed to provide more urban justice.

Respondent 2 explained his understanding of urban restructuring by saying ”I understand it as meaning how do we cater to the poor or people who do not have much especially those who were previously excluded by apartheid spatial planning within the urban space” (personal communication, Respondent 2, 2019) . He went on to suggest “it’s about how do we move away from that old spatial planning because it was exclusive” (personal communication, Respondent 2, 2019). The above comments reaffirm the existence of a perception among interviewed social housing stakeholders of equating urban restructuring to the undoing of the old spatial system.

The transcripts also show that the respondents also understood urban restructuring as the unlocking of housing opportunities in the city for the low-income market. This is best captured in the words of Respondent 2 (personal communication,2019) who suggested urban restructuring as meaning the “building well located settlements for the poor or people who do not have much and who earn a median salary of R3500 per month.” This sentiment was shared by Respondent 3 (personal communication,2019) when he said “the basic median income in Johannesburg is R3500, and that basically means for an average person in the city they cannot afford to stay in the city and so we need to create opportunities for this market through social housing”. This suggests there is a perception among the interviewed social housing stakeholders that urban restructuring is about facilitating access to the city for the low-income market.

Respondent 4 (personal communication, 2020) explained his understanding of urban restructuring as being “an intervention that can provide an opportunity for people to afford to live in spaces they would not normally afford”. The respondent went on to explain this by saying “if you look at social housing developments for instance you have quality housing that is within walking distance to social amenities that complete a normal life like a clinic, school, park and that is provided to people who are paying from R900 to R1200 per month in rentals” (personal communication, Respondent 4,2020) He also went on to say “in other words social housing becomes a vehicle to bring about this restructuring change to people of a certain income spectrum to afford a quality of life that is actually a luxury afforded by a few” (personal communication, Respondent 4,2020).

4.4.1.2. Perceptions of restructuring zones as facilitating spatial re-imaginations of urban spaces in Johannesburg

The respondents understood restructuring zones as being areas in which there is a lack of a strong integrated spatial vision in place in which case the identification of these areas as restructuring zones serves to kick-start an integrated spatial vision for the areas. Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) went as far as suggesting that the value of restructuring zones in the development of social housing as being the ability of restructuring zones “to look into depressed areas that have potential to transform spatially with the right kind of planning”.

Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) described the declaration of an area as a restructuring zone as a catalytic process for further integrated planning to take place when he said “restructuring zones are areas in which we don’t have plans and restructuring is about how can we develop a spatial vision for the place to realize its restructuring potential”. This means the restructuring zone process itself was perceived as adding value to the spatial development of a given area being declared a restructuring zone.

The respondents also understood restructuring zones as spaces in which social housing is a component of an integrated spatial vision and not in itself the ultimate vision of an area. To echo this sentiment Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) referred to the process of identifying a restructuring zone as needing to be integrated while considering housing as a stand-alone component of a bigger spatial restructuring vision. He went on to say “planners should be brought in to advise on how the integrated plan can be designed with a housing component; there must be a plan on the roads, the infrastructure and the economic viability of the places”. This reaffirms the perception by interviewed stakeholders of an overall integrated spatial vision as being a defining feature of restructuring zones with housing as a component of the integrated spatial vision.

To shed more insight into this finding Respondent 5 (personal communication, 2020) suggested “restructuring zones must stop being looked at as only functional spaces for housing projects but rather should be viewed from a holistic assessment of their viability as sustainable settlements”. He went on to say “it must stop being an issue of the municipality identifying a restructuring zone and say we want to build social housing there even though no solid case exists of the functional viability of the area as a sustainable settlement” (personal communication, Respondent 5, 2020).

This suggests that the respondents understood restructuring zones as spaces in which current integrated planning is weak with social housing being a catalytic agent for raising the spatial integration needs of the restructuring zones.

Respondent 4 (personal communication, 2020) explained integrated planning as a defining feature of restructuring zones when he said “when you speak of urban restructuring zones you start speaking of an opportunity to integrate communities and move away from the old spatial way”. Respondent 4 (personal communication) went on to suggest “the old spatial policies made livelihood and home separate and so it was not fair”. He went on to argue, “restructuring zones are the tools to move and balance that unfairness of the old spatial planning policy”.

An analysis of the data also shows Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) alluding to integrated planning in explaining restructuring zones when he said “as a prerequisite of social housing you must see if there are any schools or transportation functions and amenities in the areas where social housing is to be developed”.

Respondent 2 (personal communication,2019) also explained his understanding of urban restructuring zones as being areas of integrated planning when he said “restructuring zones forced SHIs to look beyond just housing but to look at what factors can improve the quality of life of those who would live in the restructuring zone settlements”. He also suggested that restructuring zones “forced SHIs to look at how sustainable the precincts are insofar as availability of transport, schools and social amenities to support higher densities”.

4.4.1.3. Perceptions of restructuring zones as important in the TOD corridor development efforts of the City of Johannesburg

The respondents also seemed to understand restructuring zones in the context of new densities with one respondent suggesting the following about restructuring zones, “they introduce higher densities because some areas would have had one storey and now when social housing comes along they can transform into 4 storeys or higher”.

Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) mentioned Westdene and Orange Grove as specific neighborhoods in which the city is assembling land and putting in bulk infrastructure

for the purpose of creating higher densities. The respondent explained this when he said “in Westdene and Orange Grove for instance the city is going ahead and doing land assemblies and bulk infrastructure for low income housing developments and social housing to introduce higher densities to the areas”.

4.4.1.4. Perceptions of restructuring zones as contested policy spaces

An analysis of the interview transcripts shows that when asked to reflect on their understanding of the decision making process that underlies the development of social housing, the respondents had the following to say:

When asked to reflect on the decision making process that goes into the identification of restructuring zones and ultimately the location of social housing; Respondent 1 (personal communication,2019) said, “there are those tensions where the province as a big brother does disrupt the city”. He then said “joint integrated planning is needed between the province and local government; currently the province and the city work in silos and where planning has to develop in scale and when it comes to things like infrastructure which is the city’s function it is not taken to consideration so some projects get affected by this lack of joint planning”. Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) went on to suggest, “If only there was one plan that was jointly supported by both spheres of government because working in silos like we do currently sometimes poses a problem”. He added that “a bigger coordination from across all spheres is needed”.

The above sentiments suggest there exists a perception of tensions in decision making between the two spheres of government and that this results in poor integration of planning or what the respondent calls “working in silos” which then results in the delivery of social housing projects being affected.

Respondent 3 (personal communication, 2019) alluded to the fact that there are tensions insofar as jurisdiction of planning functions between province and the city. He then alluded to how Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (2013) (SPLUMA) has facilitated a more plausible understanding of the role of cities as the ultimate custodian of spatial planning. Respondent 3 (personal communication,2019) explained this when he said, “new legislation has to some degree been able to drive home the point that local government has jurisdiction on local planning”. He further advances this point when he says, “nowadays some of the national grants are approved only if they are supported by the local cities they are going to be in”. He refers to Jabulani in Soweto as an example of a node that falls under a restructuring zone covering Soweto and how the city of Johannesburg has had a firm hand in the decision making of how government investment to restructure the area will happen. The respondent went on to suggest “if you take Jabulani for instance, National Treasury has invested close to

R500 million in the space and in the guidance of the city of Johannesburg because it was identified as a restructuring zone".

