

LOW INCOME RENTAL HOUSING, A NEGLECTED COMPONENT OF URBAN REGENERATION STRATEGIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN INNER CITIES:

A case study of the Durban inner city

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for admittance to the degree of Master of Housing in the School of Built Environment and Development Studies:

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DECLARATION

I, Nombuso Nomfundo Qwabe hereby declare that;

- 1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
- 2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- 3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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DEDICATION

To my Mummy, Namuhla & Snazo

In spite of being a single mother you managed, through the grace of God, to raise four God-fearing, multifaceted & educated young black women mum. Thank you for tirelessly investing in my personal development. Namuhla thank you for paving the way of academic excellence! Snazo more than I do it for myself, I do it for you.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BID Business Improvement District

BNG Breaking New Ground

CBD Central Business District

CID City Improvement District

CRU Community Residential Unit

DHS Department of Human Settlements

HDA Housing Development Agency

ICC International Convention Centre

IDP Integrated Development Plan

ITRUMP Inner City EThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme

JSE Johannesburg Stock Exchange

KZN Kwa-Zulu Natal

LED Local Economic Development

NASHO National Association of Social Housing Organisations

RDP Reconstruction and Development Programme

SALGA South African Local Government Association

SH Social Housing

SHF Social Housing Foundation

SHI Social Housing Institution

SHRA Social Housing Regulatory Authority

UDZ Urban Development Zone

UN-Habitat United Nations Human Settlements Programme

ABSTRACT

Various factors are responsible for the degeneration and decay of South African inner cities, many of which are directly linked to the country's history of political, social, economic and spatial inequality. In attempts to remedy the injustices of apartheid planning, the government initiated a major push in the National Housing Policy for a better integration of housing within inner cities. Breaking New Ground (BNG) put great emphasis on the role of social housing as a driver for urban regeneration. Stating that low-income rental interventions may also be used to facilitate the acquisition, rehabilitation and conversion of vacant or dilapidated buildings as part of a broader urban renewal strategy.

However, the urban regeneration strategies implemented by the municipalities have been similar in terms of their vision and content. The primary focus has been centred on economic growth. The core of the strategies generally emphasise attracting sustained private investments and creating a functioning property market leading to a rise in property value and displacement of the inner city poor. Emphasis has also been on the improvement of municipal infrastructure, the regulation of informal trading and the eradication of crime and grime. Unfortunately these strategies are characterised by a glaring weakness of the housing component.

This dissertation was aimed at expressing the need for development of low-income rental housing within South African inner cities as an effective yet neglected component of urban regeneration strategies in the country. The study made reference to the inner city of Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal in particular. The study sought to; assess the current state of urban decline and the housing situation within the Durban inner city, discuss urban regeneration strategies implemented nationally and internationally, and showcase the potential role of low-income rental housing as a driver of regeneration strategies.

Primary data was sourced through observation and semi-structured interviews with municipal, provincial government, ward counselor and Section 21 company officials. This was done to answer the question, 'why has low-income rental housing become a neglected component of urban regeneration strategies within the Durban inner city, despite the apparent need and it being highlighted as such in Housing policy'.

The information gathered from the interviews was analysed using thematic analysis. After analysing the information, the following were some of the findings; the Durban inner city was in dire need of regeneration as well as low-income rental housing that is not limited to social housing, as the majority of the inner city poor do not meet the income bracket requirement. Data also expressed challenges such as land availability and financial constraints had limited the scale of low-income rental housing development within the inner city. Perhaps the most integral finding was that, despite the push in housing policy of low-income rental housing as a driver of urban regeneration, strong linkages between the two had not been facilitated through a corresponding national regeneration policy or municipal programmes and initiative.

The study made a number of recommendations, such as; EThekwini Municipality needs to strongly consider developing Community Residential Units (CRU) in order to accommodate the inner city poor who earn below R1500 per month; the development of a national urban regeneration policy which makes strong linkages between low-income rental housing and urban regeneration. With regards to the issue of land availability, the Municipality should use Land-Use Schemes to deny development consent instead of low-income rental housing within the inner city.

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CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH INTRODUCTION & RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

Urban areas are complex and dynamic systems. They reflect the many processes that drive physical, social, environmental and economic transition and they themselves are prime generators of such change. No town or city is immune from the external forces that dictate the need to adapt nor the internal pressures that can fast track growth or decline (Roberts & Sykes, 2008). Cities respond to the process of urban decline differently. These responses are typically grounded in ideological assumptions as to the underlying nature and cause of decline (Engelbrecht; 2003).

South African cities inherited a dysfunctional urban environment with skewed settlement patterns that may be functional but are inefficient and have huge service infrastructural backlog in historically underdeveloped areas. During Apartheid, South African cities developed in a pattern very much dictated by policies intended for racial segregation therefore, South African cities are faced with challenges linked to the legacy of Apartheid, delayed urbanization and Political transformation (Onatu; 2012).

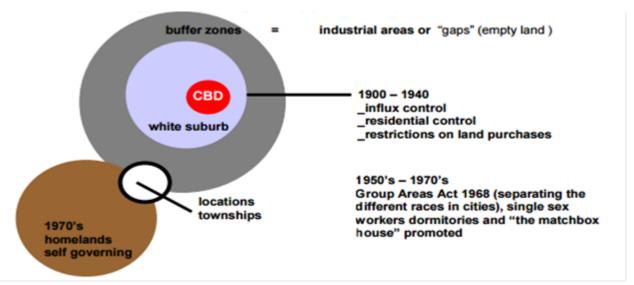


Figure 1: Structure of South African inner cities inherited from Apartheid era (Osman, 2008)

Figure one illustrates urban apartheid planning patterns; The Central Business Districts (CBD) were buffered from black townships by 'gaps', which consisted of large tracts of land used as major highways or industrial areas. The black townships were isolated from the city but close enough to supply it with cheap labour. Post-Apartheid, the CBD has largely been abandoned by white owned businesses which moved into new centres in the suburbs and

the inner city has since experienced an influx of black South Africans and foreign immigrants (Housing Development Agency, 2013). However, the structure of the city remains unchanged and fragmented. Resulting in; difficult access to work and services, bland landscapes, and environmental degradation. Osman suggests that the CBD, new commercial centres, transport routes, the 'gaps' of land and the townships themselves should be connected so as to maximize the economic strength of South African cities (2008).

Urban regeneration according to Roberts and Sykes (2008), can be defined as, a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change. Essentially urban generation is concerned with the institution and organization dynamics that can manage of urban decline. Urban regeneration is distinctively rooted in practice rather than theory.

Limited effort has been made to regenerate South African inner cities with regards to policy and legislation. Current programmes and initiatives have been undertaken by the private sector or at local government level by a handful of municipalities across the country. Initially inner city regeneration in the South African context was primarily led by property owners and the business sector concerned with protecting their investment in inner cities suffering from urban decay. According to Onatu (2012), at the beginning of the 1990s these stakeholders started implementing Community or Business Improvement Districts (CIDs and BIDs) as a key mechanism to tackle inner city urban decay. This required municipal involvement through partnerships with the aim to jointly tackle issues of 'crime and grime'. According to Smith however, transition from the apartheid city to the post-apartheid city has resulted from the internal dynamics and contradictions of the apartheid system itself than from any deliberate process or attempt of reform (2002).

Oelofse contends that, low income rental housing investment is a key contributor to inner city regeneration efforts. Location of poor households within the inner cities holds many advantages for these households, especially in terms of the high levels of accessibility and limited traveling cost to economic opportunities available within inner cities. However, most decent inner city housing stock is unaffordable for most low income households. As a result

slum buildings and informal settlement formation on the outskirts of cities are unfortunately a characteristic of South African inner cities (2003).

This dissertation is aimed at expressing the need for development of low-income rental housing within South African inner cities as an effective yet neglected component of urban regeneration strategies in the country. The study makes reference to the inner city of Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal in particular. The study further will; assess the current state of urban decline and the housing situation within the Durban inner city, discuss urban regeneration strategies implemented nationally and internationally, and showcase the potential role of low-income rental housing as a driver of regeneration strategies.

1.2 Problem Statement

When the World Bank returned to South Africa after the political independence in 1994, it argued that South African cities were amongst the most inefficient in the World and called for restructuring to achieve higher densities and more compact urban development (Mabin and Smit, 1997). The concern of government not effectively dealing with urban decay and leaving reconstruction to chance has been expressed in literature. According to Engelbrecht, inner city decay solutions cannot merely be left to chance, time or the market. Rather, they require active intervention and management (2003).

According to the Housing Development Agency (HDA) and the National Association of Social Housing Organisation (NASHO), affordable low-income housing remains a neglected component of the urban regeneration of South African inner cities. In the absence of a national policy framework, urban regeneration has been driven by metropolitan municipalities mainly focused on reversing urban decay and supporting their own fiscal objectives. This has been done through promoting economic growth by enticing property investors back to the inner city and promising that the benefits will 'trickle down' to poor people (2013).

Renting is an important form of tenure for those who cannot afford to buy a house or who have other reasons to choose to rent. Statistics South Africa (2001), documented that in South Africa about 25% of households rent their accommodation, and this has steadily increased over the years. It is estimated that over 40% of households that rent live in what could be characterized as slum conditions. This points to a significant need for affordable

and decent rental housing options in the country (Urban Land Mark, 2010). This is also an indication that rental housing cannot be neglected as a housing option for low income households especially within the inner cities. The Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa (SERI) sums up the need for rental housing in inner cities effectively by raising the point that, in reality people live in inner city slums, as they do in informal settlements and backyard shacks, because there are no other affordable formal housing options available to them (2013).

Kate Tissington was quoted in The Daily Maverick, in an article about urban regeneration and public rental housing suggesting that, while the issue of low-income rental housing in the inner city has been repeatedly stressed in the myriad of policies, plans, programmes and strategies developed over the years, the reality is that very little has actually been done to address the lack of supply (2015).

The HDA and NASHO argue that, the current restructuring funding mechanisms supporting low-income rental housing development within inner city areas has failed to ensure the delivery of such housing within these areas. This has been largely accredited to problematic issues such uneven funding allocation. They further reiterate this point by documenting how Social Housing funding was spent spatially within the EThekwini Municipality. EThekwini Municipality received 28% of the Restructuring Capital Grant. However, of the 28% received only 15% of it went towards the inner city, with the bulk amount of 49% being allocated towards implementing Social Housing within the outer suburbs (2013).

1.3 Objectives of the study

This study was carried out to accomplish the following objectives:

- 1.1.1 To assess the current state of urban decline of South African inner cities.
- 1.1.2 To discuss strategies for Urban Regeneration.
- 1.1.3 To showcase the potential role of low-income rental housing as one of the drivers of urban regeneration.
- 1.1.4 To express the need for the development of low-income rental housing within the Durban inner city.
- 1.1.5 To conduct research on the best practises of urban regeneration locally and globally.

- 1.1.6 To assess the challenges being encountered in the implementation of urban regeneration.
- 1.1.7 To make recommendations for the current policy vacuum and the enhancement of urban regeneration programmes, strategies and plans within EThekwini Municipality.

1.4 Main Research Question

1.4.1 Why has low income rental housing become a neglected component of urban regeneration strategies within South African inner cities despite the apparent need for it and it being highlighted as such in Housing policy?

1.5 Subsidiary Questions

- 1.5.1 What is the current state of South African inner cities, more specifically, the Durban inner city?
- 1.5.3 What is the potential role of low-income rental housing in the realization of urban regeneration?
- 1.5.4 What benefits can urban regeneration from a low-income rental housing approach yield?
- 1.5.5 What are the best practices of urban regeneration locally and globally?
- 1.5.6 What are the current challenges being encountered in the implementation of urban regeneration in Durban?
- 1.5.7 What recommendations can be made for the current urban regeneration policy and legislative vacuum?

1.6 Hypothesis

The development of low income rental housing within South African inner cities can lead to the accomplishment of urban regeneration to counter urban decay and apartheid spatial planning patterns.

1.7 Study Justification

Low-income rental housing as a means of achieving urban regeneration within the inner city of Johannesburg has been examined through a number of policies, plans, strategies and programmes. This approach has been developed over the last twenty years to drive

investment and renewal in the inner city of Johannesburg, as well as provide low-income housing (Tissington, 2013).

However, the same has not translated in the Durban context. There has been limited academic research and municipal programmes, strategies, policies and plans centered on urban regeneration in the city especially within the context of initiatives being driven by low-income rental housing. According to Osman, this is problematic because a number of South African municipalities in an effort to address the challenge of inner city decay have placed a high premium on inner-city regeneration. An important part of this regeneration is the development of low-income rental housing. This is due to the fact that it has the potential to contribute significantly towards urban regeneration and restructure the Apartheid city, alleviate poverty and meet critical housing needs, especially for poor people who work in inner city areas (2008). Therefore, this study sought to fill the knowledge gap that currently exists around the potential role of low-income housing in achieving inner city regeneration within the EThekwini context.

1.8 Research Methodology

According to Polit and Hungler (2004), methodology refers to ways of obtaining, organising and analysing data. Its decisions depend on the nature of the research question. This section outlines the ways in which the study was conducted and the type of information that was collected to answer the main research question. This study explored the role of low-income rental housing as a means of achieving both effective and sustainable inner city regeneration, as well as ensuring well located housing delivery. The research methodology was qualitative in nature. The data was collected using both primary and secondary sources.

1.8.1 Qualitative Method

By definition qualitative research is the method of choice when the research question requires an understanding of processes, events and relationships in the context of the social or cultural situation. Instead of generating numerical data supporting or requiring clear cut hypotheses, qualitative research aims to produce factual descriptions based on face-to-face knowledge of individuals and social groups in their natural settings (Yoshikawa &Weisner, 2008).

Qualitative research considers that reality is subjective, constructed and diverse. It suggests that reality resides in the minds of people who construct it. It further articulates that

qualitative research sets researchers close to reality, uses open methods of data collection and employs a flexible research design because of its consideration of reality as being subjective (Sarantakos, 2005). This method was best suited for this study as it allowed for open ended knowledge, perception and experience extraction from stakeholders who were relevant to the study. It also presented the opportunity to gain understanding of the rationale behind the current state of urban regeneration and low-income rental housing in the Durban inner city.

1.8.2 Primary Sources of Data

Primary data refers to the information gathered from actual research conducted. For purposes of this research, data was obtained directly from first-hand respondents through semi-structured interviews and observation. The information was gathered to answer the question: Why has low income rental housing become a neglected component of urban regeneration strategies within South African inner cities despite the apparent need for it and it being highlighted as such in Housing policy?

1.8.2.1 Sampling Method

The study used purposive sampling to sample the appropriate informants. Neuman (2000) defines purposive as an acceptable kind of sampling for special situations. It uses the judgement of an expert in selecting cases or it selects cases with a specific purpose in mind. Officials from the following institutions were interviewed on the basis of their knowledge and experience with either urban regeneration initiatives or the low-income rental housing market: KwaZulu-Natal Departments of Human Settlements and EThekwini Municipality Human Settlements Department, EThekwini Municipality Inner City EThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme(ITRUMP), First Metro Housing Company, Ward Counselor and the EThekwini Development Planning, Environment and Management Unit.

The Deputy-Director of rental housing and Senior Housing officer at the Department of Human Settlements as well as the Deputy Head of Department at EThekwini Housing Department were interviewed. These officials were important to the study because of their knowledge of and experience with rental housing projects as well as their understanding as to why inner city rental housing development had been limited.

