The Role of Urban Planning in Counteracting Segregation

- The Case of Pinelands, South Africa

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Stadsplaneringens roll i att motverka segregation: En fallstudie av Pinelands, Sydafrika

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Abstract

Segregation is a common phenomenon arising worldwide. Residential segregation has been shown to have several negative consequences for people living in less wealthy neighbourhoods, such as health-related setbacks and being less likely to cope with school. South Africa is an especially well-suited country to study segregation and methods to counteract it to achieve better integration and more harmonious communities. This follows as South Africa has had a history of institutionalised racial segregation, known as apartheid, which ended in 1994 and where there has now been near 30 years of work to counteract the ethnic and socio-economic segregation that had previously been established by law and a perverse sort of urban planning.

This thesis evaluates methods to promote integration between different groups (as defined by socio-economic status and ethnicity) through urban planning. A case study approach is used whereby various planning initiatives and strategies applied in the South African suburb of Pinelands, situated just outside central Cape Town, form the basis for a specific evaluation. The lessons learned from this place are also evaluated for their potential broader relevance and application. Thus, the thesis aims to distinguish which strategies are believed to be most efficient in counteracting segregation. Site visits and interviews were conducted, and the results show that some of the most critical aspects of achieving an integrated and inclusive society are housing location, affordability and a good range of public spaces where people of different socio-economic statuses and ethnicities can meet.

The results suggest that an integrated society could be reached by providing different forms of tenure and different rental housing types (both subsidised rents and market-driven rents) in the same building. Moreover, enabling social interaction when designing urban areas could be an efficient tool in promoting an integrated society, since interactions between different groups of people seem vital in creating higher levels of social cohesion and trust. The results also show that complex laws and regulations, combined with inadequate communication between the public sector and the residents, result in NGOs playing an essential role in improving coordination between the city and its residents.

Sammanfattning

Segregation är ett vanligt fenomen som uppstår över hela världen. De negativa konsekvenserna av boendesegregation har visat sig vara många för de som bor i mindre välbärgade stadsdelar. Bland konsekvenserna finns bland annat hälsorelaterade motgångar, men även sämre förutsättningar under skolgången och i det framtida arbetslivet har konstaterats. Sydafrika lämpar sig väl för att studera segregation och metoder för att motverka den och därigenom uppnå bättre integration och mer harmoniska samhällen. Detta eftersom Sydafrika har haft en historia av institutionaliserad rassegregation, känd som apartheid, som upphörde 1994. Under närmare 30 år har landet arbetat för att motverka den etniska och socioekonomiska segregationen som tidigare etablerats genom lag.

Denna studie utvärderar metoder inom stadsplanering som syftar till att främja integration mellan olika grupper (enligt definitionen av socioekonomisk status och etnicitet). För detta ändamål används en fallstudiemetod, där olika planeringsinitiativ och strategier som tillämpats i den sydafrikanska förorten Pinelands, belägen strax utanför centrala Kapstaden, utgör grunden för en specifik utvärdering, och där lärdomarna från denna plats utvärderas med avseende på deras potentiella bredare relevans och tillämpning. Studien syftar således till att urskilja vilka strategier som anses vara mest effektiva för att motverka segregation. Platsbesök och intervjuer har genomförts, och av resultatet framgår att några av de mest kritiska aspekterna för att uppnå ett integrerat och tryggt samhälle är bostadsläge, överkomliga bostadspriser och ett bra utbud av offentliga platser där människor med olika socioekonomisk status och etnicitet kan mötas.

Resultatet tyder på att ett integrerat samhälle skulle kunna nås genom att tillhandahålla bostäder med olika upplåtelseformer och hyresnivåer (både subventionerade och icke-subventionerade) i samma byggnad. Dessutom kan möjliggörandet av social interaktion vid utformning av stadsområden vara en effektiv strategi för att främja ett integrerat samhälle, eftersom interaktioner mellan olika grupper av människor verkar avgörande för att skapa högre nivåer av social sammanhållning och tillit. Resultaten visar också att komplexa lagar och regler, i kombination med bristfällig kommunikation mellan den offentliga sektorn och invånarna, resulterar i att icke-statliga organisationer får en viktig roll i att förbättra samordningen mellan staden och dess invånare.

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Abbreviations

ANC   African National Congress

BNG   Breaking New Ground

DAG   Development Action Group

DALRRD   Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development

FLISP   Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme

IDP   Integrated Development Plan

IGCI   International Garden Cities Institute

MSDF   Municipal Spatial Development Framework

NDP   National Development Plan: a development plan produced by the NPC

NGO   Non-governmental organisation

NP   Pro-Afrikaner National Party

NPC   National Planning Commission

ODTP   Organisational Development and Transformation Plan

RDP   Reconstruction and Development Programme

SHI   Social Housing Institution

SHRA   Social Housing Regulatory Authority

Sida   Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SPLUMA   Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013

ZAR   South African Rand, the currency in South Africa

Definitions

Spatial planning	A strategic process to organise and coordinate how society, the built environment and the economy should work together in a healthy way (Western Cape Government, 2022).
Urban planning	Used in this thesis to refer to the planning for the development of urban areas.
Urban land management	The process of managing the development and use of urban areas.
Socio-economic status	Class or social standing of an individual or group, usually measured but combining income, education and occupation (American Psychological Association, 2022).
Garden City	A residential community with gardens, parks and large open spaces (The International Garden Cities Institute, 2016).
Affordable housing	Housing that is affordable for lower to middle-income households. Although affordability is dependent on the context (location) in which housing is available, "it would never be targeted at the highest-earning income group of that context". In South Africa, affordable housing targets households earning less than 22 000 ZAR per month (City of Cape Town, 2021). 1 EUR (Euro) = 16.2596 ZAR (South African Rand) (April 20, 2022) (Oanda, 2022).
Inclusionary housing	Refers to policies that use economic profits from rising real estate values to provide affordable housing, which can be done by imposing developers to include affordable units within their developments (City of Cape Town, 2021).

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

Segregation has been extensively studied over the years, among developed as well as developing countries. Several countries have a history of racial segregation being mandated by law, the United States and South Africa being two of the more well-known examples (Sides, 2017). Thus, many studies have focused on the negative consequences of segregation for individuals and society, seeking solutions or strategies to reduce segregation. South Africa's history of institutionalised racial segregation[1], has left a strong correlation between socio-economic status and race (Turok et al., 2021b). Therefore, this study focuses on both ethnic segregation and segregation based on class or socio-economic status.

Although numerous factors contribute to different segregation patterns, it is generally accepted that urban planning plays a vital role in segregation matters. Urban planning, therefore, has the potential to promote integration in society. At the same time, poor planning strategies can have the opposite effect, resulting in a higher level of segregation than before. The Swedish ''Million Homes Programme'' is often used as an example on this topic. The programme was initiated in 1964 and aimed to build one million new dwellings to modernise the housing stock and help solve the housing crisis. In 1974, one million new homes in different forms were finished. However, each neighbourhood was considered fairly homogeneous, and a significant amount of criticism was directed towards the large scale areas because of their physical appearance and lack of social and commercial facilities. As a result, segregation eventually emerged, despite several efforts to regenerate the areas. Thus, the Million Homes Programme shows that urban planning can both contribute to desegregation and create segregation. It also shows the importance of a well-functioning society that offers not only homes but all needed facilities, including social and commercial ones (Andersson, Bråmå & Holmqvist, 2010).

The negative impacts of residential segregation have been documented in recent works, arguing that residential segregation amplifies the social exclusion of certain groups of

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[1] Between 1948 and 1994, South Africa had a system of institutionalised racial segregation, where non-white South Africans were forced to live separately from the white people. This political and social system is commonly known as *Apartheid* (Gradin, 2019).

people (Sampson et al., 2008) and impairs social harmony and coherence (Peterson, 2017; Sturgis et al., 2014). According to a study conducted in the United States, Chicago, children living in disadvantaged neighbourhoods have a reduced later verbal ability, equated to missing a year of school education (Sampson et al., 2008). Neighbourhood ethnic diversity was subject for a recent study conducted in London, showing a positive correlation between ethnic diversity and social cohesion of residents within neighbourhoods. Ethnic segregation, on the contrary, was shown to result in lower levels of cohesion (Sturgis et al., 2014).

South Africa is an especially well-suited country to study segregation and methods to counteract it to achieve better integration and more inclusive communities. This follows as South Africa has had a history of institutionalised racial segregation (Gradin, 2019). In addition, South Africa is a multicultural country with a vast variety of communities (CIA, 2022). The country also has a wide socio-economic spread in terms of income (Stats SA, 2019). Since the removal of apartheid, several laws and policies have regulated spatial planning in South Africa. Commonly, many of these regulations focus on erasing the traces of apartheid to create a more integrated society. According to the country's *principle of integration,* the city developers should work actively to promote a more integrated society with a mix of different land uses (South African Government, 2001). According to a Cape Town and Johannesburg study, segregation decreased in both cities between 1991 and 2011. Despite this reduction, the cities remain segregated (Parry and van Eeden, 2015).

In a recent study, conducted in Cape Town, Geyer and Mohammed (2016) examine the fact that while ethnic segregation is decreasing, the occurrence of class-based segregation is increasing. Class-based segregation in neighbourhoods is created on an income basis, arising when a wealthy neighbourhood becomes economically homogeneous and racially heterogeneous due to an increased *in-migration* of wealthy residents from poor neighbourhoods. They also mention that hypersegregation is becoming more common in Cape Town. Hypersegregation is instead caused by a selective *out-migration* of wealthy people from poor neighbourhoods, resulting in poor neighbourhoods becoming both economically and racially homogeneous. According to their study, housing ecology[2] and subcultural variables[3] can be linked to Cape Town's

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[2] The housing market can be described as an ecosystem; a community of humans and houses interacting as a system.

[3] Subculture is a phenomenon in which a cultural group within a larger group has beliefs or interests that somewhat differ from those of the larger culture.

neighbourhood changes. The study also indicates that both named factors correlate to class-based segregation, whilst hypersegregation is affected by housing ecology factors alone.

The occurrence of segregation in South Africa and its connection to urban planning has been extensively studied. However, this study contributes to the existing literature by adding a case study of the South African suburb of Pinelands, situated just outside central Cape Town. The case study approach is used to analyse planning initiatives taken and strategies applied to counteract segregation. In contrast to previous studies, this study seeks to distinguish which strategies are believed to be most efficient in promoting integration. Thus, the study can be seen as guidance on how the city's development should proceed in the future. Furthermore, the study contributes to a better knowledge of how the residents of Pinelands experience the city's urban planning and its work towards a more integrated society. The lessons learned from the specific case study then form the basis for an evaluation of wider relevance and application.

1.2 Purpose

The thesis focuses on studying the strategies used to counteract segregation, using the case study of urban planning in Pinelands, Cape Town. The study aims to distinguish and discuss these different strategies to determine which tools are believed to be most efficient. Moreover, the study seeks to determine if any of the applied methods or strategies are of more general relevance, also for other contexts and geographic settings.

1.3 Research Questions

The study seeks to answer the following specific questions:

- Which urban land management tools are used in Cape Town to counteract segregation in different parts of the city?
- How has the level of segregation changed in Pinelands in the last 30 years, and what is believed to have led to these changes?
- Are any of the strategies and tools used more generally relevant and efficient?

1.4 Scope and Delimitations

This thesis focuses on urban planning and its role in desegregation in Pinelands, Cape Town, South Africa, from 1994-2022. Focusing on the case of Pinelands allows for details and depth into a specific suburb and is in line with the limited amount of

financial resources and time framework. The number of people interviewed is limited to 16 persons since this sample size is reasonable within the time constraints and still considered to give a sufficient level of information to answer the research questions.

1.5 The study's connection to the global goals

The study is in line with the South African Government's visions and goals to achieve an integrated society and solve the problems of South Africa related to human needs and land use. In addition to these goals, South Africa is one of many nations that has adopted the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals, also known as the Global Goals, which aim to end poverty by 2030. This study connects to several of these Sustainable Development Goals. Firstly, strategies for counteracting segregation and promoting integration are essential in reducing inequalities, which is the tenth global goal: "Reduced inequalities". Secondly, well-functioning urban land management is necessary to create a sustainable city. Thus, the study also aligns with the eleventh global goal: "Sustainable cities and communities". The study is also strongly connected to goal number 16, which reads: "Peace, justice and strong institutions", since desegregation is an essential piece of the puzzle in maintaining peace and justice.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter 2 describes the research approach and the methods used to find answers to the research questions.

Chapters 3 provides a general overview of segregation and its potential negative effects. The section also presents a brief description of residential segregation in Europe.

Chapter 4 introduces South Africa. South Africa has a long history of oppression and racial segregation. This thesis will only cover a brief fraction of it – an introduction that aims to give an understanding of South Africa's struggles because of its history.

Chapter 5 introduces Pinelands and the City of Cape Town. The first section presents Cape Town and the City's challenges in post-apartheid and in providing affordable housing. The following section provides a brief description of Pinelands and its surroundings.

Chapter 6 describes South Africa and Cape Town's spatial planning system by presenting spatial planning authorities as well as relevant regulations, including legislation, laws and policies. An overview of the spatial planning system is fundamental to later understanding the strategies used in urban planning to counteract segregation.

Chapter 7 presents the findings of the study. The first section is descriptive and presents the results of the site visits. The following section presents the results of the interviews.

Chapter 8 evaluates and analyses the results of the study and presents the study's limitations. This chapter also discusses and analyses the research questions and suggests future research.

Chapter 9 concludes the study and provides answers to the research questions.

2 Method

2.1 Research approach

The research was conducted as a field study with the case of the South African suburb of Pinelands. Pinelands was chosen because of its apparent change in population distribution in the last decades. Since the abolishment of apartheid, Pinelands has transformed from a white-only suburb to a relatively heterogeneous suburb in terms of ethnicity. Pinelands' change in population distribution formed an interesting case study investigating urban planning strategies that might have contributed to Pinelands' transition to a more integrated suburb.

A case study was chosen since this approach was believed to comprise more detail and depth on urban planning's role in desegregation, than would another research approach. The case study allowed for a complex phenomenon, that is segregation, to be studied in its context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, pp. 301-302). Moreover, a qualitative collection method enabled the finding of themes and patterns that may not have been discovered with a quantitative methodology. Thus, a qualitative case study was considered suitable for answering the research questions.

Literature reviews on segregation, its negative effects and its connection to urban planning were made both in the study's initial stage, before arrival in South Africa, and in a later stage, on-site in the country. The literature review also covers South Africa, including Cape Town and Pinelands, and the country's spatial planning system. The literature review substantiated the following data collection. Data was collected in Cape Town, South Africa, through observations during site visits and interviews with professionals within the urban planning sector and with Pinelands' residents.

2.2 Site visits

To obtain a broad understanding of Cape Town's different urban areas, site visits were carried out throughout Cape Town, although with a specific focus on Pinelands. To compare the observations, more detailed site visits were also made in two other similar suburbs in Cape Town: Rondebosch and Rosebank.

Site visits in Pinelands were made a few times a week over a three-month period, from February to April. Rondebosch and Rosebank were also visited several times during this period. During the site visits, observations were made by walking through the

suburb whilst studying different buildings and housing types to distinguish potential patterns in the different areas. Shops, restaurants, other services and public spaces were visited to analyse movement patterns and get a sense of the range of services. The land use in Pinelands was studied partly by walking around the area and partly by studying maps of the suburb. The traffic flow was also studied both through observations on-site in the suburb and by analysing different maps showing traffic flow. The observations were documented on-site through photographs and notes.

To summarise, the purpose of the site visits was to explore different urban areas, observe the aesthetics and characteristics of the neighbourhoods, and possibly identify similarities between areas with similar resident profiles. The idea was to get a picture of the surroundings to be able to conclude the interviews.

2.3 Interviews

Interviewing local people with diverse backgrounds and experiences was another critical data source. Since the research focuses on urban planning, professionals within this sector (in the City of Cape Town) have been interviewed (see table 2.1). A broader perspective was obtained by interviewing present and previous residents of Pinelands. The purpose of the interviews with Pinelands' residents was to complement the site visits to be able to draw conclusions from these. The interviews with professionals within the urban planning sector also aimed to supplement the site visits and further examine the strategies used in urban planning to promote integration in the city.

Table 2.1 The professional roles of the participants within the urban planning sector.

	Professional role
1	Architect
2	Operations and marketing manager at a construction company
3	Professor and researcher in urban planning
4	Urban planner at a non-governmental organisation
5	Employee at a consulting company focused on urban planning
6	Urban planner at a non-governmental organisation
7	Architect
8	Urban planner

The initial ambition was to interview 10-14 people since that number of interviews was expected to give a sufficient level of information and still be feasible within the time constraints. After 16 interviews – eight with professionals within the urban planning

sector and eight with residents of Pinelands, the level of data collected was considered enough to answer the research questions. The participating residents of Pinelands were found through a Facebook post in a Facebook group for residents of Pinelands where they were asked to participate in the study.