Respondent 2 (personal communication,2019) also echoed similar sentiments in suggesting the decision making advantage that the city enjoys when he said "the department of development planning still goes out on the IDP consultations to say that these are our plans etc. and so the city still determines were the capital budget will go i.e. to transit oriented nodes and the infrastructure investment that comes with those".

The above allude to an existing perception among the interviewed stakeholders of a contestation of ideas on decisions around where and how to best to locate restructuring zones and for what end. Other contentious matters between province and the city as far as restructuring declaration decision-making process included the contending principles of compaction versus sprawl. This is advanced by Respondent 2 (personal communication,2019) when he suggested, "province will always be province in that it will always chase for Greenfield developments while we advocate for brownfield development. To arrive at common ground is a matter of negotiation."

4.4.2. Perceptions of social housing stakeholders that are not consistent with literature and theory from the conceptual framework but that are alluding to new findings and understanding of the social housing process in Johannesburg

This section of the research paper discusses those perceptions that may have not been consistent with literature but alluded to new knowledge in the study of social housing.

4.4.2.1. Perceptions of existing scope and opportunities for social housing institutions through city led high density turn-key land projects

The respondents suggested that one of the biggest opportunities of the Johannesburg social housing sector was the existence of city led turnkey projects driven by the city's Department of Development of Planning along the Corridors Of Freedom. These turnkey developments consist of sites in which land assembling has been undertaken by the city and in which bulk infrastructure services have been already installed and expanded. These turnkey sites are earmarked for high-density residential developments rights including the possibility of social housing. These sites also enjoy significant public transport investment that connects them in the form of the Rea Vaya rapid bus system. The City of Johannesburg Department of Development Planning also purported to be working closely with JOSHCO in identifying and developing these sites for social housing.

Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) described these turn-key sites as places where “investment has already been made for you in advance as a developer and so you don’t have to go through the extent of putting up the overheads like water line or sewage connection over 2km area”. He then went on to suggest, “that essentially is how we as the city use these areas to dangle the carrot for developers”. He then continued to say, “we have agreements with the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) in which we can take a site and say at no cost to you we are willing to give you the site as rezoned for higher density that you can access and develop on it” (personal communication, Respondent 2, 2019). The principle of these city led turn-key projects is to package high density housing rights on given parcels of land so that developers can come and build. Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) went on to say, “developers can acquire the property today and tomorrow they can turn the spade. It’s not only with Joshco though; we do the same with all social housing institutions”. It was however not clear if there was an indication of any SHI that was in discussions to take up these corridor housing opportunities aside from JOSHCO which is an entity of the city that indicated it was working with the city’s Department of Development Planning in identifying social housing opportunities in the corridors.

4.4.2.2. Perceptions of gaps and improvements in the SHRA grant funding process

The respondents also indicated the Restructuring Capital Grant from the Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) as a key strength of the social housing status quo in Johannesburg. Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) had the following to say about the SHRA grant: “SHRA funding is getting better to access, in the past a lot of social housing projects did not meet viability because these funds were not easy to access”. He then goes to suggest, “projects in the past could not even keep up their inflation rates on projects and so have struggled with investment viability”. This was in reference to the annual increase in inflation that over the period of waiting for funding can result in the cost projections of a project not being aligned to annual inflation increases. This then renders the project more expensive than it was initially costed and therefore without the necessary cost revisions can render the project unviable for investment purposes.

Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) suggested that the SHRA funding “brings certain number of people who earn an x amount of income that get to locate in areas that would not have allowed them access because of their income level”. This suggests that the SHRA funding does not only assist with the physical development of the units by SHIs but also contributes to the broader restructuring objective of social, spatial and economic integration of people and communities.

What respondents cited as a gap in the work of the SHRA was in its current non-provision of capacitation programmes with SHIs on the management of the residential units. This is articulated by Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) when he said, “the improvement area for SHRA is to introduce programmes that provide SHIs with assistance in developing specifications as well as with management of housing stock”. The SHRA (2020) website states, “the SHRA is the regulatory body responsible for regulating, capacitating, and investing in the social housing sector”. This suggests despite its purported responsibility of playing a capacitating role, the SHRA was perceived by respondents of the study as coming short in capacitating SHIs on management of social housing stock.

4.4.2.3. Perceived growth in property players in low income development market

Respondents also cited the rise in developers that are not involved in social housing as far as being recipients of RCG funding but happen to be private companies that are servicing the low-income rental market as a positive attribute in the Johannesburg social housing status quo. Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) explained this when he said “having competition is always healthy and as government we always need that extra push from the private sector in order to deliver the right product at the right price.” He went on to suggest “without the additional competition we would not be able to deliver the products that we deliver” and that there is a trend in which “the Johannesburg developers have identified that the typical two storey town house which usually retails for R1 million is no longer working because that market is saturated”. He also went on to explain, “there are quite a few low income housing developers who also play in the same market as JOSHCO and they are not social housing.” These sentiments suggest that there is a perception of a growing number of players in the low-income development market who are also complementing the development of the low to middle-income rental housing sector which social housing coexists in while also competing in the same target market demographic of household incomes between R5500 to R15500 per month. These developers however are not SHIs nor are they recipients of RCG funding.

4.4.2.4. The perceived impact of red-tape on development approvals and its negative impact on social housing developments and low income rental market

The respondents pointed out red tape as the biggest weakness. This was raised by Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) when he said, “from a delivery perspective I would say that the projects are not happening as fast as one would like due to red-tape”. All the respondents seemed to agree that red tape manifests itself in the lengthy turn-around time on the approval of plans. The approvals in this case would include statutory town planning and

bulk infrastructure fitments approvals, accreditation of social housing projects approvals as well as funding application approvals.

Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) said " the fast-tracking of approvals if that can be done speedily it would improve the conditions on the ground because a lot of developers are left frustrated by the approvals process and so projects get stuck in the planning approval stage".

Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) pointed out to the complexities of red tape on the process of town planning approvals when he said, "it is not easy to acquire land and rezone it so you can develop on it." He went on to say, "it takes too long and too many processes to get a piece of land ready for development" and that "it's definitely something that needs to be changed so we can be able to deliver these houses."

Respondent 3 (personal communication, 2019) also reiterated the red-tape challenges posed by delayed approvals when he said, "the problem is not with money, the problem is the long processes of getting the development going". This was in reference to availability of grant funding and the challenges posed by delays in development approvals.

Respondent 4 (personal communication,2020) said, "when the project viability of a new development is threatened by the delays in lengthy turnaround times for development approvals it becomes a problem". He went on to suggest, "we do not have a lot of SHIs and out of the ones we have, not a lot of them have viable projects. Projects that are usually 30 or 40 units are not usually viable but when you speak 100 and 120 upwards that's when projects become viable". He went on to say that "if the city can earmark land and prioritize the land preparation approvals for where these viable social housing projects can be accommodated and transfer this land to the SHIs then everyone would benefit". He also said, "only then would we be able to see social housing becoming more scalable for SHIs and the beneficiaries of those housing opportunities".