The Project Manager of First Metro Housing Company was vital to the study because the company has been involved in the development and management of social housing in the

Durban inner city. As a result they were in a position to have the answers as to why there had been limited low-income rental housing development within the inner city and the challenges related to the construction or refurbishment of rental housing buildings within the inner city. The Ward 28 Counselor was important to study as his ward is situated within the inner city and he was knowledgeable of the issues the ground level.

The Inner City EThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme (ITRUMP) deputy-director and the Deputy Head of Development Planning, Environment and Management Unit played a crucial role in the study as they are largely responsible for the regeneration of the Durban inner city. From them the study required an understanding as to what initiatives they have taken to regenerate the city, challenges they had faced and the contribution they had made to the development of policy, plans, strategies and programmes on urban regeneration in Durban.

1.8.2.3 Research Tools

1.8.2.3.1 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted and were conversational in nature. Each interview was geared at accessing the experiences and professional views of the interviewees allowing greater depth of understanding and conceptualization that is difficult to attain using structured interviews and questionnaire methods. According to Nachmias & Nachmias, semi-structured interviews afford researchers flexibility in the questioning process, allowing the interviewer to determine the wording of the questions, the clarification on unclear terms, the opportunity to change the order in which the questions are presented, and the ability to probe for additional information and detail when necessary (1996).

1.8.4 Secondary Data Collection

The following secondary sources on topics around urban decline, transformation, low-income rental housing market and urban regeneration strategies were utilized; books, journal articles, government documents, newspaper articles, periodicals and online material. The research traced the trajectory of some of these concepts and their evolution over time and placed it alongside the South African experience and especially that of the

1.9 Data Analysis

Thematic approach was used because according to Braun & Clarke, its flexibility makes it essential for analysing institutional arrangements in EThekwini Municipality (2006). Urban regeneration and low-income rental housing delivery were analysed with the same themes along which the study was carried out. This approach made it simple to identify and analyse themes emerging from the data gathered.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the research framework for this dissertation and has outlined the aim, research question, subsidiary question and hypothesis that will fuel this dissertation. A brief background to the study area has been provided in order for the reader to put into context the intention of the dissertation. The breakdown of each chapter and the various topics each chapter will discuss has been provided hence allowing the reader to clearly understand the direction the dissertation will proceed to take to ensure that the main research question is answered.

1.11 Structure of Dissertation

1.11.1 Chapter 1: Introduction and research methodology

This chapter will provide an introduction to the research. It states and explains the research problem as well as provide an outline of the research objectives. This chapter also provides key concepts, study justification, research methodology and data analysis of the dissertation.

1.11.2 Chapter 2: Theoretical, Conceptual and Legislative Framework

Chapter two will discuss the theoretical, conceptual and legislative framework of the study. It will also look at various theories, concepts and legislation and their relevance to the research topic.

1.11.3 Chapter 3: Literature Review

The chapter will provide a review of literature related to urban regeneration, inner cities and low-income rental housing.

1.11.4 Chapter 4: Historical Background of Case Study

This chapter aims at providing a historical background of the Durban inner city and an understanding of how the area grew into its current state.

1.11.5 Chapter 5: Research Findings, Data Analysis and Interpretation

This chapter will systematically compile the research findings and provide a clear analysis of them through means of data analysis and interpretation of findings.

1.11.6 Chapter 6: Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendation

Chapter five will provide a summary of findings. It revisits the research question and provides concluding remarks that reflect what will be found on the ground. It will close by providing recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL, CONCEPTUAL & LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical, conceptual and legislative framework in addition to a broad range of literature. The chapter outlines Competitive City, Collaborative and Neoliberalism theories that were utilised in this research to construct the framework for analysis. The theories and concepts used provide the underpinnings for framing the analysis of urban regeneration and low-income rental housing within the Durban inner city and the groundwork upon which this dissertation was built.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Competitive Cities Theory

The Competitive Cities Theory is located within the broader globalization discourse which emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as the new dominator of political and intellectual thought (Percy, 2003). According to McCarthy (2006), the theory suggests that cities are in competition for investment at a global scale. Many of these cities have sought to promote an image that is hoped will attract investors on an international basis. Strategies to garner investment range from cities stressing the development or improvement of the urban environment, educational facilities, sporting facilities, scientific capacity, heritage and or any number of other features which are considered to be attractive or significant for potential investment. Many of these strategies are often linked with the city's own marketing strategies which often make use of high-profile physical development schemes as a central component (Healey *et al*, 1992). Inner cities are thought of as playing an important role in these strategies due to their ability to capture investment opportunities by attracting new industries, thus positioning the city on the global economic stage (Healey *et al*, 1992).

Urban regeneration can be understood from this perspective as an economic and physical intervention that has the ability to reverse urban decline. Simultaneously create an environment that better enhances city's investment prospects and enables it to compete more effectively for investment. In the South African context, this notion is reflected in the various strategic planning documents such as the National Development Plan (NDP) and Integrated Development Planning (IDPs) which indicate an orientation to futuristic growth of urban areas spatially and institutionally, with a glaring emphasis on motivating competitiveness (Thwala, 2014).

This theory is criticized for giving rise to an entrepreneurial approach to regenerating, which has led to property-led strategies often dominated by business interests leading to the gentrification of certain neighbourhoods (Harrision, 2002). Thus the competitive cities concept together with obligations of international competitiveness usually clash with the immediate interests of poor citizens within a city. Harvey (1989) in support of this statement suggests that, "In recent decades, cities have been run in a business style with entrepreneurial discourses. In this sense, urban policies are addressed towards capital interest instead of the fulfilment of citizen's needs." In the South African context, Harrision argues that the removal of informal traders or hawkers is often justified or defended in terms of the city image, without consideration of its impact on the trader (2002). Despite its criticism the Competitive Cities Theory remains a dominant force in literature and urban policy throughout the world.

2.2.2 Collaborative Planning Approach

The Collaborative Planning Approach is rooted in Jurgen Habermas' Communicative Rationality Theory which argues that urban regeneration strategies are formed by ways of acting that people can actively choose. These ways of acting can help to develop stable patterns of consensus that in turn can inform and shape effective partnership arrangements for urban regeneration (Healey, 1997). The approach suggest that there are communities which exist in knowledge production, the interaction of such communities form effective strategies for spatial planning or regeneration. The interaction between such communities involves discussion and the search for possibilities, as in the case of public participation exercises concerning local spatial plans (McCarthy, 2006).

Therefore, Collaborative Planning advocates for the participation of residents and all other affected parties in the decision making process concerning proposed changes to their environment or surroundings. Ongoing communication between the public and planners is an integral element of collaborative planning. Its methods are supportive of community participation through diverse and democratic communication channels in a bid to achieve the planning goals for a particular area. Ongoing communication between the public and planners is an element of collaborative planning because this ensures that the community have active participation and input in the design of the renewed space (Allmendinger and Jones, 2002).

"In essence his theory advocates for a view of planning that emphasizes widespread public participation, reaching consensus through public dialogue rather than exercise of power, avoiding privileging of experts and bureaucrats, and replacing the model of the technical expert with one of the reflective planner" (Dinath, 2002).

This theory is relevant to the South African urban planning context due to the history of inequality and spatial, economic and political marginalization. Objectives and practices of inner city planning need to respond to the needs and reflect those who inhabit the space. This can only be achieved by incorporating them into the decision making processes.

Bent Flyvbjerg, a renowned urban geographer, professor and Chair at Oxford University, has criticised the foundation of the Collaborative Theory by stating that, "Habermas's effort to achieve more rationality and democracy draw attention away from critical relations of power" (Flyvbjerg, 2002). He goes further to say, the theory fails to consider barriers of the equitable decision making, such as poverty and abuse. Gunder, contends that the theory is flawed in its belief that understanding and agreement are guaranteed results of communication (2003). However, Sandercock supports the theory by suggesting planners need to be more attentive to the needs of those they plan for as they are reflective of the potentially skewed manner in which planners view urban problems (1995).

2.2.3 Neoliberalism Theory

Harvey (2005) defines Neoliberalism as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade". At its foundation the theory calls for economic growth through the free market that has no interference or involvement of the government (Mayo, 2005). Neo-liberalism advocates that the government should only have a role in creating an institutional framework which supports free market practices. In instances where the market does not exist, the role of the government is to create the market and withdraw from influencing it functionality (Shaikh, 2005). The sovereignty of the individual is a central pillar of the neoliberal approach where the freedom of choice by individuals is promoted. People must ensure their individual quality of life and become consumers of services rather than recipients of basic needs provided by a more welfare-oriented state (Painter, 2000).

The theory is criticized by Lofchie as having shifted Housing strategies from social redistribution ideologies to being market based over the past quarter-century and having shaped housing policy of a number of developing countries including South Africa (1997). This move has also been criticized by the likes of Rust (2005) who contend that, "45% of households in South Africa earn below R3500 per month and can only realize their housing needs through the various government subsidy schemes". According to Huchzermeyer, there is a real and growing concern that the South African government's neo-liberal turn may be intensifying social and class division, and may be prioritising the country's standing in the global economy above the need of the poor (2003).

2.3 Conceptual Framework

2.3.1 Urban Decline

The magnitude of change in many of the worlds' cities is unprecedented, and processes of urban restructuring are re-shaping cities in ways unforeseen in earlier decades. One effect of such processes is what has come to be known as urban decline (Healey, 2006). In the context of urban decline, the urban problem may be defined as the relative self-sustaining underperformance of many local urban economies and the resulting mix of economic, social physical and environmental exclusion. Without intervention, many urban areas appear to experience a self-sustaining downward spiral of decline in many respects, such downward spiral involves a variety of symptoms at a local level which include the formation of slum buildings (McCarthy, 2007).

Social indicators of urban decline include; increasing income differentials, crime and racial conflict, de-industrialization, manufacturing decline, increasing unemployment, government dependency and infrastructure decay (Pacione, 1997). According to Healey, the issues underpinning problems of urban decline in a global context may be seen as a result of changes within the dynamics of Western capitalism (2006). The underlying causes of urban problems are therefore complex and interconnected. Figure two shows Roberts and Sykes explanation for urban decline which include globalisation, spatial planning patterns, labour exploitation and rural to urban migration.

Name of explanation Explanation	
Structuralist	Structural change in the global economy; rise of new economies with differing spatial/locational requirements.
Counter-urbanisation	Pull factors of rural areas and the push factors arising in urban areas causing firms and population to move out.
Marxist	Need to maximise exploitative potential of capital by using cheaper, flexible, less militant labour that can be found in less urbanised areas.
Sectoral or planning	Unintentional effects of spatial planning policies such as development of greenbelt encouraging firms to move well away from urban centres.
External ownership	Increasing external ownership of firms in urban areas by others with little local allegiance.
Product-cycle	Standardisation means that manufacturing can hannen almost

Figure two: Explanations for Urban Decline (Roberts and Sykes, 2008)

Standardisation means that manufacturing can happen almost anywhere so production elsewhere becomes highly probable.

2.3.2 Urban Decline Interventions

2.3.2.1 Revitalisation

The revitalisation of an area involves the introduction of relatively small and sustainable changes that aim at making a space aesthetically pleasing. The improvements and amendments are often small scale and involve the utilization of existing infrastructure. Examples of urban revitalization include the development of community halls, swimming pools and green spaces (Temelova, 2009).

2.3.2.2 Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation is a holistic approach which seeks to improve existing urban environments as opposed to demolition. At the forefront of rehabilitation programmes is a focus of treating social problems of communities through the improvement of social service provisions (Healey, 2006).

2.3.2.3 Redevelopment

Redevelopment is the removal of existing buildings and the re-use of cleared land for the implementation of new projects. This approach is applicable to areas in which buildings are in serious deteriorated condition and have no preservation value (Khan, 2008).

2.3.3 Urban Regeneration

Roberts and Sykes define urban regeneration as, "a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of an area that has been subject to change" (2008). Fundamentally urban regeneration is concerned with the dynamics of managing urban change, hence its deep roots in practice rather than theory. The history of urban regeneration is therefore linked to the history of urban decline.

In most instances regeneration takes place in the inner city where economic activities are concentrated. The study of inner city regeneration had been recognized in Europe from the late 1960s and gradually the western European cities moved from tackling the problem of outdated housing through policies of mass slum clearance and replacement to more sensitive programs of housing renovation and area improvement (Mirza, 2010).

According to Steenkamp (2004), in the South African context, the wellbeing of urban areas is an important objective of the South African society. Urban areas are the economic generators and the social, political and cultural hubs and are home to more than half the population. However, Tissington argues that, South African urban areas are characterized by diverse problems such as; urban sprawl, inner city decay, rapid urbanization and in spite of this it is alarming to consider that (2013). Below is a list of a number of urban regeneration strategies;

2.3.3.1 Mega-Events

Roche defines Mega-Events as events which garner global interest and often have long-term impact on host cities, such as the Olympics (2000). Loftman et al suggests that such events are often justified due to their ability to attract international investment and promote new urban images (1995). Cities rely on factors such as their image, environment, culture and quality of life to be chosen as hosts (Andranovich et al, 2001).

The hosting of such events is another mechanism employed to spearhead the goals of urban regeneration and as a tool of urban governance. This is due to the fact that Mega-Events have the ability to conciliate agendas and cooperation among different actors towards a common cause. The fixed deadlines also serve as an incentive for the completion of planned projects that would otherwise take a longer time to be concluded (Silvestre, 2009). The

costs associated with staging these events are so high, that they are only justifiable if linked to a major regeneration initiatives. This is reflected by how the South African Government allocated R17.4 billion towards direct investment into the 2010 FIFA World Cup, which was then integrated into the refurbishment and upgrading of the country's urban infrastructure (Gunter, 2011).

It may be concluded that prestige projects, whilst providing a useful mechanism for the physical regeneration of urban areas, also fall short of addressing the fundamental social and economic divisions within cities (Loftman, et al. 1995). The challenge for developers and government may be to demonstrate how these urban initiatives can generate socially just outcomes.

2.3.3.2 Flagship Projects

Flagship projects or developments can be defined as significant, high profile developments that play an influential and catalytic role in urban regeneration. These projects are often justified if they attract investment (Carriere, 2002). Supporters of flagship projects often point to the successful promotion of the recipient area as justification. Critics point to the distortion of the local marketplace and the absorption of many years' demand into one part of the area (Roberts and Sykes, 2008).

Flagship projects have been carried out in Britain in the form of office complexes and waterfront residential developments. In the South African context, they are usually in the form of convention centres, festival markets, major office complexes, new retail developments, leisure and sporting facilities (Hoogendoorn et al. 2008). Flagship projects implemented in EThekwini Municipality include the Point Waterfront Redevelopment and Ushaka Marine World.

2.3.3.3 Public Art

Public Art is not merely art placed or created in public spaces. Landi (2012) defines Public Art as art which has a desire to engage with its audiences and to create spaces. Whether material, virtual or imagined, these spaces offer opportunities for people to identify themselves. This is achieved perhaps by creating a renewed reflection on community on the uses of public spaces or of human behaviour within them. Public art, then, does not only have to be expressed visually. It can be expressed in terms of soundscapes and media (Sharp et al; 2005). Public art's intended role is amongst others; the creation of local

distinctiveness, attracting foreign and local investment, boosting cultural tourism, enhancing land values, creating employment and increasing use of urban spaces (Deutsche, 1996).

Minty (2006:424) suggests that public art is often considered a driver for social change due to its perceived ability to reach masses of people. Sharp suggests that, by transforming public spaces in some way artists encourage people to congregate and meet and interact with each other in new ways (2005).

