



**SOCIAL AND SPATIAL EXCLUSION IN A COASTAL AREA OF CAPE TOWN:
THE CASE OF KALK BAY, ST JAMES AND FISH HOEK**

SAMANTHA DYER

DISSERTATION PRESENTED AS PART FULFILMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF CITY AND
REGIONAL PLANNING

IN THE SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

OCTOBER 2014

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Cover page photographs:

Left: View of St James & Kalk Bay from Boyes Drive

Right: View of Fish Hoek from mountainside

Source: author's own (October, 2014).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Vanessa Watson, for your guidance, support and insights throughout this process. I really appreciated all your feedback and for always keeping me focused.

Thank you to Tania Katzschner for mentoring me, and to Dr Nancy Odendaal and Dr Tanja Winkler for their help and encouragement over the past two years.

Thank you to all four of you for pushing me throughout the MCRP programme.

To all my research participants, thank you for making this research exciting.

I would like to thank my parents, Llywellyn and Joanne, for the endless amount of love and support throughout my studies.

Finally, to my fellow classmates, thank you for all the support and the fun times over the past two years.

THANK YOU ALL!

ABSTRACT

There are many areas in Cape Town and other South African cities, which historically have been diverse and integrated in terms of race and income. This research is concerned about the quality of these urban areas in light of numerous factors that have the potential to lead to social and spatial exclusion. The aim of this research is to focus on the coastal areas of Kalk Bay, St James and Fish Hoek situated on the Cape Peninsula as a case study of urban exclusion in a global South context. These areas are relatively economically mixed and, in the case of Kalk Bay, racially diverse. The research focuses on exclusion on the basis of income as economic exclusion is no longer strictly bounded by race in the post-apartheid period. The overarching research question asks: what are the extent and outcomes of factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area?

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through interviews, document analysis, analysis of archival records and field observations. These research findings were interpreted according to an analytical framework consisting of eight significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in cities of the global South. The research finds that the factors that may be having the greatest exclusionary effect on lower income urban residents in the study area are: the lack of affordable housing and the limited potential for future development within the area; the financially exclusionary property market; the commercialisation and privatisation of public spaces; gradual processes of gentrification; exclusion from decision-making; and limited employment opportunities within the area.

While current spatial policies in Cape Town seem to prioritise the spatial goals of integration and inclusion, they do not seem to address the economic factors that are often central to exclusion in the study area and in other areas of Cape Town. In light of these policy gaps, this study proposes a number of recommendations to address these exclusionary factors in the study area. The recommendations include: more inclusive local governance and decision-making; diversifying the Kalk Bay Harbour; local economic development by supporting small to medium businesses; improved management and maintenance of existing public spaces; increasing the supply of affordable housing; and

densification and improvements to infrastructure. Because the case study method is used, these recommendations apply specifically to the study area and cannot be applied in other parts of Cape Town experiencing exclusion without careful analyses of these contexts. The value of this research is the method and approach utilised, which could be used to analyse the extent and outcomes of exclusion in other contexts.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BNG:	Breaking New Ground	RDP:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
CBLE:	Community Based Legal Entity	SDP:	Spatial Development Plan
CCID:	Central City Improvement District	SHI:	Social Housing Institution
CID:	City Improvement District	SHP:	Social Housing Policy
CoCT:	City of Cape Town	SRA:	Special Rating Area
CTSDF:	Cape Town Spatial Development Framework	SSF:	Small Scale Fisheries
DAFF:	Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry		
DoHS:	Department of Human Settlements		
FHVRRA:	Fish Hoek Valley Ratepayers' and Residents' Association		
GAA:	Group Areas Act of 1950		
GEAR:	Growth, Employment and Redistribution		
IZS:	Integrated Zoning Scheme		
KBHFC:	Kalk Bay Historic Fishing Community		
KBSTRRA:	Kalk Bay-St James Ratepayers' and Residents' Association		
KBSJSRA:	Kalk Bay-St James Special Rating Area		
LED:	Local Economic Development		
MLRA:	Marine Living Resources Act		
MSDF:	Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework		
NDP:	National Development Plan 2030		
NIMBY:	Not In My Back Yard		
NPC:	National Planning Commission		
PRASA:	Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa		
PSDF:	Provincial Spatial Development Framework		

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research and how it has been approached. I first explain the rationale for carrying out this research, which formed the foundation for my research problem and guided the overarching research questions. I discuss the nature of the research problem in more detail in chapter 3. I then define the key concepts used throughout the dissertation. In section three of this chapter, I present my ethical position, which is based on a set of values that strongly inform this research. In the final section, I provide the structure for the rest of the document.

1.1. THE RESEARCH RATIONALE, PROBLEM AND OVERARCHING QUESTIONS

This research was largely driven by my fascination with Kalk Bay, a coastal suburb on the Cape Peninsula. What appears as a small but very popular coastal destination with some of the most well-known restaurants in Cape Town has a long and rich history – a history which is made particularly unique by the fact that the area and its historically diverse population managed to survive the onslaught of apartheid spatial planning and forced removals. Today, it remains a relatively economically and racially mixed area where the historical fishing community still represents a significant component of the population. As I researched Kalk Bay further, and given the exclusions occurring in other historically mixed areas of Cape Town, such as Woodstock, I became alert to the fact that there may be a number of factors that could be leading to the exclusion of the fishing community from Kalk Bay. The research question was in part motivated by the assumption that market forces may be leading to the exclusion of the fishing community from Kalk Bay. Thus, this research began with an interest in Kalk Bay and the historic fishing community. I decided to expand the scope of the research to include the suburbs of Fish Hoek and St James as it became clear how closely together these areas are tied, not only in terms of their geographical proximity but also in terms of access to public facilities and commerce as well as urban management. Fish Hoek is also known to have a fairly economically mixed population. I therefore expanded the research from a narrow focus on the exclusion of the fishing community to the exclusion of lower income urban residents across the three areas of Kalk Bay, St James and Fish Hoek.

The aim of the research is to focus on the areas of Kalk Bay, St James and Fish Hoek as a case study of urban exclusion in a global South context. While this is a unique case, this case may be regarded as having characteristics similar to other areas in Cape Town experiencing these pressures, which may be leading to the exclusion of lower income households. Accordingly, the overarching research question asks: what are the extent and outcomes of factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area? The research also has an interventive aspect, leading to the second research question: what are the appropriate planning interventions to address the factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area? In using the term 'lower income', I am referring to households classified as low income (earning between R0 and R4100 per month) as well as households classified as low emerging and emerging middle class (earning between R4101 and R25 000 per month); thus broadening the scope of potential income exclusion beyond low income households as income exclusion is increasingly affecting those in the lower-middle income brackets. The focus of the research is the exclusion of lower income urban residents, which includes residents living in the area as well as lower income non-residents who may be excluded on the basis that they cannot afford to live in the area or to participate in the social activities of the area.

1.2. DEFINING THE KEY CONCEPTS

In line with the overarching research questions, it is necessary to define some of the key concepts which will be used throughout this dissertation. As the literature review in chapter two will reveal, social exclusion is a highly contentious concept due to the many ways in which it is used and defined. The definition adopted for this research defines social exclusion as:

The unique interplay of a number of factors, whose consequence is the denial of access, to an individual or group, to the opportunity to participate in the social and political life of the community, resulting not only in diminished material and non-material quality of life, but also in tempered life chances, choices and reduced citizenship.

(Kenyon et al, 2002: 7)

Spatial exclusion also tends to be defined in different ways. Landman and Ntombela (2006) describe spatial exclusion as “urban transformation through fortification and privatisation of space, services and governance”. Thus, spatial exclusion affects all urban residents, not only those in lower income brackets. As stated above, the term ‘lower income’ used in the research question includes households classified as low income and as low emerging and emerging middle class.

1.3. ETHICAL POSITION

The impetus for the development of planning lay in a critique of the industrial city and a desire to re-create cities according to enlightened design principles. Whether the focus was on greenfield sites, as in Ebenezer Howard’s garden city model, or on redeveloping the existing city, as in Georges-Eugène Haussmann’s Paris and Daniel Burnham’s City Beautiful, planning devoted itself to producing the desired object.

(Fainstein, 2010: 58)

But what is the desired object? This is a question with which all planners are faced and answering it makes planning an inherently value-laden exercise as one’s desired object is driven by a set of values. My desired object for planning is inspired by Susan Fainstein’s book *The Just City* in which Fainstein (2010: 13) aims to make “justice the first principle by which to evaluate urban planning and policy”. Fainstein (2010: 3) defines the ‘just city’ as a “city in which public investment and regulation would produce equitable outcomes rather than support those already well off”. This conceptualisation of the ‘just city’ is based on the three principles of equity, diversity and democracy, which Fainstein (2010: 165) considers are the “primary qualities constituting urban justice”. For Sandercock (1997), the ‘just city’ is a socially inclusive city in which diversity and differences are appreciated, rather than just tolerated. These notions of the ‘just city’ strongly influence my ethical

position that urban justice should be the desired object of planning. In the South African urban context, which is wrought with racial and class divisions, the role of planning needs to be one that addresses social and spatial exclusion in the urban environment and ensures “cities for people, not for profit” (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2009). In line with urban justice being the desired object, the principles of equity, democracy and diversity inform my research throughout. The recommendations provided in chapter seven are driven by these values.

Furthermore, we are living in a context in which urban sustainability needs to be a critical goal of urban planning. The challenges of climate change, peak oil, food insecurity and others, are not just future problems. These challenges are being experienced now and will only get worse into the future with the poorest people being the most vulnerable (UN Habitat, 2009). Urban exclusion and sustainability are inextricably interlinked, particularly in an urban environment like Cape Town whereby exclusion from well-developed areas, owing to high land and property prices, pushes people to the areas of Cape Town which are most vulnerable to natural and social hazards. Sustainability not only refers to environmental and ecological sustainability but also social, economic and political sustainability. Pieterse (2011: 311) refers to the National Science Foundation Workgroup on Urban Sustainability’s (2000) definition of sustainability which emphasises “sustainable lives and livelihoods rather than the question of sustaining development”. This perspective of sustainability – one focused on sustainable livelihoods – seems most appropriate to this research.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE DOCUMENT

There are a further seven chapters in this document. In chapter 2, I present a review of the literature in the field of urban social exclusion. Through the literature review, I begin to address the first overarching research question by identifying several significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in global South cities. These eight factors form the analytical framework, which is used to analyse the study area in chapter six. Chapter three follows in which I present the nature of the research problem. I also explore the case study method, the research method employed

in this study, and the research techniques used to gather the relevant data. In chapter four, I explore the historical context of urban exclusion in Cape Town and provide an overview and analysis of the policies and plans that have been developed in an attempt to address social and spatial exclusion in Cape Town. I then present the research findings from the analysis of the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek area in chapter five. In chapter six, I utilise the analytical framework established in chapter two to interpret the findings presented in chapter five by critically analysing the extent and outcomes of the eight exclusionary factors in the study area; thus answering the first overarching research question. This is followed by chapter seven in which I provide recommendations for addressing these factors in the study area thereby answering the second overarching question. I conclude in the final chapter by presenting the important findings from the research together with a brief overview of the recommendations provided to address exclusion in the study area.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present a review of the literature in the field of urban social exclusion. The literature review begins to address the first research question by identifying some of the significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in global South cities. These factors form the analytical framework, which will be used in chapter six to interpret the findings presented in chapter five in order to critically analyse the extent and outcomes of these exclusionary factors in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area. Chapter seven then provides recommendations for addressing these factors in the study area.

In the first section of the chapter, I begin by exploring the origins and historical evolution of social exclusion as a concept in order to provide a discussion in section two of the contested nature of the concept and some of the key elements in social exclusion debates. Much of the literature referred to in these earlier sections of the chapter is not strictly focused on *urban* social exclusion and tends to be more focused on the conceptual background of the concept of social exclusion, unless otherwise stated. The third section is a discussion of the relevance of the social exclusion concept in the global South, which is an important criticism of the concept. Section four follows in which I provide some of the most notable arguments on the significance of social exclusion in planning. In the final section, I then establish the analytical framework by outlining and elaborating on some of the significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in global South cities. This section is focused specifically on urban exclusion.

2.1. THE ORIGINS AND HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Social exclusion as a distinct concept is a relatively recent notion to be introduced into development studies (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997; Sen, 2000). The concept is commonly traced to 1970s French social policy (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997; Percy-Smith, 2000; Sen, 2000), with René Lenoir typically credited with popularizing the term in France (Sen, 2000;

Beall, 2002). In its original conception by French sociologists, the concept was primarily concerned with citizenship rights and the failure of relationships between members of society and the nation-state (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997; Beall, 2002). Lenoir (1974, cited by Silver, 1994), listed the following as constituting the socially excluded, which comprised about one-tenth of the French population at the time:

The mentally and the physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, drug addicts, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal, asocial persons, and other 'social misfits'

(Silver, 1994: 532)

Following the diffusion and adoption of the concept in an increasing number of differing contexts, the list of the socially excluded and the variety of exclusions discussed in the literature significantly increased (Sen, 2000).

The concept gained currency mainly in the global North during the 1990s, particularly in poverty debates in Europe and the United Kingdom (Du Toit, 2004). In the European context, it was largely concerned with social integration and social cohesion, and developing a society accessible to all people (Beall, 2000; Clert, 1999; Percy-Smith, 2000). While the concept of social exclusion was initially conceived in terms of individuals or groups of people living unconventional lifestyles and who were sometimes stigmatised for their unconventional lifestyles, this began to change by the 1980s with a greater acknowledgement of economic restructuring and wider societal changes as sources of exclusion (Atkinson, 2000: 1040). While not exclusively an urban concept, the effects of economic restructuring and resultant exclusion were considered to be most apparent in European cities and towns, and necessitated new urban policy responses (Atkinson, 2000). The European Commission, therefore, focused on urban social exclusion.

The United Nations Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995 (the Social Summit) played an important role in diffusing the concept of social exclusion beyond Europe (Beall et al, 2002; Clert, 1999). Although the issues of exclusion, poverty and marginalisation were prominent in the global South, there was limited take up of the

concept of social exclusion in global South countries (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997; Clert, 1999). This began to change by the late 1990s as confidence was growing about applying the concept to contexts different to those in the global North and Du Toit (2004) attributes this to the broadened list of what constituted social exclusion, which I discuss in the following section.

2.2. DEFINING SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND ITS USEFULNESS AS A CONCEPT

In this section, I begin by discussing the contested nature of the concept of social exclusion and the many ways in which it is defined followed by some of the key elements in the literature.

2.2.1. Contested nature of the concept

Social exclusion has been debated and defined in numerous different ways (Farrington, 2002). According to Percy-Smith (2000: 3), the concept is usually defined in ways which encompass some or all of the following aspects:

- disadvantage in relation to certain norms of social, economic or political activity pertaining to individuals, households, spatial areas or population groups;
- the social, economic and institutional processes through which disadvantage comes about; and
- the outcomes or consequences for individuals, groups or communities.

Many scholars argue that the concept needs to focus on the processes that cause social exclusion and to understand how and why these causal processes operate, leading them to employ process-oriented definitions of social exclusion (Clert, 1999; Farrington, 2002; Turok et al, 1999). Focusing on the causal processes makes it possible for researchers to address the underlying causes, rather than just enhancing the outcomes (Farrington, 2002). It is clear that there is no precise definition of social exclusion, which has resulted in the usefulness of the concept being contested (Beall, 2002; Nevile, 2007). Some researchers regard this lack of conceptual clarity as advantageous (Clert, 1999), with some attributing the widespread adoption of the concept to its versatility and adaptability (Atkinson, 1998). Others see this conceptual vagueness as problematic – “a cliché to

cover almost any kind of social ill” (Kleinman, 1998: 9).

Nevertheless, there seems to be consensus that the value of the concept is dependent on the way in which it is defined (Du Toit, 2004; Farrington, 2002). Conceptual clarity is necessary in order to develop effective policy as different definitions demand different responses (Farrington, 2002; Kleinman, 1998). As stated in the introduction, the following definition is taken up in this research and it defines social exclusion as:

The unique interplay of a number of factors, whose consequence is the denial of access, to an individual or group, to the opportunity to participate in the social and political life of the community, resulting not only in diminished material and non-material quality of life, but also in tempered life chances, choices and reduced citizenship.

(Kenyon et al, 2002: 7)

This definition is adopted as firstly, it emphasises the number of factors that may interact to cause or contribute to social exclusion; thus being concerned with the causal processes of exclusion. Secondly, using the language of *denial* of access, rather than the *inability* to access, acknowledges structural constraints to participation and the powerlessness of the excluded (Kenyon et al, 2002; Percy-Smith, 2000). The definition also acknowledges the material and non-material aspects of deprivation.

2.2.2. Key elements in social exclusion debates

Although social exclusion has been defined in a variety of ways, the elements of relativity, agency and multidimensionality are common in social exclusion debates.

Relativity

The relational aspect of social exclusion is emphasised by many scholars on the subject who consider it as “necessarily a ‘relational’ concept” since people are excluded from a particular society, at a particular place and time (Atkinson, 1998; Percy-Smith, 2000: 6; Turok et al, 1999). In order to judge whether a person or group is socially excluded, one needs to “take account of the conditions and activities of others and the norms and customs of the time” and therefore cannot judge the situation in isolation (Atkinson, 1998; Turok et al, 1999: 364). Sen (2000) regards the relational focus of exclusion to be where the value of the concept lies.

Agency

"Exclusion implies an act, with an agent or agents" (Atkinson, 1998: 14). The importance of agency affirms that exclusion is often beyond the control of the excluded, and exclusion may result from exclusionary processes but also through the actions of certain agents (Clert, 1999).