Respondent 5 (personal communication, 2020) pointed out that the red-tape is much more pronounced in brown-field developments when he said "in brown-fields there is a steep hurdle of approvals that SHIs have to go through so it would help if these could be done faster than the rate they are currently happening." Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) also suggested brownfield developments as being particularly difficult in instances where developers need to demolish and rebuild structures. He explained this when he said "if approvals were expedited it would not be so difficult to demolition and rebuild some of the units from scratch in existing structures that are not purposed functionally well".

Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) cited land assembling as being an area where red-tape delays can be felt by social housing developers when he said “the expedition of approvals would also speed up processes like land assembling which require a consolidation of small units in order to repurpose the land into higher density etc.” He went on to explain that the absence of viable land for social housing was responsible for developers looking into land assembly of small units to repurpose these into higher density developments”.

Respondent 1 (personal communication, 2019) said that the ultimate outcome of lengthy approvals was that it drives up the costs of projects and in so doing passes the cost to the end user by not being able to develop affordable units within the targeted income levels. The respondent explained this when he said, “you must remember with social housing the more expensive the development the less returns it makes.” He then explained this when he said “that’s the problem with social housing it doesn’t favour projects that have a lot of cost because the higher the cost the less the returns and this affects the affordability of the units” (personal communication, Respondent 1, 2019).

4.4.2.5. The perceived absence of a social housing implementation plan/strategy in the City of Johannesburg

The respondents also made mention of the fact that there currently is no social housing plan in the COJ in order to guide investment. This was mentioned by Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) when he said, “there should be a social housing plan for the city and that plan would inform the basis from which investment is made”. Respondent 2 respondent suggested that there is a lack of a social housing plan but in its absence, the Johannesburg Strategic Infrastructure Platform (JSIP) capital investment prioritization model acted as the only coordinating function for social housing as far as capital investments is concerned. The respondent explained this when he suggested “with JSIP if anyone from the city or an entity decides they want to invest somewhere for instance a person from Joburg water comes to say I would like to install a bulk water line and they have three areas to choose from i.e. Southgate, Orange Grove or Sunninghill. The JSIP system will tell that person to go to Orange Grove and the same would apply if City Power wanted to build a sub-station”. This is due to the fact that Orange Grove falls within the corridors of the city and is declared a Special Development Zone (SDZ) by the city. This makes it a high priority development area by the city of Johannesburg in which capital infrastructure investment for densification has been rolled out. The respondent also suggested that “If someone were to wake up and say they want to have 200 units of social housing in Sandown it would not go through the JSIP system because it would not be identified similarly as a priority area”. The respondent concluded with saying, “despite the absence of social housing plan it is still not a free for all approach where anyone can go where they want because of the JSIP system” (personal communication, Respondent 2, 2019).

4.4.2.6. Perceived silos in working and the perceived need for improved coordination between social housing stakeholders

The respondents also referred to the poor coordination between the state actors. Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) suggested that there should be "better coordination in that everyone should put their resources and time on a common goal." He went on to say, "if we say we are prioritizing restructuring zone 1 then everyone should pull their weight around that effort from state owned entities like Eskom to your city level entities." He also suggested "schools, transport, housing, health and all the other levers of state and private sector need to all start coalescing around this one effort. Respondent 2 (personal communication, 2019) made reference to how poor the coordination is between the City of Johannesburg and the department of education when he said "we have the department of education saying it prioritizes township schools when we are telling it the restructuring zones are where efforts should be intensified. Which means the pupils travel further now because they choose areas that have schools instead of the ones without schools so coordination and champions are what we need."

4.5. Summary

This chapter discussed thematic analysis as well as the process followed in the analysis of the research findings. It also discussed the research findings in the form of perceptions held by the respondents of the study on the use of restructuring zones. This chapter also organized the findings under the relevant themes as they emerged in the course of the thematic analysis.

5. ANALYSIS AND INTEPRETATION OF FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction to the analysis and interpretation process

Schoenfeld (1965:13) describes the clear communication of research findings as being the prerogative of the researcher when he says, “the principal reason, however, why some scholarly papers fail to communicate is simply that their writers failed to invest a decent amount of time and talent in organizing and expressing their thoughts”. In being mindful of the latter the research study approached the findings and analysis section with great care as to organize the findings under themes that speak to the research question. The research question as discussed earlier is:

What are the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan social housing?

Since the research question is seeking to explore the perceptions of stakeholders in using restructuring zones, the data and findings were grouped thematically into two key themes facilitated by interview questions during the semi-structured interviews as follows:

1. Theme 1: Perceptions of stakeholders that are consistent with existing literature and theory on social housing as per the conceptual framework of the study
2. Theme 2: Perceptions of social housing stakeholders that may not be consistent with identified literature and theory as per the conceptual framework but that alluded to new findings or knowledge and understanding of the social housing phenomenon in Johannesburg

Under each theme, the data was organized into sub-themes using thematic analysis and qualitative coding. The findings are discussed in a narrative description and organized in the two key major respective themes and emergent sub-themes.

5.2. Theme 1: Perceptions of stakeholders that are consistent with existing literature and theory on social housing

This section discusses the perceptions of respondents on urban restructuring as in relation to theme 1, which relates to emergent perceptions that can be explained with literature and theory on social housing as per the conceptual framework.

5.2.1. Urban restructuring as a form of spatial justice in the undoing of apartheid spatiality

A majority of respondents perceived urban restructuring to mean the impact of social housing in facilitating access to the city for the low-income population who were previously excluded by the apartheid system. Respondents suggested a key characteristic of this market as being the median income of R3500 and by virtue of this median income; they cannot afford to stay in well-located areas in the city. This finding is consistent with social housing theory literature by Visagie et al (2020), Hansson and Lundgre (2019) on global and local understanding of social housing in facilitating displaced lower income groups in the rental property market in urban areas. Hansson and Lundgre (2019:156) allude to this when they suggest, "globally, social housing is noted to be a response to reinforcing housing market failure where well-located housing becomes unattainable and the excluded become spatially marginalized". They also observe social housing as a universal concept as "often targeted at low to middle-income households and provides an affordable housing option". To reiterate Hansson and Lundgre (2019) on this notion that rental tenure facilitated access, Visagie et al (2020:4) go on to suggest social housing is "government-subsidized rental housing provided by local authorities or third sector (non-profit) organisations, with the rent set well below market levels in order to be accessible to low income groups". Visagie et al (2020:4) further allude to the social housing allocation process as one that, "gives low to middle income households' access to better quality accommodation and a more secure and stable living environment than they could otherwise afford, with consequent benefits for their general health, welfare and productivity". This therefore suggests the perceptions of the interviewed stakeholders on urban restructuring as facilitating access to affordable urban residential opportunities as being demonstrably consistent with the literature of this study as outlined in the conceptual framework.

The majority of respondents in the study also perceived urban restructuring to be a means of bringing spatial just in relation to the social housing policy objective of undoing the apartheid spatial system. The sentiments of stakeholders about social housing restructuring zones as spaces for urban justice are consistent with those of Conolly and Steil (2009:1) when they describe urban justice theory as "spatial transformative efforts that begin by examining the everyday reality of city life and then seek a means to reshape that reality and re-imagine that life". The respondents of the study also perceived social housing as more than just low-income rental units but rather a spatial exercise to integrate Johannesburg communities economically, spatially and racially. There was a general perception among respondents that it is wrong to think of social

housing as just low-income rental housing stock without taking to consideration the overarching restructuring objective of social housing. This finding is consistent with literature by on the socio-spatial theory in social housing by Symes et al (2000:304) who suggest, “making a housing stock available economically which can accommodate the needs of all social groups is a means to solve both sociological and spatial needs of a society”. As per the sentiments of the respondents of the study on how social housing is not just about bricks and mortar but a sociological process. The socio-spatial theory identified in the literature and conceptual framework reaffirms this notion.