2.3.4 Gentrification

The process of gentrification emerged as a controversial form of urban regeneration. Porter and Shaw (2009) define it as a class remake which is driven by developments aimed at making spaces for more affluent users (Goetze, 1979). Gentrification and urban regeneration can be argued to have similar objectives however their outcomes differ. According to Kennedy & Leonard (2001), gentrification results in the displacement or exclusion of lower income earning residents, businesses and other users of a space. Whereas, Urban Regeneration is essentially only considered gentrification when it results in the exclusion or displacement of occupants in particular area.

Regenerating a particular urban area often influences an increase in land values, which in most cases leads to the original inhabitants of the area being unable to afford to continue living in the areas (Porter and Shaw, 2009). Weinstein (2015) contends that, when an area has been regenerated landlords see the opportunity to increase rent. Subsequently, existing tenants who cannot afford the increase are forced to move and higher-income tenants replace them. Despite its criticism of devastating economic and racial diversity of city neighbourhoods, some believe without gentrification neighbourhoods would remain severely dilapidated. Winkler (2009) suggests that the movement of capital and of higher-income residents into a neighbourhood serve as important revitalising sources for areas that have long been under resourced by low-income households.

Therefore, cities in pursuit of world class status need to strike a fine balance between economic growth and social responsibilities. To ensure that development goals are met by making provision for low income residents, one must take full consideration for the implications of seemingly positive outcomes. Winkler (2009) reiterates this notion by stating

that "an increase in tax, land values and the extensive improvement to the aesthetics of an environment are examples of factors which would have negative implications on less affluent inhabitants. Concepts such as economic competitiveness, social cohesion and responsive governance serve as examples of how gentrification is being replaced by euphemisms to prevent criticism."

It is for such reasons that this research seeks to suggest that the development of low income rental housing within inner cities has the potential to not only ensure social and economic diversity but could meet both regeneration and housing delivery objectives.

2.3.5 Low income rental Housing

State housing assistance in South Africa is mainly targeted at households earning less than R3 500 per month. Those earning between R1500 and R3500 are considered low-income households, while those earning below R1500 per month are defined as poor households (Tissington, 2013). For the purpose of this research, low-income rental housing is defined as public rental housing targeted at both of these income groups with specific attention to Social Housing and Community Residential Units.

2.3.5.1 Social Housing

Social Housing is subsidised public rental housing targeted at the upper end of the low-income market. The targeted income group earn between R1500 and R3500 per month. Social Housing requires institutional management which is provided by accredited social housing companies and is developed within designated Restructuring Zones (Department of Human Settlements, 2010).

2.3.5.2Community Residential Units (CRU) Programme

The Community Residential Units Programme provides a capital subsidy to develop public rental housing stock, which is owned by municipalities or provincial government. The target group is low-income households earning between R800 and R3 500 per month who are unable to enter the formal private rental or Social Housing market. The focus of the programme is on public hostel re-development into family units (KZN DHS, 2012).

2.4 South African Housing Legislative & Policy Framework

2.4.1 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is the supreme law of the country. Section twenty-six of the Bill of Rights states every South African has the right to have access to adequate housing. The state is instructed by subsection two, to take reasonable legislative and other measure, within its available resources to achieve the progressive realization of this right (1996). Tissington (2011) describes adequate housing as, housing which has access to land, electricity, livelihoods, water and other basic amenities.

Current housing conditions within the inner city are characterized by poor physical structures which do not comply with municipal by-laws and have limited or no access to basic services like water, sanitation, electricity and refuse removal (Steenkamp, 2004). These are seemingly inadequate living conditions that require effective and efficient intervention by the government. Despite subsection two of the Constitution requiring the state to take reasonable legislative measures in realizing the right to have access to adequate housing, low-income housing remains a neglected component of inner city housing options (Tissington, 2013).

2.4.2 Housing White Paper (1994)

The Housing White Paper is the principal, overarching national housing policy. It provided the agenda for the country's ambitious housing development goal of constructing one million state-funded houses in the first five years of the post-apartheid government in office (Department of Housing, 1994). The National Housing Subsidy Scheme played a pivotal role in the policy as it was one of the systems which provided capital subsidies for housing beneficiaries, enabling them to assume full ownership. The significant principles of policy and development which were introduced in the White Paper, have had and continue to have far reaching influence in guiding development in respect to housing policy and implementation (Hezermeyer, 2008).

The South African housing terrain has proven to be quite complex. This has been accredited to the deliberate policy and legislative framework of socio-economic and spatial exclusion and marginalisation created during apartheid. However, in the post-apartheid era Housing legislative and policy framework around housing has proven to be quite progressive, such as the case of the Housing White Paper. Unfortunately, this has not been reciproljk; cated in terms of implementation. Where government has been able to be progressive in terms of

housing policy, it has unfortunately been far less progressive on implementation (Smeddle-Thompson, 2012).

2.4.3 Breaking New Ground

Breaking New Ground was adopted in September 2004 as a revised framework for the development of sustainable human settlements. BNG is largely formed upon the principles found in the White Paper on Housing. It specifies how the government intends on achieving its overall housing objectives (Department of Human Settlements, 2004). Even though it does not introduce a new policy direction, it does however outline a new comprehensive plan aimed at the development of sustainable human settlements (Charlton & Kihato, 2006).

The Breaking New Ground housing plan introduced a provision for affordable rental housing as a priority of national housing policy, whereas, the provision of low-income rental housing had taken a back seat to Restructuring Development Programmes housing development in the Housing White Paper. Despite this progression rental housing programmes have either targeted middle-income earners, or have not been implemented at scale (Tissington, 2013).

With regard to urban regeneration, BNG states that the government encourages the promotion and development of affordable inner city housing by municipalities to ensure the inclusion of poor inhabitants in urban regeneration initiatives. The policy states, inner city areas are traditionally integrated into the benefits of the urban economy, which are close to transport hubs and commercial enterprise and work localities. They also have higher order social amenities including hospitals, libraries and galleries. They accordingly provide a key focus for urban restructuring.

The policy envisions that the use of the social housing interventions, as well as the new incentive to facilitate loan finance for individuals earning above R3 500 per month (referred to as the middle income group), will create demand for well-located housing and create an incentive for the redevelopment of inner city properties. It places great emphasis on rental housing, through the Social Housing Programme, in order to enhance the mobility of people and promote a non-racial and integrated society. It further introduces a new funding mechanism to enhance delivery and accommodate a mix of different social housing forms including medium density housing, communal housing, transitional housing and hostel

redevelopment. BNG further states that, social housing interventions may also be used to facilitate the acquisition, rehabilitation and conversion of vacant office blocks and other vacant/dilapidated buildings as part of a broader urban renewal strategy (DHS, 2004).

However, according to Tissington there is a major flaw in the BNG's conceptualisation of social housing as a solution for urban regeneration and low-income inner city housing. The shortcoming exists because social housing projects (where they have been built) often fail to match the income affordability levels of the majority of individuals and households in inner city areas. The percentage of social housing units built to accommodate lower-income households is negligible given the scale of demand in a city like Johannesburg, for example (2013).

2.4.4 National Housing Code (2009)

The National Housing Code, was first published October 2000 in line section four of the Housing Act. It sets out the underlying policy principles, guidelines, norms and standards which apply to the National Housing Programmes (Department of Human Settlements, 2009). In 2009 a revised National Housing Code was published and contains the BNG-compliant National Housing Programmes which are described as the building blocks in the provision of sustainable human settlements. The programmes include rental housing programmes and its role is to convert such programmes into flexible provisions and guide lines which are simple to interpret (Tissington, 2011).

2.4.5 The Rental Housing Act (1999)

The Rental Housing Act is the regulatory national legislation that governs the relationship between landlords and tenants in all typologies of rental housing. Section 2(1)(a)(i) of the Act specifies the governments' role and responsibility as a promoter of a stable and increasing market aimed at addressing the latent demand for rental housing amongst those previously disadvantaged. The section further states that, this could be achieved by an introduction of various incentives and means that improve the situation in the rental housing market (Department of Housing, 1999).

Section 2(3) of the Act articulates that a policy framework expressing the promotion of rental housing by the government must be set. The framework in question must also clearly set norms and standards to be utilised. SALGA (2012) has identified through research that the provision of rental housing subsidies is instrumental in dealing with the nationwide

shortage, therefore it is fitting that the Human Settlements Minister is empowered to a rent subsidy programme to help increase the supply of rental housing for low income persons by section 3 of the Act.

In spite of the Act, inner city evictions from private rental accommodation, as well as from so-called 'bad buildings', together with exploitation in private rental accommodation are commonplace in South African inner cities. In part, this situation is due to, the huge demand for low-income rental housing, the extremely limited supply of state subsidised accommodation in the inner city, and the lack of public housing stock or rent control in buildings. As a result, there is a crisis in inner city buildings, where access to services are denied and upgrading has been side-lined in favour of market-driven 'regeneration' initiatives by the city in partnership with the private sector (SERI, 2013).

2.4.6 Social Housing Act (2008)

The Act aims to establish and promote a sustainable social housing environment and defines the functions of national, provincial and local governments in respect of social housing, it also allows for the undertaking of approved projects by other delivery agents with the benefit of public money and gives statutory recognition to Social Housing Institutions (SHIs). Further, it provides for the establishment of the Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) and defines its role as the regulator of all SHIs that have obtained, or are in the process of obtaining, public funds. SHRA also deals with the accreditation of SHIs in terms of this legislation and regulations pursuant to it (DHS, 2008).

2.4.7 Urban Regeneration Policy Vacuum

In the absence of a national policy framework, urban regeneration has been driven by metropolitan municipalities mainly focused on reversing urban decay and supporting their own fiscal objectives through promoting economic growth by enticing property investors back to the inner city and promising that the benefits will trickle down to poor people (HDA & NASHO, 2013).

The potential of low-income rental housing in terms of urban regeneration could also be leveraged if there was a proactive urban regeneration policy that take into consideration its role as such. Although the current housing policy puts the emphasis on the role of social housing as a driver for inner city regeneration, the current urban regeneration framework is

very weak and incomplete in terms of its housing component. This is evident in the vacuum of a national urban regeneration policy (HAD &Nasho, 2013).

2.5 South African Governments' Commitment to Urban Regeneration

2.5.1 National Government

All three spheres of government have added urban regeneration to their agenda with varied commitment and this process resulted notably with legislations on Urban Development Zones (UDZs) and Community Investment Districts. UDZs can be considered as the only piece of policy related to urban regeneration established at a national level. To a certain extent, the Municipal Finance Management Act (2003) also provides a framework for urban regeneration since it governs municipal financial management and defines the conditions and processes for public–private partnerships (Leary & McCarthy, 2013).

2.5.2 Provincial Government

The provincial government's commitment to urban regeneration is patchy. Gauteng and Western Cape are the only provinces with urban regeneration policy frameworks. A Gauteng White Paper on Urban Regeneration and Integration Plan for City, Town and Township Centres was released in 2003. This paper highlighted the potential of city centres for urban regeneration. In 2005 another White Paper on Urban Regeneration was released. But it is difficult to assess to what extent these documents are related and have been implemented (NASHO, 2013).

2.5.3 Municipalities

Metropolitan municipalities have taken the primary leadership role in establishing urban regeneration strategies to help reverse the decline of their inner cities, protect their asset base and support their own fiscal objectives. Municipalities involved in urban regeneration have generally acted as facilitators for private sector interests and this has given consent on which ever regeneration strategies they deem fit (Thala, 2009). Municipal interventions have therefore been generally concentrated on supporting public private partnerships for property owners to tackle 'grime and crime' and infrastructure investment as a way of drawing on increased private sector investment. Most of these plans and strategies are either silent on the role of affordable housing or at best vague keeping it to statements within broad policy objectives (SERI, 2012).

2.6 Summary

The chapter discussed a number of theories, concepts and policies all of which form part of the frame work that structured this research. A comprehensive understanding of the concepts of urban regeneration and low income rental housing were fundamental as they were the cornerstone of this research. It is necessary to understand the theories presented in the study as they will be used to investigate, analyse the research findings. The conceptual framework provided the knowledge required for analysing the urban decline, low income rental housing development and urban regeneration strategies within the Durban inner city.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the literature review section is to provide a context in which the study is set, drawing on the history and current strategies of urban regeneration. The history of the subject matter is explored thoroughly, followed by an inspection into the global and national approaches to achieving urban regeneration. This section discusses cities as well as low-income rental housing.

3.2 Cities

Cities are perhaps one of humanity's most complex creations, never finished, never definitive. Cities contain both order and chaos. In them reside beauty and ugliness, virtue and vice. They are physical manifestations of history and culture and incubators of innovation, industry, technology, entrepreneurship and creativity. Cities drive national economies by creating wealth, enhancing social development and providing employment (UN Habitat, 2008). It is not surprising then to consider that, Cities are home to more than half of the world's seven billion people. Current urbanization trends indicate that an additional three billion people will be living in cities by 2050, increasing the urban share of the world's population to two-thirds (Aromar & Rosenzweig, 2013). It is also expected that much of this urban population growth will occur in low- and middle-income countries, especially in Asia and Africa (DESA, 2012).

Madon & Sahay (2001) suggest, the attractiveness of the cities lay in their ability to drive social, political and economic transformation and offer opportunities for global economic activity. Cities are also considered as nodes of regional and international communication and transportation, engines of economic growth, seats of political power, iconic cultural spaces and social melting pots (Beall & Fox, 2009). In the same token, cities are also breeding grounds for poverty, exclusion and environmental degradation. Freund and Padayachee (2002) take this point even further by contending that, cities harbor numerous conflicts. Conflicts such as the control of urban space and urban development plans, political influence, urban governance and legal frameworks, fragile institutions, low capacity of local authorities, and the lack of sound monitoring mechanisms.

3.2.1 The Inner-City

Historically, inner cities have been known to play strong economic roles for cities around the world (Engelbrecht, 2004). The magnitude of economic activity within inner cities suggests that they are recognised as a strong sources of revenue for local government, as well as a significant sources of regional growth. This is also evident in the Durban inner city context which is the smallest in size within the EThekwini however, is the largest contributor to the Municipal GDP (EThekwini Municipality, 2014). Inner cities and older declining areas are also commonly known as being prone to high levels of deterioration (Couch, 1990). The rationale for regenerating inner cities is justified through the strong relationship between urban regeneration and economic growth. Areas which are restored are usually those which have high levels of economic activity, those which have deteriorated but have potential to attract more business (Robinson, 2003).

With the continuous rise of urban sprawl and associated decline of existing inner cities, there is pressure to rebuild or establish new urban hubs in decentralised urban areas. The purpose of creating these urban centres is to provide multi-functional facilities, with strong transportation hubs, as well as commercial, retail, cultural and residential components. Leading cities in the country have adopted a similar approach to international countries by upholding the inner city as the core area of activity and economic growth (Engelbrecht, 2004).

The majority of South Africa's existing inner city residents are poor; many relying on the informal sector as a means of income. Numerous inner city residents reside in dilapidated apartment blocks, or 'bad buildings' (Robinson, 2003). The increase in inner city population is perceived by municipal officials, policy makers and politicians as undesirable and unmanageable obstacles in achieving world class cities (Tisington, 2011). However, evidence from a study conducted by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions indicates that the greater majority of residents residing in the inner city would rather tolerate really poor living conditions than move to the urban edge (HDA & NASHO, 2013).