To avoid potential errors due to various interviewing techniques, all in-person interviews were held by the same person. In that way, one could take notes while the other was responsible for asking the questions, which also made the interviewing process more effective. Each in-person interview lasted for about 45 minutes to an hour. The interview was recorded if consent was given by the participant, which was not the case for all interviews. Whether recorded or not, careful notes were taken for all of the interviews (by the person who was not responsible for asking the questions).

All interviews with people within the urban planning sector were semi-structured. Four of the interviews with residents of Pinelands were semi-structured, while the remaining four were structured where the participants wrote down their answers to the questions in text. Current and previous residents of Pinelands participating in the study were between 25-59 years old. The age group of the participants within the urban planning sector is unknown, since this information was considered to be of no importance for the study results.

The interview questions for the structured interviews with Pinelands' residents can be found in Appendix A. The semi-structured interviews with residents were, on the other hand, in-person, individual interviews following the main themes presented in the interview guide in Appendix A. In the semi-structured interviews, a couple of predetermined open-ended questions allowed for other essential questions to emerge during the interview, depending on the participant's answers (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

The semi-structured interviews with professionals within the urban planning sector were conducted without a strict set of questions. Instead, different questions were asked depending on the participant's responses and how the interview unfolded. This interviewing technique allowed for different essential themes to be distinguished from the interviews. Although the questions varied depending on who was interviewed, an interview guide, containing all of the questions asked during the different interviews with professionals, can be found in Appendix B.

3 Introducing segregation

Segregation is defined as a separation of people or things. Residential segregation can, in turn, be described as a spatial separation in patterns of different categories of people. In segregation research, the most common types of segregation are demographic, ethnic (including racial) and socio-economic.

Demographic segregation is based on age, gender and different household types, such as families with children, pensioners or students. Ethnic segregation is based on the origin or ethnicity of the people, whilst racial segregation is based on non-existent categories where people are divided by "race". Socio-economic or class-based segregation concerns the division of people according to resources such as occupation, income and education (Lilja & Pemer, 2010).

3.1 The negative effects of segregation

Several studies have shown that segregation negatively affects people living in segregated, less wealthy neighbourhoods. According to previous studies in Sweden, segregation affects individuals' level of education and how well they cope with school (Andersson & Subramanian, 2006; Andersson, 2004; Bygren & Szulkin, 2010). One study, conducted by Bygren and Szulkin (2010), shows a correlation between the social composition of school classes and the students' results. Regardless of individual social background, the students who performed best were in classes where most students came from "high-status classes". The study also shows that the students' results decrease the larger the proportion of students in a class coming from socio-economically vulnerable areas.

Furthermore, previous research indicates that individuals' future in the labour market can be affected by the neighbourhood in which they grow up, where neighbourhoods characterised by vulnerability can negatively affect individuals' future opportunities in the labour market. People growing up in low-income neighbourhoods run a greater risk of being unemployed for a more extended period. The same people also have a lower probability of being hired and are more likely to receive a lower earned income than people living in high-income neighbourhoods (Brännström & Rojas, 2012; Musterd & Andersson, 2006). Even though many studies show that there is a correlation and that some factors in the neighbourhood affect the future of its residents, there are also studies showing that the neighbourhood effects are so insignificant that the focus should instead be on other social, demographic and individual factors (van Ham et al., 2012).

It is also believed that there is a connection between the conditions in a residential area and the health of its residents. A neighbourhood's physical and social characteristics are assumed to be able to cause illness, either directly or through the opportunities provided to be able to live a healthy life. These opportunities can be divided into two types: material or infrastructural resources and the collective social function. Examples of material or infrastructural resources are water quality, air pollution, other health environmental aspects in the home or its immediate surroundings and the quality and scope of public and private services. The collective social function involves, for instance, trust, social participation, degree of social integration, values and norms (MacIntyre & Ellaway, 2003; Stjärne et al., 2016).

Physical inactivity and an unhealthy diet are significant risk factors for insulin resistance, which is a risk marker for cardiovascular disease and type 2 diabetes. Individuals' degree of physical activity can be linked to the physical design of the living environment and the availability of recreation areas (Auchincloss et al., 2007; Humpel et al., 2002). Furthermore, it has been shown that access to healthy food is significantly worse in poor housing areas (Horowitz et al., 2004). This is also confirmed in a study in Stockholm (Stjärne et al., 2004), showing that those living in areas with poorer material or infrastructural recourses have a substantially higher risk of suffering a heart attack. The conclusions from most studies analysing the area's correlation to people's health seem to be that socio-economic resources have a vital role in people's health, and that health risks cannot be fully explained by individual characteristics (Stjärne et al., 2006).

A recent study argues that social cohesion is negatively affected by ethnic segregation and accordingly positively affected by ethnic diversity. The study was conducted in London, focusing on perceived social cohesion among residents within diverse neighbourhoods throughout the city (Sturgis et al., 2014). These results contradict several previous academic studies arguing that ethnically diverse communities are linked to low levels of trust and a reduced sense of social cohesion between residents (Costa & Kahn, 2003; Putnam, 2007). However, the results of the study in London also indicate that perceived cohesion within a diverse neighbourhood varies depending on age. Young people's sense of social cohesion is positively affected by diversity, while the positive effect seems to disperse among older age groups (Sturgis et al., 2014). Although there are academic works showing that trust is positively affected by diversity (Marschall & Stolle, 2004; Pendakur & Mata, 2012), there is still a large number of studies showing the opposite. However, in a paper from 2009, Hewstone argues that

most studies seem to lack a research approach that also includes measures of social interaction between different ethnic groups. A lack of social contact may result in stereotyping and prejudicial attitudes, which emphasises the importance of enabling social interaction to promote integration, and likewise, counteract segregation (Hewstone, 2009).

3.2 Residential segregation

Residential segregation is on the rise in Europe's major cities, where people are segregated based on their socio-economic status. A recent paper, which builds on a study of 12 European cities, shows that socio-economic segregation has increased and that "the growing gap between the poor and the rich is consistent all over Europe". However, North America is still more socio-economically segregated than Europe (Musterd et al., 2017). Another recent study, analysing the correlation between residential segregation and income inequality in European urban areas, indicates a correlation between the two, although with a time lag. The findings show that changes in levels of income resulted in residential segregation between different socio-economic groups, but with a time lag of approximately 10 years. Thus, this result emphasises the importance of dealing with income inequalities in order to combat residential segregation (Tammaru, 2020).

Sweden is one of the countries in which residential segregation has begun to increase over the past decade (Musterd et al., 2017; Tyrcha, 2020). The increase partly derives from the recent refugee crisis and the large migration that has taken place in Sweden as a result. A lack of housing availability has arisen, which has a negative effect on mainly the migrants (Tyrcha, 2020). The similarity between segregation in South Africa and segregation in Sweden is the strong correlation between socio-economic status and ethnicity (Grander & Frisch, 2022).

Unlike South Africa, Sweden has a public housing system where the municipal housing companies are responsible for providing good quality rental properties to the public – for public benefit (Sveriges Allmännytta, n.d.). South Africa, and many other countries, have a system of social housing being provided for those with the lowest socio-economic status. In Sweden, on the other hand, all people compete on equal terms, regardless of financial resources. The idea is that those with lower incomes should not have to settle for housing earmarked for low-income groups, housing located in particular housing areas or housing of lower quality (Grander, 2020). Almost 20 per cent of Sweden's housing stock consists of public housing. Although the main concept

of the public housing system is equality, the reality is different (Sveriges Allmännytta, n.d.). Segregation has emerged in many residential areas, especially those built during the Million Homes Programme (Andersson, Bråmå & Holmqvist, 2010). The shortage of housing is a huge problem, and at the same time it is more challenging than ever to build at an affordable cost. In addition, the public housing companies are struggling with combining a business-like approach with their social responsibility (Sveriges Allmännytta, n.d.).

Residential segregation and the negative effects deriving from it are increasing, not least in major European cities (Musterd et al., 2017; Tammaru, 2020). South Africa is an interesting country to study segregation due to its history, diversity and socio-economic spread in terms of income (CIA, 2022; Gradin, 2019; Stats SA, 2019). The following chapter briefly introduces South Africa; pre-, during, and post-apartheid.

4 South Africa

At the most southern tip of Africa is South Africa; a country renowned for its incredible natural beauty, rich wildlife and cultural diversity. Mozambique and Eswatini border South Africa to the northeast and east, Botswana and Zimbabwe to the north, and Namibia to the northwest. Lesotho is an independent country surrounded by South African territory in the eastern part of South Africa. From the border of Namibia on the Atlantic coast to the border of Mozambique on the Indian ocean stretches a coastline of more than 2,800 kilometres, see figure 4.1 (South African Government, 2022a).

Figure 4.1 Map showing South Africa (CIA, 2022).

South Africa has three different capitals: Pretoria (administrative capital), Cape Town (legislative capital) and Bloemfontein (judicial capital), seen in figure 4.1. The South African Government is divided into three sections in each of the three capitals.

The population reaches about 57 million people, on a total area of 1,219,090 km². South Africa has eleven official languages: isiZulu, isiXhosa, Afrikaans, Sepedi, Setswana, English, Sesotho, Xitsonga, siSwati, Tshivenda and isiNdebele. Of these languages, isiZulu is the most widely spoken language - with 25,3 % of the citizens having it as their native language. The second most common is isiXhosa (14.8 %), followed by Afrikaans (12.2 %). Although only 8.1 % of the population speak English as their native language, English is the second most commonly spoken language outside of the home,

after isiZulu (CIA, 2022). An explanation for South Africa's prevalence of English is the country's colonial legacy (South African Government, 2022c).

4.1 Colonialism and Apartheid

The systematic colonisation of the present-day Republic of South Africa started in 1652 when traders from the Dutch East India Company first came to the southernmost part of Africa (present-day Cape Town) to create a port for sailors travelling between Europe and Asia (South African Government, 2022b). Trade increased rapidly, and the first permanent European settlement, and the founding of Cape Town, was a fact. The colony used enslaved people from East Africa, Madagascar and the East Indies as farm labourers and, in some cases, also domestic servants (CIA, 2022).

The Dutch ruled the Cape Colony until it was occupied by the British in 1795. The Cape reverted to Dutch rule in 1803 and again to British rule in 1806 (South African Government, 2022b). The boundaries of European influence continued spreading eastwards throughout the 1800s. Eventually, four different areas were established: Cape Colony and Natal (British colonies) and Transvaal and Orange Free State (republics ruled by Dutch settlers, also known as Boers). The conflict between the British and the Boers was constant, and between 1880 and 1902 two major wars unfolded, called the first and the second Anglo-Boer War (Thompson, 2001, pp. 115-130)

The Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 by joining Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State (CIA, 2022). The union being mainly white, led to opposition and the founding of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 – a political organisation aiming to fight for the civil rights of black people. However, the exclusion of the black population continued and became even more distinct as discriminatory legislation and segregationist policies emerged. Apartheid began in 1948 when the pro-Afrikaner National Party (NP) came to power. In 1950, NP established a legislative system of racial classification through the *Populations Registration Act*, which divided the South African population into distinct groups based on their race: black African, coloured (mixed race), Indian/Asian and white[4].

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[4] This paper uses the racial terminology commonly used in South Africa: black African, coloured (mixed race), Indian/Asian and white. The term black refers to everyone who was not a part of the privileged white group during apartheid. Although problematic, these terms continue to be used since they are a part of South Africa's history, thus used to be able to analyse progress since the abolishment of apartheid.

The *Group Areas Act* of 1950 divided the African population into separate ethnic nations, separating the country's white minority from its black majority. This policy affected around 3,5 million black Africans who were forced to move from white areas to assigned homelands based on their ethnic identity. The homelands were rural areas with underdeveloped economies. Since the government viewed the homelands as partly independent countries, this resulted in black Africans losing their citizenship and civil rights (South African Government, 2022b). In urban areas, such as Cape Town, the remaining blacks were moved to specific settlements, also called townships, depending on their race (Budlender & Royston, 2016). The institutionalised segregation resulted in race becoming synonymous with socio-economic status. Whites lived under tremendously better conditions than Indians/Asians, followed by coloured and last black Africans (Stats SA, 2019).

As the resistance against the oppression of blacks increased, the state was eventually met with difficulties maintaining apartheid. Together with international pressure, mass resistance finally led to the fall of apartheid. In April 1994, South Africa held its first democratic election, in which the ANC, led by Nelson Mandela, won. The ten homelands and four provinces were replaced with nine new provinces (Thompson, 2001, pp. 262-264).

4.2 Post-apartheid

The end of apartheid has resulted in fundamental transformations in South Africa, both within economic and social development. However, the abolishment of apartheid also resulted in South Africa losing several highly educated workers who experienced dissatisfaction with the country's political situation, crime and lack of services. This emigration resulted in labour shortages in several vital sectors - a problem that South Africa is still struggling with (CIA, 2022). At the same time, the official unemployment rate in South Africa is high - accounting for 34,9 % in the third quarter of 2021 (Stats SA, 2021). Despite the high level of unemployment, the amount of refugees from nearby countries seeking asylum has increased since the end of the 20th century. Refugees have included thousands from Somalia, Congo and Ethiopia. In addition, tens of thousands of people from Zimbabwe have applied for asylum, only to be denied refuge since they are being categorised as economic migrants (CIA, 2022).

The advent of democracy in post-apartheid resulted in political stability and economic growth. Despite this, the society of South Africa is still characterised by great inequality where people are segregated based on their income (Utrikespolitiska Institutet, 2022).

Due to South Africa's history of racial segregation, the correlation between race and socio-economic status remains (Stats SA, 2019; Turok et al., 2021b). In 2014, the white population earned more than twice as much as black Africans. Although there has been a decrease in earnings inequality since the beginning of the 21st century, the differences between the population's earnings remain vastly apparent. South Africa has a Gini coefficient[5] of above 0.6, which has been elementally unchanged since 1994 and places South Africa at the top of the world's most unequal countries (Stats SA, 2019).

South Africa has a long way to go in erasing the traces of apartheid, but the country's development seems to be heading in the right direction. In a paper from 2017, Wittenberg and Leibrandt show how changes in inequality can be measured by using asset indicates. According to a multidimensional index, there was a substantial decrease in asset inequality between 1993 and 2008. These results indicate that there has been an increase in infrastructure and essential services provided to South African households over this period. Furthermore, South Africa has a well-developed mining industry and thriving tourism - two tremendously vital factors contributing to the overall economy.

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[5] The Gini coefficient is an index used to measure inequality based on income. The coefficient ranges from zero to one, with zero representing perfect equality and one perfect inequality (U.S. Census Bureau, n.d.).

5 The City of Cape Town

Cape Town, the legislative capital of South Africa, is a beloved destination for visitors from all over the world. Besides a lively city centre, the city offers long beaches and an incredible landscape with famous landmarks such as Table Mountain and Cape Point. In contrast to the areas of enormous wealth, the city also has several townships and informal dormitory settlements on the Cape Flats, see figure 5.1. The city's townships and informal settlements result from the apartheid era (Budlender & Royston, 2016; Turok et al., 2021b).
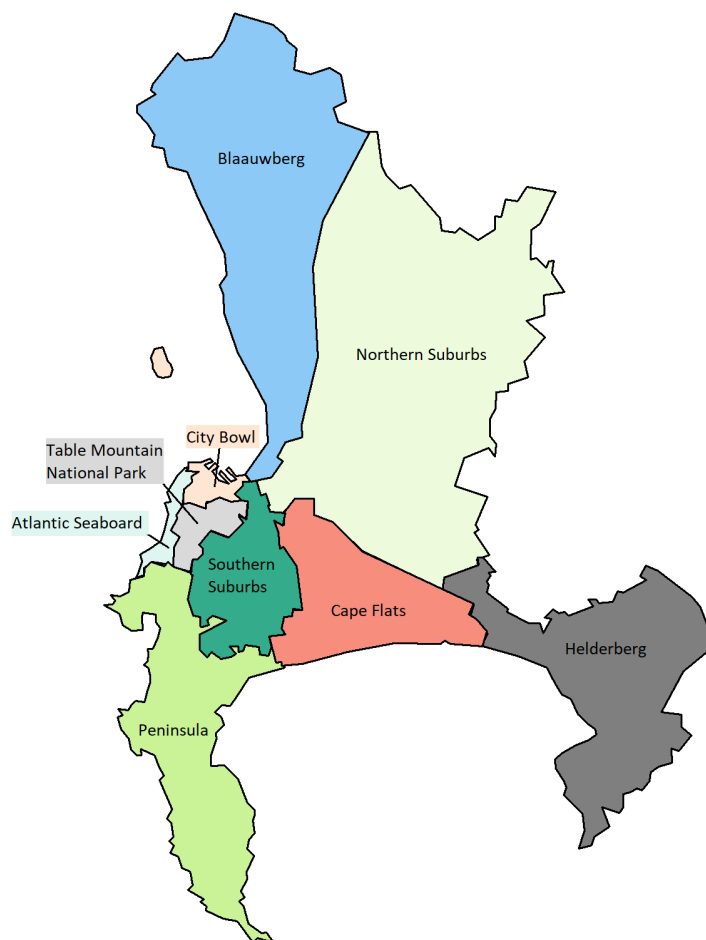

Figure 5.1 Map showing city of Cape Town.