The respondents of the study demonstrated an understanding of the urban restructuring objective of social housing as meaning the undoing of the apartheid spatial legacy in Johannesburg across economic, social and racial lines. This finding is consistent with literature on apartheid spatiality and its pervasive fragmentation of the Johannesburg urban fabric. This finding has particular resonance with literature by Scheba et al (2021:3) who characterized the trajectory of post 1994 South African spatial planning and social housing as one that is strongly motivated by the need for urban restructuring of the apartheid city and its spatial legacy.

Based on the above discussion; it can therefore be argued that the perceptions held by the respondents on urban restructuring as meaning the unlocking of access for the low and middle income demographic whilst simultaneously undoing the apartheid spatial legacy is consistent with literature and can be explained through socio-spatial theory as indicated in the conceptual framework and literature of the research paper.

5.2.2. Restructuring zones as facilitating spatial re-imaginations through urbanism in Johannesburg

This section documents the perceptions of respondents on restructuring zones as spaces for spatial re-imaginations of the City of Johannesburg.

The majority of respondents perceived restructuring zones to be geographic areas that are earmarked for a transversal integrated spatial planning with social housing as a component of that planning. To cite some literature to support this ideal we can deduct from new urbanism theory and its notion of housing as a catalytic urban spatial intervention that spurs other socio-economic benefits. To this end, Van Niekerk (2018:68) suggests the concept of ‘housing as urbanism’ is an approach to housing that “considers the social, political and economic components of housing”. He goes on to suggest that, “this in reality, translates to housing that is closer to employment, municipal services, public spaces, healthcare, schooling facilities and

social services, while also providing the household with the physical infrastructure necessary for a good quality of life". This suggests housing as never a divorced phenomenon from other urban spatial developments but rather it influences them. This reiterates the perceptions of the respondents on social housing restructuring zones being spaces for other urbanism phenomena with housing as a catalytic influence on how these spaces can be reimagined as holistic neighbourhoods with critical infrastructure and other supporting spatial developments as accompanying it.

To further support the above findings, DeFilippis (2013:69) argues for the universal convergence of spatial, social and economic development dimensions to the phenomenon of housing when he says "we almost never do housing policy for its own sake; that is, to provide or ensure the provision of "a decent home and suitable living environment". His observations reiterate the views of Van Niekerk (2018) and allude to the consistency of the perceptions of the study's respondents to the multi-dimensionality of spatial developments that are spin-offs from social housing. Scheba et al (2021:28) also describes restructuring zones as "zones that are intended to provide geographic focus for accommodation opportunities for low-income people close to facilities, amenities and income generating opportunities". He also alludes to the fact that "social housing developments must influence and be influenced by integrated development planning, and should therefore be in line with local Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) and other related plans created for the promotion of integrated development in urban areas". These arguments by Scheba et al (2021) further affirm the consistency of the perceptions of the study with literature insofar as structuring zones being understood as spaces for integrated development as opposed to just housing units.

Another interesting observation regarding the perceptions of restructuring zones as earmarked for integrated transversal spatial development initiatives is how this perception of respondents differs to the definition of restructuring zones in the social housing legislation. The Social Housing Act (2008:6&7) defines a restructuring zone as "a geographic area which has been identified by the municipality, with the concurrence of the provincial government, for purposes of social housing; and designated by the Minister in the Gazette for approved projects". The definition of restructuring zones as stated in the social housing act is consistent with the respondents' perception of restructuring zones as geographic areas earmarked for high density spatial planning. The definition provided in the Social Housing Act (2008) however speaks of social housing as the primary spatial function of restructuring zones while the perceptions of the respondents of the study allude to them as areas of transversal integrated spatial planning in

which social housing is a component of a much more integrated and spatially nuanced restructuring vision. In other words the respondents understood restructuring zones as being areas in which social housing coexists with other restructuring interventions such as urban regeneration, transport planning, education, health and economic planning while the Social Housing Act's (2008) definition alludes to just social housing a primary function associated with restructuring zones. This represents a significant finding of the study because it shows the varying perceptions of the stakeholders interviewed versus how the Social Housing Act (2008) defines restructuring zones.

5.2.3. Perceptions of restructuring zones as contested policy spaces

This section documents the perceptions of respondents on the contestations in the policy decision-making process of identifying and developing social housing restructuring zones among different state actors namely the local government of Johannesburg and the provincial government of Gauteng.

A number of interviewed respondents perceived the existence of tensions in the spatial priorities of the City of Johannesburg and those of the Gauteng province. They also alluded to these tensions as being moderating factors in the joint decision between the Gauteng provincial government and the City of Johannesburg on where to best locate restructuring zones for the purposes of social housing development and achieving urban restructuring. The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of the City of Johannesburg (2019:55) states, "the city is striving for a compact polycentric city as the preferred development model". It goes on to describe this model as "a traditional polycentric city with a strong core, connected to economic sub centres by efficient public transit, with high housing densities surrounding cores and gradually lower densities further from cores". By comparison, Geyer and Brand (2015:1) describe Gauteng's spatial development framework as "the development of corridors that channel and focus economic growth between networks of cities". Harrison et al (2021) also criticize the sprawl patterns of the Gauteng Spatial Development Framework in their official comments on it as published in the Wits website. This is apparent in their comments, which suggest, "the polycentric network, as described, is very extensive and the concept may simply be used to legitimate urban sprawl" and that it "would strongly advise revising the concept to one of "compact polycentricity" and to being far more precise and targeted in areas supported for new development". These arguments suggest the city has a compacted urban development approach to its logic of identifying restructuring zones while the provincial government has a Greenfield approach, which is characteristic of sprawl in its logic of choosing restructuring zones. To further allude to these policy contestations of space in the

social housing restructuring process, Cadre Plan (2017:51) suggests, “some social housing projects in Johannesburg were not located in promulgated RZs but approved as part of mega-projects or presidential/provincial priority projects”. These are some of the documented challenges of the restructuring zone criteria in literature. These challenges were in line with those identified by respondents of this study. The contending spatial priorities mean the city of Johannesburg advocates for a compact brownfield densification model while the Gauteng province favors a sprawl densification model consisting of outer lying greenfields connecting cities. Respondents pointed out that this misalignment of spatial priorities also affected the decisions of where to locate restructuring zones and by extension social housing units.

Cerna (2013:17) alludes to these above notable challenges as they relate to policy theory when she suggests, “it is difficult to say which factors or conditions facilitate successful implementation since so much depends on the political, economic and social context”. She goes on to suggest “for instance, local factors (e.g. size, institutional complexity) matter for policy responses” and that “only looking for general solutions and not acknowledging the particular context can lead to incoherent implementation efforts”. To this end, Cerna (2013) is alluding to the role of a localized context and its multiplicity of nuances as also having a bearing on the prospects of success or failure in the policy implementation process, which in this case would be social housing policy. In other words, she suggests policy implementation as not being a one size fits all process and that generalizing its applications without contextualizing can further affect its prospects of success or failure. It can be argued then that what besets social housing actors insofar as the above discussed contestation the restructuring zone process is consistent with policy literature on local context as well as institutional factors in the decision making process of policy as alluded by Cerna (2013) and the respondents of this study.