The importance of uplifting South African inner cities has become more and more significant for the economic growth of its cities at a national and regional scale (Healey, 2002). Forms of upgrading have proved to be a challenge for local government, with the high volume of

abandoned buildings, illegal occupants and slum lords, it is extremely difficult for revitalisation to be enforced (Hoorgendoorn et al., 2008).

3.2.2 The South African City

Apartheid created numerous problems for modem democratic urban areas throughout South Africa. Its effects are far ranging and diverse, and due to its institutionalised inequality and segregation, it has left a permanent mark on urban centres (Beall et al, 2005). This legacy is one of the main reasons for the bulk of problems experienced by municipalities. During apartheid South Africa had systematically entrenched separatist policies for all aspects of life, including living arrangements, access to services and economic opportunities (Pillay et al; 2006).

On the other hand, white populations had unlimited access to the advantages of urban life. Provision of resources for adequate service delivery and quality of life were completely imbalanced, with white areas receiving incredible advantages and benefits, while the majority of South African residents were forced to suffer on the outskirts. These institutionalised imbalances are responsible for the large-scale backlog of services still evident throughout the country and for problems experienced in inner cities (Seri, 2013). As a result, South African inner cities are currently characterized by serious problems arising from deregulated and unmanaged informal and street trading, decay of residential buildings, lack of re-investment maintenance, overcrowding, and illegal occupation of buildings. These issues subsequently give rise to social problems which hamper individual and community access to urban opportunities and the formal economy (Ahmad et al, 2010).

3.2.3 The Durban Inner City

The Apartheid city planning of the Durban inner city still presents structural obstacles that dictate who lives and works within the inner city. The Apartheid system of separate land use meant the business hub was not designed to accommodate residential services and facilities. Specifically designed residential areas within the CBD, such as Albert Park offered high-rise accommodation aimed mainly at white civil servants (Freund & Padayachee, 2002).

Few blocks were built with off-road or designated parking areas. This meant that even at the fall of Apartheid in 1994 the residential demographics within the inner city were one of young 'white' students and professionals for whom bachelor type apartments were sufficient, and elderly pensioners who had downsized from the suburbs. However, after the

end of the Group Areas Act, and particularly after 1994, the demand for housing stock grew dramatically. This was mainly due to the fact that the inner city offered an attractive pricing range and close proximity to work, the business district and services for 'black' professionals and office workers (Mapetla, 2008).

According to Sutherland et al, the Durban inner city is constantly fighting against a tide of building decay, business flight, general squalor and crime and grime. Although no longer rationalised as a result of racial mixing or 'white flight' as it was in earlier media articles the quest for urban regeneration in the inner city continues (2013).

3.3 Urban Regeneration

Cities throughout the world are changing in ways unforeseen in earlier decades. Without intervention, many urban areas appear to experience severe decline. Such decline manifests in a variety of ways at a local government level. Pacione (1997) suggests that this decline unveils itself in two ways. The first are social indicators, such as; increasing income differentials, crime and racial conflict. The second are economic indicators which include; de-industrialization, manufacturing decline, increasing unemployment and government dependency and infrastructural decay. However McCarthy takes this step further by proposing that local factors such as the operation of local governance are also contributors to urban decline (2007).

Roberts and Skyes take on the notion that such changes are beneficial by stating that the various processes of change within cities and towns are both inevitable and can be viewed as beneficial. It is inevitable because the operation of the political, economic and social systems constantly generate new demands and present fresh opportunities for economic progress and civic improvement (2010). It is beneficial because, although many may deny it, the very existence of these forces of change create opportunities to adjust and improve the condition of urban areas. Mumford supports this notion by arguing that, "in the city, remote forces and influences intermingle with the local: their conflicts are no less significant than their harmonies" (2007).

The general consensus however amongst these arguments based on urban decline or decay is the need for intervention. Solutions cannot merely be left to chance, time or the market. Rather, they require active intervention and management. Increasingly, cities seek to

address the challenges of transformation and change in an integrated manner through the development of overall City Development Strategies. These strategies must address the multi-faceted nature and impacts of change within a multi-sectorial and long-term framework (Osman, 2008).

3.3.1 Urban Regeneration Strategies

Decline in urban areas has forced relevant agencies and professionals to develop solutions to overcome decline and deterioration in cities. The causes of urban decline in developed European countries and the USA were initially associated with rapid change and restructuring because of industrialization. In developing countries like Turkey, urban decline is mostly the result of growth, which is also associated with industrialization (Goksin & Muderrisoglu, 2005).

The approaches and activities developed to resolve urban problems have evolved over time giving priority to different aims and objectives. Roberts (2000), categorised the main themes from 1950s to 1990s. He suggests that in the 1950s the main themes were reconstruction and extension of older areas and towns and cities based on a master plan and suburban growth. In the 1960s, the 50s theme continued and some attempts of rehabilitation were experienced (Turok, 2004). 1970s focused on in situ renewal and neighbourhood schemes and suburban development continued. In the 1980s, flagship projects, major schemes of development and redevelopment which aimed mostly to improve the economic competitiveness of cities were developed (Keles, 2003). In the 1990s, a more sustainable approach, i.e. urban regeneration was adopted. A more comprehensive form of policy and practice was enhanced and more emphasis on integrated action was given. Today, urban regeneration aims to address issues that are associated with change in the economy and employment, economic competitiveness, social exclusion, community issues, vacant and deteriorated sites in cities, new land and property requirements, environmental quality and sustainable development (Roberts, 2000).

In this day and age a number of initiatives and projects undertaken are largely short term, independent of other municipal departments and on a project basis. In the Durban context, this has limited impact within the inner city and has not propelled the development of further inner city programmes, policies, strategies, plans or academic research. It is however essential to view the process of urban regeneration as a long-term cycle of activity, there

are no quick fixes or permanent solutions. Each generation faces its own particular set of problems, has its own priorities and works in ways which reflect these priorities (Mirza, 2010). Healey claims that it is no longer possible to approach urban regeneration through the promotion of urban transformation projects in isolation. Instead, she states the emphasis should be on creating the conditions for economic, social and environmental regeneration. Essential in achieving this is the existence of a long-term strategic framework which reflects a process capable of promoting links between issues and those involved in them (1997). The overwhelming emphasis on small areas, discrete projects and output-related funding has left little room for broader considerations. There has been little or no attempt to devise a strategic view of what should happen to cities as a whole or to individual municipalities (Turok and Shutt, 1994).

3.3.2 International Urban Regeneration Strategies

City	Urban Regeneration Strategies
Birmingham	Proactive place-marketing campaigns: positioning the inner city as a
	potential setting for attracting modern urban economic sectors and
	creating a more attractive image of the city Including flagship projects
	designed to move the city into international tourism and related leisure
	sectors (Barber and Hall, 2008).
Madrid	Economic diversification and improved quality of infrastructure, the
	modernisation of infrastructure, architectural improvements of public
	spaces, and the creation of new facilities (Orueta, 2007).
Chicago	Artists such as Inigo Manglano-Ovalle aimed to transform and reclaim
	neighbourhood streets that were territorialized by gangs through public Art
	programmes. Video dialogues among neighbours were used to engage the
	neighbourhood with the aim of dispelling stereotypes of some of the city's
	most dangerous Latino neighbourhoods and groups (Sharp, 2005).
Rotterdam	Physical reconstruction of central areas and re-imaging of cultural identity,
	while also pursuing social objectives for regeneration. Construction of office
	and retail spaces, hotels and convention centres; while providing social

	benefits for local residents: linking the social and economic benefits of							
	redevelopment projects (McCarthy, 1998).							
Helsinki	Conversion to business in new technologies through public-private							
	partnerships, and attracting both local and foreign top professional							
	Development of industrial districts, and agglomerations of high technology							
	business and research (Pelkonen, 2005).							
Curitiba	Emphasis on public transportation, preservation of cultural heritage,							
	expansion of parks and green areas, and social and environmental							
	programs. Strong linkages between integrated urban transportation,							
	appropriate land uses, and environmental preservation (Rabinovitch, 1996).							
Sydney and	The reconstruction of inner city precincts. Building strategic urban transport							
Singapore	capacity and communication, infrastructure and facilities; promoting							
	cultural industries; and the implementation of urban mega-projects, such as							
	seaports, airports and high-rise office precincts (Hutton, 2004).							
Manchester	Re-inventing its image and economic role as a regional capital with world							
	class music, sport and fashion (Roberts et al, 2009). Combination of a							
	cultural quarter, urban heritage park, international sporting complex and							
	waterfront cultural complex (Roberts <i>et al,</i> 2009).							

3.3.3 Urban regeneration in the Durban Context

Durban has been affected by processes of political transformation equal to those of Cape Town and Johannesburg. Democracy gave way to rural-urban migration most significantly in all three major cities. Although Durban has undergone democratic processes which mirror those of Cape Town and Johannesburg, efforts to address inner city decline has been limited by various factors. The city centre has been characterised by stagnation and decay, largely as a result of the illegal occupation of buildings (Hemson, 2003). Previously marginalised inhabitants have taken refuge in informal settlements and abandoned buildings. Hemson (2003) suggests that the occupation of illegal buildings and increase in informal settlements has exacerbated over the past two decades.

In the late 1990s, the city of Durban gained a very strong financial position from its surplus resources, in the form of a Capital Development Fund (Robbins, 2005). Once the municipality had a clear view on its developmental objectives, the Capital Development Fund was directed at Local Economic Development project interventions which would transform the post-apartheid city. The projects included small business development, tourism promotion, private sector development, community support income projects, the Flagship Fund and the Regeneration Fund (Robbins, 2005). The rationale for the establishment of the funds was due to a combination of factors, which included; the discontent shared by business owners and council officials at the lack of progress in the development and upgrading of particular areas; the provision and improvement of existing infrastructure and the delivery of economic 'assets' such as the International Convention Centre (ICC).

In relation to the successes and limitations of the Regeneration and Flagship Funds, it has been argued that despite their considerable and largely successful efforts in addressing economic and environmental concerns, the regeneration and flagship projects had little influence in uplifting the poor apart from trickle-down effects of employment and economic growth (Robbins, 2005).

In the year 2003, the municipality established ITRUMP to counteract the deteriorating economic, social and physical environment within of the inner city (EThekwini Municipality, 2004). ITRUMP's role was to identify new economic uses for buildings which had come to the end of their economic life and were, as a result, in a poor condition. Ellingson (2006) expressed that ITRUMP focused on two interrelated components, that being the regeneration of the EThekwini Municipality's inner city and urban management to ensure the sustainability of capital investments on the part of the city and private investors (Ellingson, 2006: 58).

ITRUMP identified nine districts which made up the inner city. The districts include Albert Park, the Beachfront, the Central Business District (CBD), Kings Park Sporting Precinct, the Point, Umgeni Corridor, Umgeni Estuary, Warwick Junction and Victoria Embankment (Dobson, 2005). Warwick was ITRUMP's pilot project as it had been identified as a zone which required extensive regeneration. The area was characterised by informal trading and a major transport interchange for citizens travelling through the CBD. Although informal

trade has contributed significantly to the growth of the informal economy, a negative trend associated with it is urban decay.

The significance of ITRUMP was somewhat overshadowed by the establishment of the Strategic Projects Unit established in 2005 (Dobson, 2005). The Strategic Projects Unit was mandated with the planning, management and implementation of a number of significant projects within Durban (Ellingson, 2006). Although the Unit was recognised as being most involved with the planning for the 2010 Soccer World Cup, it has taken on a number of additional projects which have had overarching implications for urban regeneration within the city. Since the establishment of the Unit, the city has focused on five major urban regeneration projects: Kings Park Sporting Precinct, the International Convention Centre Extension, Wilsons Wharf and the Point. Experiential knowledge gives way to the notion that the majority of areas that have been regenerated are considered to be exclusive spaces and do not promote a balanced socio-economic environment (Dobson, 2005).

3.4 Rental Housing

Rental housing can be both a short-term and a long-term housing option, depending on the situation and or the needs of the tenant. The principle of rental housing is that the tenant pays for the accommodation, on a monthly basis, and that the landlord is responsible for the maintenance of the unit. The owner or landlord and tenant both have responsibilities and rights in regard of the property. The tenant does not own the property, nor will he/she automatically acquire ownership after a certain period. The rights and responsibilities of the tenant and landlord are stated in the Rental Housing Act 50 of 1999 and in the lease agreement contract that both parties sign (Salga, 2012). Kumar (2001) writes that rental housing can benefit both tenants and landlords. For those that are unwilling or cannot afford to become owners, accessibility to affordable rental accommodation is critical in their pursuit of an urban livelihood.

Facilitation of affordable public rental housing is a government task according to the Rental Housing Act. The municipality is mentioned as one of the government spheres that is responsible for promoting affordable rental housing and facilitating the provision of rental housing in partnership with the private sector. Furthermore, the municipality is the government sphere that is closest to the public and therefore for many people, 'the face of the government' (Scholtz, 2014)

3.4.1 The Importance of Rental Housing

Rental housing caters for a specific part of the housing demand and it can supply housing to groups that cannot be catered for by ownership subsidies. This can be people that fall outside the designated income brackets. These can also be people who have already had subsidies in the past, or foreigners who do not qualify for government subsidies. Furthermore, people can be in transitional phases, such as temporary jobs, or have just started working and cannot afford to buy yet, but want to rent first, until they can afford to purchase (Tissington &Dugard, 2013).

Rental housing provides variety in housing supply, and allows for a mix of income groups. It also provides housing for people who do not qualify for housing bonds in the market. It can serve as an instrument to address urban sprawl and urban decay, and contribute to long term sustainability and economic growth of the municipality. However, it can be difficult to make financially viable and may be difficult to get a good rent collection rate and often requires institutional management (Salga, 2012).

According to Gilbert et al, the lack of low income rental housing supply results from a combination of various factors such as; a lack of new private rental or public sector housing and the loss of existing rental housing through privatisation, demolition, conversion, gentrification and rising rent prices, changes in household size, household formation trends, regional population growth due to migration and changes in gender roles, and landlords limiting the access to rental housing to those with low incomes (2000).

3.4.2 Available rental housing options

There are several rental housing options which can be accessed within the South African public and private rental market. The two main government driven rental programmes are Community Residential Units (CRU) and Social Housing. These and other rental options are explained in the table below. Figure three (below) documents the available rental housing options, their target market in terms of income group, subsidies attached to each as well as their specific features and where to apply for each option.