South Africa is divided into nine different provinces, and the City of Cape Town is located in the southwestern part of the Western Cape province, as can be seen in figure

5.2. The Western Cape is in turn, divided into six districts, also shown in figure 5.2. With a population of 4,8 million and a municipal area of 2,461 km^2, Cape Town is South Africa's second largest city after Johannesburg (CIA, 2022). Although coloureds represent a minority group in South Africa, they are dominant in the Western Cape. Western Cape is one of only two provinces in South Africa where black Africans are not a majority of the population (Stats SA, 2016).
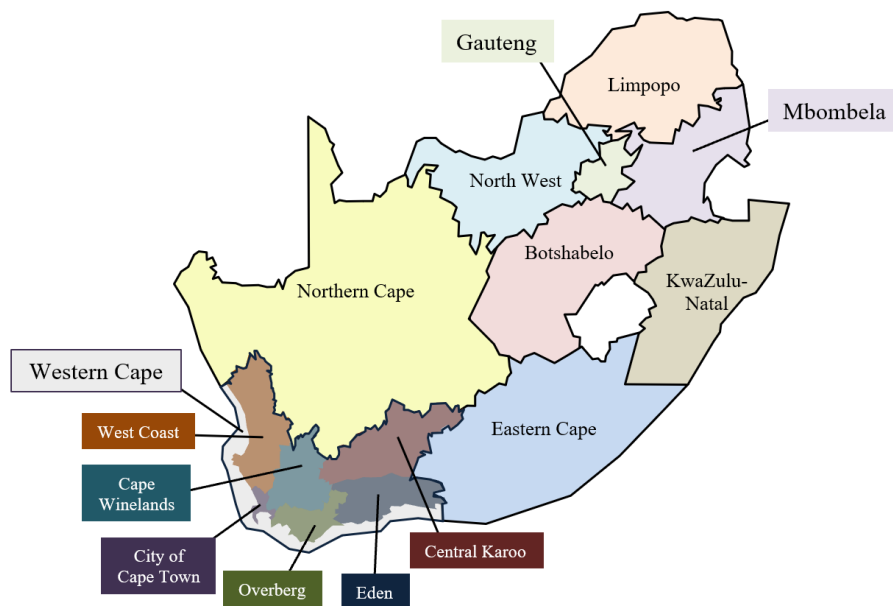
Figure 5.2 A simplified map of the provinces of South Africa and the districts of the Western Cape province.

Many scars remain in Cape Town from the years of colonialism and apartheid, which can be seen in the city's spatial form and social composition. For three centuries, people were treated differently depending on the colour of their skin. Thus, the city was managed to benefit a minority of privileged white people at the expense of the black majority. Even though there has been a change during the last decades, socio-economic status or social class continues to intertwine with race, and the urban inequalities of apartheid continue to impact people's quality of life (Turok et al., 2021b).

After the abolishment of apartheid in 1994, the government invested in building houses for the black population who, during the apartheid area, had been forced into designated

areas of the country. These settlements developed according to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Breaking New Ground (BNG) – both parts of the democratic government's housing subsidy scheme. However, most of the city centre's land was already occupied by whites, which resulted in tiny, freestanding houses being built in the city's periphery (Scheba & Turok, 2020). Thus, today's townships are both a result of the segregated areas created during apartheid and a product of the newly built settlements in post-apartheid (Budlender & Royston, 2016).

The townships have in common their disconnection from employment opportunities offered in the centre of the city (Totaforti, 2021; Turok et al., 2021a). According to the municipality's estimations, poor households spend up to 40 % of their income on travelling expenses to and from work. The city emphasises that the transport cost "inhibits upward socio-economic mobility and deepens household dependency. These features are common in South African cities but tend to be more acute in Cape Town" (City of Cape Town, 2018). Cape Town's steep price gradient forces the majority to live in the city's periphery since they cannot afford to live in the inner city. As a result, households are distributed throughout the city depending on their socio-economic status and ability to move to more desirable neighbourhoods (Turok et al., 2021a).

Cape Town is generally considered the most segregated city in South Africa. However, a recent study, shows an apparent decrease in the city's segregation between 2001 and 2011. The study uses both an index of dissimilarity and location quotients to examine the change in socio-economic segregation in Cape Town. The results also show a dilution of top occupational groups spreading to surrounding neighbourhoods. Simultaneously, those with a lower socio-economic status seemed to move up the status ladder. The authors, however, emphasise the need for further investigation to validate this analysis (Turok et al., 2019).

5.1 Pinelands

Pinelands, South Africa's first Garden City, was established in the late 1920s as an ideal and healthy suburb. Tree-line avenues, wide verges and low hedges are some of the characteristics of Pinelands, which are all features of the original Garden City concept (International Garden Cities Institute (IGCI), 2016). Pinelands is situated on the edge of the southern suburbs of Cape Town, see figure 5.3. Its population density is far lower than in many other areas of the city – 24 people per ha, which can be compared to its neighbour Langa which is located south-east of Pinelands and has a population density going up to 170 people per ha (City of Cape Town, 2019a).
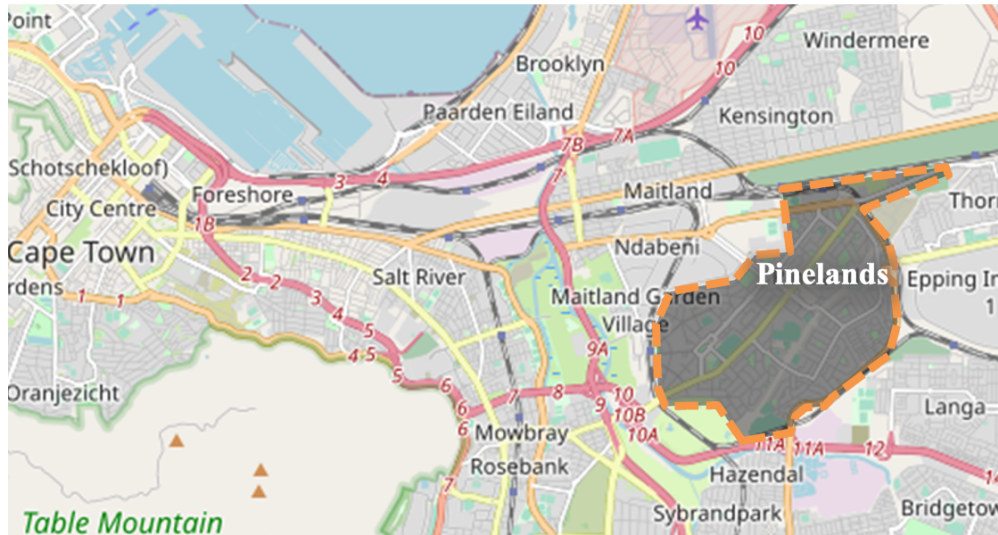
Figure 5.3 Map showing Pinelands' location in Cape Town (OpenStreetMap, 2022a).

The name Pinelands originates from a farm situated in present-day Pinelands, on which the Ministry of Forestry planted thousands of pine trees over a period of thirty years. In the early 20th century, plans were initiated to change the land use to develop the area instead. At the same time, the British concept of garden cities was exported from Britain to its overseas colonies (IGCI, 2016).

The initiative to build a garden city in Cape Town came from Richard Stuttaford, chairman of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce. However, Stuttaford's interest in garden cities began long before his time as a chairman. It started in 1907 when he met Ebenezer Howard (IGCI, 2022a), the founder of the world's first garden city Letchworth (IGCI, 2022b). After meeting with Howard, Stuttaford's interest in garden cities grew – an interest which, several years later, resulted in South Africa's first garden city. Although Stuttaford had an essential role in initiating the concept, it was not solely his interest that led to South Africa building its first garden city. In 1918, more than 6300 Cape Town residents died in the Spanish Influenza Epidemic. A major factor in the spread of the disease was poor and overcrowded housing (IGCI, 2022a). Thus, the epidemic led to a change in the housing legislation, resulting in a more justified introduction of garden cities (Mabin, 2020).

Stuttaford eventually suggested that a garden city should be formed in the land of the pine tree farm. However, his suggestion was rejected, which resulted in Stuttaford supporting the venture himself by donating a start-up capital. This created the opportunity to offer the acting Prime Minister £10'000 to buy the land. In 1919, the Union Government granted a site of 800 acres to the Pinelands Garden Cities Trust (IGCI, 2022a). A garden city specialist and a few professional architectural planners came from England to Cape Town to work on the project in Pinelands. This was the first attempt to develop a professional city plan in South Africa, which later affected the Cape Planning Ordinance, published in 1927 (IGCI, 2016). Pinelands' first house was finished in 1922 (IGCI, 2022a). Being the first garden city built in Africa, Pinelands has an important place in history and has been well protected over the years. Not surprisingly, the structure of Pinelands is very similar to the one in Letchworth Garden City (IGCI, 2016), which can be seen in figures 5.4 and 5.5.

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Figure 5.4 Overview of Pinelands (OpenStreetMap, 2022b).

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Figure 5.5 Overview Letchworth Garden City (OpenStreetMap, 2022c).

Pinelands also has a part in the South African history of institutionalised racial segregation. During apartheid, the suburb was an area for whites-only with a buffer

zone against nearby non-white areas such as the township Langa (City of Cape Town, 2019a). In 1948, Pinelands became an established municipality and in 1996, Pinelands and Cape Town merged into one municipality (IGCI, 2022a). Pinelands' process from pine-tree cultivation to today's Pinelands has been long; see timeline in figure 5.6.
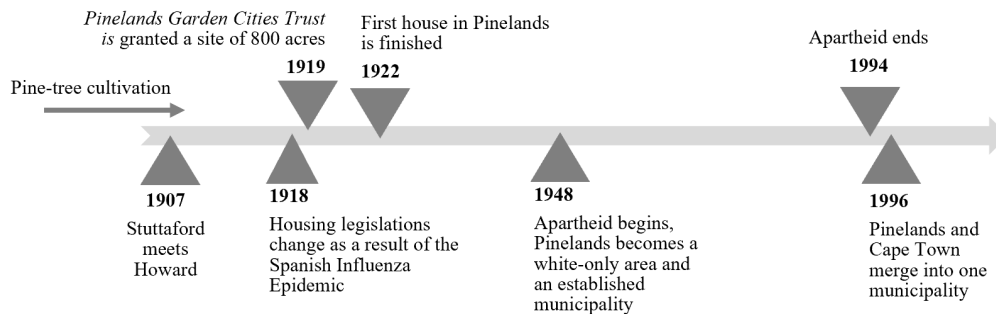

Figure 5.6 The timeline for developing Africa's first garden city, Pinelands.

Despite its history of being a white-only area, Pinelands is today one of Cape Town's most racially mixed middle-class suburbs. According to the censuses, the majority of the residents are still white, although there has been a substantial decrease from 84 % whites in 2001 to 62 % in 2011. According to the 2011 census, the second largest population group in Pinelands was coloured (15.1 %), followed by black Africans (13.1 %) and Indians/Asians (5.1%) (SDI&GIS, 2013a).

Pinelands is often commended for its abundance of trees and serenity and has become a trendy place for pensioners to retire (IGCI, 2016). There is, however, an increasing amount of younger people moving to Pinelands. Within the last six months, people aged 36-49 have been the largest group of buyers, accounting for 46.5 % of the purchased housing stock. Simultaneously, people aged 65 or older are the largest selling group, accounting for 35.1 % of the housing stock being sold (Property24, 2022a). Thus, there seems to be an ongoing alteration in the suburb's age demographics towards a younger population.

5.1.1 The surroundings of Pinelands

As seen in figure 5.7, Pinelands is surrounded by, among others, Ndabeni, Langa, Maitland Garden Village and Thornton. The figure also shows the railway, marked in red, forming a distinct barrier between Pinelands and its surrounding areas.
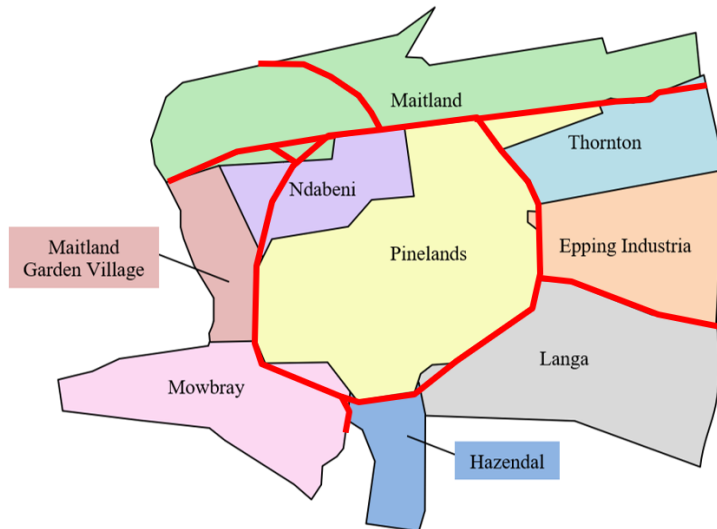
Figure 5.7 Pinelands and its surroundning areas.

North-west of Pinelands is Ndabeni - an industrial suburb consisting of light industries. Ndabeni was established in 1901 as a suburb for black African labourers who had migrated to Cape Town in the end of the 19th century (Saunders, 1979, as cited in Coetzer, 2009). Ndabeni was legally defined as a location of "native" territory – the only location where black Africans could live, besides those living and working on farms and those owning properties in Cape Town. Many of the people being relocated to Ndabeni came from District Six[6] (Coetzer, 2009).

In 1918, the residents of Ndabeni started being forcibly relocated from Ndabeni to present-day township Langa, as a result of the Spanish Influenza Epidemic (Sambumbu, 2010). The presence of black people in the city was seen as problematic, hence leading to the development of Langa situated on the Cape Flats, south-east of Pinelands. The layout for Langa was prepared by the same person who designed Pinelands Garden City. Langa was planned for up to 10 000 residents, accommodating all of the people in Ndabeni so that Ndabeni could be closed down. In a paper from

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[6] District Six was a diverse community on a number of levels – socio-economic status, language, religion and origin. In 1966 it became a white area under the Group Areas Act, leading to the forcibly removal of more than 60 000 people (District Six Museum, 2022).

2009, Coetzer describes Langa as an extraordinary garden suburb, in which extraordinary refers to "the extent to which its initial design ideals were underfunded and diminished to the point where even building and health regulations were compromised in favour of expediency; this indicates the willingness of the authorities to consider black Africans as extensively different in needs and even sub-human in health requirements" (Coetzer, 2009). Langa is one of South Africa's oldest black townships, with a population of 99,1 % black Africans, according to the 2011 census (SDI&GIS, 2013b).

Maitland Garden Village is situated northwest of Pinelands. It was built in the 1920s to accommodate predominantly coloured municipal workers, thus establishing a segregated public housing scheme (Bickford Smith, 1990, as cited in Development Action Group (DAG), 2020). Like Pinelands, the design of Maitland Garden Village is influenced by the garden city town planning of the time. Its residents have lived there for generations, and many households are related, creating a cohesive sense of community. The people living in Maitland Garden Village were however threatened with forced removals in 1969, as the area was designated for whites according to the Group Areas Act. Due to a decade-long resistance against the removal, the decision was reversed in 1982. Today, the area struggles with accommodating all its residents and as a result, many households have established informal settlements in their backyards. According to an aerial desktop analysis from 2020, backyarding increased substantially between 2004 and 2020 – from 84 backyard settlements in 2004 to 305 in 2020 (DAG, 2020).

Thornton, situated in the east of Pinelands, is a middle class suburb with a population of 5 862 residents, according to the 2011 Census. People living in Thornton are predominantly coloured (49 %), followed by 26 % black Africans (SDI&GIS, 2013c). Like Pinelands, Thornton has an increasing number of younger people moving to the suburb. Within the last six months, people aged 36-49 have been the largest group of buyers, accounting for 45.1 % of the purchased housing stock. At the same time, the same age group is also the largest selling group, accounting for 50 % of the housing stock being sold. Properties are predominantly owned by people aged 36-49 (35.5 %) and 50-64 (37.3 %) (Property24, 2022b).

5.2 Conradie Park
Conradie Park is an ongoing housing development between Pinelands and Thornton, aiming to address the traces of apartheid and its spatial heritage. The area of 22 acres

is located where the old Conradie Hospital was situated, in the northwest of Pinelands, see figure 5.8 (Metelerkamp, 2022). Conradie Park was initiated by the provincial government and is a part of the plans to build affordable housing in well-located areas with close access to the city centre. The Western Cape Government describes the development as one of seven game-changer projects that will help redress spatial challenges from the apartheid-era and improve the living conditions for the province's citizens (News24, 2020).

The development is carried out through a partnership between Concor Developments (a construction company) and the Western Cape Government, aiming to create an integrated, mixed-use area consisting of people of different income levels. Until 2027, when the project is expected to be finished, more than 3500 homes will be produced in Conradie Park, whereas 49 % of these will be fully furnished affordable housing consisting of social housing, subsidised dwellings for first-time home buyers[7] and rent-to-buy-units. Thus, 51 % of the produced dwellings will be available on the open market. The first social housing dwellings were finished and handed over to their new residents at the beginning of February 2022 (Metelerkamp, 2022).