Some of the respondents perceived the restructuring zone criteria as being inconsistent in the selection of restructuring zones. They cited the lack of rigor in the assessment of the land demarcated for restructuring as well the projects identified and approved in these restructuring zones. The challenges of the restructuring zone criteria are also documented in literature as in the case of the Cadre Plan (2017:50) report on the assessment of restructuring zones which suggests, “there are significant concerns around the RZs as they have been identified through more of a political process than an urban planning-directed process, resulting in a high number of dispersed and large RZs with limited consideration regarding the implications of this for the efficacy of the social housing investments across, and within these RZs”. Johannesburg restructuring zones can be argued to be characteristic of the latter notion because they extend to

huge chunks of the city's boundary thereby rendering them lacking focus on their restructuring objective. Again, this reaffirms the earlier notions by Cerna (2013) on the role of local context and varying institutional interests as well their role in mitigating the success or failure of policy implementation.

5.3. Perceptions of social housing stakeholders that may not be consistent with identified literature and theory but that alluded to new findings or knowledge and understanding of the social housing phenomenon in Johannesburg

This section discusses the perceptions of respondents on urban restructuring as in relation to theme 2, which relates to emergent perceptions that may not be explained with literature and theory on social housing as per the conceptual framework but allude to relevant new findings on the social housing landscape in Johannesburg.

5.3.1. Existing scope and opportunities for social housing institutions through city led high density turn-key land projects and Special Development Zone incentives

The respondents perceived the existence of special development zones driven by the city's Department of Development of Planning as a positive feat of the social housing delivery. These turnkey developments consist of priority high-density nodes in which land assembling has been undertaken by the city and in which bulk infrastructure services has been already installed and expanded. These turnkey sites are also earmarked for high-density land use rights. They also enjoy significant public transport investment that connects them in the form of the Rea Vaya rapid bus system.

The City of Johannesburg (2018:85) states on its land use scheme that "for the purposes of strategic intervention in the land development and investment process, the Council may, from time-to-time designate a Special Development Zone". It goes on to suggest this can happen through "a geographical delineation of the Special Development Zone, ensuring that the boundaries are cadastral based or geographically identifiable". Gibb (2020) states that Orange Grove, Empire-Perth and Brixton have been declared special development zones by the city. It goes on to say, "the aim of the Special Development Zones is to provide a mechanism which will speed up the development process by eliminating time-consuming legislative procedures and develop feasible market related development models". The turnkey projects described by the respondents consist of high-density low-income housing developments taking place in two of these special development zones namely Orange Grove and Empire-Perth. The only active social

housing institution in these special development zones currently is JOSHCO with the remainder made up of low-income developers also competing in the income target market of social housing.

5.3.2. Perceived growth in property development applications for the low-income and gap housing property market

Respondents also cited the rise in the developers servicing the low-income market of the gap housing market as a positive attribute in the Johannesburg social housing status quo. They suggested that even though these low-income developers are not social housing but they also compete for the social housing income spectrum of R5500 to R15500. Coetzee (2018:12) differentiates between four segments of the formal residential market in South Africa. These include "the subsidy (state-provided) market, the gap market, the affordable market and the conventional market. He goes on to suggest that the "the latter two tend to be bonded in some way or another, while the former is only available to households earning less than R3 500" (Coetzee,2018:12). Coetzee (2018:12) also describes the gap market as "defined by those households earning too much for a subsidized unit and too little to independently enter the formal market". He goes on to suggest, "an income of roughly R15 200 is required to enter the new market unassisted" and that "this market includes properties valued between R180 000 and R500 000". This suggests that there is a degree of overlap between the social housing market and some segments of the gap housing market. The respondents of the study saw this as a positive thing because they perceived it as good competition for the social housing market and many saw it as complementing the restructuring objectives of undoing the apartheid city while facilitating low-income housing opportunities for the residents of Johannesburg.

5.3.3. Perceived gaps and improvements in the SHRA grant funding process of social housing

The respondents of the study perceived notable improvements in accessing the SHRA's RCG funding as a positive feat of the current state of social housing delivery in Johannesburg. The SHRA (2018:2) states on its annual audited report that "the capital grant expenditure has increased from R196 237 386 in 2015/16, R334 062 791 in 2016/17 to R617 473 701 in the period under review. The SHRA (2019: 7) annual report states that "the Restructuring Capital Grant quantum increased from R125 615 per unit to R155 000 per unit". It also states, "for developers it means they have more funds to provide spacious and decent rental stock". The SHRA (2019:1) annual report also suggests that the "SHRA increased expenditure on the Consolidated Capital Grant (CCG) to R778 273 327 in the period under review, which comprises a 105% performance against budget". From the above data, it can be deduced that between the periods of 2016 to

2019 the RCG amount disbursed by the SHRA for social housing projects grew by almost 200%. In this same period the RCG quantum also increased from R125 615 per unit to R155 000 per unit which represents a 24% increase. The SHRA (2019:14) also states “the improvement in SHRA’s performance is due to increased staff capacity” which the report suggests grew from 20 people in 2016 to 46 people in 2019 which is an 80% increase in staff. All these institutional improvements in the performance of the SHRA can be argued to be the basis upon which the respondents of the study perceived the improvements in access to the SHRA RCG funding.

In as much as the respondents perceived some notable positive developments in the SHRA’s functions they also perceived some notable gaps in its overall mandate on social housing development. To this end, the respondents perceived and credited the SHRA as doing a lot with SHIs and ODAs but also perceived it as not investing enough in developing stronger relationships with municipalities particularly insofar as support and assistance with the land release programmes. The Sector Development and Transformation policy published by the SHRA (2018:8) states in its scope of work that the SHRA is “linked to the monitoring of the institutions and consultations with provincial governments and municipalities on projects to ensure that the required support for institutions and projects may be identified and provided to ensure appropriate delivery and management of projects”. The respondents of the study perceived the SHRA as not doing enough in fostering closer relationships with municipalities and capacitating them with programmes to assist them in the land release process for the purposes of developing social housing units.

The Department of Human Settlements and the Department of Monitoring and Evaluation (2016) describes the relationship of the SHRA and municipalities as indirect and one that exists at an arm’s length. Figure 8 that is a diagram of social housing sector stakeholders shows that the SHRA has a more direct relationship with its funders namely the Department of Human Settlements and National Treasury (Department of Human Settlements and Department of Monitoring and Evaluation, 2016). It also shows that the SHRA has a direct relationship with SHIs and some of the Other Delivery Agents (ODAs) to whom it gives funding. The graph also shows the relationship between the SHRA and municipalities as being peripheral and indirect.