Options / Programmes	Purpose of programme	Beneficiary income	Features of the subsidy	Owner / manager of the stock	Specific features	Subsidy application	Further information
Community Residential Units (CRU)	Accommodate low- income people. Can be a stepping stone to better kinds of accommodation	R800 - R3500	Pays for the (re)development and is calculated per m². There is a once-off long term maintenance subsidy after 5 years.	Public stock (municipality or province). Management can be outsourced.	Follow-up of hostel redevelopment programmes.	Provincial Government	www.housing.gov.za Provincial Government Housing Code SHF
Social Housing	Besides providing houses, this should also increase the social and economic integration of the area by ensuring economic and social amenities/activities	R1500 - R7500	A fixed amount per unit. At least 30% of the units have to be available for the R1500 - R3500 income group.	Public and/or private stock. Management by private company or SHI.	Only applicable in Restructuring Zones in 13 selected urban municipalities. Focus is on urban areas.	Provincial/ National Government.	SALGA Toolkit www.SALGA.net www.housing.gov.za Social housing policy SHF
Institutional Subsidy Transitional Housing Communal Housing	To provide short/ long term rental stock for the lower income group. Provide temporary rental housing and assist tenants to find a long term housing solution. Provide long term rental stock that is affordable for the lower income category.	Up to R3500	Rental/Rent-to-buy, etc. Subsidy is a fixed amount per household.	Public and/or private stock. Management by private company or SHI.	The institution is the recipient of the subsidies' Includes empowerment training for tenants. Short term housing solution. Sharing of facilities to reduce the costs of units	Provincial Government	www.housing.gov.za Housing Code Provincial Government
Private rental	Provide rental housing and make a profit out of it (for the owner).	No Income Bracket	No subsidy/ government programme	Private ownership, either company or individual.	Can be any kind of rental housing, from very cheap to very expensive	N/A	N/A

Figure Three: Available Rental Housing Options in South Africa (Salga, 2012)

3.4.3 Low Income Rental Housing as a Neglected Component of Urban Regeneration Strategies

For decades the debate on housing in developing countries focused on the idea of informal settlements as a vehicle for home ownership for the poor. Just about all low income housing policies aimed at ownership as the only solution to the housing crisis. However notion that all people in informal settlements were owners or potential owners were assumptions. Researchers found a considerable amount of the urban poor were renting accommodation in squatter settlements and informal sub-divisions (Gilbert et al, 1993:4). Some of the worlds most developed nations such as Sweden, Switzerland and Germany, have more than half of their population renting accommodation of some sort (60%, 67% and60% respectively) (UNCHS, 2001).

Despite a vast number of complex policies and programmes, there is a large unmet demand for low-income rental housing in South Africa, particularly in its largest cities. The gap in demand for and supply of low-income rental accommodation is particularly critical in the inner city of cities such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town (Seri, 2013).

Current South African Urban Regeneration strategies are characterised by the weakness of the housing component, especially in the early stages of the policy development (1990s). The City of Johannesburg is probably the only exception. The emphasis is often put on the improvement of municipal infrastructure, and the regulation of informal trading. The physical upgrading of urban centres is generally accompanied by mechanisms to enhance urban management and eradicate crime and grime (Engelbrecht, 2003).

The gap of the housing component in urban regeneration varies depending on the city. In some it starts at the strategy formulation stage, while in others it is included at that point of implementation. When there is no enabling environment for affordable housing in the inner city enshrined in a policy framework, housing associations generally struggle to give long-term perspective to their action plan. When municipalities have urban regeneration strategies that take into consideration housing, they have not transformed these into sustained programmatic delivery, rather relying on irregular ad hoc projects (Harrison et al, 2008).

The weakness of the housing component in the existing urban regeneration strategies is all the more critical in that there is a major push in the National Housing Policy for a better integration of housing within inner cities. Breaking New Ground (BNG) put great emphasis on the role of social housing as a driver for urban regeneration. BNG states that, rental housing interventions may also be used to facilitate the acquisition, rehabilitation and conversion of vacant office blocks and other vacant or dilapidated buildings as part of a broader urban renewal strategy (2004).

The inadequate supply of low-income rental housing in the inner city of Cape Town was highlighted in an article in The Times newspaper, dated 4 September 2015. In the article Sean Dayton, corporate Lawyer, stated that the Urban Development Zone (UDZ) tax incentive had failed to ensure delivery of low-income rental housing within the inner city. He further stated that, in spite of the Cape Town inner city accounting for 25% of the City's turnover, a majority of the inner city workforce commuted long distances each day. Dayton wraps up the article by stating, "government incentives such as the UDZ allowance need to be reviewed and a holistic policy strategy adopted to increase low-income rental housing supply" (The Times, 2015).

3.5 Precedent Studies

3.5.1 Boston, United States of America

In 1983 Raymond L. Flynn was elected mayor of Boston, largely due to his manifesto of sharing the city's prosperity. A number of policies were created and implemented to ensure the realization of the manifesto. "The strong property market in the early 1980s had led to a shortage of low- and middle-income housing and the rapid growth in property values had displaced low to middle income groups from the market" (Squires, 1997).

In attempt to remedy gentrification within the inner city, Flynn introduced a number of land-use and development programmes. To subsidize the construction of low-income housing, a levy programme was introduced to charge development projects which were not low-income housing (Collins et al, 1994). To avoid payment the developers had to provide below-market rate units in their housing developments. The Boston Housing Partnership programme was formed in 1983 to further alleviate the low-income housing shortage by aiding community development corporations to rehabilitate and manage units within the city. Flynn also established a policy which required city developers and employers to hire city residents, minorities and women for construction jobs and other permanent jobs which were by-products of the developments. Stringent laws on the rights of tenants were developed and implemented. These laws protected tenants from rising rents, evictions and apartment conversions. The city also provided financial assistance to local tenant groups to assist in the eradication of slum buildings and lord. The results were many of slum building were refurbished by the owners and some were handed over to community based organizations to run (Stevens et al, 1989).

"The Flynn administration made conscious efforts towards pursuing balanced development and to bring previously disenfranchised groups into the mainstream development process. The specific focus was not only on housing and jobs, but the broader objective was to share the benefits of development generally throughout the city – an idea that soon spread across most US cities" (Squires, 1997).

3.5.1.1 Lessons from the Boston experience

Duffy (1995) describes a well-run city as, one that provides not only for those who stand to prosper from its growth in business but as one which makes attempts to provide for all its citizens. The Boston precedent is an example of successful partnership development between national government and municipalities, private sector and the community, as well as the relationship between community developers and community organizations Drier, 1997). Boston's experience of economic growth, a declining poverty rate and strong local government led action serves as a positive reference point for EThekwini Municipality on integrating economic and social objectives in the future development and regeneration strategies of the Durban inner city. Below are three lessons the EThekwini Municipality can learn from the Boston experience;

- I. There were mindful efforts made at policy level to focus on low-income rental housing,
- II. There was a long-term plan for the provision of affordable housing, and
- III. Both the public and private sector were involved in an effective partnership to tackle inner city decline, unemployment, and housing challenges.

3.5.2 Johannesburg, South Africa

Johannesburg's inner city has experienced both a dramatic decline and a number of regeneration efforts over the past half a decade. In the 1960s and 70s inner city businesses and middle to upper class residents moved to the northern suburbs of Sandton and Rosebank. Towards the end of apartheid and the end of The Group Areas Act, the inner city experienced an influx of black South Africans, majority of whom were seeking employment opportunities (Czegledy, 2003). However, by then a number of buildings had deteriorated due to non-payment of municipal services by owners and managing agents. Subsequently, there was a rise in overcrowding of inner city buildings followed by further disconnections of public services such as water and sanitation. According to Tissington (2013) by the 1990s and early 2000s the impression of the inner city was one of crime and grime, decay and anarchy. In 1991, out of 759 firms listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE), 197 had their registered offices in the CBD of Johannesburg. In 1998, the CBD was still home to 129 listed companies, but in 2000, only 38 of them remained (Beall *et al.*, 2002).

The City effectively reached the point of bankruptcy in 1998, precipitating a bail-out from the National Treasury which, in turn, led to a process of restructuring, creating a metropolitan municipality in 2000. This laid the basis for more effective local government. The long process of urban regeneration began, in tandem with other forms of urban restructuring including the proper integration of the townships and investment in township infrastructure (Bethlehem, 2013).

Urban regeneration became one priority among many, but at least it was on the radar. Thus began a long slow process of inner city regeneration which according to Bethlehem must count as one of the world's great urban renewal stories, at least in terms of the scale and complexity of the challenge (2013). Below are some of the milestones the city has made in regenerating the inner city;

- The City established the Johannesburg Development Agency, tasked primarily with inner city regeneration;
- The establishment of the Inner City Housing Upgrading Trust which provided bridging finance to inner city housing projects;
- The Inner City Office was formed to administer inner city development;
- In 2000 Inner City Renewal was declared as one of six mayoral priorities. This
 resulted in the inclusion of housing in the Inner City Position paper and made
 addressing poor housing conditions a key priority of the City;
- In 2002 the City launched its Joburg 2030 Master Plan which policy brought low income rental housing within the inner city to light;
- In 2007 the Inner City Regeneration Charter was subsequently published following an Inner City Summit, the charter detailed the City's commitments in low income rental housing development (Tissington, 2013).

This process is still very much in progress, but it is clear that a great deal of momentum has been built and large scale investment has returned in to the area (Beall et al, 2002). There are however still many challenges ahead for the Johannesburg inner city and regeneration efforts have been far from perfect. The office sector still faces major vacancies, and rental levels have been too low in recent years to attract new buildings. The housing sector continues to grow, but needs greater support from the City. There are still hijacked

buildings, and slum-lords still ply their trade, especially in Hillbrow, Berea and Bertrams (Tissington, 2014).

However, according to Bethlehem, the city has experienced major revival. This is supposedly evident not only in firmer property prices, ongoing residential investment and improved infrastructure, but also public transport is more efficient, and new markets are opening more often (2013).

3.5.2.1 Lessons for Durban

The Johannesburg precedent is an example of proactive urban governance. It is a tale of continuous effort through policies, strategies, programmes and initiatives in an attempt to combat urban decline and regenerate the inner city. The lessons Durban can take from the Johannesburg experience is that, it is essential to view the process of urban regeneration as a long-term cycle of activity, there are no quick fixes or permanent solutions. Each generation faces its own particular set of problems, has its own priorities and works in ways which reflect these priorities. However, the value of learning from previous experience cannot be denied (Healey, 1997). Therefore, the EThekwini Municipality need to be more proactive in the regeneration of the inner city and especially through the development of low income renal housing.

3.6 Summary

The literature review and case studies offered insight into cities, with specific attention to the South African city and the Durban inner city in particular. It further discussed urban regeneration strategies implemented internationally and within South Africa to combat inner city decline. The importance of rental housing as a form of tenure, rental housing options available in South Africa and low income rental housing as a neglected component of urban regeneration strategies were also discussed. The use of precedent studies made it possible to learn from the successes and failures of past urban regeneration efforts which had used low income rental housing development within the inner city as a strategy.

CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CASE STUDY

4.1 History of Durban



Figure 4: Durban transition (EThekwini Municipality, 2015).

The history of Durban dates back further than physically recorded. Having previously been inhabited by the Khoi/San and later the Nguni tribe, what was then seemingly just a bay was 'discovered' in 1847 by Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama. Gama named the bay Rio de Natal (Christmas River). Several years passed and Rio de Natal became a popular stop off point for explorers and traders. In 1823 a British Lieutenant named James King befriended King Shaka Zulu who later granted him land around the bay. In 1835 Rio de Natal was renamed Durban in honour of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, then governor of the Cape. Between the years 1838 and 1900 a battle for the town ensued between the Voortrekkers, the Zulus and the British. By 1900 the town had a sewerage system, hardened roads and water circulation which subsequently attracted people and led to the town becoming a major tourist attraction. By 1935 the town had been granted its city status. In the years after World War II the history of Durban was defined largely by the implementation of Apartheid. Post the first democratic election Durban was further enlarged into a Metropolitan Region by the inclusion of large areas on the north, south and west of the city (EThekwini Municipality, 2015).

4.2 EThekwini Contextual Framework

The EThekwini Municipality is located on the east coast of South Africa in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). The EThekwini Municipal Area spans an area of approximately 2297km2, extending from Tongaat in the North to Umkomaas in the South and from the coastline in the East to Cato Ridge in the West. The municipality has a population of 3 442 361 million, of which 66% is below 35 years of age. The predominant race is African which

accounts for 71% of the population, followed by Indians at 19% and the coloured community at 2% (Integrated Development Plan, 2014).

About 45% of the Municipality is rural while the remainder of 30% is peri-urban and 25% urban. About 90% of the rural areas are under traditional leadership and authority. The municipal area has 103 wards 60% of which are rural in nature, however majority of Durban residents live within the central urban core (EThekwini Municipality, 2012). The city has high levels of poverty, with 41.8% of the population subject to conditions associated with poverty, and low economic diversity. The city therefore faces significant socio-economic challenges (Sutherland et al, 2013).

Durban is the second most important demographic and economic urban connection of South Africa's cities; and is the second largest industrial city, being defined by its large and busy port, which is the most vital in terms of value (Freund, 2002).). It is defined as a core urban region, as it is a gateway to the global economy, providing national and supranational, continental, cultural, educational and innovation functions (Sutherland *et al*, 2011); and is consequently one of the country's most important cities.

Durban has been a tourist destination since the 1900's for holiday makers due to its attractive beaches and the rich cultural experiences it offers amongst other reasons. However, Durban Tourism now seeks to promote the Municipality as a premium lifestyle destination locally and internationally. The city aims at focusing strategically at increasing tourism to the Municipality, beyond the traditional seasonal holidaymakers that Durban has relied on in the previous years. These include sports, events and meetings, incentives, conventions and exhibitions. These key drivers are essential in transforming the image of the Municipality from that of a local beach resort destination into an all-year-round, high profile, internationally-recognized and competitive destination. In so doing, the city is shifting to projecting itself as a lifestyle destination that meets the requirements of modern consumers, be they international or pan-African tourists, business travellers, conference attendees or holidaymakers from within the borders of Southern Africa (EThekwini Municipality, 2014).

The city however faces numerous social, economic, ecological and governance challenges. These include poverty, with 33.1 percent of the population classified as poor;

unemployment, with an unemployment rate of 20.6 percent; unequal distribution of wealth; economic inequalities; corruption and high levels of crime (SACN, 2006). There are great expectations that some of these problems may be addressed by the expansion of the tourism sector, as well as economic expansion and urban regeneration within the city (Freund, 2002). This is evident in the 1996 Green Paper on Economic Development, which suggested that the main challenge which Durban faced was to become globally competitive, in order to attract investment, address the uneven spatial distribution of economic activity, create considerable sustainable jobs, and to grow in an environmentally sustainable way (Hall and Robbins, 2002). Below is the EThekwini locality map.

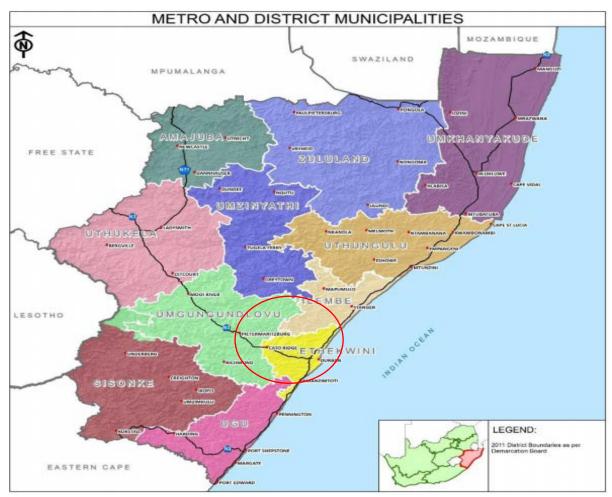


Figure Five: EThekwini Municipality Locality Map (EThekwini Municipality, 2014)

4.2.1 EThekwini Spatial Regions

As part of the EThekwini Municipal planning process and system, the Municipal area has been divided into four functional areas, namely, the Central Municipal Planning Region, South Municipal Planning Region, West Municipal Planning Region and North Municipal Planning Region. The functional boundaries of these regions are defined by the Umgeni

River, the Umlazi River and the Kloof Ridge and are catchment based. Figure six represents the abovementioned spatial planning regions.