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Figure 5.8 The location of the Conradie Park development (OpenStreetMap, 2022d).

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[7] The homes for first-time home buyers are subsidised by the Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Programme (FLISP) programme (Western Cape Government, 2021b).

6 Spatial planning in South Africa

South Africa's spatial planning seeks to ensure that an integrated planning process is implemented in both the long and short term. The planning process shall primarily be carried through by developing and implementing Spatial Development Frameworks. The spatial development agenda is driven by various planning instruments, which seek to implement spatial plans by creating budgets and facilitating spatial transformation (Western Cape Government, 2022).

This section introduces the most fundamental parts of spatial planning in South Africa, containing a presentation of spatial planning authorities and regulatory frameworks. Although presenting regulatory frameworks on different levels of government, the section has a particular focus on frameworks regarding the City of Cape Town.

6.1 Spatial planning authorities

South Africa has a three-tier system with governments on national, provincial and local levels. In the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, the governments are defined as "distinctive, interdependent and interrelated" (The South African Constitution, 2022). Each government has legislative and executive authority in its own sphere, although they all operate to the laws and policies made by the national government (South African Government, 2022e).

6.1.1 National Government

The national government consists of a legislative authority: the Parliament, an executive authority: the Cabinet and an independent judicial authority: the Courts. The national government has several departments divided into five different groups, called clusters. The department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development (DALRRD), in a cluster called Economic Sectors, Investment, Employment and Infrastructure Development (South African Government, 2022e), plays a major role in spatial planning. Its vision is to create "Equitable access to land, integrated rural development, sustainable agriculture and food security for all" (DALRRD, 2022b). Thus, the department strives to drive rural development, accelerate land reform, create better food security and stimulate economic development by improving agricultural production (DALRRD, 2022b).

Within DALRRD is a branch named Spatial Planning and Land Use Management consisting of three chief directorates. Within each chief directorate, there are a few directorates. The branch also includes a provincial directorate, which at a provincial level is responsible for providing spatial planning, land use management and spatial information services. An organisational structure of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management branch can be seen in figure 6.1.
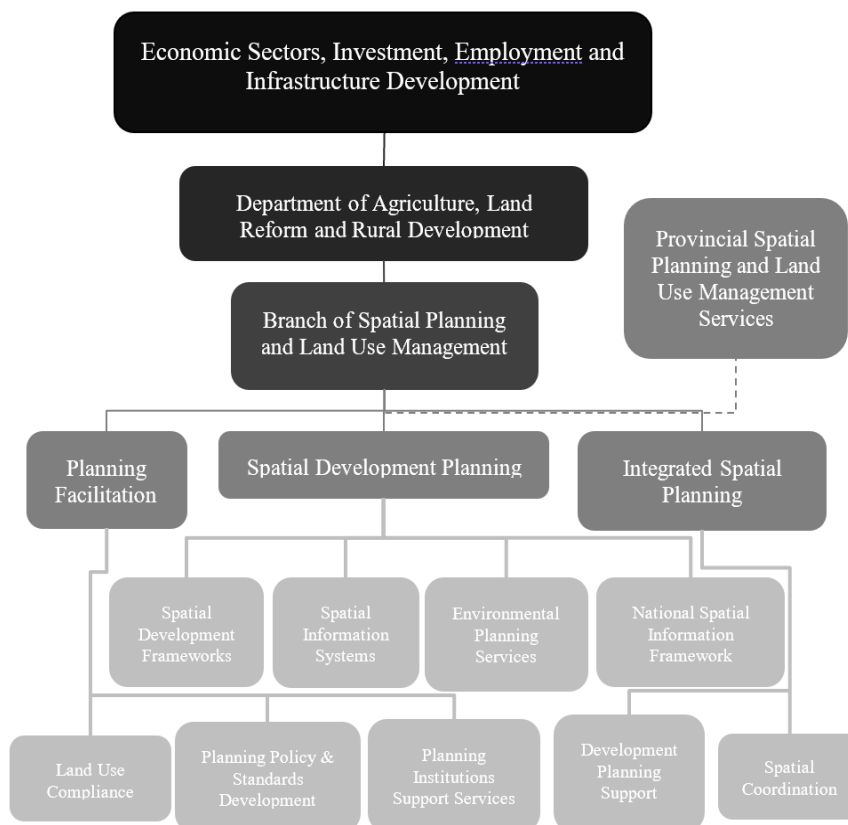
Figure 6.1 Organisational structure of the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management branch within DALRRD (DALRRD, 2022a; South African Government, 2022e).

Planning Facilitation consists of three directorates, tasked with ensuring that land-use legislation is followed and that planning policies and standards are developed. Spatial Development Planning has four directorates. To underpin effective spatial development, they provide spatial planning tools and further support the development of these tools. They are also responsible for providing support for spatial and environmental planning and spatial information services, as well as the creation,

maintenance, and provision of a national spatial data infrastructure. Integrated Spatial Planning has two directorates tasked with facilitating the adaptation and coordination of spatial planning between the different levels of government and providing development and planning support (DALRRD, 2022a).

6.1.2 Provincial Government

The provincial government has a coordination role and is responsible for approving certain projects and monitoring the development to ensure that they comply with determined agreements, norms, and standards. Its mission is also to allocate budgets for Institutional Subsidy and Social Housing projects (SHRA, 2020c). Moreover, the provincial government develops the Provincial Spatial Development Framework and provincial regulations and laws, supports the local municipalities technically, and has an advisory role in situations where a dispute must be resolved (Fonkam, 2017). Cape Town is part of the Western Cape Government, where the responsibility for provincial spatial planning lies within the Spatial Planning Directorate (Western Cape Government, 2022).

6.1.3 Local Government

The municipality is the first instance of land use regulation (Mponwana & Mphethi, 2019). The municipality is responsible for developing the Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF), which must comply with both provincial and national legislation (Fonkam, 2017). This requires that the tasks of the various sectors are balanced and integrated within all aspects of the city's spatial growth, performance and shape, such as transport, economic development, public services and housing (City of Cape Town, 2022b). Within their jurisdiction, the municipalities are responsible for developing detailed plans (Fonkam, 2017).

The City of Cape Town (the City) is the local government in the municipality of Cape Town. The City's spatial planning is managed by the Department of Urban Planning and Design, working with spatial planning and design projects at both a metropolitan scale and in smaller, local areas. The department is also involved in projects within different communities to create sustainable integrated planning models and city management in local areas. Its overall mission is to guide the city's spatial change by developing, coordinating and monitoring strategies, spatial policies and research that will pave the way for future development plans (City of Cape Town, 2022b).

6.2 Urban land management

South Africa has a system where all land is divided into zones. The zoning regulates what kind of land uses are allowed within each area. It also contains regulations for how to build within each land area. If a landowner wants to develop their land in a way that is not allowed according to the zoning, it is possible to change the zoning or the development rules that apply to the specific zone by submitting an application to the municipal, which in Cape Town is the City of Cape Town. The City requires the developer to provide a building plan with detailed information about the planned building such as technical specifications. Before construction, the building plan must be approved by the Development Management Department.

Project development is usually initiated by an idea or a vision that has arisen due to a demand or a need. If the project is achievable, feasible and follows all the policies and legislations, the initiator prepares an application for approval to be submitted to the City. To avoid a protracted process, the developer usually has a pre-application consultation with the City official before applying, which helps specify what is expected from the developer. Every application undergoes a procedure and a statutory process to decide whether it will be approved or not. When approved, the construction must be performed in accordance with the agreed standards. The City monitors the work to ensure that all standards are met (City of Cape Town, 2020).

6.3 Regulatory framework

6.3.1 National development plan 2030

National Development Plan 2030 (NDP) is a long-term development plan produced by the National Planning Commission (NPC). The plan's main purpose is to reduce inequality and eliminate poverty by 2030 (NPC, 2022). In 2009, the proportion of households earning less than 419 ZAR per month and person was 39 per cent. The plan seeks to lower the number of households with income poverty to zero per cent. Moreover, it strives to reduce the Gini coefficient to 0.6 (NPC, 2012). On 15 August 2012, when the plan was handed over to the president, Planning Minister Trevor Manuel stated that: "It is a plan for a better future; a future in which no person lives in poverty, where no one goes hungry, where there is work for all, a nation united in the vision of our Constitution" (Manuel, 2012, as cited in de Lange, 2012).

The NDP contains set goals to achieve a non-racist and non-sexist society, regardless of race or class, to reduce poverty and inequality. Due to an unintended result of the

government's actions, citizens have become more inactive in politics. Therefore, the plan also motivates and supports the residents' commitment to actively seek development opportunities, promote development and solve problems in society through cooperation with others, and to hold the government responsible for its actions.

An important part of achieving the plan's vision is building a developmental state capable of implementing the plan. This is a time-consuming process that requires each part of the government to apply laws and regulations in a consistent and fair manner, create sound policies, and assure that the employees are skilled and that there are clear lines of responsibility and appropriate systems. Moreover, the leaders throughout society must be united in the work against inequality and poverty.

The core of the NDP is that everyone should have a "decent standard of living" by 2030 (NPC, 2022). The elements of a decent standard of living are illustrated in figure 6.2.
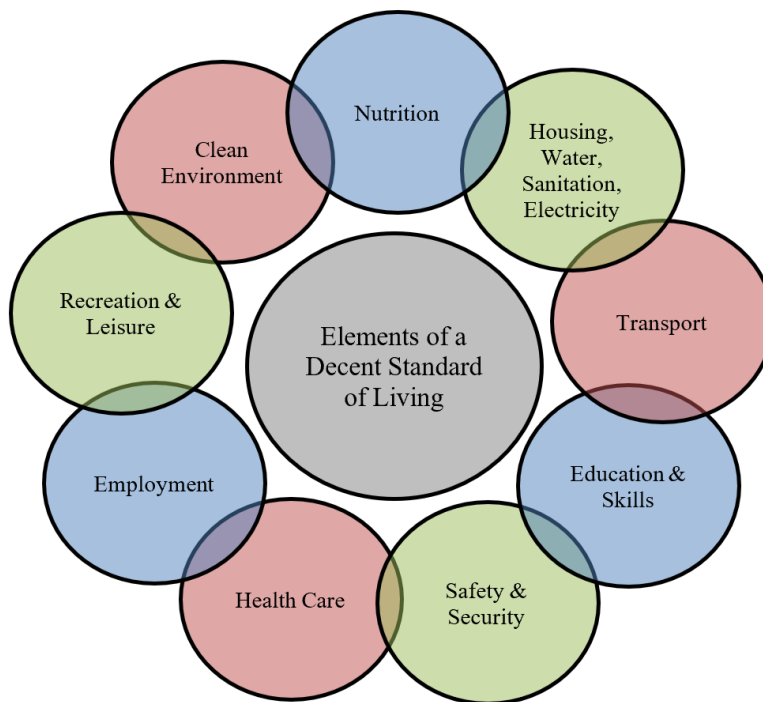

Figure 6.2 The Elements of a decent standard of living (NPC, 2012).

6.3.2 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013

In 2013, a new act was adopted: *Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013*, commonly known as SPLUMA. Two years later, in July 2015, SPLUMA was implemented nationally (Nel, 2016). Land use management is an integral part of shaping communities in cities, towns and villages. SPLUMA is of great importance, being the basis for physical planning throughout South Africa (De Visser & Poswa, 2019). The Act is South Africa's first legislation creating cohesive land use management and spatial planning throughout the country (Nel, 2016). SPLUMA places the responsibility for land use and spatial planning on the local municipality, which in turn is supported by the provincial and national government (Mponwana & Mphethi, 2019).

SPLUMA creates a united framework for land use management and spatial planning aiming to create a more coherent spatial planning system throughout South Africa (South African Government, 2022d). SPLUMA strives to promote more sustainable developments in the planning process and deal with the spatial imbalances remaining from apartheid. The ambition is to create changes in people's social circumstances by improving the delivery of services to people and addressing the unequal spatial patterns of the past. SPLUMA also seeks to meet people's needs and create a socio-economic balance with the help of environmental management and by creating investments in land development to change the economic conditions (Mponwana & Mphethi, 2019).

6.3.3 Municipal Planning By-law

SPLUMA decentralises spatial planning and land use management, moving the responsibility from the provincial governments to the municipalities, which allows the municipalities to meet the needs of their residents and take local circumstances into account when planning the cities. To implement SPLUMA, municipal by-laws[8] for land use management must be developed to create a regulatory framework that facilitates the work and suits each municipality's unique conditions. The by-laws are used as a basis for land use management and must be in accordance with SPLUMA, although they vary depending on each municipality's circumstances (Mponwana & Mphethi, 2019). The by-laws apply to the municipality's political administration as well as its residents, organisations and visitors (van der Berg, 2020).

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[8] Municipal by-laws are local laws that the municipality manages to satisfy the community's needs (Mponwana & Mphethi, 2019).

The City of Cape Town Municipal Planning By-law was implemented simultaneously as SPLUMA in 2015. This by-law contains provisions related to spatial planning and land use management, including the City of Cape Town Development Management Scheme (DMS); the city's zoning plan where the zoning regulations are specified. The by-law is reviewed annually by the City. Since its implementation, a few amendments have been approved by the City, the last amendment being adopted in 2019 (City of Cape Town, 2019b).

6.3.4 Integrated Development Plan

In South Africa, each municipality has an Integrated Development Plan (IDP). Reviews of the plan are made annually, and the plan is renewed every five years. The main purpose of the IDP is to clarify the City's visions and missions. Thus, it is a strategic guide for urban planning that helps the City form a vision and select its main priorities. It also contains a plan for designing a framework for the City's future development. The IDP is of great importance in the developing process. For instance, it has a vital role in helping the City to prioritise the work to focus areas and to ensure that everyone strives for the same goal within the city departments (City of Cape Town, 2022a).

The current IDP in the City of Cape Town extends over the years 2017 to 2022, and the central vision for Cape Town is to be a city of opportunities that enables an environment for economic growth and job opportunities. Moreover, the City should deliver services that maintain high quality to all residents and make sure Cape Town is a well-governed and corruption-free society. To achieve these visions, the City aims to actively work with environmental development and social and human capital. The City should ensure high-quality services for all people in Cape Town and the government should be known for their effective, efficient and caring work.

The City has five strategic focus areas in the IDP. These focus areas are for Cape Town to be an "opportunity city", "a safe city", "a caring city", "an inclusive city" and "a well-run city". The opportunity city focuses on creating an environment that spurs sustainable economic growth to generate jobs and investment. The safe city includes police work, disaster and risk management, traffic management, rescue services and social factors to address safety in the city. The caring city aims to make everyone feel welcomed to Cape Town, above all, those in most need of support. An inclusive city can be achieved when the citizens feel safe and when there are economic opportunities. Finally, a well-run city is achieved by focusing on sustainability, both economic and

operational, developing human resources and organisational restructuring. The focus areas connect to eleven priorities, see figure 6.3. These priorities are aligned with national and provincial strategies. Goal number 10, to build integrated societies, is linked to counteracting segregation and means that the city must eliminate the effects of apartheid through proactive and direct work to create a better quality of life for everyone in Cape Town. (City of Cape Town, 2017).
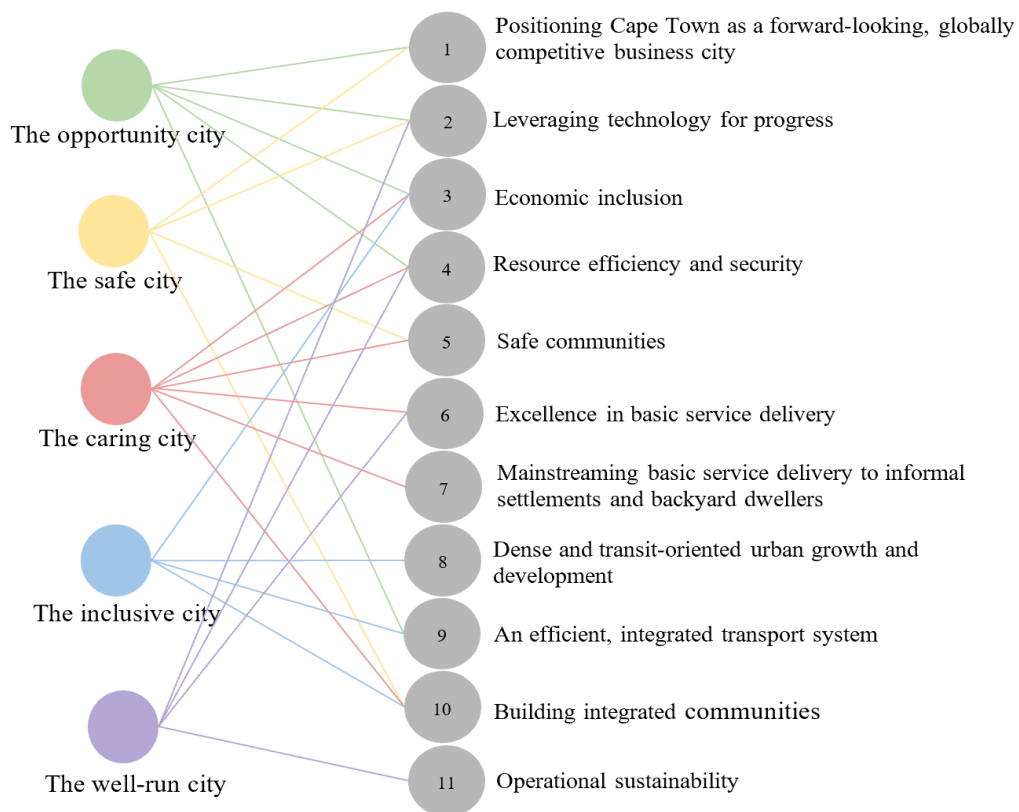
Figure 6.3 The strategic focus areas connected to eleven priorities (City of Cape Town, 2017).