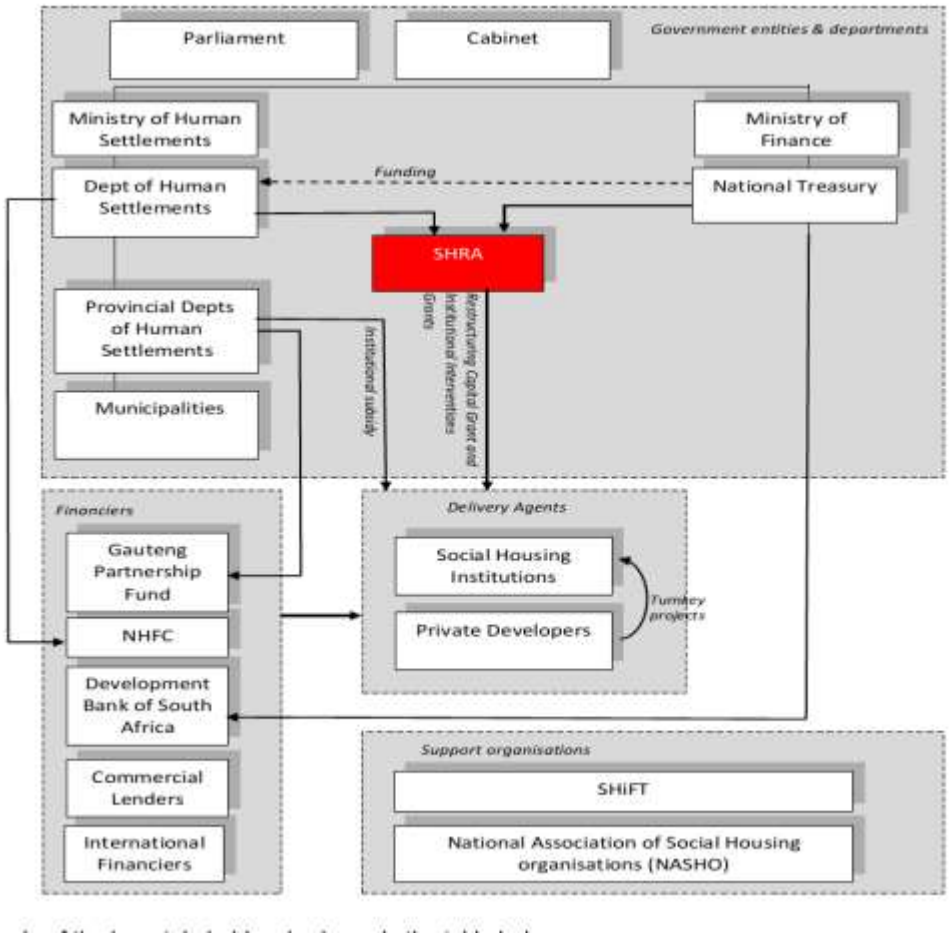

Figure 8: Overview of social housing sector stakeholders (Source: Department of Human Settlements and Department of Monitoring and Evaluation (2016:21)

The respondents perceived the relationship between the SHRA and municipalities as further weakened due to the absence of a national footprint of the SHRA since it does not have satellite offices outside Johannesburg to foster closer relationships with municipalities. The SHRA (2020) website also showed one office for the SHRA as being the one located in Parktown in Johannesburg with no satellite offices in the other provinces nor in other municipalities.

The respondents of the study perceived the key performance indicators of SHIs in reporting to the SHRA as focused on the business fundamentals of SHIs as viable businesses while not as much on the non-business fundamentals such as the quality of restructuring impact accrued from social housing developments. This is despite the published guidelines on project financial viability by the SHRA (2011:5) stating, “in a typical Social Housing Institution development, objectives are usually divided into non-financial and financial objectives”. The guidelines go on to say ”non-financial objectives can be of a socio-economic and/or a political nature, such as promoting urban

renewal in a particular area, contributing to local economic development and community empowerment, and so on". This means despite the SHRA's guidelines on project financial viability making provision for SHIs to report on non-financial objectives like urban restructuring impact, there is a perception among interviewed stakeholders that these are under-reported and could be improved as an area of evaluation of the performance of SHIs.

5.3.4. Perceived challenges on land availability and land release for the development of social housing

The respondents also perceived the difficulty in finding well-located private land for social housing as a challenge in the status quo of social housing delivery. Cadre Plan (2017:12) argue the social housing act makes provision for the municipality to facilitate the development of social housing by "providing access to land and buildings for rental housing development in designated restructuring zones". Research done on the RCG grant funding by NASHO and the Housing Development Agency (2013:4) suggests since RCG funding is based on a project readiness assessment "areas with well-functioning SHIs with access to land and some co-operative arrangements with municipalities are more likely to have prepared projects and therefore receive the RCG allocation". This highlights the critical importance of land as an input in the lifecycle of the development of social housing project. The NASHO and Housing Development Agency (2013:4) report also suggests the spatial distribution of the RCG grant shows "the larger allocation has gone to the outer suburbs and there is presently a shift in allocation to these areas and the greyzones". The report goes on to say, "an important reason for this is the difficulty in acquiring well-located land and buildings at the right cost to make projects financially viable". It also suggests, "where municipalities do allocate land for social housing, they are usually reluctant to do so in better located areas". The Nasho and Housing Development Agency (2013:5) report goes on say "this is a major weakness in the process, which needs to be prioritized if we are to realize projects in well-located areas that allow for re-aligning of current spatial distortions and contribute to long-term socio-economic integration of our communities". The report also goes on to suggest "there is also presently greater reliance on private developers to bring land for social housing development" and that "they are prepared to do so with less well-located land that they cannot develop for higher-end housing or commercial purposes". The report also suggests private developers "are also prepared to release smaller pieces within larger developments where this will help with the gap or other 'ownership' parts of their projects". This suggests the perception of difficulties in accessing well-located land by the respondents of the study is consistent with the literature.

5.3.5. Perceived red-tape challenges on development approvals for social housing and its negative impact on its delivery

The respondents pointed out red tape as the biggest weakness in the status quo of social housing provision in Johannesburg. Wegmann and Cunningham (2010:6) describe red tape when they say, “legal and official documents in Britain have been bound with red tape since the 17th century”. They go on to suggest, “this tradition is the origin of the term, which refers to fussy or unnecessary bureaucracy”. They also go on to describe what red tape is when they say, “the media, politicians, business and ordinary people use it to refer to tedious rules and regulations involving long queues, endless paperwork, lengthy procedures and onerous legal requirements”. This definition of red tape is consistent with that of the respondents of the study who unanimously described red tape as manifesting in the lengthy turn-around times on the relevant approvals of social housing projects.

The respondents of the study perceived red tape to be inherent in the various processes of the social housing project lifecycle. Some identified red tape in the process of land regularization where statutory town planning processes such as rezoning or township establishment are involved. Others identified it in the approval of plans, which many reported as both costly and time consuming as result of compliance requirements and turnaround times for them.

All the respondents interviewed agreed that red tape does affect the delivery of social housing units since the delays translate to the lost social housing opportunities they could have created at any given point in time.

5.4. Summary

This chapter discussed the research findings and contextualized them in existing literature. It then analyzed the meaning of the findings in relation to answering the research question of perceptions of social housing stakeholders on restructuring zones for the purpose of social housing development. This chapter clustered the findings under two key themes namely, perceptions of stakeholders consistent with literature from the conceptual framework and stakeholder perceptions not consistent with literature from the conceptual framework but introduced new and relevant findings. These two key themes were then further organized into relevant emergent sub themes. This chapter also discussed the findings of theme one based on their consistency with literature and theory identified in the conceptual framework of the research study. The chapter then discussed the interpretation of the research findings in relation to the research question of the study.