The spatial form of Durban is economically challenging as there is a clear separation of residential uses from economic activity which means that in most areas people do not live where they work. The EThekwini Municipality, as with all development spaces in South Africa, has to balance the more dominant neo-liberal pro-growth agenda (Spatial Development Plan, 2014). The spatial structure of the city is fragmented and reflects a pattern of sprawl. It is a major obstacle to achieving sustainable, efficient and equitable development. The relatively unique spatial geography of the EThekwini Municipality has had, and continues to have, a significant impact on the planning, development and management of the city. The city contains a dense urban core and a less dense rural periphery (Sutherland et al, 2013).

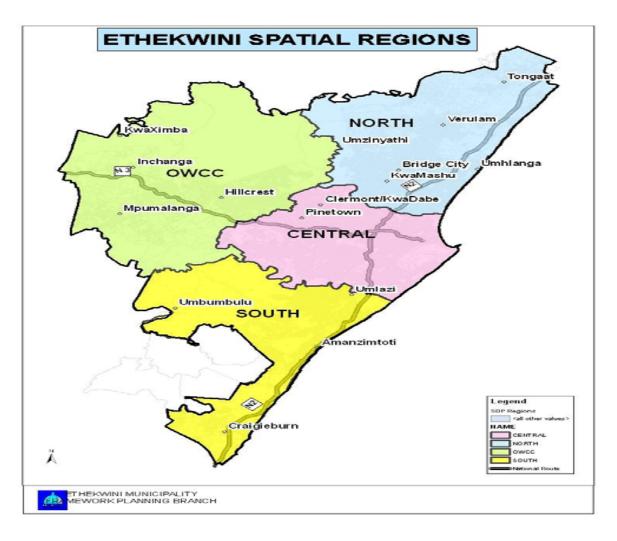


Figure Six: The spatial regions of the EThekwini Municipality (EThekwini Municipality, 2014)

4.2.2 Central Spatial Planning Region

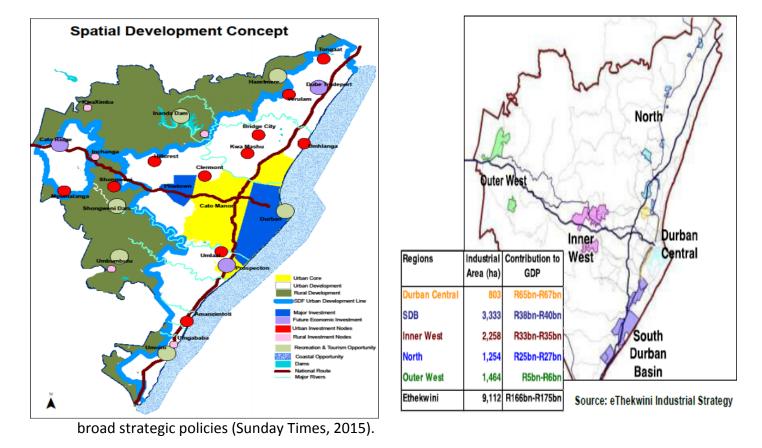
Durban's inner city is seen as a particularly vital asset in improving the quality of life of all residents, as it is a significant hub of employment and the most important centre for a variety of retail, leisure, entertainment and cultural activities; as well as playing a role as an icon representing the entire city (EThekwini Municipality, 2014). Furthermore, it has been recognized as having strategic importance to the metropolitan economy, as well as contributing significantly to overall metropolitan sustainability (Robbins *et al*, 2005; EThekwini Municipality, 2009). Considerable interest has thus been directed at it from an economic development point of view (Robbins *et al*, 2005).

The boundaries of the Central Municipal Planning Region extend from the Umgeni River, in the North, along the coast through to the Umlaas Canal in the South and extend to the escarpment in the west. The region has a population of approximately 1.18 million people which represents 34.4% of total population of the EThekwini Municipal Area and extends over an area of 677km2 (67772.33 ha). The role of the Central region is as follows:

- It is the urban core of Metro (commercial, retail, financial & administrative hub),
- Centered on transport activities and logistics port,
- Contributes 56% of the total GDP,
- Key Industrial hub,
- Events, Tourism and Logistics hub,
- Largest employment generator,
- Major economic sectors: Industrial, logistics, warehousing, business, commercial, retail and financial services and tourism,
- Has significant coastal resources and service nodes, and
- Offers a range of lifestyle options (EThekwini Municipality, 2014).

However the inner city is grappling with challenges of crime, building invasion and the migration of business. The lack of safe and affordable housing options and the connectivity and integration of different modes of transport has proved to be problematic. According to Musa Mbhele, acting deputy city manager for economic development and planning, the focus of the city should be a regeneration strategy redefining the role of the CBD in relation

to the port interface, urban growth and regeneration, as well as developing a vision with



Figures 7 & 8: EThekwini Municipality Spatial development concept& Spatial Economic Contributors (EThekwiniMunicipality, 2014).

4.3 EThekwini Housing Sector

Poverty and inequality remain a major challenge in South Africa and in Durban. Absolute and relative poverty has decreased in the country since 2000, mostly as a result of the uptake of a range of social grants and improvements in the social wage, which includes housing and basic services (National Planning Commission, 2011). However, the severity of poverty amongst the very poor has not improved and inequality has intensified. Housing challenges in South Africa and Durban reflect these high levels of poverty and inequality (Sutherland et al, 2013).

Turok and Parnell (2009) suggest that whatever progress there has been in urban areas after apartheid has come about mainly through expanded social grants, free basic housing and extended household services, rather than any restructuring of urban spaces or national commitments to making cities work better for all.

Inequality in housing has a clear spatial dimension with most sub-standard housing being found on the periphery of the city, and in the inner city as a result of apartheid's spatial planning. Low income rental housing has, as yet, not received adequate attention, which is problematic, as there is a high demand for rental accommodation in the city (Sutherland et al).

In 2007, EThekwini had approximately 3.6 million people in some 900,000 dwellings. This is expected to increase to 4 million citizens by 2020 and by 2035 to 4.4million citizens. The majority - 86% - of EThekwini's citizens in 2007 were urban - i.e. 3.014 million, and rural citizens numbered 0.511 million. There are presently no projections on how the distribution might change, but it seems likely that the urban periphery will continue to be a major destination for newly urbanising citizens, unless active steps are taken to promote a different pattern of urban growth (EThekwini Municipality, 2014).

In terms of the predominant housing supply trend the formal market is not spontaneously providing dwellings in sufficient number of adequate quality or in the optimal locations for the poor or affordable markets. The degree to which the formal market fails the low-income sub-market is extreme. The focus of publicly funded housing has been on the low-income sub-market. The main outcomes have been free standing houses coupled with individual freehold title, transfer of state owned rental stock to tenants, and some hostel upgrades coupled with rental tenure (EThekwini Municipality, 2014).

The market is spontaneously providing dwellings in sufficient number, of adequate quality and in the optimal locations for the upper-middle and upper income markets. Mid-market and up-market developments tend to be at the urban periphery often in the form of gated communities coupled with individual freehold title or sectional title, such as those in Hillcrest. A significant exception is the development on Umhlanga Ridge. All spheres of government recognize the necessity and desirability of having housing markets that work for all the segments of the market, and consequently are willing to avail resources to address market shortcomings and failures. There is significant demand for rental stock. Research estimates are that 33% of households in EThekwini live in rented accommodation, many of them in inadequate human settlements (EThekwini Municipality, 2014).

4.4 Summary

Chapter four provided a descriptive presentation of Durban, EThekwini Municipality as a study area. Its contextual framework was discussed as well as it spatial regions with specific attention to the inner city. The housing sector was also addressed, with specific attention to low income rental housing.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH FINDINGS & DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings that emerged from the data that was collected through qualitative research methods. It presents an analysis of regeneration strategies within South African inner cities particularly in Durban, EThekwini Municipality and why low income rental housing development within inner cities remains a neglected component of these strategies whereas it can meet both regeneration and housing objectives. It was hypothesized in the first chapter that the development of low income rental housing within South African inner cities can lead to the accomplishment of urban regeneration to counter urban decay and apartheid spatial planning patterns as well as dire housing conditions. This chapter tests this hypothesis using the primary and secondary data obtained from key stakeholders. Data was collected through interviews with the EThekwini Municipality ITrump Unit, Human Settlements Unit and the Development Planning Unit, as well as the KwaZulu-Natal Department of Human Settlements, Ward 28 Councillor and First Metro Housing Company.

The study aimed to cover the following through interviews conducted with government officials;

- The current state of South African inner cities in general and the Durban inner city in particular with regards to planning and the state of housing options available within these spaces.
- Regeneration strategies used to correct the spatial injustices of apartheid planning and the impact they have made within the current Durban urban space.
- Low income rental housing options available in South Africa, their potential to contribute effectively to urban regeneration and whether this potential has been harnessed by government and its implementing agents.
- The challenges being encountered in the implementation of urban regeneration and the delivery of low income rental housing within the Durban inner city and what impact this has made on the city

The research question was to find the reason as to why low income rental housing has become a neglected component of urban regeneration strategies within South African inner cities despite the dire need for it and it being highlighted as such in housing policy. Answering this question and the interpretation of data collected was achieved through the crucial role of various literature on urban regeneration strategies and low income rental housing within South Africa and case studies from beyond South African borders.

5.2 Research Findings

The following section presents the research findings. The findings are organised thematically. The research objectives have been used as a guide for the themes presented.

5.2.1 The Decay of the Durban Inner City

According to KNZ DHS, the ward counsellor and EThekwini Municipality informants, the Durban inner city is currently characterized by the following; high levels of crime, lack of enforcement of Municipal by-laws particularly in relation to land-use and building control regulations. There also seems to be serious problems arising from deregulated and unmanaged informal and street trading. The decaying of residential buildings, lack of reinvestment maintenance, overcrowding, and illegal occupation of buildings is also problematic. Service delivery problems, particularly in regard to waste management and street and traffic light outages are also rife. These issues subsequently give rise to social problems which hamper individual and community access to inner city opportunities and the formal economy. Bearing the biggest brunt of these problems are vulnerable street children and the homeless who as a result are prone to drug and alcohol abuse and domestic violence.

The KZN DHS respondent further stated that in the South African context, the process of urban transformation has been complicated by local factors including the legacy of apartheid, legislation and settlement planning, private sector investment decisions, political, social and economic transition and inter-governmental relationships, government capacity and financial constraints. However, the respondent from the Municipal Planning and Development unit, stated that the City had just recently announced a regeneration programme in light of the city hosting the Common Wealth Games. He stated that, the purpose of the regeneration programme is to reclaim abandoned buildings and urban spaces, attract new innovative investment and ideas, social housing and the connectivity

and integration of different modes of transport and that this fell within the larger long term development framework of the city.

The Durban urban area is seemingly characterized by diverse problems such as; urban sprawl, inner city decay, rapid urbanization and in spite of this it is alarming to consider that there is an urban regeneration national policy vacuum. In light of the regeneration programme being unveiled as one that is largely driven by the hosting of a big event, it is of paramount importance to highlight the possible implications of this.

5.2.2 The Housing Situation within the Inner City

One of the initial objectives of this research was to express the need for the development of low income rental housing within the Durban inner city. One of the ways in which the research went about achieving this was to conduct research on the current housing situation within the case study. The roles of the ward councillor and his team, and the researchers' observation was imperative in achieving this goal. A number of buildings were observed with the prime of objective being the identification and examination of inner city housing conditions. The following section is a reflection of the findings.

5.2.2.1 Durban Inner City Dilapidated Buildings

The EThekwini Municipality respondent stated that there were at least sixty dilapidated buildings in Durban, twenty-six of which are located within the inner city. According to the ITRUMP informant, some of these buildings are either occupied by vagrants or partitioned into cubicles by slumlords for accommodation and have been hijacked by vagrants, while others were used as cash cows by slumlords. In search of physical evidence of this, the researcher identified and entered a number of seemingly dilapidated building. The buildings accessed, on first glance seemingly broke a number of building by-laws. The councillor expressed that, some buildings had as little as three toilets and three showers for as many as one hundred and forty people or more. Subsequently what would then transpire would be people defecating in toilets that were not functional, and on the fire escapes. This also rang true in a number of buildings that the researcher visited which were characterized by an atmosphere of a thick stench of faeces, urine and stagnant waste in the buildings. The conditions in these buildings were evidently inhuman, with little or no running water and illegal electricity connections.

5.2.2.2 Durban Inner City Slum Tenants

People who were paying rent to live in and run their businesses from these buildings were often immigrants who are deemed to be in the country illegally and therefore could not take legal action against or call attention to the unjust landlords.



Figure 9 & 10: The exterior of two dilapidated buildings in the Durban inner city (Author, 2015).

According to the ward councillors, it was difficult to get an idea of how many people lived in these conditions, but estimates run into the thousands and they do so because it is what they can afford. It is sadly a situation that showed no signs of changing. The ITRUMP official went on further to suggest that the problem had spread to a number of Durban suburbs, whereas, homes are being converted illegally and dozens were made to sleep in dreadful conditions. About twenty-eight of these are in Chatsworth, the Bluff, Seaview and Hillary other suburbs mainly in close proximity to the inner city.



Figure 11 & 12: The inside of a slum building and a washing area in one of the building (Mbanjwa, 2011)

5.2.2.3 Durban inner city Slumlords

The EThekwini Municipality, ITRUMP and ward councillor were all in agreement that, Durban slumlords had tapped into a multi-million rand trade, where they house the poorest of the poor in a number of squalid buildings. Some landlords were said to be raking in as much as R500 000 per month and letting rooms to desperate illegal immigrants and dangerous criminals alike. They further went on to say that legal action was being taken against a number of the slumlords by the municipality.

5.2.2.4 History of Durban inner city rental housing

One of the Provincial Department of Human Settlements (PDHS) informants gave a brief history of what had led to the current housing situation within the inner city. He indicated that since 1998, landlords and slumlords alike had manipulated the high demand for accommodation within the Durban inner city to exploit tenants. Apparently, as rentals started to increase rapidly in the area following the high demand for accommodation in the post-apartheid period, tenants started to sub-let flats in order to cover the rent. This often resulted in overcrowding, which in turn placed stress on existing infrastructure. He further stated that, there were examples of buildings where the basements were often flooded with sewerage as the embattled plumbing systems had succumbed to overuse. Owners with outstanding levies could no longer afford to maintain the buildings and deterioration slowly set in. He summed it all up by raising the point that there was a direct link between lack of adequate housing and the degeneration of an area. He expressed this by stating that, urban decay is a result of irresponsible ownership rather than a problem created by legal and illegal tenants alike.

5.2.2.5 Demand versus Supply of Inner City Rental Housing

The City officials acknowledged that the demand for low-income accommodation in the inner city continue to outstrip supply, and that the gap that exists affects poor people in the inner city the most. In practice, however the City's responses did not confront the more structural causes of poverty that have physically manifested in different spaces in the city, perhaps most notably in the inner city. They had also not confronted the demand and supply gaps that exists, which is why many people live in 'bad' buildings to begin with. The unsettling reality is that people live in inner city 'bad' buildings, as they do in informal settlements and backyard shacks, because there are no other affordable formal housing options available to them.

A sizeable percentage of households rent in Durban and a majority of those people cannot afford social housing or housing on the formal rental market. Many of those living in 'bad' buildings earn a living in the inner city by working as car guards, domestic workers, cleaners, taxi drivers, informal traders, security guards, painters etc. Minimum wage for domestic workers is R1 746 per month, for taxi drivers it is around R2 400 and for security guards between R2 100 and R3 300 per month. Others choose to live in the inner city as there are opportunities for piecework, and transport costs are kept low.