Multidimensionality

The dynamic and multidimensional nature of social exclusion is emphasised in the literature. Social exclusion is multidimensional and multi-temporal as it often results from a number of exclusionary processes or sources of deprivation which operate at a variety of scales and interact in different ways over time (Percy-Smith, 2000; Turok et al, 1999). The value of the multidimensional nature of social exclusion is highlighted by Clert (1999: 184) who asserts that "the aim of multidimensionality is not to set out a catalogue of separate dimensions but to emphasise cumulative and complex processes involved". Section 2.5 outlines some of most significant factors that lead to urban social and spatial exclusion. These factors may represent economic, social, political or spatial dimensions of exclusion or a combination of these dimensions.

2.3. THE RELEVANCE OF THE CONCEPT IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

This section provides a discussion of one of the most important criticisms of the concept of social exclusion, which debates its relevance in the global South, or rather in contexts very different from the those of "discussions about persistence of pockets of poverty in fairly homogeneous, wealthy countries" in which the concept was originally conceived (Du Toit, 2004: 988). Some scholars question the value of the concept in contexts in which poverty and chronic poverty are widespread, where the majority of the population are excluded from the formal labour market and where there is limited access to state welfare benefits (Beall, 2002; Beall et al, 2002; Du Toit, 2004). Du Toit (2004: 989) grapples with this issue, stating that its export to the global South is "not in itself either good or bad", but that value can be derived from the ways in which the concept is "adapted, appropriated and bent to local purposes".

Beall (2000) raises the concern that common conceptions of social exclusion ignore the issues of inequality of opportunity and "envisag(e) citizen participation in the context of consensus politics in harmonious cities rather than accommodating discord and challenge in a contested political process", commonplace in global South cities (Beall, 2000: 853). The use of the concept as an approach to analyse social disadvantage in South Africa has been limited throughout history, most likely due to the recent history of apartheid in which the majority of the population was racially oppressed and denied basic human rights. The concept of social exclusion would not do justice to the degree of enforced exclusion that occurred, potentially "diminish(ing) experiences under apartheid better understood as racial oppression, exploitation and the denial of citizenship rights" (Beall, 2002: 48). In light of this history, Beall (2002: 48) argues that:

A social exclusion framework makes more analytical sense when applied to the period leading up to and following first non-racial, democratic elections...and that the concept usefully elucidates the nature of social disadvantage in post-apartheid South Africa.

One of the reasons why Beall et al (2002) are drawn to the concept of social exclusion is that they consider it to have purchase in debates in the global North and South, as argued by Clert (1999) and Bhalla and Lapeyre (1997: 421). The applicability of the concept to global South contexts is dependent on it being framed appropriately.

2.4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN URBAN PLANNING

This section provides some of the most notable arguments on the significance of social exclusion in urban planning. In their paper entitled '*Social exclusion: In what sense a planning problem?*', Turok et al (1999) regard planning as being particularly well-positioned to understand and address issues of social exclusion as both exclusion and planning operate at different spatial scales in complex and interacting ways. Additionally, planners have many tools or 'levers' which can help to promote increased social, economic and physical integration; for example:

Through its strategic, forward-looking perspective; its role in guiding new development; its powers of land identification and acquisition; its regulatory controls in relation to the location of housing, employment and other forms of property investment; its influence over transport and

other infrastructure; its advice and guidance on the quality of the built environment and neighbourhood design; its involvement in selecting priority areas for regeneration; its experience of working in partnership with other sectors and the opportunities it offers for excluded groups to participate in policy making.

(Turok et al, 1999: 382)

In light of these tools or 'levers' to promote integration, and the fact that planning is able to operate at multiple scales, Turok et al (1999: 363) assert that "although planning is not one of the principal causes of exclusion, it can reinforce and exacerbate the problem". On a similar note, Watson (2009) highlights how many countries of the global South adopted and continue to use tools and regulations for urban planning promoted in the global North, which are often inappropriate to local contexts and end up producing or reinforcing social and spatial exclusion.

There has been some debate about whether planning for inclusion is the answer to social exclusion. While Beall et al (2002: 25) argue that social exclusion is a good lens through which to analyse social disadvantage and to develop and operationalize policy, they also strongly argue that this should not lead to a "prescriptive approach to social inclusion" stating that "defining what constitutes inclusion, who should be included, as well as the terms of inclusion is a business far too fraught and reminiscent of apartheid planning" (Beall et al, 2002: 25). Planning for inclusion begs the question: "inclusion in what, on whose terms and in whose interests?" (Beall, 2002: 50). Du Toit (2004: 1004) offers a much stronger opposition to the "simple counter-positions of 'exclusion' and 'inclusion'". Similarly, if social inclusion is seen as a panacea to problems of exclusion, there is concern that this will result in the "imposition of modes of behaviour on the poor", which have been rejected by the rest of society or which stand to reinforce the exclusion of the already excluded (Kleinman, 1998: 12).

Furthermore, Beall (2002) debates whether social exclusion and globalisation are compatible or contradictory concepts, particularly in the global South context. Beall (2002: 50) concludes that social exclusion "provides a way of understanding the relational and institutional dynamics that serve to include some and keep others out in a connected but polarised global economic context" but that there are major contradictions in the

push for inclusive cities at the local level in the context of globalisation:

As economies become more globally integrated, invariably on highly skewed terms, cities are being urged to be 'inclusive' and to integrate social goals into local economic development. This is not only unfair to local authorities involved but is likely to be ineffective in the face of global economic forces or international policy directives that promote social exclusion.

(Beall, 2002: 51)

Fainstein (2010) also grapples with the issue of whether it is possible to achieve the principles of justice, namely equity, diversity and democracy, under neoliberal capitalism; but this then becomes the purpose of her book, *The Just City*, "to recommend nonreformist reforms directed at improving the lives of residents of cities in Western Europe and the US" (Fainstein, 2010: 19).

Like Fainstein (2010), the purpose of this research is to recommend appropriate interventions to address exclusion in the study area bearing in mind the inherent contradictions in the contemporary context of neoliberal capitalism. This research accepts the above criticisms that planning interventions aimed at inclusion should not be prescriptive and indiscriminately applied to all contexts. This research focuses on planning interventions that seek to address exclusion. Urban planning is particularly well-positioned to address issues of social and spatial exclusion because of the number of tools available to planners. While achieving integration and inclusion may be extremely difficult in practice, urban planners need to ensure, at least, that interventions in the built environment do not exacerbate the drivers of exclusion.

2.5. ESTABLISHING AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This section outlines and elaborates on some of the significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in global South cities. Many of these factors are features of both cities of the global North and South to varying degrees but I aim to focus primarily on global South cities. Some of these factors are not necessarily only exclusionary to lower income urban residents but they tend to have more adverse effects on poor and lower income residents. As stated in the introduction of this chapter,

these factors form the analytical framework, which will be employed in chapter six in order to determine the extent and outcomes of these factors in the study area.

2.5.1. Labour market change and unemployment

This is one of the factors that leads to social exclusion with Turok et al (1999) identifying unemployment as a significant dimension of exclusion because of its apparent implications for planning. Unemployment can prevent people from attaining a particular standard of living and from participating in the economic and social opportunities offered in urban areas. At a broader scale, unemployment can be viewed as an outcome of economic restructuring and labour market change, resulting in:

A growth in social exclusion whereby certain excluded groups lack access to the advantages and benefits that economic restructuring brings; such groups lose the means to participate in society, for instance in the labour and housing markets, and in education and political processes.

(McCarthy, 1999: 323)

According to Percy-Smith (2000: 5), one of the major ways in which social exclusion differs from poverty or disadvantage is that social exclusion tends to be considered within this wider context, particularly "in the context of globalisation and the structural changes brought about by globalisation".

Structural shifts from industrial to post-industrial or Fordist to post-Fordist processes of production are often considered important sources of urban exclusion, particularly in Global North cities. "Whereas Fordist regimes are associated with strong trade unions, high wages and full-time permanent employment, post-Fordist regimes are associated with weak trade unions, low wages and 'flexible' employment practices", creating a strong polarising force between higher income, skilled classes and low income, low skilled classes (Beall et al, 2002: 13). These processes of exclusion are not always applicable to global South cities, but Beall et al (2002) argue that it applies to Johannesburg where division and inequality no longer follow strictly racial lines, "suggesting that there are other social and economic forces at work" (Beall et al, 2002: 14). Johannesburg exhibits characteristics of a transition from Fordist to post-Fordist production with the decline of the manufacturing

industry and a resultant rise in unemployment, followed by the drive for Johannesburg to become a significant high-tech hub (Beall et al, 2002). Beall's (2002) case study of exclusion in Johannesburg demonstrates that while social exclusion during apartheid was determined on the basis of race, those who are now socially excluded are still predominantly, but not exclusively, black. The geographies of exclusion are now mainly determined in terms of "the requirements of the global economy and Johannesburg's place in it" and the "shifting trajectories of economic development in the city", which are reinforced by South Africa's neoliberal policies that are being actively adopted in Johannesburg (Beall, 2002: 49).

Similar processes of economic restructuring have been observed in other South African cities, including Cape Town in which there has been a post-apartheid expansion of knowledge-intensive, service and finance-based economic sectors in response to global demands (Lemanski, 2007). In addition, creative industries and tourism have also grown (Booyens, 2012). This restructuring of the economy "mirrors international post-Fordist trends" and has implications for labour market demand as there is a decline in the demand for working class labour (Booyens, 2012: 50). I will discuss the Cape Town context in more detail in chapter four.

In light of these economic shifts in South African cities, Parnell and Crankshaw (2009: 154) argue that:

Poor engagement with substantive changes in the spatial economy means that developmental policy objectives are unlikely to be realised and urban exclusion is likely to deepen under the current policy regime.

Thus, there needs to be a move beyond a "racially framed understanding of exclusion" in South African cities towards one which analyses macro-structural changes in terms of the space economy, and sectoral and labour market change, which significantly impact on levels of unemployment in cities (Parnell and Crankshaw, 2009: 167).

2.5.2. Income and consumption

Income and consumption are strongly linked to employment. Income can impact standard of living as the urban poor may be unable to access basic needs including food, clothing and housing (Landman and Ntombela, 2006; Turok et al, 1999). Many of the social problems associated with exclusion are in part determined by income (Bhalla and Lapeyre, 1997). The concepts of exclusion and poverty overlap considerably since a lack of money is an important determinant of both poverty and exclusion, and income can cause or contribute to exclusion due to an inability to access particular goods and services through the market (Turok et al, 1999). Moreover, lack of income or low income may inhibit access to social facilities, financial services and opportunities for consumption and leisure (Turok et al, 1999). Exclusion can result from an inability to “participate in the customary consumption activities of the society in which they live” (Atkinson, 1998: 10). What is considered ‘customary’ or ‘normal’ is subjective and context-dependent, relating back to the point that social exclusion is a relational concept. Du Toit (2004: 999) acknowledges that “although poverty does not rob people of agency, it certainly leads to a massive circumscription of the forms of agency that are available to them”, therefore impacting on their opportunities to participate fully in society, especially in a society in which consumption activities “are given increasing cultural and material centrality” (Du Toit, 2004: 999). I discuss the role of cities as sites of commodification and consumption in a later section of this chapter in relation to the spatial exclusion of the poor. Poverty or lack of income is thus considered one dimension of exclusion as exclusion can occur independently of poverty, and poverty can occur without exclusion (Atkinson, 1998; Turok et al, 1999).

2.5.3. Lack of access to services

Lack of access to services is often a function of income as households typically require a basic income in order to access services but it may also be a function of location whereby spatially excluded areas are denied access or provided with lower quality services. According to Charlton (2010), access to services, including water, sanitation, energy and public transport, is an important dimension of inclusion. Turok (2001: 1250) notes the significance of having access to public transport in urban areas, stating that the “three most important structural elements of cities are employment, housing and the transport

connections between them”. Having access to these key resources can influence one's standard of living. Similarly, Kenyon et al (2002: 1) introduce the mobility dimension to social exclusion, highlighting “a strong correlation between a lack of access to adequate mobility and lack of access to opportunities, social networks, goods and services”. Lack of access to financial services is another dimension of exclusion as “poor households may become mired in situations of low assets and failed attempts to accumulate and move ahead” ultimately ending up in poverty traps (Adato et al, 2008).

2.5.4. Urban land and property markets which do not work for lower income urban residents

According to Landman and Ntombela (2006), South Africa's urban land and property markets serve mainly middle and high income groups and exclude lower income households, as with land markets in other countries. Lower income households often have to make major trade-offs when choosing their location and settlement type as they typically cannot meet all of their needs at the same time. Additionally, the only viable option for low income households to access land or housing in the formal sector in South Africa is through the state-subsidised housing system. Subsidy housing settlements are generally located on the periphery of urban areas with limited access to jobs and other services. Urban scholars, such as Charlton (2010) and Lemanski (2011), have demonstrated the limited potential of these state-subsidised housing settlements to foster urban inclusion and “movement up the property ladder” (Lemanski, 2011: 62).

The government's focus on the delivery of state-subsidised houses, where home ownership is the only tenure option, has been at the expense of providing housing that offers different tenure arrangements and housing typologies (Poulsen, 2010). Low income households generally find more choice in the informal market in terms of location, types of accommodation and affordability (Urban LandMark, 2010). Limited supply of well-located, affordable accommodation is one of the most significant factors leading to the exclusion of lower income urban residents from the formal land and property market. This is one of Cape Town's biggest challenges with regards to housing provision. One of the constraints to the provision of well-located, affordable accommodation is a shortage of suitable vacant land. Brown-Luthango et al (2012) outline the following factors as obstacles to the

development of vacant land: economic and political factors; the physical attributes of the land, for example, steep slopes and floodplains; and a lack of appropriate government regulatory systems, norms and policies, such as zoning plans and urban growth boundaries. With regard to zoning plans, Brown-Luthango et al (2012) refer to Bertaud (2010) who argues that "if there is an over-allocation of land to a specific use then land parcels will remain vacant until the zoning is changed". One of the outcomes of a shortage of well-located, affordable housing tends to be overcrowding as people may strive to live in certain areas that are close to employment opportunities and apartments may be sub-let to multiple households to make them more affordable (Poulsen, 2010). Overcrowding often results in the deterioration of buildings with a lack of maintenance and management exacerbating the physical condition (Poulsen, 2010). Based on the inefficiencies in land and property markets, it is evident that new approaches or mechanisms need to be employed in order to make urban land markets work better for lower income urban residents.

There are numerous approaches or mechanisms that can work to create less exclusionary land and property markets, one of which is the provision of security of tenure through legal property titling, which is often promoted by governments and development institutions around the world, including South Africa (Cross, 2006). There are a number of criticisms which demonstrate why legal titling should not necessarily be regarded as the solution to exclusionary land processes in South Africa (see Gilbert, 2002; Watson, 2006). In many well-developed areas in South African cities where most transactions occur within the formal property market, legal property titling does not tend to be a significant exclusionary factor. As stated above, lack of affordable housing is a significant urban issue, especially in Cape Town where the property market is increasingly exclusionary towards lower income residents. I will discuss this further in chapter four. One mechanism that has emerged internationally as a response to the lack of access to well-located affordable housing is inclusionary housing, defined by Calavita and Mallach (2010: 1) as:

A program, regulation, or law that requires or provides incentives to private developers to incorporate affordable or social housing as part of market-driven developments, either by incorporating the affordable housing into the same development, building it elsewhere, or contributing money or land for the production of social or affordable housing in lieu of

construction.

Inclusionary housing has gained popularity mainly in the Global North (Calavita and Mallach, 2010). In Europe specifically, it emerged as a "response to growing social instability linked to social exclusion in cities" (Klug et al, 2013: 668). According to Klug et al (2013), there has been growing interest in an inclusionary housing policy in South Africa recently. Klug et al (2013) attribute the limited take-up of inclusionary housing in South Africa to the result of a number of concerns around the implementation of inclusionary housing in South Africa, a context very different to those in the global North where inclusionary housing has been a success. Concerns include: significant income inequalities in South Africa resulting in steep income differentials between low income housing and middle-upper income housing; concerns from property owners about property devaluation; lack of support from the property development industry; and lack of institutional capacity to implement policy and ensure continued management of inclusionary housing developments. Klug et al (2013: 677) conclude that inclusionary housing in South Africa "would inevitably be limited in scale, and would not include the majority of the urban poor" but that it "still has some value in contributing in small and symbolic ways to a more inclusive city". In order to ensure the provision of affordable housing, Fainstein (2010: 172) argues that:

All new housing developments should provide units for households with incomes below the median, either on-site or elsewhere, with the goal of providing a decent home and suitable living environment for everyone.

Fainstein (2010: 172) argues further that "housing units developed to be affordable should remain in perpetuity in the affordable housing pool or be subject to one-on-one replacement". These sorts of strategies could offer solutions to the financially exclusionary land and property markets in Cape Town.

2.5.5. Urban regeneration, increased property prices and gentrification

Urban regeneration initiatives tend to arise from the need to revitalise old, disused or deteriorated city neighbourhoods or building stock with physical decline often resulting from:

Commonly recognised urban processes, such as accelerated decentralisation (in South Africa since the mid-1970s), 'White flight' from inner-city areas (since the late 1980s), institutional capital disinvestment and the suburbanisation of high-order service functions (over the past three decades).