6.3.5 Municipal Spatial Development Framework

The vision and strategies of the IDP must be translated into a desired spatial form for the municipality. The translation is required by law and must be performed through the Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) document. The IDP for Cape Town has resulted in three spatial strategies, where the first strategy is to "build an

inclusive, integrated, vibrant city", to achieve a greater mix of income groups, population density, land uses and an equitable supply of public institutions, recreational facilities and social facilities.

The following strategy is to "manage urban growth and create a balance between urban development and environmental protection". The City is constantly focusing on increasing the population density, and the mix of different land uses in the city's inner core. The City also strives to have an efficient bus rapid transit and railway network within these areas. Overall, the strategy seeks to achieve lower carbon emissions, more sustainable use of land and natural resources and more efficient use of infrastructure.

The third and last strategy is to "plan for employment and improve accessibility as well as access to economic opportunities". One of the crucial components that will affect the immediate and long-term economy of Cape Town is the City's spatial form and function, both current and future. The spatial development goals are directly linked to the City's ability to reduce accessibility costs for the urban poor, create jobs and generate economic growth (City of Cape Town, 2018).

6.3.6 Social Housing Act 16 of 2008

Social housing is a crucial component of the national government's commitment to transforming the lives of poor households. The Social Housing Regulatory Authority (SHRA) is an agency responsible for regulating, empowering and investing in the social housing sector (SHRA, 2020a; SHRA, 2020b). Social housing is implemented, funded and regulated through the Social Housing Act 16 of 2008, in which it is defined as "a rental or co-operative housing option for low to medium income households" (Social Housing Act 16, 2008).

Apart from promoting and establishing a social housing environment, the Act also has the purpose of defining the functions of the national, provincial and local governments regarding social housing. Moreover, the Act gives statuary recognition to social housing institutions (SHIs) and provides for the SHRA to regulate SHIs (SHRA, 2020b). The Act defines an SHI as "an institution accredited or provisionally accredited … which carries or intends to carry on the business of providing rental or co-operative housing options for low- to medium-income households" (Social Housing Act 16, 2008). Under the current policy directives, low- to medium-income households refers to households with a monthly income of between 1500 and 15 000 South African rand

(ZAR). The rental housing is subsidised, and SHRA is responsible for administrating
the subsidies (SHRA, 2020b).

A recent paper suggests that social housing "has the potential to contribute to economic
inclusion and urban integration if it is well-located". The paper, however, also shows
that social housing in South African cities has been diluted due to the spatial drift of
provided housing from the inner cities towards areas in the periphery of the cities. This
is especially the case in Cape Town, where the process of providing social housing in
the city's inner core is so far non-existent (Turok et al., 2021a). Difficulties in accessing
land for projects and insufficient funding from both private and public sectors are some
of the factors that have hindered the delivery of social housing (SHRA, 2020b).

6.3.7 Western Cape Inclusionary Housing Policy Framework

The Western Cape has developed a new Inclusionary Housing Policy Framework,
released for public comment on 14 May 2021. The policy framework aims to tackle the
legacy of apartheid spatial planning by facilitating the inclusion of affordable housing
units in new developments, thus helping the municipalities to provide affordable
housing in well-located areas (Western Cape Government, 2021a). In legal terms,
"inclusionary housing must be understood as a planning and land use regulation tool
governed by land use regulatory powers" (DAG, 2021). Thus, land use regulations
primarily fall under municipal responsibility, which emphasises the need for a policy
framework to guide the municipalities in developing their own regulatory tools.

According to the draft, affordable housing development should be carried out in
partnership with the private sector, which will be required to include some affordable
housing units in well-located areas with high property values. The province has based
its new policy upon the foundation that they "want more affordable and inclusionary
housing in well-located areas" and that "lower income households and lower to middle
income households need easier access to economic opportunities and social amenities"
(Bredell, 2021, as cited in Western Cape Government, 2021c).

7 Results

The field study was conducted in Pinelands through interviews and several site visits to obtain a picture of the surroundings and to be able to draw conclusions from the interviews. This chapter will present the findings of the field study.

7.1 Site visits

During the site visits, the focus was to observe the physical and functional conditions in the area that, to some extent, could be affecting the suburb's level of integration. The site visits in Pinelands have been complemented by visiting two other suburbs in Cape Town – Rondebosch and Rosebank – to compare the different areas and possibly be able to draw conclusions from these comparisons. The presentation of the findings of the site visits is based on the observations made by the authors.

7.1.1 Physical conditions

Pinelands has very distinct barriers encircling the suburb in the forms of a railway and a highway, see figure 7.1. The areas outside these barriers are mostly lower to middle-income neighbourhoods, such as Langa, Thornton, Hazendal and Maitland Garden Village. To enter Pinelands, you must cross these barriers. There are three different roads to enter the suburb, one from Ndabeni in the west, one from Mowbray in the south-west and one from Hazendal in the south, see Figure 7.29.

Figure 7.1 The railway and the highway are a barrier dividing Pinelands from the areas in its surrounding.

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Most of the land in Pinelands is used for residential purposes and consists primarily of single-storey buildings, see examples in figures 7.2 and 7.3. The houses in Pinelands are built in different decades, where some of them are from the beginning of the 20th century whilst others have been built in the 21st century. Therefore, some variation in the houses' styles can be seen throughout the suburb, although most of the new houses are built to mimic the older houses. One of the older houses in the area can be seen in figure 7.3. Figure 7.4 shows a more modern house in Pinelands. Most houses have a plastered facade with either brick, tin or thatched roofs. The house in figure 7.3 has a thatched roof and is situated in the older parts of the suburb.

Figure 7.2 Single-storey houses in Pinelands.

Figure 7.3 Single-storey house in Pinelands with a thatched roof.

Figure 7.4 Modern house in Pinelands.

In general, the houses in Pinelands are much smaller than the standard house in the two other areas that were visited during the site visits. A house in Rondebosch can be seen in figure 7.5, while figure 7.6 shows a typical house in Rosebank.

Figure 7.5 House in Rondebosch.

Figure 7.6 Houses in Rosebank.

The housing stock in Pinelands also consists of houses with two or more floors, both single-residential, see figure 7.7, and apartments or group-residential, see figure 7.8.

Figure 7.7 Two-storey house in Pinelands.

Figure 7.8 Two-storey houses for apartments in Pinelands.

In addition, there are some gated communities in Pinelands, both small communities consisting of a few homes and larger communities with about 100 homes. These gated communities are located in the eastern part of the suburb, see figure 7.23, consisting

primarily of smaller houses and townhouses. Figure 7.9 shows a 3D Map of a few of these gated communities.

Imagery ©2022 Google, Data SIO, NOAA, U.S Navy, NGA, GEBCO, Imagery ©2022 Maxar Technologies, Map data ©2022 AfriGIS (Pty) Ltd

Figure 7.9 Gated communities in Pinelands; marked red (Google Maps, 2022).

Most of the houses in Pinelands are fenced. A few of the usual types of fences used in the neighbourhood can be seen in figures 7.10 and 7.11. Most fences are see-through, which differs Pinelands from other middle to high-income areas in Cape Town, such as Rondebosch and Rosebank.

Figure 7.10 A usual type of fence in Pinelands.

Figure 7.11 Different types of fences around houses in Pinelands.

See-through fences are less common in Rondebosch and Rosebank, although they can be found around some of the houses in the suburbs. Unlike the fences in Pinelands, the fences in Rondebosch and Rosebank are higher and usually with an additional electric fence above. See an example of a see-through fence in Rondebosch in figure 7.12 and compare it with a similar fence in Pinelands to the right in figure 7.11.

Figure 7.12 A see-through fence in Rondebosch.

In general, the fences in Pinelands are significantly lower than those in Rondebosch and Rosebank. In Pinelands, the houses can easily be seen through or over the fences. In Rondebosch and Rosebank however, it is not uncommon with high perimeter walls, making it sometimes impossible to see into the plots, see figures 7.13 and 7.14. A comparison of the fences in Pinelands and the perimeter walls in in Rondebosch and Rosebank can be seen in figures 7.10 – 7.14.

Figure 7.13 A usual type of perimeter wall In Rondebosch.

Figure 7.14 A usual type of perimeter wall in Rosebank.

The typical streets in Pinelands are wide and have a central strip with grass and trees dividing the roadway into two lanes, one in each direction. On each side of the road, there is a sidewalk. East Way is an excellent example of the structure of a typical street in Pinelands, see figure 7.15. Another example of a road that has been built in the same way is Mead Way in the central parts of Pinelands; see figures 7.16 and 7.17.

Figure 7.15 East Way in Pinelands.

Figure 7.16 The left lane of Mead Way in Pinelands.

Figure 7.17 The right lane of Mead Way in Pinelands.

The roads within the residential quarters are significantly narrower and consist of only one road body. Some are one-way, but the majority have lanes in both directions. However, the standard construction for all roads in Pinelands is sidewalks on both sides of the road and an avenue or grass stripe between the street and the sidewalk.

Figure 7.18 Homestead Way in a residential quarter in Pinelands.

Pinelands has several green areas for recreation, see figure 7.19. The light green fields on the map are public open spaces whilst the dark green fields on the map are for sports. There are three big sports fields in the area. The dark, green area in the south is the King David Mowbray Golf Club, located between Pinelands, Mowbray and Rondebosch. Northeast of the golf club in the southern part of Pinelands, east of the river that stretches through the area, the Clyde Pinelands Association football club is located. The third sports ground, consisting of Pinelands Bowling Club, Pinelands Cricket Club and Pinelands Tennis Club, is located north of the golf club near Central Square.
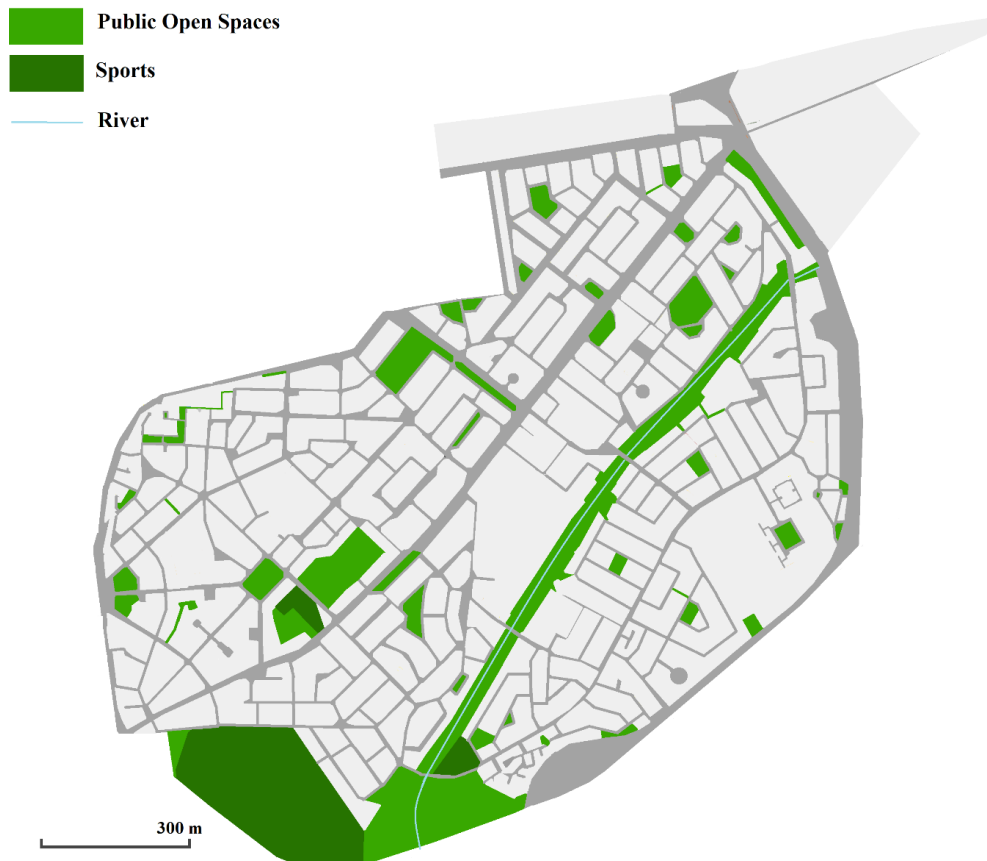
Figure 7.19 Pinelands' green spaces.

Parks for walking or running, outdoor gyms and playgrounds are found all over the suburb; see the park in figure 6.20 and the playground in figure 7.21. Traces of the old pine tree cultivation can be seen throughout the suburb with plenty of pine trees, see

figure 7.21. Although there are various open green areas for people to socialise, not many people were seen in these areas during the site visits.

Figure 7.20 Open green space in Pinelands.

Figure 7.21 Central Square in Pinelands has a playground, an outdoor gym and plenty of pine trees.

As can be seen in most of the previous pictures, there are greenery elements throughout the whole of Pinelands. In addition to large green areas, there are tree-lined avenues and greenery between the roads (figures 7.15- 7.18) and various vegetation surrounding the houses. Many private plots are very leafy and green with a variety of trees, shrubs and other vegetation. See the vegetation around the house in figure 7.22.

Figure 7.22 Vegetation around a house in Pinelands.

7.1.2 Functional conditions

In addition to the site visits, Pinelands' functional conditions were studied by searching through maps of the area to obtain a better overall picture of the area and its conditions. In Figure 7.23, some of the most important places in the area are marked to clarify how the area is structured and visualise where some of the mentioned places are located.
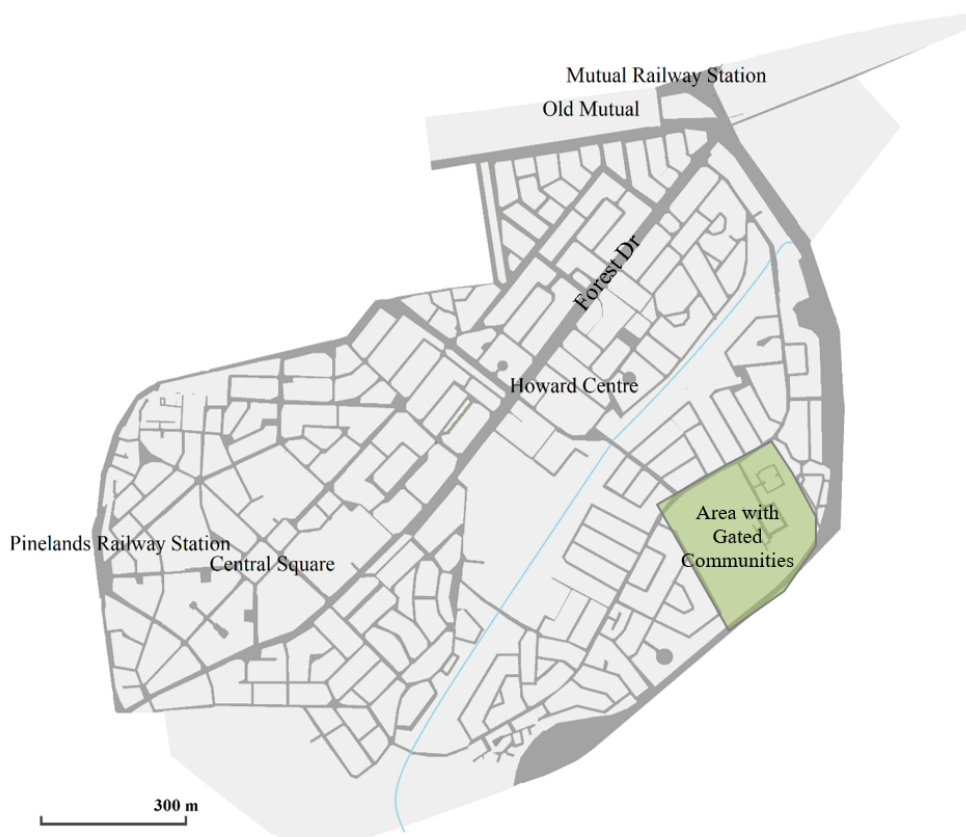
Figure 7.23 Map showing Pinelands with marked key places. The blue line illustrates the river stretching through the suburb.

As shown in the land-use map of Pinelands in figure 7.24, most of the land is for residential use. Figure 7.24 also shows that most retail and office spaces are concentrated in three different areas: in Howard Centre in the middle of the map, around Central Square in the western part of the map and around Old Mutual in the north.