5.2.3 Urban Regeneration strategies within the Durban inner city

According to the ITRUMP and EThekwini Municipality informants, the city has had various initiatives to work towards urban renewal and regeneration over the years. These ranged from the Area Based Management initiative, which aimed to uplift areas like Albert Park and also attract big business back into the CBD. To projects which mainly dealt with the informal market and a bulk of their work being implemented within Warwick Avenue and notably the Brook Street Central Market. It focused on six key outcomes, namely: increasing economic activity; reducing poverty and social isolation; making the inner city more viable; effective and sustainable urban management; improving safety and security and developing institutional capacity.



Figure 13 & 14: Brook Street Central Market before and after (Collaborative Architects, 2010)

The informants stated that they had been part of Municipality initiatives like the Better Buildings project which started in 2001. It targeted and then offered various types of interventions to derelict and economically dysfunctional buildings, as well as buildings

identified as crime havens, and reported that they found some success. When asked to elaborate, the informant mentioned that the Bad Building project was an initiative that had proven difficult with a number of red tapes and required the collaboration of a number of municipal departments.

However their research had found that a number of buildings had sectional titles and a majority of the owners could not be found and those who were, were not willing to sell their buildings to the City. However, what seems to be most alarming is that when the researcher attempted to make the linkages between urban regeneration and low income housing the respondent could not comprehend the linkages and was almost offended or better yet confused as to why the researcher could seek such answers or initiatives from her unit. She continued to make an example of the kind of work they did, by pointing to the paintings along Warwick Avenue. It is however, important to note that public art is a strategy of urban regeneration and to note that a bulk of the unit's work was project based.

Issues of low-income rental housing in the inner city has been repeatedly stressed in the myriad of policies, plans, programmes and strategies developed over the years and making linkages between it and urban regeneration and restructuring apartheid. The City's inner city regeneration focus on economic growth, crime and grime and mere rejuvenation have prevailed over low income rental housing consideration.

5.2.4 Inner City Low-Income Rental Housing Delivery in Durban

According to Kwa-Zulu Natal DHS and EThekwini Municipality respondents, the development of public rental housing within the city has been purely dominated by Social Housing. That also seems to be the direction in which the Municipality is headed with the recent purchase of three dilapidated inner city buildings (See figure 15 & 16). However, there have been a number of challenges that have affected the scale of Social Housing Delivery and management within the inner city. The KZN DHS informant mentioned that the financial model used by the government in attempt to purchase buildings within the inner city was at times not viable. They found it difficult to compete with the private sector in bids and were often outbid. In some cases the refurbishment requirements of buildings made it financially unfeasible to purchase buildings. The informant also stated the department was in a financial crisis and that there had been a number of workshops with relevant

stakeholders such as the National Treasury to discuss the financial challenges and the way forward.



Figure 15 & 16: Two of the dilapidated buildings purchased by the Municipality for Social Housing (EThekwini Municipality, 2015).

Another Kwa-Zulu Natal DHS informant spoke of policy issues such as, there is no provincial policy that underpins the key aspects of the government engagement in rental housing. What seemed to be needing immediate attention was the CRU housing policy vacuum. However this was not the case with Social Housing which has a well-defined policy and is underpinned by regulations and is the responsibility of the SHRA. However, he mentioned that it is important that provincial and municipal officials understand it properly and that often officials are not well versed in it or they tend to misinterpret it. The respondent went on further to say that, the Province is responsible for decisions on allocations and on monitoring of both the development and the long-term management of units. However, the only guidelines available on this is the broad national priority. Subsequently, this has led to the misinterpretation of the guidelines by a number of stakeholders.

WARD NUMBER	NAME OF PROJECT	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF UNITS	PROJECT STATUS	PLANNED IMPLEMENTATION DATE
28	Westpoint Building	46	Council Resolution obtained to accept Donation, Awaiting Transfer from Province (Oct'15)	Approximately six Months to resolve the relocation of tenants
26	Palm Beach Building	42	Council Resolution obtained to accept Donation, Awaiting Transfer from Province (Oct'15)	Approximately six Months to transfer property to the Municipality
28	Seamans Building	33	Council Resolution obtained to accept Donation, Awaiting Transfer from Province (Oct'15)	Approximately six Months to resolve the relocation of tenants
32	Kind Edward Site	450	Viability Confirmed by City Planners, to be allocated to an SHI for Detailed Feasibility	Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015
32	Clairwood Site	350	Viability Confirmed by City Planners, to be allocated to an SHI for Detailed Feasibility	Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015

Figure 17: Land & buildings identified for Social Housing development within the inner city (EThekwini Municipality, 2015).

The Kwa-Zulu Natal DHS and Municipality informants also spoke of the challenges they had faced in regards to accredited SHI's. Prior to 2014 the city had only two SHI's at their disposal. This resulted in the institutions having too much on their plate and subsequently hampering delivery. However, after a series of workshops aimed at providing assistance in getting more accredited SHI's, they received five new SHI's. A majority of these institutions are still awaiting land and building allocations. However, what was evident was that a large bulk of the projects which were underway or close to delivery were not located within the inner city. This was accounted to the issue of available land and buildings within the inner city (see figures 18 & 19).

WARD NUMBER	NAME OF PROJECT	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF UNITS	PROJECT STATUS	PLANNED IMPLEMENTAION DATE
28	Morans Lane (vacant land)	127	Viability Confirmed by City Architects, to be allocated to an SHI for detailed feasibility	Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015
27	782 Umgeni Road (vacant land)	300	Viability Confirmed by City Architects, to be allocated to an SHI for detailed feasibility	Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015 Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015
28	2 Epson Road - Table tennis building	150	Pre Feasibility undertaken by Municipality , (Jul'2015)	Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015 Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015
26	Starseaside Children's Home Building	300	Feasibility undertaken by Municipality , (Jul'2015)	Can be allocated to an SHI by August 2015
28	44 Lancers Road Building	300	Awaiting Transfer from Province, Pre Feasibility undertaken by Municipality , (Jul'2015) Report to H S I for acceptance of Donation (5 th May'15)	Can be allocated to an SHI by October 2015

Figure 18: Land and Buildings awaiting SHI allocation within the inner city (EThekwini Municipality 2015).

	Name of Project		Location	Ward	Delivery Agent	Status	Planned year of delivery
1	Donelly	128	Bluff	66	ЕМ	PM Appointed, Professionals to be appointed report at BEC	2015/16
2	Bayview	280	Chatsworth	69	EM	PM to be appointed Report at BEC	2016/17
3	Hilltops	240	Bellair	65	FMHC	Level 2 planning	2016/17
4	Hamptons	430	Bellair	65	FMHC	Civils on the ground	2016/17
5	Hampshire	180	Pinetown	16	FMHC	Level 2 planning	2016/17
6	Plymouth Mews	72	Pinetown	16	FMHC	Level 2 planning	2016/17
9	St Joseph Checkers site	150	Pinetown CBD	18	To be allocated to SHI	Feasibility stage	2016/17
11	Marshal Dam	500	Cornubia	102	THD	Detailed planning stage	2016/17
12	Avoca North	2,000	Avoca		EM, PPP	Prefeasibility	2017/18

Figure 19: Social Housing development projects underway and their location (EThekwini Municipality, 2015).

The questioned informants all agreed that the availability of affordable land in inner city areas for the development of low income rental housing was limited. Officials from the KZN DHS, First Metro Housing Company and EThekwini Municipality and ITRUMP concurred that financial incentives had failed to stimulate significant rental housing output in the Restructuring Zones because the incentives are inadequate to purchase highly priced land in these zones. The official from the KZN DHS agreed that the land policy had failed to facilitate land transactions at affordable rates in these Zones because land legislation had not resolved land claim disputes between landowners, developers and the landless poor.

The informants also raised the issue that privately owned land in these Zones was subjected to land invasions by homeless people who took advantage of loopholes in land legislation to invade land owned by absentee landowners. After residing on the land for some years the land invaders would later claim the right to reside on the land arguing that the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act No. 31 of 1996 protects people with insecure tenure from losing their rights to, and interest in, land pending long-term land tenure reform. Failure by land legislation to resolve these land disputes have created a deadlock situation where neither the landowner nor the land invaders can win outright unless they both compromise. The law governing land property forbids any development on land that is contested and in the end low income rental housing loses out on an opportunity to be located in strategic inner city areas.

First Metro Housing Company was the first Social Housing Company in the city of Durban. The Company is involved in the development and management of social housing in the EThekwini (Durban) Metropolitan region. The company has pioneered Social Housing in the Durban area and is currently regarded as one of few best practice examples within the broader social housing environment. It currently owns and manages over 1000 rental homes and apartments, housing approximately 4000 people in refurbished inner city buildings, as well as greenfield projects located outside of the inner city. Therefore the researcher saw it fitting to question the company officials on their inner city development experience.

The informant mentioned that it had proven viable for the company to take up inner city greenfield developments. However, working on refurbishments had a times proven difficult and to be a financial risk due to the state of some of the buildings. The informant went on further to say he enjoyed working on the property management side of the company as this

gave his a first-hand experience of the positive difference the developments had made on the beneficiaries lives. He continued to say that, they had to turn a large number of people down on a continuous basis because, unfortunately they do not qualify in terms of the income bracket for Social Housing.

5.2.5 Summary

It has taken time for the government to consider locating low-income housing in inner city areas despite the prohibitive high land costs. Tonkin (2008) contends that the shortage of affordable land has handicapped the delivery of low income rental housing in South Africa. Increasing demand for inner city areas forces land values to skyrocket beyond the reach of social housing developers. Most have no option but to build in isolated pockets of land far from places of employment.

According to Tissington (2012), the inner city is a place of opportunity for many, including the poor. The inner city continues to be a meeting point for diverse cultures, as scores of individuals aspire to create a livelihood and find a foothold in the heart of the city. In terms of the housing she further contends that, the demand for accommodation in the inner city continues to outstrip supply. Although the residential sector has seen significant investment, much of this new housing stock has been directed at low- to middle income households, rather than at very poor households. The shortage of accommodation for poor people feeds to so-called slumlord developments and bad buildings in the inner city. The challenge for the City is to promote regeneration and upgrading in ways that are not exclusionary to the poor.

This is also reflected in how, despite SHIs and private developers having delivered housing units to lower income households, the ongoing need for accommodation for poor residents and newcomers to the city remains one of the most critical issues in the inner city. This in turn is the catalysts for extreme health, safety and social problems, infrastructural deficiencies and urban decay. A focus on housing for poorer residents of the inner city will include a focus on the upgrading of hostels and the formalisation or resolution of informal settlements in the inner city. Tissington takes this point further by suggesting, new housing typologies need to be piloted and those that are working need to be rolled out. The funding and institutional arrangements that are partially tested need further development (2012).

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The original objective of the study was to express the need to regenerate South African inner cities through the development of low income rental housing, which had seemingly become a neglected component of South African regeneration strategies. This chapter provides a summary of the researchers' findings, a conclusion and recommendations based on the findings. The findings were organised into themes which were guided by the researchers' objectives and used for data analysis and interpretation in Chapter five.

6.1.1 The Decay of the Durban Inner City

The post-apartheid government has made great advances through the restructuring of government institutions, legislative and regulatory frameworks and systems of allocation. However, despite these clear advances, there are still serious deficiencies in terms of both implementation and policy framework. Despite a clear commitment to urban integration and coordinated development, housing policies and practices are producing what Harrison et al (2002), describes as results that are not entirely dissimilar to those produced under apartheid. This is reflected in poor quality housing, and badly located in regards to economic urban opportunities as well as the continuous growth of informal settlements in the peripheries of urban centres in South Africa.

6.1.2 The Durban Inner City Housing Situation

Research found that implemented urban regeneration strategies by the EThekwini Municipality are similar in their vision and content. In previous years the focus has been leaning towards economic growth. Strategies have seemingly emphasised the role of the private investment in creating an effective property market. This has evidently resulted in the rise of property values, leaving the inner city poor incapable of meeting their housing needs. Strategies have also been along the lines of improving local government infrastructure, eradicating crime and grime and regulating informal trading. The strategies are characterized by a glaringly weak housing component, which is alarming when considering the current housing situation and slum building within the Durban inner-city. This is despite the major push in Housing policy for integration and the role of housing as a driver of urban regeneration. It is important to note however, that despite the push that has been made in policy, strong linkages between low income rental housing and urban regeneration have not been facilitated in policy. Stating that something should take place

without facilitating it through corresponding long term policy, programmes, initiatives and projects is hopeless.

6.1.3 Urban Regeneration Strategies within the Durban inner city

Regeneration of the inner city is priority for provincial and metropolitan government. Low income rental housing investment channelled through Social Housing, CRUs and Institutional Subsidies should be key contributors to regeneration efforts. The inner city plays an important role in accommodating the poor. It is apparent that the location of poor households within the inner city holds many advantages for these households, especially in terms of the high levels of accessibility, travel costs and the availability of economic opportunities that require unskilled labour. Prior to the implementation of urban regeneration strategies, the potential impact on the inner city poor has to be evaluated. An awareness of the consequences that urban regeneration strategies have on the least advantaged need to be considered in a democratic decision making process. It does not have to be necessary to choose between urban regeneration and social justice. These findings are an indication that EThekwini Municipality has strived to become a competitive city.

The principles of the Competitive Cities Theory are reflected in the regeneration strategies which were previously and are currently being implemented in the city. Strategies have been directed towards attracting local and foreign investment at the detriment of the inner city poor. The millions spent on the development of Moses Mabhida Stadium, the construction of high-end apartments in Ushaka Marine and the new regeneration plan for the forthcoming Common Wealth Games are a glaring indication of this. The principles of the Collaborative Planning approach have seemingly not guided inner city regeneration strategies. Planning decisions have not been accommodating of the inner city poor, nor have they been considerate to them. This notion is reflected in the Municipality's focus on Social Housing development which is aimed at the higher end of the low income group and subsequently excludes the inner city poor from acquiring adequate housing.

6.1.4 Inner City Low-Income Rental Housing Delivery Durban

Durban, like most cities in South Africa, is characterized by high levels of class segregation in the residential sphere. A highly unequal distribution of wealth and of housing is attributed not only to the fragmented nature of the currently dominant economic system, but also to long periods of discrimination and repression.

While some inner city households can generally afford their housing costs, the poorest find themselves in a situation where they cannot afford the rentals required to maintain inner city apartments. In some cases available housing stock and rentals in bachelor and one bedroom units can be higher that 25% of a household income. In most cases what research found is that Social Housing stock is set far higher than what the lowest income earners can afford. Hence households earning incomes within the lowest subsidy band are automatically excluded from accessing Social Housing units. Therefore, Social Housing cannot be the only form of public rental housing available within the inner city as it does not meet the latent demand of the poor. The development of green or brownfield CRU units needs to be strongly considered by provincial and local government. This finding also indicates that unlike the principles of the Neoliberalism theory, the inner city poor cannot partake in the free market to meet their housing needs. Government intervention in the form of subsidies are a requirement for these households to be adequately housed.

6.1.5 Development Constraints

There are several factors that constrain the development of well-located housing. Perhaps the most important is access to land. According to Todes (2004), most developable vacant land is in and around Black townships or generally distant from cities. Land closer to desirable areas is frequently plagued by geotechnical problems.

A considerable amount of well-located vacant land is also subject to land claims. In the Durban context plans for urban restructuring and many projects on well-located land were designed prior to the announcement of the land restitution process. As a result of this land originally identified for the development of housing within the inner city had to be returned to its owners. In some cases the process of dealing with land claims has slowed development.