(Visser and Kotze, 2008: 2565)

Thus, urban regeneration is usually a "well-meaning urban policy framework"; however, gentrification is sometimes an inadvertent consequence of increased property values associated with regeneration (Donaldson et al, 2013: 173). Gentrification is a controversial form of urban regeneration and is broadly defined as "a unit-by-unit acquisition of housing which displaces low-income residents by high-income residents and is independent of the structural condition, architecture, tenure, or original cost level of housing" (Visser, 2002: 420). Thus, what defines gentrification is a class-based change (Lemanski, 2014). According to Smith (2002: 439), the issue is the "generalization of gentrification" described as:

A seemingly serendipitous, unplanned process that popped up in the postwar housing market is now, at one extreme, ambitiously and scrupulously planned. That which was utterly haphazard is increasingly systematized.

Winkler (2009) argues that the strategies adopted in inner city Johannesburg to facilitate urban regeneration may lead to the social and spatial exclusion of poor inner city residents. The goals of Johannesburg's regeneration policies and practices are primarily aimed at generating economic growth and "repopulat(ing) inner city neighbourhoods with the 'right kind' of households" (Winkler, 2009: 377). This notion of the 'right kind' of households implies the intended gentrification of these areas as a result of regeneration strategies.

Cape Town's inner city has undergone a dramatic process of urban regeneration (Lemanski, 2007; Pirie, 2007; Visser and Kotze, 2008). This has resulted in the inner city being "revived as an attractive investment, business, recreational, tourist, creative and residential space", and "ever more expensive, exclusive and gentrified" (Booyens, 2012: 50). The regeneration of Cape Town's inner city is undoubtedly linked to post-apartheid economic restructuring in Cape Town, discussed in section 2.5.1 of this chapter. Efforts to regenerate the inner city have spread to areas surrounding the inner city with a series of outcomes for the different areas. One of the most significant consequences for the population of these areas has been increased property values and property taxes, resulting in neighbourhoods which are in social and economic flux. Woodstock is an example of an area that has been undergoing processes of regeneration and gentrification for over two decades, although the nature of these processes has shifted over time with political and economic restructuring (see Box 2.1).

The Bo-Kaap is another inner city area that is succumbing to a process of gentrification as a result of neoliberal policies to regenerate the inner city. Whereas the outcome of these policies is creative industry clustering in Woodstock, the historic Bo-Kaap district has become the focus of urban heritage conservation (see Box 2.2). Heritage conservation is being used to a greater extent in South Africa as a tool for urban regeneration (van der Merwe and Patel, 2005). Using the example of the Bo-Kaap, Donaldson et al (2012: 175) refer to the potentials for urban heritage conservation to "set conditions for attracting new investment capital" and "set in train a process of gentrification". According to Donaldson et al (2012), "some critics of heritage conservation see it as a tool by gentrifiers to achieve an idealised aesthetic". This can in part be attributed to the focus in heritage conservation on the built environment – the "tangible heritage" – rather than the heritage of the inhabitants of an area – the "intangible heritage", leading to the displacement of the historic population in the area (Donaldson et al, 2012: 177).

BOX 2.1: PRECEDENT: CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND THE GENTRIFICATION OF WOODSTOCK

Woodstock is one of the Cape Town's oldest inner city areas and it has historically been characterised as having an ethnically and racially mixed working class population (Garside, 1993). It was also one of the few areas to survive the enforcement of the Group Areas Act. During apartheid, Woodstock existed as a racially mixed 'Controlled Area' but then in the late 1980s, Lower Woodstock was declared a Coloured group area, threatening the existence of white working class residents in the area (Garside, 1983). Local residents launched the Open Woodstock Campaign in response to the proclamation, which was successful at preventing any forced removals. During this time, there was already a rise in the number of white and coloured business people moving into the area owing to its close proximity to the city centre. This initiated efforts by landlords to renovate and upgrade residential properties in order to attract more middle class tenants, resulting in evictions and the displacement of working class residents. Both white and coloured working class residents were affected by residential gentrification through the 1980s and into the 1990s (Garside, 1993). Garside (1993: 33) reflects that "it is ironic that the white families which the Open Woodstock Campaign sought so hard to protect, have been displaced by economic imperatives and processes of gentrification". During the late 1990s, small creative industries started establishing themselves in the area initiating the more recent regeneration of Woodstock, which is linked to the growth of creative industries in the fringe areas of the city (Booyens, 2012). Property prices are continuously rising as a number of old industrial buildings are renovated along with the construction of new-build developments.

According to Booyens (2012), the following indicators are signs that gentrification is intensifying with the rise of creative industries:

- Steady shift to commercial land uses;
- Increase in high-density residential developments;
- Steep increases in property prices, especially commercial properties;
- Transformation of old, run-down buildings;
- Increase in the middle-class residents;
- Increase in dwelling ownership rate;
- Increase in the % of households earning above the national average income;
- Higher % of skilled and professional workers;
- Decrease in the number of households, suggesting the displacement of residents; and
- Lower employment rate.

The nature of regeneration and gentrification has changed over time from a more "spontaneous, haphazard process" to one where developers, the city council and associations like the Woodstock Improvement District play more of a facilitating role. Despite apparent physical improvements to the area and economic development, creative industries are neither inclusive nor accessible to local residents, especially lower income residents. Booyens (2012) argues that the creative cities approach is "insufficient for ensuring inclusive job creation and local economic development". Accordingly, Booyens (2012) recommends that appropriate policy responses are needed, such as diversified approaches to local economic development; job creation for locals; basic infrastructure development; social inclusivity; the promotion of cultural diversity and heritage; participation of communities in decision-making; and skills development.

BOX 2.2: PRECEDENT: URBAN HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND THE GENTRIFICATION OF THE BO-KAAP. Source:

Donaldson et al (2013).

The Bo-Kaap is another area of Cape Town that managed to survive the onslaught of apartheid spatial planning in the sense that it was proclaimed a Cape Malay group area thereby surviving the "whitening" experienced in other inner city areas. The population was largely Muslim. It was declared a Provincial Heritage Area in 1999 owing to the area's physical and social character and its appeal as a tourist attraction. Over time, property in the Bo-Kaap has been gaining popularity for both professionals working in the city and foreigners.

At present, about 10 000 people reside in the area's 750 buildings. There has been a demographic shift over time characterised by the following features:

- Lower birth rate;
- Aging population;
- Lower number of married people and more people unmarried and living together – suggesting that there are fewer Muslim residents;
- Declining household size; and
- Increase in education levels.

Donaldson et al (2012) acknowledge that these trends are common indicators of areas undergoing gentrification. Other physical changes have been improvements to the building stock and changing visual appearance. Property prices and land taxes have increased significantly over time, which is putting pressure on the lower income residents. There has also been a great increase in the number of sales in the area. Residents "fear that gentrification will eventually drive them out" and they face a dilemma between "selling their properties and making a profit or staying in the area and trying to preserve the sense of unity and place" (Donaldson et al, 2012: 180).

Based on the two cases of Woodstock and the Bo-Kaap, gentrification plays itself out in different ways depending on local complexities. However, there are indicators noted in both Woodstock and the Bo-Kaap that seem to be common to areas undergoing gentrification. Some of these indicators will be used in chapter six to determine the significance of gentrification and the outcomes of these processes in the study area.

While most gentrification literature is rooted in the global North, Lemanski's (2014) concept of 'hybrid gentrification' brings the gentrification debate into the global South. The concept of 'hybrid gentrification' uses two concepts, gentrification and downward raiding, which are conceptually similar but are generally not considered together. Downward raiding refers to the purchase of low income, often state-subsidised, property by the middle class from lower classes, thereby resulting in displacement and exclusion. Both concepts describe processes of class-based change and are defined by displacement and exclusion.

2.5.6. Privatisation of and exclusion from urban spaces

According to Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer (2009: 177-178):

Cities operate as strategic sites for commodification processes...capitalist cities are not only arenas in which commodification occurs; they are themselves intensively commodified insofar as their constitutive sociospatial forms...are sculpted and continually reorganised in order to enhance the profit-making capacities of capital.

It is in the context of these commodified capitalist cities that processes of exclusion are often engraved. Spatial exclusion is evident in the privatisation of urban spaces, which physically restricts access to certain places thereby limiting freedom of movement. Gated communities and high-security retail and office complexes are typically the most apparent manifestations of spatial exclusion in both global North and South cities (Landman and Ntombela, 2006). These privatised spaces not only restrict physical access but also limit access to the facilities and opportunities contained within them (Landman and Ntombela, 2006). Exclusion from public space is considered "particularly insidious" in South African cities as it echoes apartheid and the denial of rights to urban spaces for the

majority of the 'non-white' population (Coggins and Pieterse, 2012).

The privatisation of coastal areas, such as harbours, into revitalised waterfronts is occurring all over the world and is particularly relevant to Cape Town with the development of the V&A Waterfront, located adjacent to the Cape Town inner city. This development is an example of a privately owned space that exhibits public features, which raises questions around the extent to which these spaces are in fact 'public'. This issue was raised in a court case that arose as a result of the V&A Waterfront obtaining a court order, which forbid two people from entering the premises (Coggins and Pieterse, 2012). Despite the property being privately owned, the Court decided that the character of the Waterfront is public and "to restrict persons from such an area would not only be contrary to the constitutional rights to freedom of movement and to dignity, but could also be read as indirectly discriminating against people" (Coggins and Pieterse, 2012: 273). Coggins and Pieterse (2012: 273) argue that:

These views could have significant impact on shaping urban space in South African cities. In seeking to achieve a more just and equitable society, private property rights cannot be invoked to create and enforce segregation...Where 'private' property facilitates and provides for public access, owners cannot pick and choose which aspects or classes of the public they wish to allow to their property if such property maintains a public character.

Furthermore, Dray (2009) exhibits how the privatisation of public space along Durban's coastline, predominantly through upmarket developments, is negatively impacting on local subsistence fishers who are excluded from using these spaces and impacting their livelihoods.

Privatisation of urban public space takes on other forms, which act to exclude the poor. Both public and private policing strategies in certain city neighbourhoods can result in the displacement of so-called 'undesirables' (Paasche et al, 2014; Stuart, 2014). In Cape Town, city managers adopted the concept of the City Improvement District (CID) from North America, now called Special Rating Areas (SRAs), defined as "formal associations of businesses and property owners who assume collective responsibility for managing a prescribed urban area" (Paasche et al, 2014: 1563). The first CID, the Central City

Improvement District (CCID) was introduced in 1993 followed by a number of CIDs across the city (Paasche et al, 2014). All business owners and rate payers within a defined CID/ SRA must pay a levy to be spent within the defined geographical area to provide additional services, such as security and street cleaning (Paasche et al, 2014). The implementation of SRAs/CIDs operate by transferring the duties of maintenance, security and management of spaces to private entities, effectively privatising public spaces. Van der Ploeg (unpublished, cited in Landman and Ntombela, 2006: 14) warns that as soon as these responsibilities are transferred to private entities, "they can directly or indirectly exclude certain groups or types of people". In the case of the CCID, private security firms generally exclude from the CID people who cannot consume or "those whose behaviour is deemed...disruptive to consumption" (Paasche et al, 2014: 1564).

MirafTAB (2012) reveals the colonial legacies of Cape Town's contemporary neoliberal strategies for urban governance and development, concluding that:

Contemporary "zonification" strategies commonly referred to as business improvement districts (BIDs) and in Cape Town referred to as CIDs or SRAs have keen affinity with the old colonial practice of "location creation". While colonial practices of location creation segregated those at the bottom of the social hierarchy (the non-Europeans) to secure access to cheap labour, the creation of BIDs, CIDs, or SRAs, construct special locations for those higher up in the social hierarchy to secure and promote spaces of consumption.

(MirafTAB, 2012: 285)

According to Landman and Ntombela (2006), spatial exclusion is such a problem in South African cities because of its impacts on the ability of the urban poor to achieve more sustainable livelihoods and to access well-developed property and land, thereby impacting on other factors that cause or contribute to urban exclusion, such as access to work, income and consumption. Fear of crime plays a significant role in driving the creation of "fortified enclaves and a withdrawal from public space" (Lemanski, 2004: 101). I will elaborate on this phenomenon in the following section.

2.5.7. Exclusionary perceptions of the 'other'

Lemanski (2004) describes how perceptions of the 'other' contribute to exclusionary "not in my backyard" (NIMBY) mentalities of middle and upper income groups. These income groups generally consider order, comfort and security as the main characteristics of a well-functioning public space, hence excluding those that threaten this ideal (Van der Ploeg, unpublished; cited in Landman and Ntombela, 2006). A case example which is very relevant to this research is a study done by Lemanski and Saff (2010) which attempts to understand the discourses and strategies of residential exclusion by long-term residents of two areas, Muizenberg in Cape Town and Farmingville, Long Island, New York. The authors use values as the lens through which to analyse exclusion as long-term residents of these areas ascribed three values, namely sociocultural, physical and economic, to their residential areas. Furthermore, long-time residents use these values to justify exclusionary attitudes and strategies towards new residents who they perceive to be threatening these value systems. Instead of using racial or ethnic justifications for exclusion, the long-term residents rather use technical reasons, such as zoning and health and safety regulations. Perceptions of the 'other' often drive exclusionary attitudes, and the use of 'us/them' and 'othering' language is common in exclusionary discourses, with residents typically ascribing negative characteristics to 'them' and positive ones to 'us'. According to the authors, "it comes down to values, maintaining 'your' values while simultaneously rejecting those who fail to share them" (Lemanski and Saff, 2010: 512).

Writing on the spatial implications of the fear of crime in Cape Town, Lemanski (2004: 101) notes that the trend of increasing residential protection and attempts to mitigate fear of crime "perpetuate the social divisions that were inherent in the apartheid state into the post-apartheid context". Landman and Ntombela (2006: 13) note that the trend internationally "has been for dominant groups in society to take various measures to privatise public space as means of creating order, control, predictability, comfort, sameness, and security in public spaces". After comparing Cape Town, Sao Paulo and American cities, Sandercock (2003: 122) similarly attributes this trend of increased spatial exclusion and "fortress-like" cities to the dominant culture's fear of the "stranger within":

The building of literal as well as metaphorical walls around 'our' spaces to keep out those who are 'not like us', thus exacerbating social polarization; and a dramatic decline in the quality of urban public realm as people retreat to their privatised and fortified spaces.

In the case of Cape Town, the white population is considered the dominant culture and 'non-whites' are the 'strangers within' (Sandercock, 2003). The dominance of particular socioeconomic groups in society also influences the following factor, namely uneven power relations and exclusion from decision-making.

2.5.8. Uneven power relations and exclusion from decision-making

Uneven power relations in society, given the dominance of certain socioeconomic groups and their influence on decision-making and the direction of development, tends to influence the degree of inclusion or exclusion in decision-making processes experienced by less dominant groups. Exclusion can result from a lack of participation in the decision-making processes that impact people, which can "stem from disillusionment, apathy or feelings of powerlessness" or "non-consultative, 'top-down' style of political leaders, professionals and established bureaucracies" (Turok et al, 1999: 380). Powerlessness is often linked to income as the urban poor may feel "disempowered arising from lack of opportunity to participate in public and community decision making [and] lack of access to information that can guide personal decisions" (Landman and Ntombela, 2006: 5). Disempowerment may therefore arise from lack of education and skills. In reference to Johannesburg, Beall et al (2002) describe the competing agendas within the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council to meet both the needs of the large middle and upper classes and maintain their place within the global economy as well as meeting the demands of the ever-increasing urban poor and focusing on poverty reduction. The distribution of power in society may also be influenced by a phenomenon that Landman and Ntombela (2006: 18) refer to as "privatised governance", resulting from the development of strong home owners associations (HOAs) or "micro-governments" (Landman and Ntombela, 2006: 18). The dominant socioeconomic groups are likely to have more power and influence in these HOAs, leading to the marginalisation and exclusion of less dominant groups with little consideration for their interests.

2.6. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to present a review of literature in the field of urban social exclusion, exploring the historical evolution of the concept, its conceptual value and criticisms, the relevance of the concept in the global South, and its significance within urban planning. The literature review aimed to address the first research question by identifying some of the significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in cities of the global South, which I outlined and expanded in the final section of the chapter. The significant exclusionary factors identified are: 1) labour market change and unemployment; 2) income and consumption; 3) lack of access to services; 4) urban land and property markets which do not work for lower income urban residents; 5) urban regeneration, increased property prices and gentrification; 6) privatisation of and exclusion from urban spaces; 7) exclusionary perceptions of the 'other'; and 8) uneven power relations and exclusion from decision-making. These factors form an analytical framework which will be used in chapter six to interpret the research findings and critically analyse the extent and outcomes of these exclusionary factors in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the nature of the research problem and to describe the research method and techniques employed to address the research questions. I begin this chapter by presenting the nature of the research problem as well as the research aims and questions, which form the focus of this study. This is followed by section two in which I explore the case study method, commencing with an explanation of the applicability and value of the method, along with the strengths and limitations of this method and how I attempted to address these limitations when conducting the research. In section three, I then identify the case chosen and explain why I selected the case. Section four follows in which I outline the various research techniques employed to gather the relevant data. The research techniques are: document analysis; analysis of archival records; field observations; semi-structured interviews; and questionnaires. As with the research method, I describe each of these techniques in terms of their use and value as well as some of their strengths and weaknesses and how I attempted to address these weaknesses.

3.1. PRESENTING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM, RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The point of departure for this research is that there are many areas within Cape Town and other South African cities, which historically have been relatively diverse and integrated in terms of race and income. This research is concerned about the quality of these urban areas in light of numerous factors that have the potential to cause or contribute to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents. Thus, the aim of the research is to focus on one of these diverse areas in Cape Town as a case to study urban social and spatial exclusion in a global South context. In line with this aim, the first research question is: what are the extent and outcomes of factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area? In order to answer this research question, the purpose of the literature review in the previous chapter was to outline and elaborate on some of the significant factors that lead to social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in cities of

the global South. The eight factors of exclusion outlined in the previous chapter are then to be tested out in the study area in question. Thus, these factors form the analytical framework to be employed in the analysis of the case in order to determine the extent and outcomes of these factors in the study area.