Howard Centre is a shopping mall that contains everything one could possibly need –
shops with electronics, clothes, pharmacies, hairdressers, banks, restaurants and
grocery stores. Central Square is a park in the central parts of Pinelands. Retail and
services, such as a pharmacy and a grocery store, are located around this park. There
are also some restaurants and cafes in the Central Square area. The third area is located
in the north, where the company Old Mutual is located. Old Mutual, South Africa's
oldest insurance company (Old Mutual, n.d.), is the workplace with the most employees
in Pinelands. A pharmacy, a grocery store and the only gym in the suburb are located
next to Old Mutual.
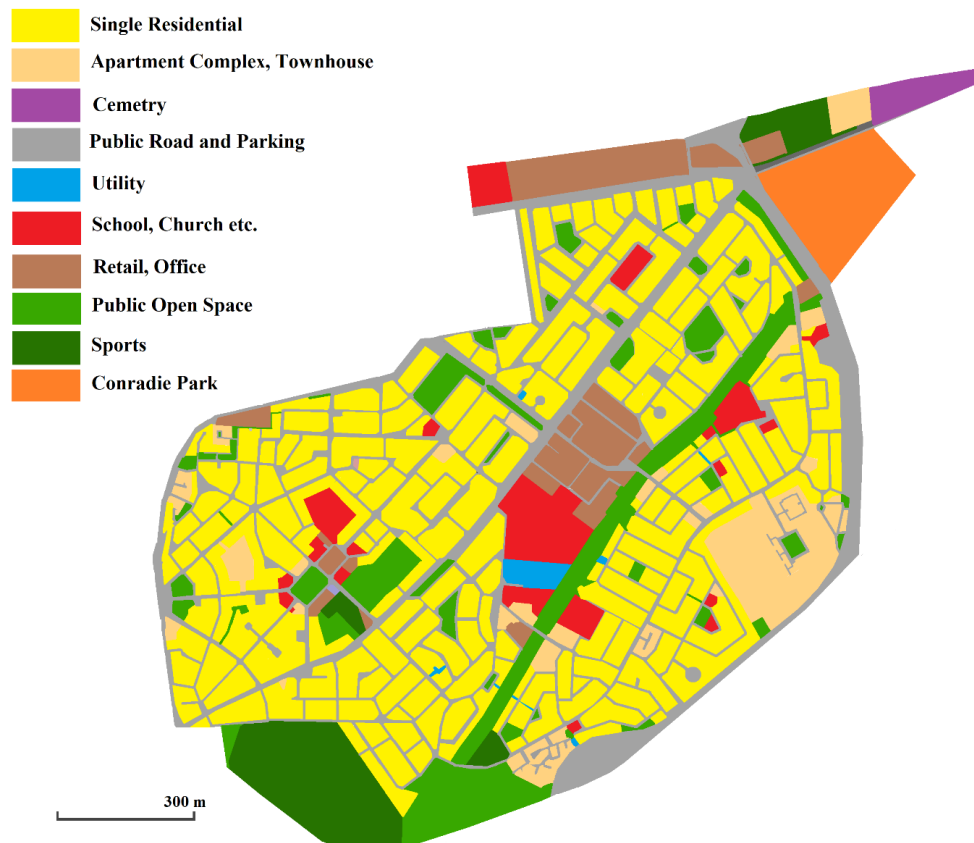
Figure 7.24 Map showing land use in Pinelands.

The Conradie Park development is located in the orange area in the north-eastern part
of the map in figure 7.24.

To provide a better picture of what the project will look like when it is completed, a simplified illustration has been created (see figure 7.25) with the help of images from Concor (2021), the company responsible for the project. The figure marks out which buildings are planned to be social housing (blue) and which are planned to be retirement housing (purple). The buildings marked with beige are the homes to be sold on the open market. There are some houses where the type of accommodation has not yet been decided; these are marked in pink.

Figure 7.25 A simplified illustration of the Conradie Park development.

Figure 7.26 shows the most important places in Pinelands marked out to create a clear picture of how these are located within the area. Old Mutual is on the left-hand side when entering Pinelands from Ndabeni in the west. To the left, next to Old Mutual, there is a sports centre and a school – College of Cape Town – Pinelands Campus. One of Pinelands' two railway stations, Mutual Railway Station, is adjacent to Old Mutual. The other one, Pinelands Railway Station, is located in the western part of the suburb. The bus route and the bus stops are marked on the map in figure 7.26. Retail is, as mentioned, concentrated on three sites, also seen in figure 7.26.

Pinelands' Police station is situated northwest of Pinelands, in Ndabeni. There is one hospital close to Pinelands, located in the southwest of the suburb on the western side of the railway. Another medical care practice is located north of the Howard Centre, whilst one is in the Old Mutual area.
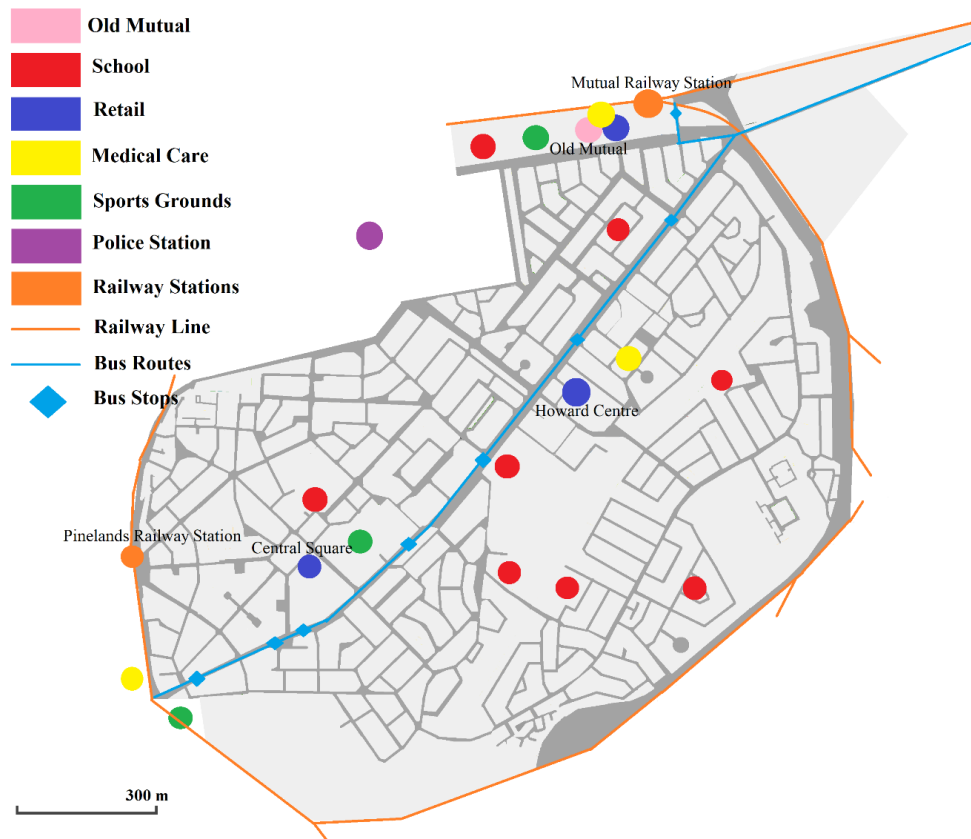
Figure 7.26 Key places in Pinelands.

There are plenty of schools in the suburb, as shown in figure 7.26. Two government schools in the area are Pinelands Primary School and Pinelands High School, see figures 7.27 and 7.28.

Figure 7.27 Pinelands Primary School.

Figure 7.28 Pinelands High School.

During the site visits, the movement patterns of cyclists, pedestrians and motorists were studied. Not many cyclists were observed in the area during the study. The pedestrians were mainly around the parts of Pinelands where retail and service can be found. Most of those seen walking were in areas around Central Square, Howard Centre and the company Old Mutual.

The motorists' movement patterns were studied during the site visits. Figure 7.29 illustrates the traffic flow on a Tuesday at 4 PM. As shown in the figure, the busiest roads (marked with red in the figure) are the highways that surround Pinelands and Forest Drive, which is the road that goes straight through the area. The streets that connect to Forest Drive, such as the roads to Ndabeni and Central Square, are also heavy trafficked. The streets around Howard Center, Central Square and one connecting the northwestern part of the river with the southeastern part are relatively busy at certain times (marked with yellow in the figure).

The main streets within each quarter connecting the quarters to each other are marked with green in the figure. Although lightly trafficked, these streets still have more traffic than the smaller streets among the residential buildings, which are the streets that are not marked with any colour in the figure.

Figure 7.29 Traffic flow on a Tuesday at 4 PM in Pinelands.

The Golden Arrow bus goes through Pinelands; see the route in figure 7.29. This bus route is the only one going through Pinelands. The bus makes it possible to travel from Pinelands to Thornton via Old Mutual or Mowbray. As mentioned before, Thornton and Mowbray are two close-by suburbs, and it is not unusual for people to travel between these suburbs and Pinelands to get to work or school. However, no bus was seen driving through the area during the site visits. The bus only goes three times a day in each direction on workdays and not at all on weekends. See the timetable for Thornton to Mowbray, via Old Mutual and Pinelands, in table 7.1 and the timetable for Mowbray to Thornton, via Pinelands and Old Mutual, in table 7.2.

Table 7.1 Timetable for the bus route: Thornton – Mutual – Pinelands – Mowbray (Golden Arrow Bus Services, 2022).

Station	Monday-Friday	Monday-Friday	Monday-Thursday	Friday
Thornton	08:00	15:15	16:30	16:30
Mowbray	08:40	15:45	17:05	16:50

Table 7.2 Timetable for the bus route: Mowbray – Pinelands – Mutual – Thornton (Golden Arrow Bus Services, 2022).

Station	Monday-Friday	Monday-Friday	Monday-Friday
Mowbray	07:30	14:50	16:00
Thornton	08:00	15:15	16:30

7.2 Interviews

The site visits were complemented by interviewing professionals who are working with urban planning in different forms and contexts. Furthermore, a broader understanding of the living environment in Pinelands was obtained by interviewing both current and previous residents of the suburb. The following sections will present the main findings from these interviews.

Some of the answers from the interviews with Pinelands' residents are summarised in tables 7.3 and 7.4 below. The questions for the structured interviews can be found in Appendix A. The questions in Appendix A were also used for the semi-structured interviews with Pinelands' residents, although the semi-structured interviews were based on the main themes rather than a strict set of questions. Table 7.3 shows the answers to a selection of the questions from the four structured interviews with Pinelands' residents, while some of the results from the four semi-structured interviews can be seen in table 7.4.

Table 7.3 Answers from the structured interviews with Pinelands' residents.

Participant	1	2	3	4
Age	59	47	41	40
Gender	F	F	F	M
Current resident?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

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Years in Pinelands	27	16	14	3
Why Pinelands?	Location, schools	Location, open spaces	Location, safety, beautiful	Location, beautiful
Is it safe?	Relatively	Relatively	Yes	Yes
Any experience of racism?	No	Yes	No	Yes, most of the time we feel that we don't belong here due to our skin colour
Integrated?	Yes, big migration of Muslims	Yes, very multi-cultural	No, change has been slow	No, but there has been a slight improvement as more people of colour move here
Public spaces	Lovely parks, dog friendly	Good and clean	Good, well-maintained	Great, lots of parks /sports areas
Commercial services	Good	Good	Good	A mall that is open until late would be great
Travelling within Pinelands	By car	By car. Walking for exercise	I like walking here during the summer months. Very peaceful	By car most of the time. I also take walks
Travelling to/from Pinelands	By car. Missing MyCiti bus & bays for taxis on Forest Drive	By car	By car; it's convenient	By car
Conradie Park – opinion	I think it's wonderful for people to live closer to town, especially with the cost of transport	I don't think it was well thought out. The traffic is already congested. Pinelands' property values might be reduced if Conradie Park is not kept looking good in the future	It's positive. Change is not easy but in order to normalize and truly live the rainbow nation idea we need to properly integrate. We need to get to know and understand each other	It will add more traffic on Forest Drive, but the positives will outweigh that. More shopping malls/shops create jobs for locals. It's also a good opportunity for senior citizens of Pinelands looking to downsize
Conradie Park – information provided	Very satisfied	Not much information was given. Very little notice was given for public participation regarding the development	I live close to the development and often complained about the dust, the noise, water being disconnected etc. Complaints were never properly addressed	I'm satisfied

Table 7.4 Answers from the semi-structured interviews with Pinelands' residents.

Participant	5	6	7	8
Age	35	25	50	27
Gender	M	M	M	F
Current resident?	Yes	No	No	Yes
Years in Pinelands	27	23	14 + 6	27
Why Pinelands?	Family (born here)	Family (born here)	Not living there anymore	Family (born here), location
Is it safe?	Yes	Relatively	Yes	Both yes and no
Any experience of racism?	No	No, but there is racism (mostly online)	Lived there during apartheid	No, but there is racism (mostly online). I believe it's more common among the older population
Integrated?	Yes; a huge change since apartheid	I don't know; race correlates with class	Relatively, especially the schools	Relatively
Public spaces	Good, and I like that it's quiet in Pinelands	Dog friendly. Missing a safe public space where people can gather	Good	Good for sports and walking dogs. Homeless people occupy some areas
Commercial services	Good, missing a liquor shop	Good but missing a clothing store for men	Not living there anymore	Missing a bigger clothing store and a liquor shop
Travelling within Pinelands	I walk/run for exercise and because it's nice	Not living there anymore	Not living there anymore	I walk with my dog. Sometimes for exercise
Travelling to/from Pinelands	By car. Sometimes Uber	By car	By car	By car, because public transport isn't safe
Conradie Park – opinion	I like Conradie Park. People in Pinelands were quite reluctant to the development, especially older people. I think change can be stressful for some people, but it's necessary, and people must realise that	I don't like it; it's squeezing a lot of people into an area that is not going to function. It's taking very valuable land in the heart of the city and building more living space without improving the infrastructure	-	It's great that more people get to live closer to the city. We have a huge housing crisis that needs to be solved, and for that to happen, we need projects like Conradie Park. I'm concerned about the traffic though
Conradie Park – information provided	I'm satisfied	-	-	I haven't thought much about it, so I'm satisfied

The semi-structured interviews with professionals and with Pinelands' residents were conducted without a strict set of predetermined questions, which allowed for different themes to be distinguished from these interviews. Below are these themes, containing information collected through the semi-structured interviews with professionals and Pinelands' residents, as well as through the structured interviews with Pinelands' residents.

7.2.1 Location

Several participants, including those living in Pinelands, emphasised Pinelands' proximity to the city centre as one of its advantages compared to other suburbs. Five residents mentioned location as one of the main reasons for choosing to live in Pinelands. A participant living in Pinelands stated that "Pinelands is very well-located – it's close to the city, but it's still a quiet area". One of the professionals, a research professor in urban studies, stated: "Essentially, it's an excellent location in terms of better access to the central city". The same participant also mentioned other locational attributes, such as being a safer place compared to, for instance, Cape Flats.

In terms of integration, most participants mentioned location as one of the main reasons for Pinelands' change in population demographics since apartheid. One participant stated that his family, wanting to live closer to the city centre, was one of the first black families to move to Pinelands after apartheid. The same participant reported a massive transformation in the population demographics over the last two decades and described Pinelands as a racially integrated suburb, especially compared to other middle-income suburbs in Cape Town. However, another participant who also moved to Pinelands primarily because of its location described incidents of mistreatment because of the colour of his skin. Despite these experiences, the participant reported that "there has been a slight improvement as more and more people of colour move into Pinelands".

7.2.2 Affordability

All participants working within the urban planning sector stressed Cape Town's lack of affordable housing in well-located areas. According to the participants, it is inevitable to discuss well-located areas without mentioning the affordability of the accommodation provided within these areas. Pinelands is a well-located suburb providing affordable housing. One of the participants, a research professor in urban studies, stated that "Pinelands is not considered a prime suburb for affluent households.

That would make it a little bit more affordable, affordable for people moving up from lower-income areas". Furthermore, Pinelands provides various housing types with free-standing houses, townhouses, apartments and retirement homes. One of the participants living in Pinelands stated: "Pinelands has many apartments, and they're building more of them right now".

Although Pinelands has affordable housing, affordable *rental* housing in well-located areas, close to the city centre, is close to non-existent in Cape Town, which was discussed in several interviews with professionals. At the same time, one participant explained that the government of South Africa sees affordable housing in the inner city as a way to undo spatial segregation. The same participant also talked about the government subsidy for affordable housing not being high enough to cover developments in the inner city of Cape Town, leading to developments in the outskirts of the city instead. In another interview, a research professor in urban studies mentioned that cuts in the national housing budget have filtered down to the province and the municipality, resulting in less money and fewer units being built by the municipality. The same participant also explained the problem with Cape Town's steep land price gradient with high land prices in the inner city that fall quite quickly moving towards Cape Flats, resulting in financial barriers. The steep land price gradient inhibits the upward mobility of lower-income groups into well-located areas since they cannot afford to access properties in better areas, which creates segregated areas.