6. CONCLUSION OF THE RESEARCH STUDY

6.1. Introduction

The objective of the study was to explore the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones for the planning of social housing. This section of the paper discusses the summary of key findings of the study followed by a brief review of the objectives of the study. The section also discusses the limitations of the study while also discussing suggestions for future research as well as providing concluding remarks.

6.2. Summary of key findings

The study found there were a number of perceptions among social housing stakeholders of urban restructuring that could be explained and related to existing spatial planning literature and theories. Some of these included urban restructuring as spatial justice to redress the apartheid spatial configuration of Johannesburg. Within this urban justice theory explanation was the perception of urban restructuring as being the ability to provide the means of access to the affordable rental market for individuals or income groups who would be rendered displaced by the market insofar as being able to afford to stay in the locations facilitated by social housing.

The study also managed to draw some insightful parallels to the theories of new urbanism, TOD and socio-spatial theory in relation to the respondents' perceptions of restructuring zones as being areas with an inherent potential for urban re-imaginations and integrated development to take place with social housing as being catalytic as a densification strategy. The study established some insights around the flaws inherent in the criteria used for identifying restructuring zones and related these with existing literature. The study also established the policy contestations of the restructuring process in which the City of Johannesburg and the province of Gauteng seem to be pulling in different strategic spatial directions resulting in tensions in the restructuring zone process. These were also related to relevant policy theories in order to explain and contextualize them to existing literature as per the conceptual framework of the study.

The research also found that there were development incentives that presented opportunities for Social Housing Institutions in the form of Special Development Zones (SDZs) and turnkey high-density land available through the city's development planning department. These presented some new insights on City of Johannesburg's efforts to provide an enabling environment for high-density residential developments in the designated corridors of the city. The study also established some new insights around the perception of growth in the low-income and high-

density residential development market in Johannesburg and how this market complemented the social housing development efforts around urban restructuring.

The research also found that the SHRA was perceived as having undergone some improvements over the past five years insofar as facilitating easier access to funding for the Social Housing Institutions (SHIs). The study participants did also perceive the SHRA as not doing enough insofar as fostering relationships with the municipalities in which they are financing projects.

The study also found that land availability was also perceived as a huge challenge in the planning and development of social housing. The research also found that red tape was one of the biggest weaknesses in the delivery of social housing projects in Johannesburg.

6.3. Reviewing the objectives of the research

Under section 1.5 of the paper the research objective of the study was communicated as being to assess through an inductive logic the perceptions held by a sample of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan for social housing. To this end, the study used semi-structured interviews with a sample of five social housing stakeholders in Johannesburg. Through a process of careful data analysis and thematic analysis, the study was able to present a host of findings that represented the perceptions of stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones in planning for social housing and was able to present these under two key themes and subthemes in its findings.

6.4. Limitations

This section discusses some of the limitations that were encountered in the undertaking of the research study.

The research was conducted with a sample of stakeholders operating in the Johannesburg social housing delivery value chain in various capacities and in varying stages of the development of social housing. The Department of Development Planning as a stakeholder of social housing the city for instance deals with forward planning for the urban space in Johannesburg and deals with land-use regularization thereof and so it interacts with social housing in a spatial planning context. JOSHCO as a stakeholder has the competence of developing and managing social housing stock and the same applies for Johannesburg Housing Company. NASHO works with SHIs and their development and is a policy advocacy voice in the ongoing development of social housing policy. All the different stakeholder voices interviewed in this study are therefore credible voices on the social housing phenomenon in Johannesburg and they have the relevant authority on social housing. The significant limitation of the study however is that they constituted only a small cross

section of the Johannesburg social housing stakeholder base and a wider set of stakeholder voices could have been included if time, resources and availability of additional actors was not a constraint.

The study also encountered challenges in accessing spatial drawings or maps of the Johannesburg restructuring zones. One research company that undertook extensive studies on restructuring zones in South Africa quoted a cost of R4000 for compiling GIS shape files for the purposes of this study. The paucity of GIS spatial mapping on Johannesburg restructuring zones is indicative of the lack of clarity and specificity in the municipality's planning approach to social housing and so is its lack of an implementation strategy for social housing.

6.5. Recommendations for future research

The following section discusses some of the recommendations of the study for future research work.

6.5.1. The impact of red tape on social housing delivery as future area of research

The study found that red tape was perceived as one of the biggest weakness in the delivery of social housing. Red tape was seen as manifesting in various stages of the development of social housing and was cited as having financial implications as well as non-financial implications through non-delivery translating as lost opportunities for housing. Future research work in this area would assist in better understanding and overcoming the challenges of red tape on the delivery of social housing. Red tape in this context would be all the compliance requirements for social project accreditation by SHRA, the statutory town planning process by local authorities and the compliance requirements related to the approval of funding from both the SHRA and the private institutions.

6.5.2. The criteria for identification of restructuring zones and social housing projects

The respondents of the study perceived the criteria used to determine restructuring zones as being weak or inconsistent and by extension resulting in social housing that did not meet all the requirements to achieve urban restructuring. Further research and innovation is required to improve the application of this criteria with perhaps a need to doing away with restructuring zones but opting for a criteria which assesses social housing on a project basis as opposed to a restructuring zone criteria. Future research work on this would be crucial in fostering improved planning and development of social housing projects and by extension improvement in achievement greater urban restructuring impact.

6.5.3. The relationship of the SHRA and municipalities where social housing is located as an area of future research

The research found that the social housing stakeholders interviewed perceived the SHRA as not investing adequately in developing closer relationships with municipalities who have social housing projects in their areas. They also cited the fact that the relationship of the SHRA is one sided and skewed towards SHIs instead of being inclusive of municipalities. Perhaps this could inform an area of future research in which the improvement of relationships between the SHRA and municipality could be reviewed and amended accordingly.

6.5.4. The City of Johannesburg's development incentives for social housing development

Some of the respondents of the study referred to the development of Special Development Zones (SDZs) across the different corridors of development of the city. These include the development of turnkey ready high-density housing projects. It would be worth investigating through research how these development incentives can present opportunities for social housing and whether or not they can assist SHIs in rolling out social housing projects.

6.5.5. Land release programmes for social housing

The study found that access to well-located land was one of the biggest challenges in the development of social housing. Some of the respondents of the study pointed out to a need for land release programmes with built in standard operations procedures to be developed to assist municipalities with the process of releasing land that is in their custodianship for the purposes of social housing. This would constitute a key area for future research work with the goal of streamlining land release with social housing projects development. Lessons from the City of Cape Town could prove worthwhile in benchmarking such an approach.

6.6. Conclusion

The study explored the perceptions of Johannesburg social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones to plan and develop social housing. To this end, it used a qualitative methodology of phenomenology and perceptions theory as described in chapter three. The study reviewed literature on a number of theoretical concepts relevant to the research question as outlined in the conceptual framework developed. It then thematically presented the perceptions of interviewed respondents using narrative analysis and organized these into two key themes that were then divided into sub-themes. It can be concluded that the research findings were that the perceptions of stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones for social housing were consistent with the literature developed in the conceptual framework of the study. It can also be concluded

that where perceptions of the stakeholders were not consistent with identified literature and theory from the conceptual framework, they still nonetheless offered insightful findings that could further contribute to the study of social housing in Johannesburg and other urban areas around the country.