Furthermore, South African urban spatial policy seems to assume that Cape Town and other South African cities are completely segregated in the post-apartheid period, thus policies are often underpinned by the spatial goals of urban integration and inclusion. There is consequently little policy focus on those areas that are already integrated and diverse but are now being impacted by exclusionary factors, hence being a neglected policy field. While exclusion on the basis of race is still an important factor in South African cities, this research focuses primarily on exclusion on the basis of income as income exclusion is not strictly bounded by race. This research also has an interventive aspect with the outcome of this research aiming to address this gap in urban policy, which leads to the second research question: what are the appropriate planning interventions to address the factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area?

3.2. THE CASE STUDY METHOD

I am employing the case study research method in order to answer the research questions. Case studies provide the opportunity to do research which is particularly detailed, rich and complete, providing a more in-depth and context-dependent analysis (Yin, 2004; Flyvbjerg, 2011). The case study method is appropriate for this research as its highly contextual focus enables an in-depth empirical investigation of the case in question through an examination of both the historical context as well as contemporary phenomena (Yin, 2014). Thus, chapters four and five include sections on the historical development of Cape Town and the study area, respectively, in order to understand how the current situation in the study area came about. Despite its wide usage particularly in the social sciences, the case study as a research method has not been held in high regard due to many misunderstandings around case study research. Flyvbjerg (2011: 302) counters some of these key misunderstandings, arguing that case studies are able to

produce "concrete, context-dependent knowledge" which is often "at the very heart of expert activity". The objective of the case study method is not to prove something, but rather to learn something and create knowledge.

The case study method is relevant when one's research is addressing either a descriptive or an explanatory question (Yin, 2004). The case study method is good at understanding the links between the cause and effect of a phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 2011) due to "its capacity to show what has actually happened in a given setting, and how" (Association of African Planning Schools [AAPS], 2010: 9). Furthermore, it is well-suited to understand and analyse complex social phenomena and planning processes due to the potential for "a more authentic and nuanced understanding of a given problem" (AAPS, 2010: 8; Yin, 2014). The method is useful for refuting generalisations that do not consider context as well as "reaching a deeper understanding of ways in which wider forces are manifested at the local level" (AAPS, 2010). Another one of the benefits of the case study method is that multiple techniques and sources of information can be used, potentially resulting in more robust findings since "capturing a polyphony of voices is one of the hallmarks of definitive case study research" (AAPS, 2010: 10; Babbie and Mouton, 2001; Yin, 2004, 2014).

One of the limitations of the case study method is that it is difficult to generalise from a single case due to its highly contextual nature (AAPS, 2010). Thus, the findings and conclusions of one case cannot be generalised to all other cases, particularly those in very different contexts. However, case studies are "generalizable to theoretical propositions...in doing case study research, your goal will be to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalizations)" (Yin, 2014: 21). Furthermore, case study findings can be made "generalisable by ensuring their 'reliability' and 'transferability'" (AAPS, 2010: 16). Flyvbjerg (2011:304) also argues that it is possible to generalise from a case; however, the ability to generalise is based on the "strategic choice of case". Nevertheless, the ability to generalise from a case is not necessarily the intention of performing such research, with Flyvbjerg (2011: 305) arguing: "that knowledge cannot be formally generalised does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society". It is important to be aware of the strategic selection of cases as

different cases are capable of meeting different objectives. When using the case study method, "the challenge is to construct a detailed case that increases the possibility for comparison and knowledge transfer by locating the case in its real-life context" (AAPS, 2010: 16).

Another one of the limitations of the case study method is the tendency towards verifying the researcher's preconceived ideas about the findings of the research. Flyvbjerg (2011) argues that this is not limited to the case study method. However, this particular critique must be taken into account because of the method's predisposition to "allow more room for the researcher's subjective and arbitrary judgement" (Flyvbjerg, 2011:309). In the same vein, researchers engaged in case studies must also be aware of the tendency to falsify or substantiate ones preconceived assumptions and hypotheses (Yin, 2004, 2014; Flyvbjerg, 2011). Therefore, one must acknowledge the possibility of overstating or understating a relationship due to one's biases (Yin, 2004; Flyvbjerg, 2011). I was particularly aware of this challenge as I witnessed how easy it is to become biased when collecting and analysing data, especially during the interview process. I attempted to address this limitation by verifying my findings using a variety of research techniques and multiple data sources. Additionally, I tried to be aware of leading the research in a particular direction due to preconceived assumptions. According to Flyvbjerg (2011), another one of the challenges surrounding the case study method is the difficulty in being able to simplify and summarise findings due to the particularly rich and dense narratives which often form a major part of research findings. I attempted to address this issue by transcribing the interviews and using direct quotes in my research findings to ensure that the findings do not lose their richness and value as it is these rich narratives which are often the most useful pieces of information for researchers (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

3.3. THE CASE: ST JAMES, KALK BAY, FISH HOEK

In line with the research questions, the study area encompasses the suburbs of Kalk Bay, St James and Fish Hoek. The unit of analysis is, thus, a geographical area, which is located on the Cape Peninsula and falls within the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town. Figure 3.1 illustrates the extent of the study area.

I chose this geographical area as the case due to its rich history of integration and diversity in terms of income diversity, and both income and racial diversity in Kalk Bay. It is a good case to learn from as the experiences of exclusion evident in the study area could be comparable to other mixed or formerly mixed areas in Cape Town, such as Salt River, Woodstock and even Sea Point. Research on exclusion has tended to focus on the areas of Woodstock and Salt River with little or no focus on Kalk Bay, despite its long and fascinating history.

In terms of more practical considerations, I selected this case as I am able to readily access the study area due to its relatively close proximity to my place of residence. Another important factor is that the majority of residents within the study area speak English as their first language, which eased the data collection process and ensured that I could conduct all interviews myself without needing a translator. Furthermore, one of the suburbs within the study area, namely Kalk Bay, was and continues to be the topic of newspaper articles due to a number of contemporary issues in the area. I, therefore, selected the case on the basis of my expectations that the area would be a rich case to research. My case selection was also aided by the fact that I was aware of the availability of information on the area thus being an "information-oriented selection", rather than a random selection (Flyvberg, 2011: 307).



Figure 3.1: The spatial extent of the study area. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014)

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

This case study research necessitated the use of both qualitative and quantitative data. According to AAPS (2010: 18), the “task as a case researcher is to collect and analyse as many facts as possible about a particular event or phenomenon, and to produce an honest and detailed account of events”. Accordingly, I utilised a number of research techniques to collect and analyse data, including: document analysis; analysis of archival records; field observations; semi-structured interviews; and questionnaires.

3.4.1. Document analysis

The analysis of documentation was a useful research technique especially when initiating the data collection process. Relevant documentation for this case study included newspaper articles and community newsletters, most of which I accessed through an Internet search. The strengths of using documents as a data source are that they can typically be viewed repeatedly, and they are often specific and detailed (Yin, 2014). One of the weaknesses is that documents can be biased in terms of representing the bias and agendas of the author or an associated organisation, particularly evident in community newsletters. I attempted to address this bias by identifying the authors of the relevant documents and recognising the intended purpose of the document and what its potential biases and agendas might be. Additionally, I aimed to verify information obtained in these documents with other data sources, specifically the interview respondents. One of the benefits of reviewing documents, particularly newspaper articles, early in the data collection process was that I was able to identify some of the relevant issues within the study area, which I then used to structure the interview questions. While I mainly referred to documents in the beginning stages of the data collection, I was able to access further documentation during the interviews, including the minutes from the latest Fish Hoek Ratepayers' and Residents' Association meeting.

3.4.2. Analysis of archival records

The archival records tended to be the primary sources of quantitative data. Some of the strengths of archival records are that they are typically precise, presented systematically

and in a user-friendly manner and can also be viewed repeatedly. Census data formed an important source of information in order to understand trends in the study area's population over time and space as well as the current contextual realities. I collected census data from the previous four censuses: 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2011. One of the limitations of using census data from separate censuses is that comparison can be difficult due to the data being presented differently as well as the boundaries of suburbs changing between censuses. I attempted to address this shortcoming by categorising the data as close as possible and noting changes in the census suburb boundaries, although I was only able to access maps of the suburb boundaries for the 2001 and 2011 censuses. I also collected data on the property sales and prices within the study area in order to determine temporal and spatial trends in property.

3.4.3. Field observations

Field observations involve observing and listening to activities or occurrences in the study area. Field observations provide an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the context (Yin, 2014). Because my study area is fairly limited in size, it was possible to conduct quite extensive field observations. One of the strengths of this technique is that the observer does not have to be involved, which allows them to be located on the “outside” of activities. This technique is flexible to difficult contexts, for example busy and noisy environments, thus being a good technique for my study area. It also allowed me to identify physical changes in the study area, especially when observing historical photographs of the study area and then physically observing the area at present.

I visited the study area numerous times over the research period, sometimes with the intention to observe certain features whereas other times I visited the study area for the purpose of conducting interviews. During these visits, I often took photographs and made field notes. One of the advantages of field observations is that events are often spontaneous, unexpected and unplanned, which was evident in one of my most notable visits to Kalk Bay on Saturday, 9 August 2014, which was a public holiday in South Africa (Women's Day). Kalk Bay, in particular the harbour area, was extremely busy and the streets were bustling with people and cars. I came across a small protest by local residents

of the Kalk Bay fishing community who were holding signs saying "NO TO GENTRIFICATION" and "NO TO BUSINESS ARROGANCE", among others. When I approached one of the protestors and asked about the protest, she said that they were protesting against recent additions at the Brass Bell restaurant. I obtained the contact details of one of the protestors to set up an interview. This became my way into the Kalk Bay community and initiated my resident interviews. During a later visit to Kalk Bay for an interview on Sunday, 31 August, I walked around parts of Kalk Bay from the harbour to the fishermen's flats with a long-time resident who was able to share some insights into the area as we walked. She also accompanied me to another interview which took place in one of the fishermen's flats, giving me an opportunity to subtly observe the inside of one of the flats and its furnishings, which are possible indicators of the socio-economic status of the residents.

3.4.4. Interviews

Interviews can be one of the most meaningful sources of data in case studies (Yin, 2014). Interviews enable the researcher to gather deep insights and rich descriptions from research participants. One of the values of in-depth interviews is that they can "reveal 'hidden' agendas and perspectives as well as values and power relations" (AAPS, 2010: 18). I conducted 10 semi-structured interviews over a three-week period between 19 August and 9 September. All of the interviews took place in person. Seven interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis while the other three involved two interview respondents, thus interviewing 13 respondents in total. 11 of the 13 respondents are residents or former residents of the study area; however, I specifically interviewed five of these 11 as a result of their dual roles within the area, for example as both a resident and the chairperson of the ratepayers' and residents' association or a prominent business owner. The remaining two interviewees are property agents based in the study area who reside in neighbouring areas. I planned my interview questions accordingly¹.

¹ I have included a table containing the names or aliases of the interview respondents, a description of each respondent and the dates of the interviews in Appendix I, and the questions used as to guide the interviews in Appendix II

Roulston et al (2003) emphasise the importance of constructing and delivering questions in a clear manner in order to keep the flow of the interview focused on the research topic. One of the challenges, especially for novice interviewers, is formulating questions based on their own subjectivities and beliefs and, in so doing, run the risk of asking leading questions which can direct the participant to answer in a certain way (Roulston et al, 2003; Yin, 2014). I planned my interview questions with care in order to avoid wasting time asking unnecessary or poorly constructed questions which could cause confusion. While I generally followed my sequence of planned questions, I was also flexible in terms of omitting questions which I felt had been sufficiently answered or asking questions on the spot in order to probe for more detail when issues of interest arose. I recorded and then transcribed all of the interviews thus allowing me to use the participants' unedited words in my research findings. I allowed the interviewees to choose a location for the interview in order for them to feel as comfortable as possible. Some of these places were quite noisy so I took notes throughout the interviews to avoid missing any details in case the recording was unclear.

In the sub-section before that describes my process of conducting field observations, I referred to the fact that witnessing the protest in Kalk Bay and approaching the protestors was my way into the Kalk Bay community. One of the people who I met on that day became my first interview respondent and he then referred me to other residents of Kalk Bay who could provide useful insights. The focus of the resident interviews was to gather information regarding the history of residents, their experiences of living in the area and their attachments to the area. I attempted to make the respondents feel comfortable by starting each interview with questions about their history of living in the area in order for each respondent to share their experiences as a narrative. Since a few of the respondents are long-time residents, some having been born and raised in the area, they often ended up sharing stories and personal accounts of events. One of the critical aspects of conducting interviews successfully is trying to develop a level of trust with the respondents so that they feel comfortable to share their experiences (AAPS, 2010). The fact that many of the respondents shared such personal information led me to believe that they felt relatively comfortable and trusted me to a degree.

Some of the respondents even acknowledged that they enjoyed sharing their experiences and felt that it was therapeutic for somebody to listen. The study is limited by the fact that I could only conduct 10 interviews due to the amount of time required to plan and conduct interviews as well as analysing the interview responses to obtain meaningful findings. However, the purpose of the interviews was to gather qualitative information and, thus, the objective was to get a range of respondents, rather than trying to get a representative sample of the study area's population.

3.4.5. Questionnaires

Questionnaires involve collecting facts or opinions, and are often short answers or answers to multiple choice questions. I did not use questionnaires extensively as much of the information of interest was qualitative and required people to share their experiences and stories. I utilised questionnaires to obtain short answers only from the interview respondents who were residents within the study area. The questionnaire asked them to indicate their age, income bracket, current area of residence, place of work and occupation. I made it clear that the respondents had the choice to complete the questionnaire and to leave out any questions if they wished. All of the respondents completed their questionnaire immediately.

3.5. DATA ANALYSIS

As demonstrated in the section before, I employed a number of research techniques and made use of multiple data sources. Using multiple sources of information allowed me to triangulate my findings. Data triangulation involves "comparing data on the same subject from different sources" (AAPS, 2010: 17). As Yin (2014: 120-121) states:

Any case study finding or conclusion is likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on several different sources of information...when you have really triangulated the data, the case study's findings will have been supported by more than a single source of evidence.

I was able to triangulate the findings from interviews by asking different respondents about

the same events. I not only triangulated data through interviews but also through the analysis of documents and the other data sources. The process of recording and transcribing the interviews, although extremely time-consuming, was critical to the data analysis. I analysed the data according to the eight factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents identified in the literature review in chapter two, which forms my analytical framework. I re-examined interview transcriptions and other data sources in line with this analytical framework.

3.6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Because the research involves human subjects, I took special considerations to ensure that the research was performed ethically². All respondents participated voluntarily. I informed them from the start that any information they shared was purely for the purpose of academic research and that they would not benefit or be harmed in any way from participating. I gained informed consent from all respondents and explained the nature of my research to them.³ I got permission from all of my participants to record the interviews and to use their names and quotes when presenting my research findings. Although none of the information obtained in the interviews was confidential, I attempted to protect the privacy and confidentiality of respondents by not revealing their identity or any information they shared with me to other research participants. I also chose not to reveal the identities of the resident respondents since it is a relatively small community. I tried to be compassionate when engaging with my research participants especially when they were sharing personal information.

² The ethics approval form is attached in Appendix III.

³ An example of the ethics consent form given to respondents is attached in Appendix IV Signed consent have been omitted to protect the identity of respondents.

3.7. POTENTIAL USES OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

As I stated in section 3.2 on the case study method, one of the limitations of this research method is that you cannot generalise from one case study due to case studies being highly context-dependent. It is possible that the method used in this research to analyse the study area could be replicated in other cases. In other words, the analytical framework generated from the literature review could be used elsewhere to determine the extent and outcomes of the factors that cause or contribute to social and spatial exclusion in other case areas. Furthermore, the planning interventions proposed in chapter seven to address the factors that cause or contribute to exclusion could be applied in other contexts. However, the applicability of these interventions will need to be tested in other contexts.

3.8. CONCLUSIONS

I began this chapter by presenting the nature of the research problem which is the issue of exclusion in areas of Cape Town and other South African cities, which have been relatively diverse and integrated in terms of race and income for much of their history. I selected the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek area as the case study since I am employing the case study method. Exclusion also appears to be a neglected field of urban spatial policy. In the following chapter, I will interrogate Cape Town's spatial policies and plans in order to understand the policy context and identify whether exclusion is adequately addressed by current policies and plans. I utilised multiple research techniques and sources of data in the data collection process, from interviews to newspaper articles to census data. The variety of data sources and the ability to triangulate the findings will hopefully add value to the overall research findings and make the findings more robust and reliable.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the historical context of urban exclusion in Cape Town and to provide an overview and analysis of the policies and plans that have been developed in an attempt to address social and spatial exclusion in Cape Town. I begin this chapter with a section that situates the study area, which encompasses the suburbs of Kalk Bay, St James and Fish Hoek, within the broader Cape Town metropolitan context. Section two then provides a historical context of urban exclusion in Cape Town. The focus of this overview is to trace the historical development of Cape Town's spatial form and structure, spanning the period from Dutch colonisation to the demise of apartheid. This period was strongly influenced by the national political context, legislation and policies; thus, I will make reference to South African history throughout. This is followed by section three in which I will explore some of the policies and plans developed by government in the post-apartheid period. I refer to some of the major critiques of the various plans and policies in order to understand why they have not been effective at addressing urban exclusion. Lastly, section four provides an overview of some of the plans and policies developed by different spheres of government, which are currently approved or in the process of being approved. I will analyse these plans and policies in terms of their potential to effectively address urban exclusion in Cape Town. Furthermore, I will explore the potential implications of these plans for development in the study area.