The Conradie Park development is remarkable since it will provide more than 1700 affordable rental units in an area considered well-located, given its proximity to the inner city. In February 2022, the first dwellings of the Conradie Park were released, but several participants described the site's development as a slow and protracted process. One of the professionals involved in the early stages of the development stated that much time was spent discussing the feasibility of the project and how to persuade the neighbourhood to accept it since there was opposition against the development. Another participant, an architect involved in the development, described it as "a problem with NIMBYism[9], not in my backyard. If you climb the ladder of success, you pull the ladder up behind you". The problem with NIMBYism can also be seen in the selling rate of the market-rate units in Conradie Park, which has not been successful

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[9] NIMBYism is used to describe the behaviour of a person who is unwilling to have something built or carried out in their own neighbourhood or surrounding, although the development is needed.

enough: "It's been very difficult because it is a perception that I will be living next door subsidised housing. Why should I spend my valuable money here when it can compromise my status or affect the value of my property? The buildings that we've put up to market have not been able to sell sufficient enough, and that is, so far, a failure of the project that we're hoping to change".

According to some of the participants living in Pinelands, the opposition to Conradie Park has to do with a specific proportion of the population reluctant to change, that is, older people. One huge concern among the opposition seems to be traffic-related since the roads in that part of Pinelands are already congested. One participant living in Pinelands described the project as poorly thought out and believed that the project was approved very quickly. A concern regarding the risk of sinking property prices in Pinelands due to low-cost housing in the area was also expressed, and another participant stated: "I don't like the idea of Conradie Park; it's squeezing a lot of people into an area that is not going to function". However, several participants expressed optimistic thoughts about the development: "I think it is wonderful for people to live closer to town, especially with the cost of transport". Another participant stated that "Change is not easy, but in order to normalise and truly live the rainbow nation idea we need to properly integrate".

Several participants within the urban planning sector emphasised the importance of defining affordable housing; affordable for whom? The Conradie Park development will provide social housing, subsidy for first-time home buyers and rent-to-buy-units, but these programmes only cater to a particular income bracket, which means that many people below this bracket do not benefit from these programmes. Thus, other solutions are needed to help people who are not earning enough to qualify for affordable housing. In one interview, the concept of transitional housing facilities was described. Transitional housing is temporary accommodation for people who are either homeless or close to homeless. The facilities should work as supportive housing facilities with a present house manager and social worker since many people moving in are struggling with drugs and need rehabilitation. The concept of this type of housing is that people should move to social housing as their income bracket increases.

A participant working with urban planning explained how all different housing programmes are linked together: "If we have transitional housing facilities, but we don't have delivery of social housing, people who move into transitional housing facilities have nowhere to go". Thus, the rental housing market in South Africa can be

seen as a ladder that people climb as they increase their income. The rental housing ladder, illustrated in figure 7.30, was described by one of the participants working with urban planning. At the very bottom are homeless people living in shacks or shelters with no regular income. Transitional housing is for households earning between 500 and 1200 rand per month. The next step is communal housing, targeting households earning between 1200 and 2500 rand per month. Communal housing is followed by social and inclusionary housing, with market rental units on the very top of the ladder.

Market Rental Units

Inclusionary Housing: 3 500 – 22 000 ZAR

Social Housing: 1 500 – 15 000 ZAR

Communal Housing: 1 200 ZAR to 2 500 ZAR

Transitional Housing: 500 ZAR to 1 200 ZAR

Homeless/shelter: 0 ZAR to 800 ZAR

Figure 7.30 The rental housing ladder in South Africa.

7.2.3 Public spaces

Being a garden city, Pinelands is well known for its public spaces. The public spaces were mentioned in all of the interviews with the residents of Pinelands, most of them being optimistic about them. In fact, the suburb's public areas, such as parks and sports fields were, in several interviews, mentioned as one of the main reasons for choosing to live in Pinelands. One of the participants expressed: "We have lovely parks and places to walk the dogs", and another: "Pinelands being a garden city with many parks and much greenery gives it a character that cannot be found elsewhere in Cape Town". Two of the participants also described the public spaces as well-maintained and clean.

Although mainly positive expressions of the public spaces, the results of the interviews also reveal some critical points of view. One of the participants, living in Pinelands, witnessed feeling unsafe when walking in Pinelands at night, especially along the canal. The same participant mentioned an outdoor gym close to Central Square that seems to be sparingly used, but the reason for this was unknown. Another participant, who has lived in Pinelands all his life, stated that Pinelands' green spaces are being used mainly by people walking their dogs and not as places where people meet and interact with each other. According to him, the sparse use of the green spaces among Pinelands' residents partly has to do with the presence of homeless people in these areas, which creates an impression of these areas as being occupied or private.

One of the participants living in Pinelands expressed a feeling of, at times, being unsafe in Pinelands' public spaces, whilst the other ones described Pinelands as a safe area compared to other suburbs in Cape Town. However, several participants emphasised the importance of safety thinking wherever you might be in Cape Town or South Africa as a whole.

7.2.4 Services

Pinelands' schools were mentioned in several interviews, more commonly among the participants living in Pinelands. According to these participants, the schools are good, thus attracting many students from outside of Pinelands. For instance, Pinelands High School seems to be a popular school for people living in nearby areas such as Thornton and Langa. When discussing the suburb's integration, one of the participants, an urban planner, stated that "Pinelands is well-serviced and has good schools. That is definitely a drawer of people there". When asked about the schools in Pinelands and Cape Town as a whole, many participants pointed out the difference between public and private schools. According to the participants of the study, it is not unusual to send children to private schools, even though it means that they have to travel to another suburb. This phenomenon is more common among those with middle to higher income since they are the ones who can afford private schools. Several participants, both urban planners and residents of Pinelands, stated that many students in Pinelands go to private schools in other suburbs. Similarly, people from other suburbs come to Pinelands to attend school there. One participant living in Pinelands had another point of view, stating that Pinelands High School does not have enough places to cater for people living in Pinelands, forcing students to attend schools in nearby suburbs.

Pinelands is situated by the railway, making it easy for students and workers to travel to and from the suburb. However, the function of public transport in Pinelands is deficient. Several participants stated that poor public transport applies not only to Pinelands but to Cape Town as a whole. The malfunctions of the trains lead to increased use of alternative transportation such as cars or uber. According to the participants living in Pinelands, the train feels unsafe, crammed and unreliable. Thus, none of the participants expressed satisfaction with the public transport system. However, two of the participants living in Pinelands seemed to be optimistic about the bus system but emphasised the need for a changed timetable with more buses driving through Pinelands. One participant expressed a need for My Citi Bus in Pinelands and suggested bays for taxis to stop on Forest Drive.

Besides the need for an improved bus timetable and bays for taxis, participants living in Pinelands reported missing a proper gym, liquor shops and a clothing store for men. One participant had recently started a soccer team in Pinelands since that sort of community was missing. Apart from that, people seemed to be satisfied with the service provided in the area.

7.2.5 Coordination

The coordination between the province and the municipality, as well as the coordination between the public and the private sector, was discussed during the interviews with professionals. Several participants said that the coordination between the City of Cape Town and private actors needs to be improved. Several participants also stated that they could see a potential change with the "Inclusionary housing policy framework". With public funding under pressure, the municipality is building fewer units and thus needs help from the private sector to address the housing problem. The new policy will ensure support from private actors. However, the response from the private sector seems to be varying with some negative ones since the idea of the inclusionary housing policy is to persuade private developers to make available some percentage of the units in their developments for affordable housing. A research professor in urban studies explained the situation by stating: "since they (the municipality) are building fewer units themselves, they say, well, can the private sector help address the housing problem?". The private sector, on the other hand, argues that the provision of affordable housing should be the municipality's responsibility and that too much responsibility is imposed on private actors instead.

Several professionals described the inclusionary housing policy as symbolically important. One participant stated that "It will begin to show that Cape Town is becoming a more integrated city, but it's not the solution itself. It will try to persuade developers not just to build luxury apartments but to try and cater for other income groups. But it's not going to solve our housing problem". Another participant, an urban planner, had a similar summary of the policy and also talked about who will benefit from the inclusionary housing policy, meaning that the inclusionary housing policy will help people who are above the income bracket of social housing but who are still struggling to find a place to afford.

Similarly, the Conradie Park development was described by the participants of the study as symbolically important and a step in the right direction, although it might not contribute to a significant change in Cape Town's housing crisis. One of the participants, an architect, emphasised the need for more, smaller affordable housing developments throughout the city and made two illustrations to clarify this reasoning. While sketching the first figure, which can be seen to the left in figure 7.31, the participant stated: "In this model, you've got a city where one (affordable rental housing) development is implemented, concentrated in one place. That model can be a demonstration model, but it isn't solving the problem; it is a very limited strategy to change". Another illustration, shown to the right in figure 7.31, was illustrated to show a city where the social housing developments are spread out throughout the city, which was described as a preferable strategy since this model: "disperses the money so that the city can carry out unique small interventions to create integration". The participant explained that the Conradie Park development is an example of the left illustration.
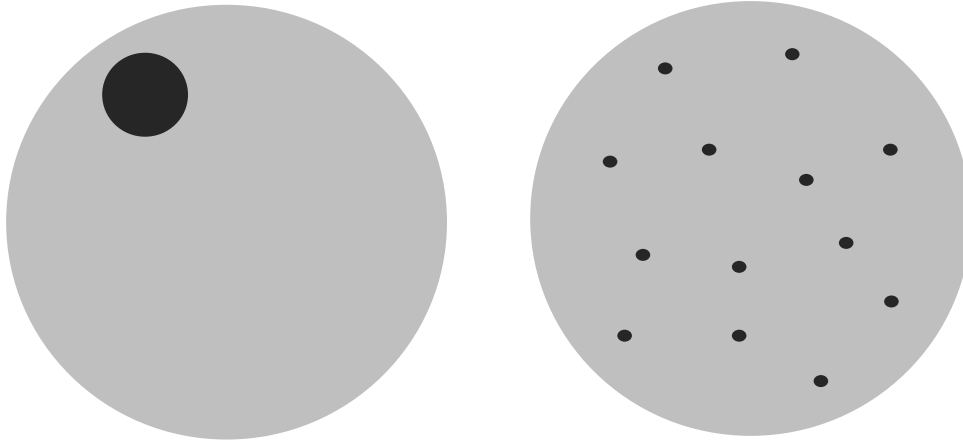
Figure 7.31 Two illustrations made by a participant showing two possible strategies for providing affordable rental housing developments, where the right illustration was described as a preferable strategy.

The same participant also mentioned that Conradie Park does not providedifferent forms of tenure or different types of rental housing in a single building, which he stated is because of bureaucratic reasons: "Rental model is clustered for ease of management systems, and separation of FLISP to market because subsidies need to be allocated to a single building and can't be used to subside market buildings". One of the participants living in Pinelands, who did not have any knowledge about the distribution of the different housing types in Conradie Park, stated that: "If the affordable housing units are in separate buildings from the market price units, I don't think it's integrated".

7.2.6 Communication between the public sector and residents

During some of the interviews with professionals, the municipality's way of communicating with the residents came up. One of the participants, an architect, argued that the regulations and policies in South Arica are too complex: "The complexity of layers and layers of rules means it's more difficult to comply with the rules. It also excludes those who don't understand the rules. Those living in the margins, like the poor, who don't have the power to engage and change the rules, respond by not following the rules. They negotiate with each other instead. So, you have major informal settlements where people make their own laws".

A participant working with urban planning through a non-governmental organisation (NGO) also indicated that the communication between the public sector and residents

is not entirely good, thus emphasising the need for the NGO to work as an intermediary: "We partner with a broad range of people. We are working with the City in terms of social housing. We are also working with people who are quite opposed to the City and some of their interests. And we're kind of in the middle of that situation, which is very interesting and sometimes a quite difficult place to be in". The participant, who's organisation is currently working with projects in Maitland Garden Village, also stated: "One of the things that we are doing with Maitland Garden Village is helping them identify pieces of state-owned land that could be used for affordable housing delivery. The idea is that if we build up the capacity of residence to put together a document and go to the City and say, look, here's the land, this is what we want, it makes the argument a lot easier".

In one of the interviews with an urban planner, the people's mindset was addressed: "I think South Africa has a very sophisticated housing system, to be honest. But it doesn't work. People want things for free, that's a part of the problem. We need to change people's mindsets. When the ANC government came to power in 1994, they promised everyone free education, housing, and jobs". He believes that an essential factor in solving segregation is changing the mindset of the residents and the way people think, in order for the country's housing system work. According to him, people must realise that not everything will come for free.

A research professor in urban studies also discussed people's attitudes from an integration type of perspective, meaning that people, in general, are afraid of integration. He stated that it is not solely because of racism, although there is some of that, but also because of a sort of fear of the unknown and a fear of change: "People don't automatically want to break down barriers. People quite like barriers and Cape Town people put a lot of barriers around their own homes".

8 Discussion

8.1 Limitations

A significant limitation of the study is the number of people interviewed. The number of participants had to be limited partly because of a limited time in South Africa and partly because of a limited network of contacts in the country. With a bigger sample size, the results would have been more reliable. Furthermore, there are several potential errors when conducting interviews. When interviewing people there is always a risk of misunderstandings and misinterpretations, both for the interviewer and the one being interviewed. The possibility of this sort of error increases when another language than the mother tongue is used, which has been the case in this study. The risk for misunderstandings has been minimised by asking the interviewee to confirm the information whenever there was any confusion or uncertainty. Another potential error is misinformation since there is a risk that given information is based on the interviewee's personal opinions rather than facts. To minimise the risk of this error, several professionals have been interviewed to confirm the given information.

Several interviews were held with previous and current residents of Pinelands in order to obtain a broader understanding of the suburb's living environment. It is, however, important to emphasise that these people do not represent the whole population of Pinelands. Moreover, there is a risk that people willing to be interviewed are those with strong opinions or beliefs. Strong opinions is not an error per se, but a distorted selection of interviewees is, which is a risk that must be taken into account when analysing the results. Another critical factor to consider regarding the interviews with Pinelands' residents is that half of the interviews were semi-structured in-person interviews while the remaining were structured with answers written in text. If all interviews had been semi-structured in-person interviews, perhaps the results of the study would have been more detailed.

Due to safety reasons, Pinelands was visited during the day-time. The site visits' limitations are important to consider when analysing the results since a broader picture of Pinelands could have been obtained by complementing the day-time visits with night visits. Likewise, the site visits were done on specific days; hence there is a risk of a distorted picture of the suburb.

One of the most critical limitations of the study is that no census has been produced since 2011. Unfortunately, the study had an unfavourable timing since it was conducted simultaneously as the new 2022 census was collected. Therefore, the study was partly based on the census from 2011 and a comparison with the one from 2001. This means that the numbers are not entirely relevant. Additionally, the level of desegregation in Pinelands since 2011 has been assumed to go in the same direction as between 2001 and 2011, which may also be the case, although not proven.

8.2 Analysis

Due to South Africa's history, cities all over the country struggle with segregation. This thesis aims to distinguish and analyse the strategies used in urban planning in Cape Town to counteract segregation, focusing on the case of Pinelands. This chapter summarises and discusses the results to answer the research questions stated in the introduction. To be able to answer the research questions, site visits were made in Pinelands and, although to a lower extent, in two similar suburbs: Rondebosch and Rosebank. Furthermore, structured and semi-structured interviews were conducted with people within the urban planning sector and with residents of Pinelands.

The results of the study show that housing location and affordability are two vital aspects of achieving an integrated society. Pinelands is situated in a well-located area and provides different types of affordable housing. However, the results show that affordable housing is a broad concept that needs to be specified to understand the targeted population group. The study's findings indicate that Cape Town lacks affordable housing in well-located areas, making Pinelands unique since it provides housing that is considered a bit more affordable, within close access to the city centre. The Conradie Park development, discussed during several interviews, will provide more affordable rental housing in the suburb. According to the results, there has been opposition to the project among the residents of Pinelands. Despite this, the development has proceeded and was described during some interviews as a symbolically important project in the city's striving for a more integrated society. The new inclusionary housing policy framework is also, according to the results, an important initiative since it will release some of the well-located land for affordable housing.

Furthermore, the results show that Pinelands has an excellent range when it comes to schools, shops and other services. In addition, there are plenty of public green spaces and sports facilities that could seemingly encourage interaction between people. In

theory, Pinelands also provides good access to public transport as two train stations are located in the area. Still, the majority of the participants of the study mentioned that Cape Town's train traffic is unreliable and unsafe. In addition to railway traffic, it is possible to go by bus from Pinelands to the nearby suburbs Thornton and Mowbray. However, the bus only runs three times a day on weekdays and not at all on weekends, making it challenging to rely on taking the bus to and from school or work.

8.2.1 The rental housing ladder

The rental housing ladder (in figure 7.30) could be an excellent instrument for achieving the goal of the National development plan 2030 (NDP): "reducing inequality and eliminating poverty by 2030" and the core of the plan: "every person in South Africa should have a "decent standard of living" by 2030" (NPC, 2022). The ladder exists to create opportunities for the poorer residents to enter the housing market and climb the housing ladder as their income increases. The concept of the ladder is similar to that of a puzzle where each step, or likewise piece, is needed. As one of the interviewed professionals mentioned, it is not enough to invest in only one of the steps since it will lead to people struggling with climbing the ladder, thus having nowhere to live. In Pinelands, the Conradie Park development creates social housing, but to afford to live in a social housing dwelling the monthly income must be at least 1 500 ZAR. Since a large proportion of South Africa's population has a significantly lower income than 1 500 ZAR, only building social housing is not enough since people will still struggle to enter the housing market.