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ANNEXURE A: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Research topic: The role of urban restructuring zones in facilitating the development of well-located and affordable social housing in the City of Johannesburg.

Participant: COJ Department of Development Planning- Executive Director of Development Planning (Mr Eric Raboshakga)

Greetings

My name is **Lwazi Sikiti** and I am currently a part-time student studying towards a Master's Degree in the Built Environment (Housing) in the School of Architecture and Planning (SOAP) at the University of Witwatersrand. I am currently doing my Masters research project, which is assessing the role of restructuring zones as spatial tools in the planning and development of well-located and affordable social housing in Johannesburg.

I am inviting you as an identified social housing stakeholder to share your insights on the research topic through an **interview process**. The interview will take no longer than **45 minutes** of your time. A neutral place either than your place of work such as a coffee shop or park if you so wish as well as the date and time will be determined by you in the response communication. During the course of the interview you will be asked questions regarding your personal views on the role of restructuring zones in facilitating the development of social housing.

Your participation is in your personal capacity and not your official capacity in other words your views are treated as your own not of the organisation you are employed by. Your participation is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive **no payment or other incentives for your participation.**

I would also like to place it on record that I am an official of the City of Johannesburg municipality and that this research is being carried out in my personal capacity as a student and not as a municipal official. In light of this, your participation or non-participation in this research has no bearing on your past, current and future relationship with the City of Johannesburg or any of my official duties within the municipality.

I would like to inform you that your recourse as a participant should you feel that I am using my City of Johannesburg official standing to prejudice your participation or non-participation in this study is to notify my employer the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) through the company's Ethics Committee on 011 688 7800 or alternatively notify the Wits School of Architecture and Planning's Ethics Committee on 011 717 7692.

Your participation will be completely confidential and if you prefer **anonymity** this will be facilitated by withholding your identity in the final report. Instead of using your name in the report you will be referred to as **(Anonymous Respondent Number 1,2,3 etc)** or any pseudonym that you may prefer. Further to mitigating for your anonymity; in order to avoid linking your views to your designation in your organisation you will be refered broadly as a member of the management without disclosing your full designation.

The results of the interview and your personal views **will not be linked to you in the final report.** *In the event that I use direct quotations from this interview, please note that your identity will not be revealed. Any comments that you make that you deem "**off the record**" or similar, will not be quoted. Further, any information that you share will be kept **confidential** and can only be accessed by me on a **password protected computer**. There are also no foreseeable risks associated with your participation.*

The research undertaken is **solely for academic purposes** and once completed will be available electronically and can be accessed publicly.

If you have any questions, concerns, or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at Lwazi.sikiti@gmail.com or my supervisor Alison Wilson at awilso@mweb.co.za .

: Lwazi Sikiti
DEGREE: Masters in Built Environment (Housing)

ANNEXURE B: CONSENT FORM

FORMAL (SIGNED) CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION ON MASTERS DEGREE IN BUILT ENVIRONMENT (HOUSING) RESEARCH ON THE ROLE OF URBAN RESTRUCTURING ZONE IN FACILITATING WELL LOCATED AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN THE CITY OF JOHANNESBURG.

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE & PLANNING

Participant: COJ Department of Development Planning- Director at the City Transformation unit of the Department of Development Planning (Mr Eric Raboshakga)

I hereby confirm that I have been informed by Lwazi Sikiti (student number 1788327) of the purpose, procedures, expectations and my rights as a participant. I have received, read and understand the written participant information sheet. I have also been informed of:

- ☐ My participation as being in my personal capacity as a housing practitioner and not in my capacity as an employee of the organisation I am employed by
- ☐ That the student is an official of the City of Joburg municipality and that this research is being carried out in his personal capacity as a student and not as a municipal official. In light of this, I am aware that my participation or non-participation in this research has no bearing on my past, current and future relationship with the City of Johannesburg or any of his official duties within the municipality.
- ☐ My recourse as a participant should I feel the student is using his City of Johannesburg official standing to prejudice my participation or non-participation in this study as being to notify his employer the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) through the company's ethics committee on 011 688 7800 or alternatively notify the Wits School of Architecture and Planning's Ethics Committee on 011 717 7692.
- ☐ My relevance to the research topic as a social housing stakeholder who is familiar with the use of restructuring zones in the planning and implementation of social housing
- ☐ The voluntary nature, refusal to answer, and withdrawing from the study with no associated risk
- ☐ No payment or incentives
- ☐ No loss of benefits or risks associated with participating or refusal to participate in the interview
- ☐ Anonymity in that participants names will not be used in the research and shall be instead represented through coded names such as Respondent A or B etc
- ☐ Confidentiality of research transcripts between the researcher and respondent
- ☐ How the research findings will be disseminated

I therefore agree to participate in this study by completing the interview.

PARTICIPANT:

_____
Printed name

_____ _____

ANNEXURE C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview questions for the research study on the perceptions of social housing stakeholders on the use of restructuring zones in planning social housing.

Introductory questions

{Introduction of myself, project, methodology, data handling, data storage}

1. Can you introduce yourself and what you do in your current role?

Theme 1: Perceptions of urban restructuring as a social housing objective

2. Please describe what you understand by urban restructuring as a policy objective of social housing in Johannesburg?
    a. How in your view has social housing been effective in realising the urban restructuring objective?
    b. How can the implementation of social housing be improved to better facilitate urban restructuring in your opinion?

Theme 2: Perceptions of restructuring zones as tools for planning social housing

3. What is your view on the role of restructuring zones in facilitating the planning and development of social housing in Johannesburg?
    a. In your view are RZs as spatial tools for social housing effective in unlocking social housing opportunities? If not why do you think they are or they are not?

Theme 3: Perceptions of Strengths Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats in the social housing sector

4. What would you say are the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats of RZs as spatial targeting tools for the planning and development of social housing?
    a. What in your view should change in the RZ demarcation process and what do you think should continue happening in the RZ process?

Theme 4: Perceptions of decision making tensions during the restructuring zone process

5. Given the multiplicity of actors and decision makers in the RZ identification process, do you feel that the COJ has enough decision making power in relation to province and national in the decision making process of identifying RZs?

    a. How has SPLUMA affected the RZ identification process specifically and social housing delivery in general?
6. In your view what is the role of province in the identification of RZ's, and are there any conflicts with local government?
7. In your opinion do you think that social housing developments in Johannesburg are guided by the RZ demarcation process or do they follow a different trajectory and what factors are responsible for this?

8. How can the COJ improve its planning and implementation of social housing projects?

9. Any examples of good practices that you can offer in the use restructuring zones for planning and implementing social housing?

ANNEXURE D: ETHICS CLEARANCE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP072/08/2018

PROJECT TITLE:	What is the role of urban restructuring zones in facilitating social housing opportunities?
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Lwazi Sikiti (Student No: 1788327)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Masters of Built Environment (MBE)
DATE CONSIDERED:	16 January 2019
EXPIRY DATE:	16 January 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	Approved

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 16 – 01 – 2019

cc: Supervisor/s: Alison Wilson

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Signature

22/01/2019
Date

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