4.1. SITUATING THE STUDY AREA WITHIN CAPE TOWN METROPOLITAN CONTEXT

The purpose of this section is to situate the study area within the broader Cape Town metropolitan context. In the following chapter, I will present a much more detailed local analysis of the study area, including its historical background and the current realities. The study area incorporates the suburbs of St James, Kalk Bay and Fish Hoek located on the eastern coast of the Cape Peninsula, as illustrated on figure 4.1. It is located to the south-west of Cape Town and forms part of the Southern District, one of eight districts within the City of Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality (City of Cape Town, 2014a). It is approximately 30 km from the Cape Town city centre with Main Road and the Southern

Suburbs railway line running parallel between the city centre and the study area. Together, they form an important transport and activity corridor within the city, and key structuring elements within the study area.

St James is the northernmost suburb in the study area and covers only 0.37 km² (Frith, 2011c). St James is flanked to the south-west by Kalk Bay, which covers only 0.32 km² (Frith, 2011b). St James is mainly a residential suburb with holiday accommodation, while Kalk Bay is largely made up of residential plots with commercial activity found along Main Road. St James and Kalk Bay are key tourist destinations in Cape Town because of their coastal location, heritage significance and quaint physical appearance, which create a landscape that is unique relative to the rest of Cape Town. Economic activity within these areas is tailored to its touristic appeal with an abundance of restaurants and cafés, clothing boutiques as well as antique and craft shops. Fish Hoek lies to the south-west and is the largest of the three suburbs, covering an area of 7.88 km² (Frith, 2011a). Fish Hoek is also primarily a residential area, dominated by low-density single-dwelling residential plots with a number of schools dispersed throughout the area. Like St James and Kalk Bay, much of Fish Hoek's commercial activity is located along Main Road. Fish Hoek's beach, over 1 km in length, is a popular attraction for both locals and visitors alike.

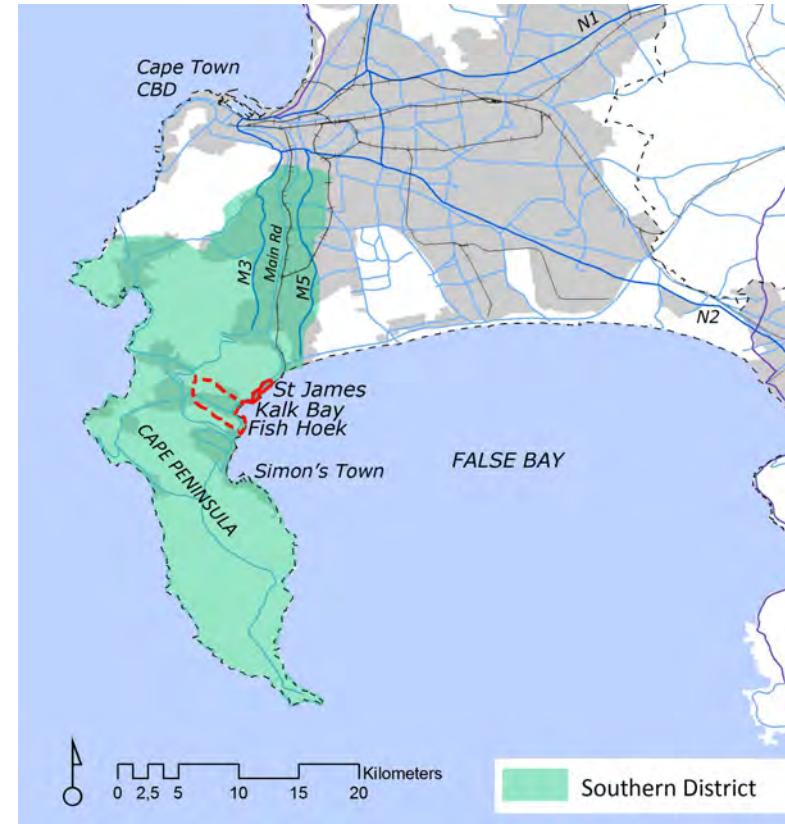
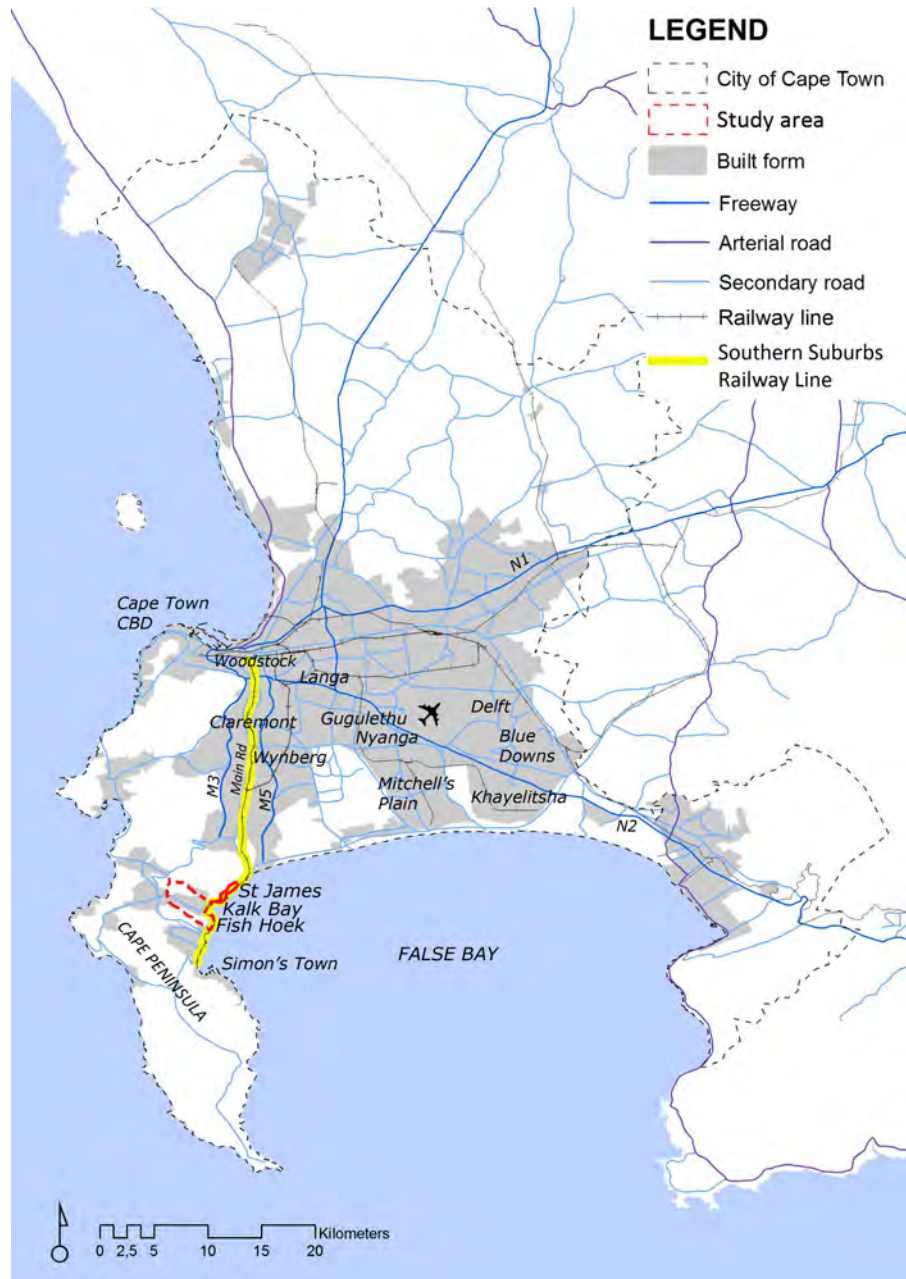


Figure 4.1: The study area situated within the Cape Town metropolitan municipality. The zoomed-in figure above illustrates the coverage of the Southern District in which the study area lies. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using GIS data ENPAT (2014).

4.2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF URBAN EXCLUSION IN CAPE TOWN

The historical context presented in this section is far from comprehensive. Its primary focus is the historical development of Cape Town's spatial form and structure. Cape Town's spatial form and structure was largely influenced by the national context in terms of political transitions, legislation and policy; thus, I will make reference to the national context throughout this chapter. The historical context is viewed through the lens of social and spatial exclusion. South Africa has a long history of social and spatial exclusion and has undergone a number of "social engineering projects", from colonialism to apartheid to democratization (Lemanski, 2004: 102).

4.2.1. The colonial period leading up to 'strict apartheid'

South Africa was initially colonised by the Dutch in the 17th century, followed by the English in the 19th century and then gained its independence in 1910 (Western, 1985). Cape Town is South Africa's oldest city and was established in 1652 as a trading post for the Dutch East India Company (Wilkinson, 2000). During European colonial rule, there was no enforceable racial segregation in the design of towns, only differentiation in the style of housing based on wealth; however, racist attitudes were present in society (Christopher, 1983). In 1866, Pass Laws were implemented, which made it illegal for Africans to be outside their assigned residential zones without passes (Department of Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs [DCGTA], 2009). During the late 19th century, Cape Town's physical growth centred primarily on the development of the railway which extended into the southern suburbs, reaching Simon's Town in 1890 (Wilkinson, 2000). By the end of the 19th century, the first 'location' for Africans was developed in Cape Town (Christopher, 1983). Official segregation of Cape Town's population began post-1901, seemingly in response to the 'sanitary syndrome' amid the outbreak of bubonic plague in the "racially mixed, densely populated inner city areas" (Christopher, 1983; Wilkinson, 2000: 196). Legal segregation emerged for the first time in South Africa when the 1913 Black Land Act was implemented, which made it illegal for Africans to rent or own land outside their assigned 'reserves' (DCGTA, 2009).

In the early 20th century, Cape Town became a key cultural, service and administrative centre in South Africa, with manufacturing emerging as an important sector during WWI (Wilkinson, 2000). This economic activity attracted large numbers of predominantly black African labourers to the city. The prominent view of the Afrikaner nationalist government was that Africans in urban areas should be seen as temporary so that they could be excluded from certain rights (DCGTA, 2009). The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923 was implemented which stated that separate residential areas for Africans must be developed in every town (Christopher, 1983). The enforcement of this infamous Act in the Cape Peninsula intensified segregation in the city (Wilkinson, 2000). It is apparent that South Africa's colonial past played an important role in influencing the structure and planning of the apartheid city.

4.2.2. 'Strict apartheid'

In 1948, the National Party won the national elections, initiating the period of 'strict apartheid'. During the late 1940s, a number of large informal settlements emerged around Cape Town to accommodate the population increases of mainly black Africans who settled in Cape Town in response to war-time labour demands (Wilkinson, 2000). These trends and the resultant anxieties of the white minority contributed to policies of racial segregation being more strictly enforced through the passing of new acts, including the Group Areas Act of 1950 (GAA)¹ (DCGTA, 2009; Wilkinson, 2000). The GAA became the "legal pillar" of the racially segregated apartheid city, which became increasingly inequitable and inefficient over time (Christopher, 1983: 146; Turok, 2001). The government enforced further laws that prohibited any black person from staying in an urban area for more than 72 hours without permission, with increased frequency of forced removals. Black Africans were either completely excluded from urban areas or were considered temporary residents forced to live in townships designed for transient migrant labourers, which lacked critical services and infrastructure (Beall, 2002; Turok, 2001). The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 assigned public areas and facilities for use by a single race only (DCGTA, 2009).

¹ The Group Areas Act of 1950 designated areas for the use of one racial group only in order to enforce residential and economic separation between races (DCGTA, 2009).

According to Turok (2001), Cape Town's spatial configuration was relatively efficient until the 1950s. Prior to the implementation of the highly segregationist laws of the 1950s, Cape Town distinguished itself from other South African cities with many people living in racially mixed residential neighbourhoods and having a "pre-apartheid tradition of relative racial tolerance and integration not found in South Africa's other cities" (Lemanski, 2004: 103; Wilkinson, 2000). This was followed by almost complete racially-based residential segregation under strict apartheid. This led to the development of poorly developed and poorly maintained townships for the African migrant labour force and the growing Coloured population. From the early 1970s, the government was unable to keep pace with the continually growing population in their provision of public housing, resulting in the re-emergence of informal settlements on the city's peripheries (Wilkinson, 2000). At the same time, for most of Cape Town's white population:

The post-war period was one of relatively high, and historically unprecedented, levels of prosperity. This unleashed a wave of low density suburban expansion – similar in all important respects to that taking place in the USA, including its reliance on high levels of car ownership – and the city's edges began to push into the agricultural hinterland to the north and east, into the valleys of the southern Peninsula, and up the lower slopes of the mountain chains.

(Wilkinson, 2000: 197)

Institutional fragmentation reinforced segregation in the city and made strategic planning impossible (Turok, 2001). What resulted was a considerable spatial mismatch between where the majority of the population lived and the location of jobs. The unbanning of the ANC and other organisations in 1990 heralded the abandonment of apartheid policy and the transition to a democratic South Africa (Wilkinson, 2000). It is evident that during apartheid, the majority of South Africa's population experienced significant social and spatial exclusion in the form of racial oppression, violence and segregation. To reiterate Beall's (2002) point, referred to in chapter two, the concept of social exclusion does not do justice to the degree of enforced segregation and oppression experienced during apartheid and, therefore, the concept of social exclusion is considered more appropriate for the post-apartheid period. As demonstrated in the following section, "overcoming the inherited social and spatial structure of apartheid (and colonialism)" remains one of South

Africa's greatest challenges, even two decades after the end of apartheid (Lemanski, 2006: 567).

4.3. THE POST-APARTHEID PERIOD

This section explores some of the policies and plans developed by national and local government in the post-apartheid period and discusses the implications of these plans for the pre-existing patterns of social and spatial exclusion in Cape Town. I refer to some of the major critiques of the various plans and policies in order to understand why they have not been effective at addressing urban exclusion. In Cape Town and most South African cities today, the spatial geography of poverty and wealth remain largely unchanged since the end of apartheid (Lemanski, 2007; Turok and Watson, 2001). In accordance, Turok (2001: 2349-2350) powerfully depicts the contemporary Cape Town metropolitan landscape as:

A starkly polarised city. Affluent suburbs and prosperous economic centres offering rich opportunities of all kinds contrast with overcrowded, impoverished dormitory settlements on the periphery. This partly reflects the topography and environment: stunning mountain and coastal settings juxtaposed with the wind-swept flood-prone, sand plains of the Cape Flats.

The spatial form and structure produced during apartheid still endures in the current context, firstly as a result of transport subsidies, which aim to make travel affordable for the low income population living on the city's peripheries (Turok, 2001). Additionally, the decentralisation of commercial and industrial activity has been accelerating since the end of apartheid, contributing to fragmented, sprawling patterns of urban development (Turok and Watson, 2001).

Spatial planning has been used at local, provincial and national levels to address the unequal distribution of resources during apartheid and post-apartheid (Lemanski, 2007). According to Parnell and Crankshaw (2009: 153):

Spatial policy remains one of the most politically charged challenges of transition...Everyone agrees that reconfiguring old spatial hierarchies and exclusions is key, but the complexity of

the post-apartheid challenge makes it difficult to work out what will unlock the transformation of space and power.

The goal of urban integration and inclusion has formed a central tenet of numerous policies and plans developed after the collapse of apartheid. Yet despite this policy focus, implementation of these policies has fallen short (Pieterse, 2007; Turok, 2001; Turok and Watson, 2001). In Pieterse's (2007: 2) words "despite an incredible degree of policy convergence on the meaning and importance of urban integration, the outcomes have been abysmal".

One of the major goals set out by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (1994) was "to break down apartheid geography through land reform, more compact cities, decent public transport, and the development of industries and services that use local resources and/or meet local needs" (ANC, 1994; cited in National Planning Commission, 2011). This goal informed all legislation and policies initially developed post-apartheid. Urban scholars and the government itself has acknowledged the failures of initial post-apartheid spatial policies, leading to these policies being reconceptualised (Lemanski, 2007; Pieterse, 2007). While early post-apartheid policies centred on basic service provision, later policies, such as the 1996 Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR), placed greater emphasis on economic growth and productivity, thereby leading to the subordination of pro-poor strategies (Lemanski, 2007).

The government called for a review of South Africa's housing policy, resulting in the publication of the Breaking New Ground (BNG) housing policy in 2004, which "essentially admitted that the problem of urban segregation and fragmentation has worsened since 1994 despite the impressive numerical delivery of public housing" (Pieterse, 2007: 1). The BNG policy promotes integrated human settlements in which low-cost housing is situated "within the city limits as part of dense mixed-use developments", thereby reconfirming the government's dedication to developing integrated settlements (Lemanski, 2007: 454; Pieterse, 2007). The BNG policy expands the target market of state subsidies to include households earning a monthly income below R7500 through the Social (Medium-Density)

Housing Programme (Department of Human Settlements [DoHS], 2004). This led to the formulation of the Social Housing Act No. 16 of 2008 and a national Social Housing Policy (2009). Social housing is defined as:

A rental or co-operative housing option for low income persons at a level of scale and built form which requires institutionalised management and which is provided by accredited social housing institutions or in accredited social housing projects in designated restructuring zones.