Moreover, the lack of employment or school opportunities makes it difficult for people to climb the housing ladder, which emphasises the need of considering location when providing affordable housing. Affordable housing somewhat loses its significance if there is no or poor accessibility to jobs, schools and services. Although affordable housing in the periphery of the city provides basic needs and keeps people off the street, it jeopardises people's movement up the housing ladder, thus resulting in the ladder losing its concept. This phenomenon is not unique to Cape Town or even South Africa – it can be seen worldwide. One of the mistakes with the Million Homes Programme in Sweden seems to be the different areas' poor access to facilities and services.

8.2.2 Health and safety aspects and the importance of interaction

Since it is believed that there is a connection between the conditions in an area and the health of its residents (MacIntyre & Ellaway, 2003; Stjärne et al., 2016; Auchincloss et al., 2007; Humpel et al., 2002; Stjärne et al., 2006), public spaces and the quality and scope of services are important factors when it comes to human well-being. Furthermore, previous studies show that socio-economic resources have a vital role in people's health. Socio-economic status correlates with where a person chooses or has the opportunity to live, which usually results in people with higher socio-economic status choosing to live in areas with better access to services and recreational areas. People living in areas with good access to recreational, sports and green spaces have a lower risk of being physically inactive, which in turn, among other things, reduces the risk of cardiovascular disease, type 2 diabetes and suffering a heart attack. According to previous studies (Stats SA, 2019; Turok et al., 2021b) as well as this study, race and socio-economic status are still strongly correlated in South Africa. Therefore, it can be assumed that racial segregation and health are linked. The result chapter shows that Pinelands has plenty of green areas used for sports. These areas are used both by the residents of Pinelands and by people coming from nearby, less affluent suburbs.

In addition to an area's services and recreational opportunities, safety aspects also have a significant impact on human well-being. The level of safety can, for instance, be increased by building trust, social participation, social integration and creating inclusive values and norms among the residents of the area (MacIntyre & Ellaway, 2003; Stjärne et al., 2016). One of the first things noticed during the site visits in Pinelands was that the fences around most houses were significantly lower compared to fences in similar suburbs throughout Cape Town. The site visits also show that electric fences are less common in Pinelands, which differs from other areas visited during the field study. The relatively low fences created a feeling of higher trust for other people in the community, which can possibly signify that the residents feel safer in Pinelands than in other parts of the city. The interviews confirmed that many consider Pinelands a relatively safe area compared to most of the other suburbs in Cape Town.

The results of this study, together with the study that argues that social cohesion is positively affected by ethnic diversity (Sturgis et al., 2014), and the study that emphasises the importance of interaction in counteracting segregation (Hewstone, 2009), show the importance of enabling social interaction between different groups of people. Thus, social areas such as schools, green areas and sports areas are essential

components for creating security, social cohesion and counteracting segregation. One of the participants in this study, living in Pinelands, is currently working on establishing a soccer team where people from different suburbs can come together and meet by playing sports together, which is a tool that might contribute to integrating Pinelands with nearby suburbs.

Schools also have an important role in enabling interaction between different groups of people, and Pinelands' schools came up during several interviews. Common to these interviews was that the schools in Pinelands are of high quality. Several participants also mentioned that many of those attending school in Pinelands are from nearby, less affluent suburbs, such as Langa, Thornton, and Maitland. This finding indicates that Pinelands' schools enable interaction between different socio-economic groups. The schools' study results in Pinelands have not been examined, but if the high quality of the schools implies high study results, this may contradict one of the previous studies included in the theory chapter (Bygren and Szulkin, 2010), showing that the study results would be worse in schools where more students come from socio-economically vulnerable areas. Thus, further research is needed where the quality of the schools, the students' socio-economic status and the schools' study results are taken into account.

8.2.3 Conradie Park vs Inclusionary Housing Policy

The fact that many people seem to travel to and from Pinelands to work or go to school creates plenty of traffic, which was discussed during several interviews with Pinelands' residents. Several participants expressed a concern that the Conradie Park development will cause even heavier congestion in terms of traffic since Conradie Park aims to build dwellings for about 10 000 new people. Two schools will be built on the site, but many of the people living in Conradie Park will likely seek to attend schools in Pinelands, creating more traffic on the roads. One of the participants expressing negative thoughts about the development also expressed dissatisfaction with the information provided during the development. This finding implies that there could be a correlation between a person's attitude about a project and their satisfaction with the information provided during the construction. However, another participant stated positive outcomes of the project, even though she was dissatisfied with the communication from those responsible for the project. Although these two results are not necessarily contradictory, and even if there could be a correlation between information and satisfaction, the sample size is too small to be able to draw any conclusions from this result. Thus, further research with a greater selection of participants is needed.

According to previous research (Turok et al., 2021a) and the results of this study, there is no doubt that Cape Town is in desperate need of affordable housing in well-located areas. Still, one of the participants in the study questioned whether developments like Conradie Park are the best approach to do so. According to the results, Conradie Park seems to be a step in the right direction, although it will not solve the city's housing crisis or segregation. However, if similar developments were to be built all over Cape Town, that may have a more significant impact on the city's vision to become a sustainable and integrated city without inequalities. The results show that the coordination between the municipality and the City's private actors seems to be limping, which is an important finding since this implies that the inclusionary housing policy framework is needed. The inclusionary housing policy framework will not create multiple Conradie Park developments, but it will result in affordable dwellings being built in well-located areas such as the city centre by ensuring that private actors incorporate some affordable housing units into their market-rate developments. These sorts of developments also result in different types of rental housing, with both subsidised rents and market-driven rents, in the same building, which differs from the Conradie Park development where social housing units are in separate buildings from the market-rate units.

Although the inclusionary housing policy framework has the potential to improve the coordination between the province, municipality and private actors, some private actors have expressed dissatisfaction regarding the policy, arguing that the responsibility of providing affordable housing should be imposed on the municipality rather than the private sector. Thus, the policy is partly a result of the municipality's inability to provide affordable housing themselves, and a strategy to accelerate the delivery of housing for those who cannot afford market-rate units in the city centre.

8.2.4 Resident attitudes

The results show that the laws and regulations in South Africa, made up of several layers, are complicated for individuals to understand. Instead, individuals in different communities start creating their own rules to agree upon. One participant stated that this is one of the reasons why NGOs are needed in society as an intermediary between the City and its residents. The results also indicate that a major change is needed regarding the residents' mindset. When the ANC came to power in 1994, they promised free education and housing. The fact that the government has not kept these promises,

combined with the complicated laws, may have created a lower level of trust in the state and its leaders.

Moreover, the findings of the study indicate a widespread problem with NIMBYism, where people are reluctant to sacrifice their status or safety in order to integrate the society. The results show that people, in general, are afraid of breaking down barriers. People's fear of the unknown makes it challenging to achieve an integrated city since the reluctance to change seems to postpone the City's projects. The Conradie Park development is an example of this. A rather interesting result of the study is found in two of the Pinelands' residents' statements regarding people who are reluctant to developments resulting in some sort of change in their neighbourhood. Both stated that the reluctance of change is more apparent among the older age group. This finding seems to agree well with previous research (Sturgis et al., 2014) arguing that age affects how one experiences social cohesion in a diverse area, where the younger population perceives a more positive effect of ethnic diversity than does the older population.

8.2.5 Socio-economic and ethnical segregation in a wider context

Socio-economic segregation rises as the in-migration of wealthier residents from poor neighbourhoods increases. This seems to be the case in Pinelands, where wealthier people move in from less affluent areas, making Pinelands more ethnically integrated (heterogeneous) and somewhat more homogeneous on a class basis. This could reinforce previous research (Geyer & Mohammed, 2016), saying that increased socio-economic segregation leads to hypersegregation. When the wealthier inhabitants move out of racially and economically homogeneous and poor areas, hypersegregation is created. Those who remain in these areas are extremely poor and cannot afford to enter the housing market in more affluent areas, which is the case in some of the areas surrounding Pinelands and other areas on the Cape Flats.

In several countries in Europe, including Sweden, migration has led to a strong correlation between socio-economic status and ethnicity (Grander & Frisch, 2022); a correlation that also exists in South Africa. The fact that ethnicity and socio-economic status correlate in a similar way in Sweden makes it interesting to implement some of the strategies used to counteract segregation in South Africa in Sweden. However, Sweden and South Africa have different housing systems (Sveriges Allmännytta, n.d.), which may be a factor making it more challenging to implement the South African strategies, at least regarding affordable housing, in Sweden. However, the results show

that many other strategies used in urban planning to promote an integrated and inclusive society – strategies that might be efficient in a wider context.

8.3 Future research

A big challenge in South Africa seems to be to overcome the problems with NIMBYism to increase acceptance and integration in society. Thus, a psychological perspective of this thesis, studying the mindset and attitudes of the residents, could be an essential area for future research. A broader understanding of NIMBYism and people's mindsets could make it easier to succeed with projects intended to promote an integrated society.

This study is limited to a single case. Thus, future studies should examine Cape Town's desegregation from a wider perspective by conducting several comparable case studies of different suburbs throughout the city. Moreover, a quantitative approach with a questionnaire survey sent to a large sample size of different suburbs' residents would give substantial information about the residents' thoughts and attitudes regarding integration. A quantitative approach of this sort would also provide information on eventual differences in different age groups' attitudes about ethnic diversity.

According to this study, the coordination between the public and the private sector seems to be limping when it comes to promoting an integrated society. However, further research with a larger sample size is needed to confirm this finding and, if needed, distinguish strategies to improve the coordination.

As the inclusionary housing policy has recently been established and is not yet implemented in South Africa, further studies are needed to investigate how well it works once it is implemented. Further studies should also examine whether it would be possible, and efficient, to implement an inclusionary housing policy in Sweden in order to promote integration. Thus, further research on Sweden's spatial planning system and its efficiency is required. In addition, a questionnaire survey regarding the Swedish builders' and real estate companies' thoughts about the implementation of an inclusionary housing policy would provide substantial information.

9 Conclusion

The conclusions drawn are divided according to the research questions, thus answering these questions.

9.1 Which urban land management tools are used in Cape Town to counteract segregation in different parts of the city?

One of the essential tools for counteracting segregation in urban planning is the rental housing ladder. Since a large part of the population has a significantly lower income than what is needed for, for instance, social housing, all steps of the ladder are required for it to work. At present, social housing is mainly located on the city's outskirts. Conradie park is considered a symbolically important project since it creates social housing closer to the city centre. However, only one project is not enough to solve the housing crisis; thus, several affordable housing projects spread throughout the city are needed. More affordable housing in the inner city, mixed with market-rate units, would lead to a more integrated and inclusive society. The inclusionary housing policy plays a significant role in enabling this, although the policy is not yet implemented.

NGOs work as intermediaries between the City and its residents, and Cape Town has a large amount of these organisations. Thus, NGOs improve the coordination between the City and different communities in Cape Town, which seems to be needed according to the results of the study, revealing complicated regulations and a lack of sufficient communication between the City and its residents.

In Pinelands and in Conradie Park, public spaces, such as schools, parks and sports areas have been considered in the planning process. For people to be able to socially interact with each other, well-thought-out public spaces are needed, which emphasises the importance of providing attractive public spaces to encourage socialising between different groups of people (as defined by socio-economic status and/or ethnicity).

9.2 How has the level of segregation changed in Pinelands in the last 30 years, and what is believed to have led to these changes?

It is evident that the prevalence of segregation has declined in Pinelands, from being a white-only area during apartheid to 62 % whites in 2011. This trend seems to have continued after 2011, as several participants stated that Pinelands is becoming a more multi-cultural and integrated suburb. Pinelands is considered one of few suburbs in Cape Town that is close to the centre and, at the same time, has relatively affordable

housing, which makes it easier to enter the housing market in the suburb compared to other similar suburbs in Cape Town. Therefore, one reason for the desegregation seems to be the in-migration of wealthier inhabitants from poorer black or coloured neighbourhoods. This in-migration may have led to Pinelands becoming more integrated based on race/ethnicity, whilst socio-economic status is still homogeneous.

9.3 Are any of the strategies and tools used more generally relevant and efficient?

Cape Town is deeply segregated partly due to how the city was planned during apartheid, with distinct barriers between different areas of the city. The City now stands before a challenge to integrate the city's majority into its minority, that is, white people. This differs from several countries in Europe, including Sweden, where the challenge is to integrate the minority into the majority, making it somewhat challenging to implement South Africa's strategies for desegregation in a country like Sweden. On the other hand, an inclusionary housing policy could be an effective strategy to implement in other countries to counteract segregation. A more integrated society could also be achieved by providing more affordable housing in the city centres and mixing different forms of tenure and different types of rental housing, both subsidised and market-rent units, in the same building. Public transport is of great importance if affordable housing is not provided in well-located areas. However, the results of the study show that Cape Town seems to lack a functioning, safe and reliable public transport system.

An essential part of creating areas with a high level of trust and social cohesion is to enable social interaction between the residents, which requires places where people can meet and socialise. Not interacting with people with different socio-economic statuses or ethnicity may result in fear of the unknown, which in turn creates NIMBYism and a society where people put up barriers between each other, both physically and psychologically speaking. Therefore, social areas such as schools, parks and sports areas are essential components for promoting integration.

Finally, NGOs seem to have a vital role in raising the voice of different communities and improving the coordination between the public sector and the residents. As with interaction between different groups of people, functioning coordination between the City and its residents is crucial in achieving an inclusive, harmonious society.

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Figures

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Appendix A – Interview guide for interviews with Pinelands' residents

- Gender:
- Age:
- For how long have you lived in Pinelands? If you are not living there anymore: when did you live there?
- What are the main reasons you've chosen to live in Pinelands?

Integration and safety:
- Do you consider Pinelands a safe suburb? If not always: When/where do you feel unsafe and why?
- Have you experienced racism in Pinelands? If yes and comfortable with sharing: please describe the situation.
- How ethnically/racially integrated do you think Pinelands is? In your opinion, has there been any change in integration during the last decade?
- Do you know of any measures that have (or might have) contributed to the integration of Pinelands? If yes: what measures?

Public spaces and transport:
- What do you think about Pinelands' public spaces (parks, recreation areas, sports, streets etc.)? What is good/bad/missing?
- What do you think about Pinelands' commercial services? What is good/bad/missing?
- When travelling within Pinelands: what type of transport (walk/bicycle/public transport/car/uber etc.) do you usually use? Is there any specific reason for this?
- When travelling from/to Pinelands: what type of transport do you usually use? Is there any specific reason for this?

If you know anything about the Conradie Park development:
- What are your overall thoughts about the development? If you can see both positive and negative outcomes of the development, please explain why these are positive or negative.
- Are you satisfied with the amount of information you, as a resident, have received about the development? If not: why/what information has been missing?

Appendix B – Interview guide for interviews with professionals

The interviews with professionals within the urban planning sector were semi-structured. Thus, there was not a predetermined list of questions for the different interviews. The list of questions below contains all of the questions asked during the different interviews, although different questions were asked depending on the person interviewed.

General questions
- Can you tell us a little about your workplace/organisation?
- What is your role and what do you do?
- What are the biggest challenges in your work?

The City of Cape Town
- Traces from apartheid can be seen throughout Cape Town, with distinct barriers around suburbs that used to be for only white people. Do you know if the City of Cape Town is working on breaking these barriers?
- It's generally accepted that gated communities are correlated with segregated communities. Do you think that it always has to be like this, or could there be exceptions?

Pinelands
- Pinelands has gone from being a white area during apartheid to being a fairly mixed suburb. What do you think has led to this change in population distribution?
- Do you know of any specific measures that have been taken in Pinelands to integrate the suburb?

Affordable housing
- No social housing has been built in Cape Town's CBD. Why?
- Do you know if there is a high turnover of tenants in social housing dwellings? Meaning: do people generally stay in their dwelling for a long time, or do they release it for other people to move in?
- How do you control that people don't stay in their dwelling too long? (if they have raised their salary above the income limit)

- Do you have any thoughts about the Western Cape's new inclusionary housing policy framework?
- Do you know anything about Cape Town's progress in implementing the inclusionary housing policy framework?

Conradie Park
- When were you involved in the Conradie Park development?
- Could you tell us about your role in the Conradie Park project?
- Do you know how long the process was from initiative to where we are today?
- What were the challenges in the peripheral planning stage, when you were involved?
- What have been the challenges in the project?
- What do you think of the location of the development? Why was this place chosen?
- Has Conradie Park been designed to look like Pinelands, Thornton, etc.?
- Between Pinelands and Conradie Park, the railway is like a barrier. What has been done to tie these areas together?
- How was the division between service, office and housing decided, and why?

Coordination
- How would you describe the coordination between the City of Cape Town and private actors such as NGOs?
- How would you describe the coordination between the City of Cape Town and its residents?
- Why are NGOs needed?