6.2 Recommendations

There are several stumbling blocks that inhibit strong linkages between low income rental housing and urban regeneration. One of these blocks is evident in the conflict of scale with regards to the fact that urban regeneration is implemented at local government level where as housing falls under the proficiency of national and provincial government. The

accreditation process which will hopefully see local government have more control over the housing component. Regardless, the researcher recommends the development of a national urban regeneration policy which makes strong linkages and facilitates the relationship between low income rental housing and urban regeneration. The policy should ensure clarity on the potential impact low income rental housing in regeneration programmes. The current policy vacuum harbours confusion as to the best practices or strategies, inconsistency in the production and implementation of programmes, initiatives and projects as well as misinterpretation of corresponding policy, to list a few.

Another stumbling block is the legacy of the silo approach which makes cross-sector and cross-departmental collaborations difficult in the quest to combat urban degeneration. Urban regeneration is process which requires collaborative effort. Osman (2008) contends that, cities need to address the challenges of transformation and change in an integrated manner through the development of an overall City Development Strategies. She further suggests that these strategies must address the multi-faceted nature and impacts of change within a multi-sectorial and long-term framework (Osman, 2008). This forms the basis of the researchers' recommendation for the EThekwini Municipality to form a multi-departmental City Development Strategy including all rental housing stakeholders and urban development agents. The single biggest urban management problem in the Durban inner-city is the high number of bad buildings. This is an urban management, a safety and security, and a housing issue.

The Durban inner-city has an insufficient supply of low income rental housing to accommodate poor households. A large number of the households fall below the Social Housing income bracket. Therefore, despite the focus of the Municipality and Provincial government being on the delivery of Social Housing, this needs to be broadened. The researcher recommends that government develop CRU units within the inner city. This can be achieved by mixing both Social Housing and CRU units in a single building. This could be piloted within the Durban inner city with the recently purchased dilapidated buildings.

Land has been unveiled as the biggest barrier to the development of low income rental housing within the inner city. The land policy does not have control over land falling under municipal jurisdiction. Land use management therefore is the sole responsibility of local government. The research recommends that the Municipality, through the use of Land-use

Schemes, deny development consent either than that of low income rental housing within Restructuring and Urban Development Zones. Private land owners, who own land within these zones, should also be compelled to develop low income rental housing by Land-use Scheme by-laws. Those who are unwilling should be given the option to sell their land to the Municipality at below-market rates.

6.3 Conclusion

This research sought to express that in South Africa, the inner city development of low income rental housing is a neglected component of urban regeneration strategies. The study was however narrowed to the Durban inner city as a case study. The researcher aimed to first address the reasoning behind the decline of South African urban centres and its effect on those who reside within them. The study then went on to explore urban regeneration strategies through the use of precedent studies as well those being used within EThekwini Municipality and the effect they had spatially and on the inner city poor. The potential role of low income rental housing as one of the drivers of urban regeneration as well as a means in achieving both regeneration and housing delivery objectives was showcased.

There is an urgent need to regeneration South African inner cities. However this cannot be achieved with the current national policy and legislative vacuum. This is the main reason why regeneration efforts have been inconsistent across all municipalities. Inner city regeneration is a complex and multidisciplinary task, which requires a range of skills and a high level of coordination across functional departments. The inner city cannot be regenerated by municipal government alone. Nor can any initiatives implemented by local government be sustained without buy-in of those people who use the facilities or assets. An enabling environment needs to be created for the realization of inner city regeneration to effectively take place. An enabling environment can be defined is a set of interrelated conditions, such as legal, organisational, fiscal, informational, political, and cultural that impact on the capacity of development actors to engage in development processes in a sustained and effective manner (Thindwa, 2001). Thus an enabling environment for inner city regeneration refers to the integration and commitment of state, private and community organisations. A well-conceived and professionally implemented communication programme, tied directly to inner city developments is needed to enhance stakeholders' understanding of their responsibilities in the inner city. A process of ongoing research is required for City officials to gain an understanding of citizens' changing realities, needs and priorities (Turok and Shutt, 1994). Essential in achieving this is the existence of a long-term strategic framework which reflects a process capable of fostering links between issues and those involved in them.

The reality is that those living in 'bad' buildings or overcrowded conditions in formal or informal accommodation, are those people who service the city and make it function. They are the car guards, domestic workers, informal traders, waste collectors, security guards, taxi drivers, cleaners etc. Beyond this utilitarian reality, people will inevitably try to secure a place in a country's largest cities, and have a right to do so (Tissington, 2012).

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APPENDIX

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project Title: Low income rental housing, a neglected component of urban regeneration

strategies in South African inner cities: A case study of the Durban inner city

Specific Location:

My name is Nombuso Nomfundo Qwabe (student number 206514113). I am registered

Masters Candidate at the University of kwaZulu Natal. My research theme is entitled, 'Low

income rental housing, a neglected component of urban regeneration strategies in South African

inner cities: A case study of the Durban inner city'. You are being asked to take part in this research

project. I will explain the project to you in detail. You should feel free to ask questions at any time.

All potential interviewees are being asked to volunteer for participation in the research study.

My contact details are:

Email- missnqwabe@gmail.com

Cell- 0814798836

The contact details of my supervisor are:

Email- myeniv@ukzn.ac.za

Cell- 072 497 9334

Specific Enquiries (HSSREC Research Office contact details):

Ms Phumelele Ximba

Tel: (031) 260 3587

Email- ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Description of the project:

The study is aimed at expressing the need for development of low-income rental housing

within South African inner cities as an effective yet neglected component of urban

regeneration strategies in the country. The study makes reference to the inner city of

Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal in particular. It further seeks to; assess the current state of urban

decline and the housing situation within the Durban inner city, discuss urban regeneration

strategies implemented nationally and internationally, and showcase the potential role of

low-income rental housing as a driver of regeneration strategies.

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The core research questions are:

- What is the current state of South African inner cities, more specifically, the Durban inner city?
- What is the potential role of low-income rental housing in the realization of urban regeneration?
- What benefits can urban regeneration from a low-income rental housing approach yield?
- What recommendations can be made for the current urban regeneration policy and legislative vacuum?
- What are the best practices of urban regeneration locally and globally?
- What are the current challenges being encountered in the implementation of urban regeneration in Durban?

Procedures:

Interviews:

- Will take place once you have been contacted, informed of the parameters of the research, have read over the informed consent form, and have signed the consent form.
- Interviews will be conducted and responses documented (interviews may be recorded)
- The time required will depend on the nature and depth of your responses
- Participants may be contacted again to elaborate on a response or for clarity

Risks or discomfort:

There are no potential risks or discomforts that will be associated with the research process.

Benefits of this study:

There will be no direct benefit to you for taking part in this study. The benefits of the research will contribute towards an existing body of knowledge.

Compensation:

There is no form of compensation for you.

Voluntary participation and withdrawal:

Participation in research is voluntary. You have the right to refuse to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions whatever you decide, you will not be disadvantaged in any manner.

Questions, Rights and Complaints:

If you have any questions about this research project or any concerns about your rights as a research participant in this study, please feel free to contact me (see contact information at the beginning of the document).

Confidentiality:

As the primary focus of the research is to document opinion on, and perspectives and opinions of the participation of youth in the delivery of housing, there is no need for confidentiality unless you (the interviewee) request such anonymity (see below). The research is of public interest and most of the themes are in the public domain.

Consent statement:

Your name, position and organization, or

Your position and organization or

Do you give your consent for: (please tick one of the options below)

To all position and organization, or	
Your organization or type of organization (please specify), or	
None of the above	
To be used in the report?	
I (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project. I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire.	
SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT DATE	
Please write your email address below if you wish to receive a copy of the final resear report:	ch

Interview questions: Inner EThekwini Regeneration and Urban Management Programme

Official: Manager

1. What is ITRUMP?

2. When was it formed?

3. What does it seek to achieve?

4. What is its funding mechanism?

5. What projects or programmes has it done in the past?

6. Do you work in partnership with any other public or private departments or

institutions, if so, which and what has been their role?

7. Has ITRUMP conducted research on the past and current state of the Durban inner

city and dilapidated buildings, if so what were the findings?

8. What do you think is the leading cause that is giving rise to the degeneration of the

Durban inner city?

9. Urban regeneration initiatives around South African inner cities have been

undertaken at a local government level due to the current national policy vacuum,

what challenges has this posed to your regeneration efforts?

10. Do you feel an enabling environment has been created to fully equip you with the

necessary tools to achieve effective inner city regeneration?

11. What is ITRUMP's viewpoint on inner city regeneration from a low income rental

housing perspective?

12. Have there been any previous or current attempts to approach regeneration from

the low income rental housing position, if so, what were the results?

13. Johannesburg has a vast number of policies, plans, strategies and programmes

aimed at dealing with inner city regeneration from a low-income rental housing

stance, why has not translated into the Durban context?

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Interview questions: Section 21 Companies (First Metro) in EThekwini Municipality

Official: Project Manager

1. What is your role in the delivery of Social Housing?

2. Have you worked on any projects within the inner city of Durban? If so, which

projects?

3. Did you face any uncommon difficulties purely pertaining to the location of the

development specifically? If so, which problems did you encounter?

4. Are changes needed in the social housing program to improve access to rental

housing within the inner city? If yes, specify what changes are needed?

5. What creative new ideas could improve the current low income rental housing

system?

6. Is the institutional subsidy enough to cover development costs of a social housing

unit? If not, why?

7. In cases where you encounter more building costs due to unanticipated geotechnical

conditions, where do you get additional finance to cover such costs?

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Interview questions: EThekwini Municipality Human Settlements Department

Official: Senior Housing Officer

- 1. What is the current state of the Durban inner city?
- 2. What are the contributing factors to the current state of the inner city?
- 3. How would you describe the current inner city housing situation?
- 4. What are the contributing factors to the current housing situation within the inner city?
- 5. Is there adequate supply of low income rental housing within the inner city? If not, why and what could be done to meet the demand?
- 6. Which income group is the most inadequately housed within the inner city?
- 7. Who are the current housing partners at play in the delivery of low-income rental housing in EThekwini Municipality?
- 8. What changes are needed for the current low-income rental housing programmes to improve access to rental housing within the inner city?
- 9. What creative new ideas could improve the current low-income rental housing system?
- 10. How will locating low-income rental housing in inner city areas bring socio-economic benefits to the struggling workers in EThekwini Municipality?
- 11. What institutional approaches and mechanisms for land use need to be put in place to deliver low-income rental housing within the inner city?
- 12. Which rules could be made less stringent to help attract new low-income rental housing investment into inner city areas?
- 13. What would you say to the notion that some development proposals should be refused if they undermine low-income rental housing delivery?
- 14. How has land delivery constrained the development of low-income rental housing in EThekwini Municipality?
- 15. Does the Municipality have a policy of revamping abandoned commercial buildings and converting them into low-income rental housing flats? If yes, why has this not transpired? If not, what are the reasons for this?

Interview questions: Kwa-Zulu Natal Department of Human Settlements

Official: Deputy Director (Rental Housing)

- 1. How would you describe the current state of the Durban inner city?
- 2. What are the contributing factors to the current state of the inner city?
- 3. How would you describe the current inner city housing situation?
- 4. What are the contributing factors to the current housing situation within the inner city?
- 5. Is there adequate supply of low income rental housing within the inner city? If not, what could be done to meet the demand?
- 6. Which income group is the most inadequately housed in the inner city?
- 7. Who are the current housing partners at play in the delivery of low-income rental housing in EThekwini Municipality?
- 8. What changes are needed for the current low-income rental housing programmes to improve access to rental housing within the inner city?
- 9. What creative new ideas could improve the current low-income rental housing system?
- 10. How can planners move low-income rental housing and subsequently people towards existing economic opportunities in inner city areas?
- 11. How will locating low-income rental housing in inner city areas bring socio-economic benefits to the struggling workers in EThekwini Municipality?
- 12. How can planners proactively institutionalise and direct state investment in low-income rental housing and infrastructure in inner city areas?
- 13. What institutional approaches and mechanisms for land use need to be put in place to deliver low-income rental housing within the inner city?
- 14. Which rules could be made less stringent to help attract new low-income rental housing investment into inner city areas?
- 15. What would you say to the notion that some development proposals should be refused if they undermine low-income rental housing delivery?

- 16. How has land delivery constrained the development of low-income rental housing in EThekwini Municipality?
- 17. Does the Department have a policy of revamping abandoned commercial buildings and converting them into low-income rental housing flats? If yes, why has this not transpired? If not, what are the reasons for this?

Interview questions: EThekwini Municipality

Official: Ward Couselor

- 1. How would you describe the current state of the Durban inner city?
- 2. What are the contributing factors to the current state of the inner city?
- 3. How would you describe the current inner city housing situation?
- 4. What are the contributing factors to the current housing situation within the inner city?
- 5. Is there adequate supply of low income rental housing within the inner city? If not, what could be done to meet the demand?
- 6. Which income group is the most inadequately housed in the inner city?
- 7. What changes are needed for the current low-income rental housing programmes to improve access to rental housing within the inner city?
- 8. What creative new ideas could improve the current low-income rental housing system?

Interview questions: EThekwini Municipality (Development Planning, Environment &

Management Unit)

Official: Manager

1. How would you describe the current state of the Durban inner city?

2. What are the contributing factors to the current state of the inner city?

3. Is the unit aware of the number and state of dilapidated buildings within the inner

city? If so, what measure have been put in place to tackle the issue?

4. What plans does the Unit have in terms of urban regeneration within the inner city?

5. What changes are needed for the current low-income rental housing programmes to

improve access to rental housing within the inner city?

6. What creative new ideas could improve the current low-income rental housing

system?

7. Urban regeneration initiatives around South African inner cities have been

undertaken at a local government level due to the current national policy vacuum,

what challenges has this posed to your regeneration efforts?

8. Do you feel an enabling environment has been created to fully equip you with the

necessary tools to achieve effective inner city regeneration?

9. What is the Units viewpoint on inner city regeneration from a low income rental

housing perspective?

10. Have there been any previous or current attempts to approach regeneration from the

low income rental housing position, if so, what were the results?

11. What strategies will your Unit use to regenerate the inner city, in light of the city

hosting the Common Wealth Games?

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Interview questions: EThekwini Municipality Department of Human Settlements

Official: Deputy Director

- 1. How would you describe the current state of the Durban inner city?
- 2. What are the contributing factors to the current state of the inner city?
- 3. How would you describe the current inner city housing situation?
- 4. What are the contributing factors to the current housing situation within the inner city?
- 5. Is there adequate supply of low income rental housing within the inner city? If not, what could be done to meet the demand?
- 6. Which income group is the most inadequately housed in the inner city?
- 7. Who are the current housing partners at play in the delivery of low-income rental housing in EThekwini Municipality?
- 8. Are all housing partners effectively playing their role in the delivery of low income rental housing, if not which and why?
- 9. What changes are needed to the low income rental housing programmes to improve access to rental housing within the inner city of EThekwini Municipality?
- 10. What creative new ideas could improve the current the public rental housing system?
- 11. If low income rental housing is funded by subsidies and grants, why is it struggling to meet the demand on the market?
- 12. Is the housing delivery role assumed by the government adequate for the delivery of low income rental housing?
- 13. What institutional challenges are you facing in facilitating low income rental housing development in the inner city?
- 14. What do you think should be done to address these problems?

- 15. The Housing Development Agency was established to acquire land for low-income housing, how successful has this agency been in increasing the supply of accessible land for social housing delivery in inner city areas?
- 16. How will locating low income rental housing in inner city areas bring socio-economic benefits to the struggling workers?