(DoHS, 2009: 17)

Social housing offers a wider range of housing typologies than the one-house-one plot model used for RDP housing (PGWC, 2009). The intention of the Social Housing Programme is "the need for institutional mechanisms to hold rental housing as a public asset over a period of time, for the benefit of a range of income groups" (DoHS, 2009). Because social housing is primarily a rental housing option, these rentals are able to be controlled by an accredited Social Housing Institution (SHI) to ensure that they remain affordable. Furthermore, the BNG policy encourages the provision of social housing in areas targeted for urban renewal or regeneration in order to support renewal but also to address the fact that urban renewal initiatives often lead to the exclusion of existing residents owing to the development of new unaffordable housing – a factor identified in chapter two as being significant in leading to the exclusion of lower income urban residents (DoHS, 2004). Thus, the expanded focus of the BNG housing policy aims to facilitate greater access to affordable housing by, firstly, widening the potential target market and recognising that it is not only households earning below R3500 that are unable to enter into the private sector housing market. Secondly, it offers more options in terms of tenure arrangements and housing typologies. The financial costs of acquiring well-located land continues to be one of the factors that undermines these goals for higher-density, integrated settlements (NPC, 2011; Turok and Watson, 2001).

At the local level, the Cape Town Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework 2003 review (MSDF) was underpinned by the spatial concept of the 'compact city' (Turok and Watson, 2001). Some of the planning values underpinning the MSDF were integration and

the need for planning to recognise diversity and difference (CoCT, 2003). The MSDF acknowledged that social, spatial and economic exclusion are significant spatial issues in Cape Town, but the MSDF framed exclusion as an issue that is concentrated in areas on the Cape Flats as a result of spatial segregation and the concentration of poverty and unemployment (CoCT, 2003). Thus, while exclusion is acknowledged, the MSDF makes no reference to exclusionary pressures that are impacting already integrated and diverse areas, such as those in the study area. What ultimately led to the failure of the MSDF was the change in policy focus, referred to above, from "integrative pro-poor planning ideals based on equity and social welfare" to the "post-1996 focus on economic growth and market competitiveness" (Lemanski, 2007: 456; Watson, 2002).

As stated in the literature review in chapter two, Cape Town experienced significant structural changes in its economy after the end of apartheid and the re-entering of South Africa into global markets. As with many post-Fordist Global North cities, there was a decline of manufacturing industries from the mid-1980s (Lemanski, 2007). In response to global demands, Cape Town's finance and service-based sectors have expanded, which have tended to be located in the city centre, thereby increasing social and spatial polarisation by reinforcing the existing spatial mismatch between people and jobs. Cape Town has also become an increasingly popular tourist destination with tourism sectors experiencing strong growth from the late 1990s (Booyens, 2012; Turok and Watson, 2001). The increase in the number of international visitors has contributed to raising Cape Town's profile as a destination (Booyens, 2012). Foreign interest in coastal areas and towns has been a significant factor driving up the value of residential properties in Cape Town, mainly in the middle-upper income suburbs and particularly in coastal areas (McDonald, 2008). These trends have serious implications for the coastal-based study area. Furthermore, the expansion of finance and service sectors including tourism in Cape Town has meant that policies and plans tend to focus on supporting these tertiary economic sectors at the expense of primary and secondary sectors, which also has implications for the study area as Kalk Bay developed around its traditional fishing industry, an insignificant economic sector in policy terms.

The focus of local government in Cape Town on achieving the goals of global recognition, increased global connections and competitiveness may be one of the factors which have made efforts towards urban integration and inclusion ineffective (Lemanski, 2007; Wilkinson, 2000). As Lemanski (2007: 451) states:

Given that Global Cities demonstrate significant social and spatial polarisation, an aspiration for Global City status is problematic for cities in the developing world...The potential for Global City status to increase inequality and segregation is particularly problematic in South Africa where the legacy of apartheid already provides a strong infrastructure, both spatial and socially, of inequality and division.

It is evident that Cape Town's urban landscape has not experienced the degree of transformation expected in light of post-apartheid urban policies and plans. According to the Western Cape Government (2013: 21), one of the reasons for this "spatial inertia" is that "whilst broad spatial transformation objectives have been formulated over the years, these have not been matched by actionable strategies, specific delivery targets and explicit implementation arrangements". The reasons often used to justify apartheid continue to dominate contemporary social and spatial exclusion in Cape Town and typically manifest in not-in-my-backyard (NIMBY) mentalities (Lemanski, 2004). But how are current policies and plans faring in terms of their potentials to address urban exclusion in Cape Town? I will tackle this question in the following section.

4.4. OVERVIEW AND ANALYSIS OF CURRENT PLANS AND POLICIES

This section provides an overview of some of the relevant plans and policies currently approved or in the process of being approved, which I will analyse in terms of their potentials to effectively address urban exclusion in Cape Town. In some cases, I include some of the spatial policies which have the potential to address urban exclusion and may be relevant in terms of their implications for planning and development in the study area.

4.4.1. National Development Plan 2030 (2011)

Currently, the most relevant national planning document is the National Development Plan 2030 (NDP) released by the National Planning Commission in 2011 with the overarching goal to “eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030” (National Planning Commission [NPC], 2011: 24). The point of departure for chapter eight of the NDP, entitled *Transforming Human Settlements*, is South Africa’s failure at achieving the goals put forward in the RDP, which I referred to in the previous section. The commission “proposes a strategy to address the challenge of apartheid geography and create the conditions for more humane – and environmentally sustainable – living and working environments” (NPC, 2011: 233). Thus, attempting to address social and spatial polarisation and exclusion appears to be an important focus of the plan, evident in the following excerpt:

By 2050, South Africa will no longer have: poverty traps in rural areas and urban townships; workers isolated on the periphery of cities...sterile suburbs with homes surrounded by high walls and electric fences...new public housing in barren urban landscapes; new private investment creating exclusive enclaves for the rich.

(NPC, 2011: 233–234)

The plan emphasises the importance of the spatial dimensions affecting development and exclusion, such as location and quality of the physical environment.

Essentially, what chapter eight of the NDP aims to do is propose a national schema for spatial targeting by identifying spatial zones where investment should be concentrated, most of which tend to be focused in South Africa’s prevailing metropolitan areas (NPC, 2011). Cape Town is identified as one of South Africa’s ‘nodes of competitiveness’² and the NDP proposes that “ensuring their efficient development is of national importance and special attention must be given to creating and retaining economic value” (NPC, 2011: 249).

² ‘Nodes of competitiveness’ are defined as “clusters of localities that account for at least 5 percent of GDP or jobs, which have experienced higher than average growth since 1994, or which have the potential for high growth in future” (NPC, 2011: 249).

The national spatial framework is primarily concerned with national development and provides only broad principles for local and provincial development. While the identification of the Cape Town metropolitan region as a “node of competitiveness” is advantageous for Cape Town in terms of encouraging further economic investment, it raises questions around the potential for the NDP to address apartheid spatial imbalances since the plan itself is based on spatial targeting – a fundamentally unbalanced approach to development. Furthermore, this language of economic competitiveness and growth is reminiscent of the 1996 GEAR policies and implies that these goals are considered more important than addressing social and spatial inequalities, exclusion and polarisation – goals that appeared to be the point of departure for the chapter itself.

4.4.2. Draft Western Cape Provincial Spatial Development Framework (2013)

The Western Cape Provincial Spatial Development Framework (PSDF) was only released as a draft for comment in late 2013 and aims to be finalised and approved in 2014 (Western Cape Government, 2013). In accordance with the NDP, one of the guiding principles of the PSDF is spatial justice and it appears that the PSDF seeks to prioritise social and spatial exclusion. The PSDF highlights exclusionary land markets as a key challenge for the province as over 80% of households in the Western Cape are unable to access the formal urban land market due to its unaffordability (Western Cape Government, 2013). This is one of factors identified in chapter two as a significant exclusionary factor for lower income residents in Global South Cities. The five overarching settlement policy objectives are tabulated below with some of the spatial policies that are relevant to the study area (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Settlement policy objectives and relevant spatial policies from the Draft Western Cape PSDF (2013). **Source:** Western Cape Government, 2013: 70–87.

<p>1. Protecting and enhancing sense of place and settlement patterns</p> <p>Use heritage resources, such as the adaptive use of historic buildings, to enhance the character of an area, stimulate urban regeneration, encourage investment and create tourism opportunities, while ensuring that interventions in these heritage contexts are consistent with local building and landscape typologies, scale, massing form and architectural idiom.</p>
<p>2. Improving accessibility at all scales</p> <p>Built environment investment programmes should focus on compacting and connecting urban development (especially along public transport routes), and clustering public facilities along these connections.</p>
<p>3. Promoting an appropriate land use mix and density in settlements</p> <p>Target existing economic assets (e.g. CBDs, township centres, modal interchanges, vacant and under-utilised strategically located public land parcels, fishing harbours, public squares and markets, etc.) should be targeted as levers in the regeneration and revitalisation of settlements.</p> <p>Promote functional integration and mixed use as a key component of achieving improved levels of settlement liveability and counter apartheid spatial patterns and decentralization through densification and infill development.</p>
<p>4. Ensuring effective and equitable social services and facilities</p> <p>Apply the principles of space utilization efficiency, multi-functionality and clustering to all facility provision projects.</p>
<p>5. Supporting inclusive and sustainable housing</p> <p>Ensure that housing development provides as wide a choice of housing and tenure options as is reasonably possible, based on is economic, fiscal, social and financial affordability.</p> <p>Promote private-sector participation in the lower end of the market to diversify and expand housing delivery options.</p> <p>Provide households with the residential environments, mobility and access to opportunities that support productive activities and reduce levels of exclusion from opportunity.</p> <p>Promote more mixed-income, mixed-use, inclusionary forms of development through incorporating various scales of economic opportunities within housing projects.</p> <p>Achieve a wider range of housing opportunities with regards to diversity of tenure, size, density, height and quality in order to promote a ladder of upward mobility for households to progress as economic circumstances change over time.</p>

While it is too early to determine whether these policies will be effectively implemented in Cape Town, the fact that these spatial policies are priorities for the provincial government is a positive step towards addressing the causes of social and spatial exclusion. It is then the role of municipal governments to work towards implementing these policies on the ground through their municipal SDFs, District Plans and IDPs, which I discuss below.

4.4.3. Cape Town Spatial Development Framework (2012)

The most important spatial planning document for the City of Cape Town is its 2012 Spatial Development Framework (CTSDF). The CTSDF provides guidance for the proposals put forward in the District Spatial Development Plans (SDPs). The CTSDF's vision for Cape Town is to "turn Cape Town into one of the world's greatest cities in which to live and learn, work, invest and discover" (CoCT, 2012a: 8). This vision alludes to local government's ambitions of positioning Cape Town as a global city and a world-class tourist destination. The three key strategies of the CTSDF are to:

1. Plan for employment, and improve access to economic opportunities;
2. Manage urban growth, and create a balance between urban development and environmental protection; and
3. Build an inclusive, integrated and vibrant city.

(CoCT, 2012a: 38)

There is evidence to suggest that the CTSDF aims to address the issues of social and spatial exclusion through its key strategies. While the third key strategy is aimed specifically at achieving integration and inclusivity in the urban form and structure, the first key strategy also proposes a number of policies which aim to achieve inclusion in terms of employment and economic opportunities. One such policy is to "introduce land use policies and mechanisms that will support the development of small businesses (both informal and formal)" (CoCT, 2012a: 40).

Due to historical imbalances in the space economy, much of the investment and employment-generating development is inevitably directed at the Metropolitan South-east. This has implications for the study area, which is located in the historically more privileged areas on the Cape Peninsula. Furthermore, local government's ambitions for global city status have implications for the coastal study area, since foreign interest has led to increases in property values in coastal areas, as noted in section 4.3 of this chapter. Some of the policies proposed in the CTSDF are also motivated by this ambition; for example, Policy 1 reads "maintain and enhance the features of Cape Town that attract investors, visitors and skilled labour" (CoCT, 2012a: 40). These policies reflect agendas,

which may compete with policies aiming for more inclusive local economic development and job creation. Some of the policies proposed in the CTSDF have the potential to address exclusionary factors but the question remains whether these policies will be effectively implemented in Cape Town and in the study area.

4.4.4. Southern District Plan (2012)

The City of Cape Town's district plans are informed by the CTSDF and therefore align with the key strategies outlined in the CTSDF. As stated in section one of this chapter, the study area falls within the Southern District, thus the Southern District Plan (2012) is applicable to the study area. The spatial development plan is illustrated in figure 4.2. The Southern District Plan notes that one of the challenges for the Southern District as a whole is the limited potential for low-income residential development (CoCT, 2012c). There are few areas remaining where new development can happen. This scarcity of land in addition to the price of land have resulted in limited opportunities for lower income households to access land. Another issue affecting access to land by lower income households is NIMBY mentalities related to the "steep potential income differential between existing residential and any new 'affordable' residential development" (CoCT, 2012c: 39). Furthermore, lower middle income households, described as "teachers, policeman and nurses, as well as the young professional and elderly households", are being pressurised to move out of the district as a result of the high and increasing property prices in the district (CoCT, 2012c: 39). These issues observed in the Southern District are challenging the CTSDF's key strategy aimed at building an inclusive and integrated city. Thus, it seems that factors leading to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income residents are prevalent in the Southern District.

The study area falls within Subdistrict 4: The 'Far South', the plan for which is presented in figure 4.3. In accordance with the CTSDF, the Southern District Plan classifies the Kalk Bay Harbour as a built or heritage-based destination place and Fish Hoek a coastal-based destination place (CoCT, 2012c). According to the plan, these "coastal jewels" should be made more accessible to everyone, thus enabling inclusion and integration (CoCT, 2012c). At destination places, the District Plan proposes to "support the maintenance and

and enhancement of the character of natural, recreational, and/or heritage aspects of smaller but hugely valuable recreational and tourism nodes" (CoCT, 2012b: 58). As with the CTSDf, the District Plan proposes land use intensification along appropriate sections of the Main Road corridor with mixed-use intensification proposed for Fish Hoek Main Road. Fish Hoek is also classified as a 'District Node' within which there should be land use intensification (CoCT, 2012b; 2014b). The District Plan identifies no land for new urban infill within the study area, which has implications for the potential development of new affordable housing within the study area.

It is evident that the Southern District Plan aims to give more detailed spatial direction to the key strategies proposed in the CTSDf. It is also clear that the study area has different roles and development agendas to fulfil in terms of its location along an activity route which is also a scenic route as well as the identification of Kalk Bay and Fish Hoek as destination places, which are critical to Cape Town's vision of being a desirable place to live, work and visit. These development agendas may be competing at times and present challenges for addressing exclusionary factors.

4.4.5. Cape Town's Integrated Development Plan 2012 – 2017 (2013/2014 Review)

The vision of the CoCT's Integrated Development Plan 2012 – 2017 (IDP) is founded on five key pillars, namely the opportunity city, the safe city, the caring city, the inclusive city and the well-run city (CoCT, 2013). Once again, inclusivity forms an important part of the plan (CoCT, 2013). The IDP identifies two key objectives to achieve an inclusive city, namely: 1) ensure responsiveness by creating an environment where citizens can be communicated with and responded to; and 2) provide facilities that make citizens feel at home (CoCT, 2013: 82). While the objectives and programmes proposed in the IDP aim to create an inclusive city by attempting to achieve equitable service delivery and enable participation of residents, the IDP lacks short-term spatial guidance for achieving a more integrated and less socially and spatially excluded city as set out in the CTSDf and District Plan.

4.5. CONCLUSION

Based on the overview and analysis of current spatial plans and policies, the focus of these documents is overwhelmingly on the integration of the segregated city. There is an underlying assumption in these plans and policies that all areas in Cape Town are completely segregated in the post-apartheid period, leading to policies and plans underpinned by the spatial goals of urban integration and inclusion. As a result, there is limited policy focus on those areas that are already integrated and diverse but are increasingly being impacted by exclusionary factors. These various plans and policies emphasise the goals of integration and inclusion yet do not seem to address the economic factors that are often central to exclusion. This is seemingly a neglected policy field. Furthermore, the policies designed to position Cape Town as a desirable place to live, work and visit and a good location for foreign investment are not sufficient to facilitate inclusive local economic development and job creation – opportunities that are critical to address the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents.

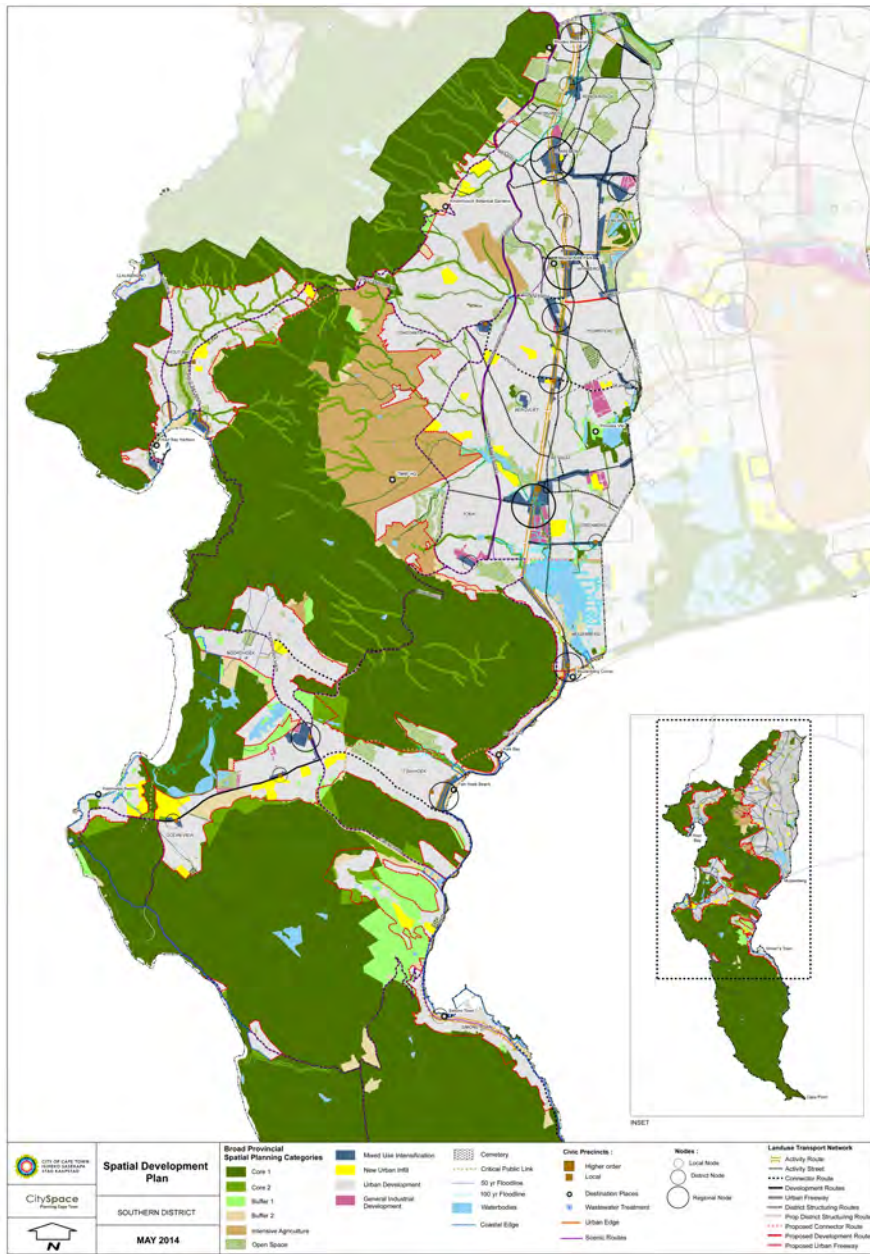


Figure 4.2: The Spatial Development Plan for the City of Cape Town's Southern District Plan. **Source:** CoCT, 2014c.



Figure 4.3: Southern District: Sub-District 4: The 'Far South'. **Source:** CoCT, 2012c.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present the research findings from the analysis of the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek area in order to understand the local context of the study area in question. In the following chapter, I will interpret these research findings using the analytical framework established in chapter two in order to answer the research question. In the first section of this chapter, I present a narrative of the historical development of the suburbs within the area. While the history of the study area is, in fact, extremely long and rich, I provide only a selective account of the history, focusing mainly on the historical events that contributed significantly to the development of the area and its context of exclusion. In section two, I provide a detailed description of the recent trends and current realities in the study area. This section includes descriptions of the following: demographic profile and trends; the natural environment; the urban form and structure; the economy, development and property trends; and lastly, local governance and management. I incorporate findings from the interviews throughout these sections. I attempt to present the analysis for the study area as a whole but at times I distinguish trends for the three suburbs individually.

5.1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY AREA

This historical background begins with greater focus on the development of Kalk Bay as St James was considered part of Kalk Bay until the 1880s and settlement in Fish Hoek occurred much later than that of Kalk Bay-St James.

5.1.1. Kalk Bay and St James

The history of the development of the study area cannot be separated from the history of the entire Simon's Town area. The area's history is traced back to the Dutch East India Company's (DEIC) proclamation of Simon's Bay as an annual winter anchorage for their ships from 1742 (Walker, n.d.). Because of difficulties with transporting supplies to ships in Simon's Bay on land, Kalk Bay was established as a mini-port for the Dutch. The DEIC stored goods at the Kalk Bay Point, which were then transported on barges to ships anchored in Simon's Bay (Walker, 2004). Ox-wagons then returned to Cape Town carrying

lime and fish (Walker, 2004).

Kalk Bay flourished as a mini-port from 1742 until 1795 when the British took over the Cape and constructed a proper road to Simon's Town across the sandy Fish Hoek valley in 1814, leaving Kalk Bay neglected (Cobern; 1984; Walker, n.d.). This coastal road was declared a main road in February 1844 (Cobern, 1984). The rise of whaling activity in False Bay brought new life to Kalk Bay in 1820, especially with the prohibition of whaling in Simon's Town. (Walker, 2004). With the near extinction of the Southern Right Whale population in False Bay by about 1855, Kalk Bay once again fell into disuse. During the mid-1840s, a ship carrying a Filipino crew was ship-wrecked at Cape Point and they then came to settle at Kalk Bay due to the favourable climate and the abundance of fish in False Bay (Walker, 2004). The Filipino population grew in Kalk Bay over time (Walker, 2004). There are still descendants in the area today (Walker, n.d.). The Kalk Bay population grew further as slaves originating from the East who were emancipated at the Cape came to live in the village as fishermen (Walker, 2004).

Up until 1883 when the railway was extended from Muizenberg to Kalk Bay, St James was part of Kalk Bay but changed its name as a result of a train stop (later a station) named St James (Walker, 2004). The extension of the railway to Kalk Bay had a number of consequences: rapid population growth; a considerable number of visitors; and changes in livelihood options for the fishing village as people could now travel to and from the area more easily, allowing people to live by the coast but work in other areas of Cape Town (Walker, 2004). Conflict arose between the fisherfolk and the increasing population of non-fisherfolk in Kalk Bay. These conflicts were mainly driven by a shortage of land for residential expansion by the fishermen as they were "faced with rising property prices and high rates resulting from the development of Kalk Bay and surrounds" (Kirkaldy, 1996: 38). With the rise in popularity came a demand for hotels, guesthouses and boarding houses. This led to the development of the Kings Hotel in 1882, the St James Hotel in 1897 and the Majestic Hotel in 1916. All of these hotels still stand today, although refurbished (Walker, 2004). From the early 20th century, development in Kalk Bay aimed to enhance the village as a tourist and residential suburb, with fishing seen as a threat to this. Existing divisions

between the fisherfolk and non-fisherfolk deepened (Kirkaldy, 1996).

Furthermore, the livelihoods of Kalk Bay's fishermen who used traditional fishing methods were being threatened from within the fishing industry itself. From the late 19th century, alternative fishing methods started being used in False Bay, such as purse-seine fishing and trawling. These methods had much greater potential to bring in large catches, which resulted in overfishing and declines in fish stocks in the bay at the expense of traditional handline and net fishermen (Kirkaldy, 1996). The local markets started to be monopolised by these trawlers and the traditional fishermen had limited access to new markets. Finally in 1928, False Bay was closed to trawlers (Kirkaldy, 1996). Local fishermen also suffered with the extension of the railway from Kalk Bay to Simon's Town between 1889 and 1890 as the railway now occupied sections of the beach, which were previously used by fishermen to land and store their boats (Kirkaldy, 1996). There was clear need for a harbour as the False Bay fishing industry was under threat. Construction of the breakwater in Kalk Bay began in June 1913 and was completed in March 1919 after delays as a result of the outbreak of World War I and struggles with high seas, heavy winds and rough swells (Walker, 2004). In addition to the breakwater, a landing quay was developed perpendicular to the breakwater, which became the "hub of harbour activity" where fish auctions occurred (Walker, 2004). Kalk Bay's harbour became the only source of shelter for boats in False Bay during bad weather and rough seas. Additionally, in order to provide safer bathing options, three tidal pools were built along the St James-Kalk Bay coast in 1911, and another two in 1922 and 1929, respectively (Walker, 2004). In 1916, there were 41 bathing boxes on St James, which later increased to 80. Now only one colourful row remains due to high maintenance costs, damage by the sea and overcrowding on the beach (Walker, 2004). In the late 1930s, the Council provided separate amenities for Coloured and white people (Kirkaldy, 1996).

Most development in Kalk Bay occurred between 1910 and 1940 – a period which Gasson calls the "revolutionary decades" as it was during this time that the railways were electrified, the Main Road was upgraded, Boyes Drive was constructed and the harbour was completed. Kalk Bay was almost fully developed by that stage and in the 1940s, it

was the "centre of gravity" as it existed as a neighbourhood service and shopping centre, with Fish Hoek still being a very small place (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014). Kalk Bay peaked as a local service centre in the 1950s:

There were something like 50 shops...it had everything – garages, petrol pumps, places where you could hire cars, places where you could have your car serviced, chemist, butchers, shoe shops, hairdresser, dairy, baker, those sorts of things, clothing shops, hardware shops, a cinema.

(Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014)

Conditions in the fishermen's housing were worsening by the early 20th century as a result of overcrowding, lack of sanitation and neglect, which led to a number of buildings being declared slums (Bohlin, 2007). In the 1920s, conditions deteriorated to the point where some fishermen moved out of Kalk Bay and had to commute to work (Kirkaldy, 1996). Although there were suggestions to resettle the fishing community elsewhere, the Cape Town City Council decided to build new housing in the form of the council-owned flats for the fishing community in the early 1940s, which could accommodate 54 families (Bohlin, 2007) (Fig. 5.1). This "quadrangle" of flats, as referred to by Kirkaldy (1996: xvii), was and still is located between Clairvaux, Gordon, Harbour and Ladan Roads (shown on Figure 5.2). A row of cottages was left between the flats and Clairvaux Road (Kirkaldy, 1996). Thus, even before the implementation of apartheid laws in the area, the fishing community – composed of people from diverse ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds – were geographically separated from the rest of the Kalk Bay community based on their socio-economic status (Bohlin, 2007; Kirkaldy, 1996).

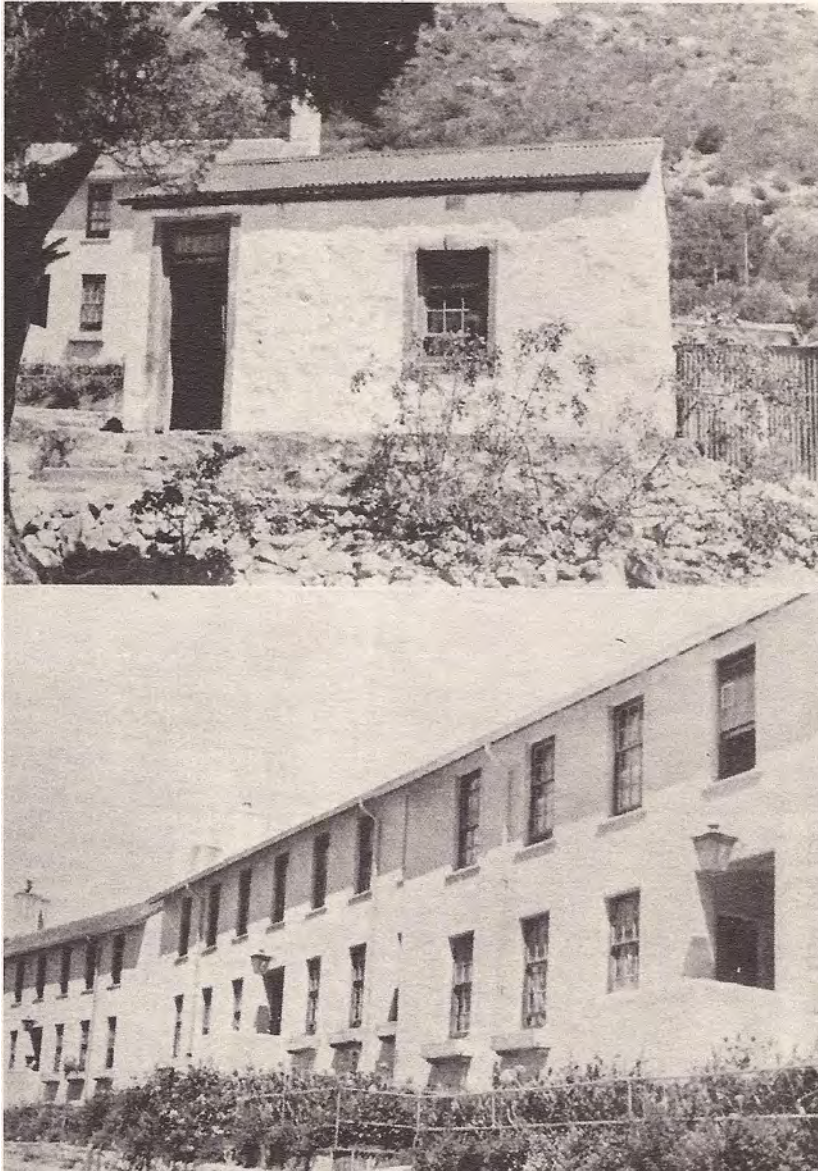


Figure 5.1: A fishermen's cottage and the fishermen's flats in Kalk Bay, c. 1959. **Source:** Carse, in Kirkaldy (1996: 124).



Figure 5.2: The "quadrangle" of fishermen's flats in Kalk Bay. **Source:** by author (2014), base map (NGI, 2014).

Since the 1960s and particularly the 1980s, False Bay was popularised as a tourist and recreational attraction, which further impacted the local fishing industry. According to Kirkaldy (1996: 82):

Development of the area as a tourist resort and residential suburb had nevertheless ensured that future development of the fishing industry would be limited to handline fishing on approximately the same level as that achieved by 1926.

Consequently, Kalk Bay's fishermen became "an increasingly minor component of the South African fishing effort" (Kirkaldy, 1996: 83).

Kalk Bay went into decline as a neighbourhood shopping centre during the 1970s (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014). During this time, there were one or two shops on the Main Road and not a single restaurant until the opening of the Brass Bell in 1976. During the 1980s and 1990s, it was difficult to let out business premises (White, interview, 9 September 2014). The Brass Bell had been on the market for some time and remained a fairly small place until Tony White took ownership in 1981 and grew the restaurant in quite a short period of time. The Brass Bell played a significant role in regenerating Kalk Bay as it attracted many people to the area, enabling people to once again see the business potential of Kalk Bay (White, interview, 9 September 2014).

5.1.2. Fish Hoek

It was only in March 1918 that Fish Hoek became a residential area (Walker, 2007). The first land to come under ownership was the Fish Hoek Farm in 1818, which was sold numerous times and later bought by Hester de Villiers, nee de Kock. When de Villiers died in 1914, she ordered in her will that the farm be sold in the form of individual building plots, with new residents now coming into the area to buy plots and build homes (Walker, 2007). Prior to the subdivision of the farm, Fish Hoek was mainly a farming area and the beach was used informally for fishing and whaling (Lindner, 2005; Walker, 2007). Unlike Kalk Bay and St James, which historically had a racially diverse population, Fish Hoek was until quite recently considered an area for white people only. Racially exclusionary attitudes can be

traced to the clause in de Villiers's will to subdivide her farm in which it stated that no plots or houses on her land could be occupied by 'non-whites', except for domestic workers (Clifford, 2013). 'Non-white' people could own property but were not allowed to live there (Cobern, 1984). The plan of Fish Hoek, from which the plots of land were subdivided and sold, was based on a pattern of hexagons where the open hexagons were intended to be recreational open spaces, a legacy which remains today, as illustrated in figures 5.3 and 5.4 (Cobern, 2003).

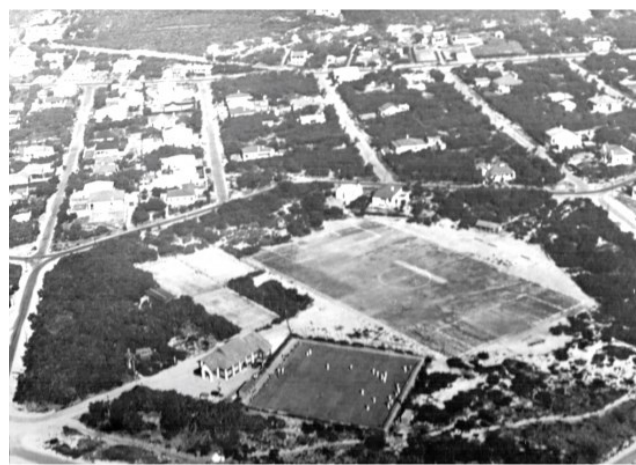


Figure 5.3: Historical photograph illustrating the origins of Fish Hoek's hexagonal pattern.

Source: Cobern Collection, Fish Hoek Valley Museum in Cobern (2003).



Figure 5.4: Fish Hoek today: the legacy of the original hexagonal pattern. **Source:** NGI (2014).

The extension of the railway from Kalk Bay to Simon's Town in 1890 contributed to the popularity of Fish Hoek due to improved access (Cobern, 2003; Walker, 2007). A new larger railway station was built in 1919 in its current location and the station buildings date back to 1927 (Cobern, 2003). The railway line was electrified in 1928 and a subway was built in 1938. An additional subway had to be built in the 1950s due to the newly enforced apartheid laws (Cobern, 2003). Construction of the new main road began in 1919 in the location of the main road today (Cobern, 1984). Businesses tended to develop on the western side of main road while the eastern side was residential.

Within the first three years that plots were open for sale in Fish Hoek, more than 3000 plots had been sold and by 1921, Fish Hoek's population was 673 white people and 136 coloured domestic workers (Cobern, 1984). What began as a temporary population of 'weekenders' became a more permanent population. This led to the need for more shops, which were originally developed on street corners as convenience stores (Cobern, 2003). More facilities were provided along the beach area during the 1920s, including changing cubicles and a tea room. The main road was reconstructed and pavements provided during the 1930s as a result of an increase in road traffic and more shops opening along the street (Cobern, 1984). Fish Hoek grew significantly during the 1980s and 1990s, along with its neighbouring areas of Noordhoek and Kommetjie. Fish Hoek became known as a tourist resort as well as a retirement village for elderly people (Lindner, 2005).

5.1.3. Apartheid and the Group Areas Act

Fish Hoek was one of the areas to be declared a 'white group area' in 1951 under the Group Areas Act of 1950 (GAA), as seen on figure 5.5 below (Bohlin, 2007). 'Non-white' people were only allowed to reside in the area if they were domestic workers or farm workers (Bray et al, 2010). Facilities, like the library, were reserved for the use of white people only (Cobern, 2003). Ocean View was established as a coloured township during the 1960s in order to accommodate coloured people who had been forcibly removed from Fish Hoek and other areas on the Cape Peninsula (Bray et al, 2010). Similarly, Masiphumelele was developed in 1991 "as a semi-formal settlement for the small number of African people already living in the Valley, either legally or illegally" (Bray et al, 2010: 1).

According to an article in the *Argus* from September 1951 (cited by Bohlin, 2007), the GAA had limited impact in Fish Hoek as only one 'non-European' property owner was affected since Fish Hoek's population was comprised almost wholly of white people. According to the 1991 census, 97% of Fish Hoek's population was comprised of white people (see Table 5.1).

Kalk Bay was one of the few areas in Cape Town to survive the onslaught of apartheid spatial planning and remained a relatively mixed working-class area, despite the declaration of Kalk Bay and its adjacent areas from Clovelly to Lakeside as a 'white' group area in July 1967 (Bohlin, 2007, 2011; Kirkaldy, 1996). Owing to protests by local residents, newspapers and liberal organisations (including the Black Sash) against the proclamation, the government, uncharacteristically, exempted those living in the fishermen's flats from forced removal for a 15-year period (Bohlin, 2007, 2011). According to Bohlin (2011), the majority (about ¾) of the Coloured fishing community was able to remain in the area as most of the fishing community lived in the flats.

The 15-year concession was due to expire in 1982, but in February of that year, Kalk Bay was de-proclaimed a white group area (Bohlin, 2007; Kirkaldy, 1996). There were, however, difficulties with finding enough land to enable families to resettle in the area as all houses previously occupied by coloured households were now occupied by white households, with the exception of five coloured families who remained in houses throughout the period (Kirkaldy, 1996). The presence of the fishing community and the racially-mixed nature of the area even during apartheid led to Kalk Bay becoming known as a "grey zone" (Bohlin, 2011:122). All of the beaches in the study area were classified as white beaches under apartheid, except for the small beach in Kalk Bay next to the harbour, which was one of the few beaches on the Cape Peninsula open to 'non-white' groups (Bohlin, 2007). The GAA was abandoned in 1990. Kalk Bay remained a relatively racially mixed, working-class area post-1990. According to the 1991 census, the Coloured population amounted to 478 people, accounting for 35% of the total Kalk Bay population of 1365 people (see Table 5.1).

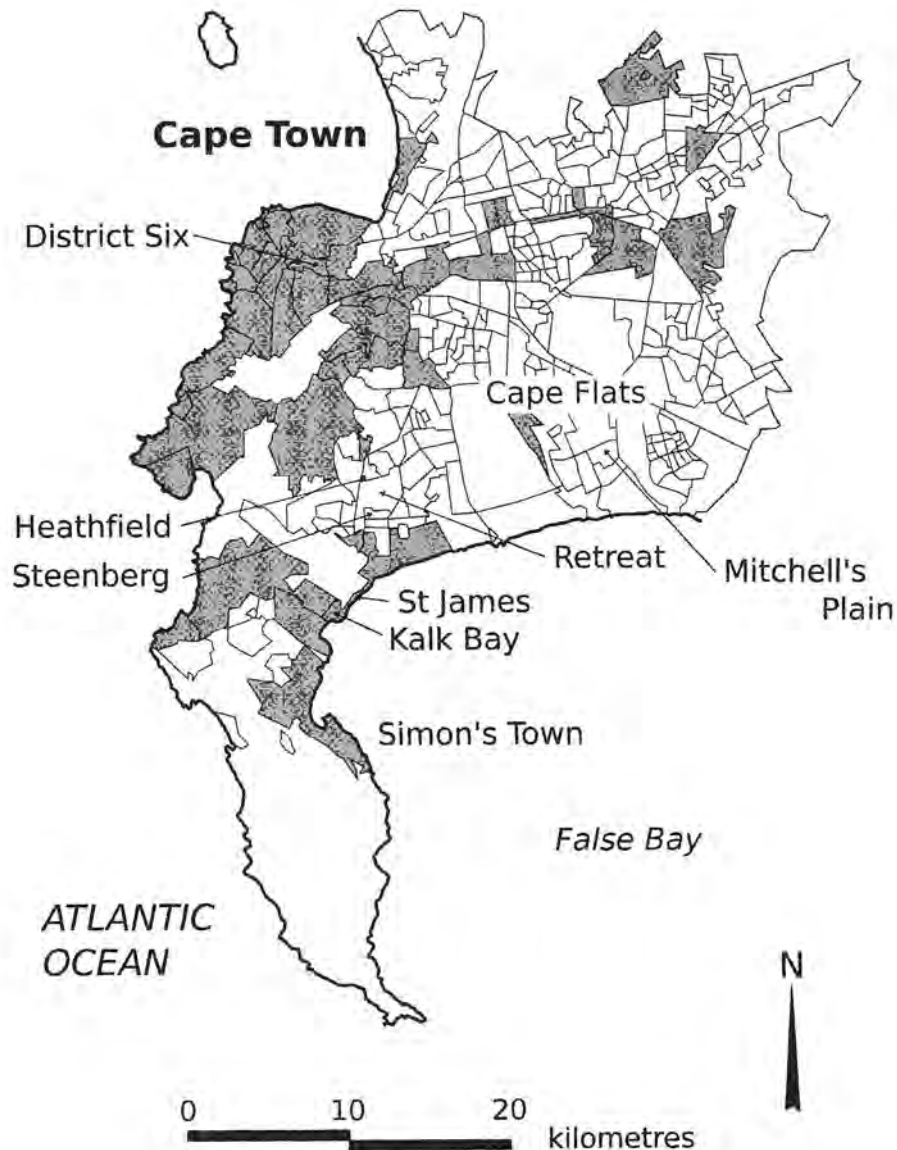


Figure 5.5: Areas on the Cape Peninsula declared white group areas under the Group Areas Act of 1950. **Source:** Bohlin (2007).

Although Kalk Bay's population was already geographically segregated prior to the enforcement of the apartheid segregationist laws, these physical and social divisions were intensified with the Population Registration Act and the GAA (Bohlin, 2007). In 1990, the fishermen living in the council-owned flats were given the opportunity to purchase the flats from the council and become home owners. There was a law which stated that the flat owners could not sell their property to for a 10-year period (Resident A, interview, 19 August 2014).

5.2. RECENT TRENDS AND CURRENT REALITIES

The information presented in this section was gathered from a number of sources, most notably statistical data from the last four censuses, field observations, interviews and newspaper articles. The aim is to gain an understanding of the current demographic profile of the study area as well as discern trends over time and space.

5.2.1. Demographic profile and trends¹

Population size

The total population of the study area has declined over time (Table 5.1), and is currently home to approximately 10 000 people, with an average household size of 2.4 people (Strategic Development Information and GIS [SDI&GIS], 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). When analysing the population size of the individual suburbs, the largest population decrease was experienced in Kalk Bay. St James has also experienced an overall decline in its population. According to Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014), St James has always had and continues to have an absentee population due to the popularity of the area for summer holiday homes. Fish Hoek's population, on the other hand, has remained relatively stable over the 20 year period. The number of households has also decreased over time from about 4600 households in 1996 to 4335 in 2011 with all three suburbs experiencing a decline. Household size has remained relatively stable over time.

¹ Much of the information presented in this section was compiled from the 1991, 1996, 2001 and 2011 census data, covering a time period of 20 years.

Table 5.1: The total population and racial composition of the population in the study area from 1991 to 2011. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using data from CSS (1991a); UPU (1996a, 1996d, 1996g); SDI&GIS (2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

	POPULATION GROUP	1991		1996		2001		2011	
		Total no.	Total %	Total no.	Total %	Total no.	Total %	Total no.	Total %
TOTAL STUDY AREA	Black African	254	2,3	287	2,5	243	2,1	1093	10,7
	Coloured	629	5,6	649	2,5	577	5,1	723	7,1
	Indian/Asian	7	0,1	56	0,5	102	0,9	118	1,2
	White	10291	92,0	10488	90,1	10464	91,9	8092	79,0
	Other			165	1,4			218	2,1
	TOTAL		11181	100	11645	100	11386	100	10244
Fish Hoek	Black African	140	1,5	174	1,8	156	1,6	1000	11
	Coloured	110	1,2	156	1,6	180	1,9	463	5,1
	Indian/Asian	6	0,1	36	0,4	75	0,8	117	1,3
	White	8877	97,2	9197	94,8	9330	95,8	7319	80,8
	Other			136	1,4			154	1,7
	TOTAL		9133	100	9699	100	9741	100	9053
Kalk Bay	Black African	48	3,5	75	5,6	36	3,8	57	8,1
	Coloured	478	35,0	464	34,7	328	34,2	227	32,4
	Indian/Asian	1	0,1	4	0,3	27	2,8	1	0,1
	White	838	61,4	777	58,1	567	59,2	382	54,5
	Other			18	1,3			34	4,9
	TOTAL		1365	100	1338	100	958	100	701
St James	Black African	66	9,7	38	6,3	51	7,4	36	7,3
	Coloured	41	6,0	29	4,8	69	10,0	33	6,7
	Indian/Asian	0	0,0	16	2,6	0	0	0	0
	White	576	84,3	514	84,5	567	82,5	391	79,8
	Other			11	1,8			30	6,1
	TOTAL		683	100	608	100	687	100	490

Population distribution

The population pyramids demonstrate that in all of the suburbs in the study area there is an aging population (Fig. 5.6). A total of 2847 people are 65 years and older, which amounts to 28% of the population, with the greatest percentage of elderly people living in Fish Hoek. The population distribution indicates that the population is experiencing slow or negative growth. This trend correlates with the declining population totals shown in Table 5.1 above; thus, these trends are likely to be attributed to low birth and low death rates, rather than changes in suburb boundaries between censuses.

Racial composition of the population

The population of the study area has always been predominantly white, although the proportion of the white population group has declined over time (Table 5.1). The decline in the white population group has been most pronounced in Fish Hoek. The proportion of the coloured population group has remained relatively stable over time, with an increase in Fish Hoek. There has been growth in both the proportion and absolute number of Black Africans in the study area from 1991 to 2011, and this increase has been greatest in Fish Hoek and then Kalk Bay. The racial composition of the study area differs markedly from the averages for the Cape Town metropolitan in which 39% of the population is Black African, 42% is Coloured, 16% is white and 1.4% is Indian/Asian (SDI&GIS, 2012).

Household income²

Table 5.2 demonstrates that there is a mix of income groups in the study area. Using the income classification suggested by the Bureau of Market Research (2011) as a guide to classify monthly household income in the study area in 2011, approximately 25% of households fall into the low income group (R0–R4100); about 50% fall into the low emerging and emerging middle class (R4101–R25 000); 20% fall into the realised middle class (R25 001–R42 000); and about 5% can be classified as the emerging affluent (R62 500–R83 300) and affluent (R83 301+).

² Monthly income has only been compared for 2001 and 2011 due to the different format in which the earlier censuses presented the data.

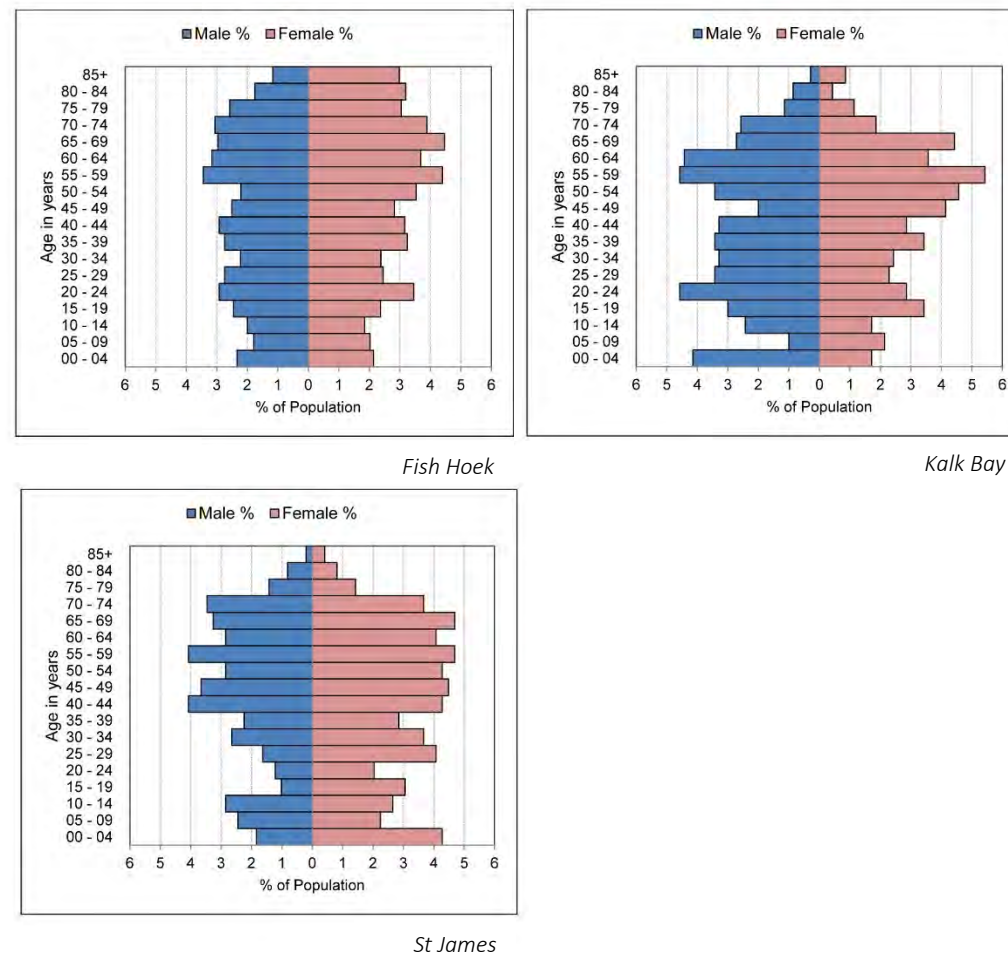


Figure 5.6: Population pyramids illustrating the distribution of the population according to age and sex in Fish Hoek, Kalk Bay and St James. **Source:** SDI&GIS (2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

It appears that there has been an increase in the number of households earning higher monthly incomes over time. In 2001, the majority of households (46%) earned between R1601 and R6400 while most households (42%) earned between R6401 and R25 600 in 2011. This shift towards higher income brackets has been experienced in all three suburbs, but the increase was most significant in St James. An increase in income is to be expected as salaries and wages generally increase over time due to inflation. However, when comparing to the average monthly household income for Cape Town metropolitan, it is clear that incomes have increased to a greater extent for households in the study area (SDI&GIS, 2012). There has also been an increase in the proportion and absolute number of households earning no or a low income (R0 - R1600). The growth in this income group has been experienced in Fish Hoek, with declines in both Kalk Bay and St James. According to the 2011 census, 21% of households in the study area earn R3200 or below. The proportion of households earning R3200 or below is highest in Fish Hoek (22%), followed by Kalk Bay (19%) and then St James (12%). These trends indicate that there are a greater number of lower income residents living in Fish Hoek compared to Kalk Bay and St James.

Economic and employment status of the population

The percentage of the working age population (aged 15 to 64 years) that is economically active has increased from about 38% in 1991 to 65% in 2011 (Table 5.3). There has been a steady growth over the 20 year period. In all three suburbs, the proportion and absolute number of economically inactive people have declined substantially over time. While the economically inactive population has declined, there is still a high proportion of economically inactive people in all three suburbs. This high number and proportion of economically inactive people likely reflects the number of retired people living in the area who are classified as 'other not economically active'³. Across the study area, the employment rate has stayed relatively stable over time. Both Kalk Bay and Fish Hoek's employment rates have stayed fairly stable, with slight decreases over time while St James's employment rate has improved to a 100% employment rate. The employment rate for the study area is far higher than that of the average for the Cape Town metropolitan at 76% in 2011 (SDI&GIS, 2012).

Table 5.2: The number and proportion of households in the study area according to income group for 2001 and 2011. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using data from SDI&GIS (2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2012, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

	MONTHLY HH INCOME	2001		2011	
		Total No.	%	Total No.	%
TOTAL STUDY AREA	R0 - R1 600	654	15,9	726	16,7
	R1 601 - R6 400	1886	45,9	687	15,8
	R6 401 - R25 600	1359	33,1	1809	41,6
	R25 601 - R102 400	153	3,7	1020	23,5
	R102 401 or more	54	1,3	105	2,4
	TOTAL	4106	100	4347	100
Fish Hoek	R0 - R1 600	510	15,0	672	17,5
	R1 601 - R6 400	1595	46,9	618	16,1
	R6 401 - R25 600	1137	33,4	1617	42
	R25 601 - R102 400	114	3,4	867	22,5
	R102 401 or more	45	1,3	75	1,9
	TOTAL	3401	100	3849	100
Kalk Bay	R0 - R1 600	78,0	18,6	33,0	12,9
	R1 601 - R6 400	186	44,3	39	15,3
	R6 401 - R25 600	138	32,9	111	43,5
	R25 601 - R102 400	12	2,9	57	22,3
	R102 401 or more	6	1,4	15	15
	TOTAL	420	100	255	100
St James	R0 - R1 600	66	23,2	21	8,6
	R1 601 - R6 400	105	36,8	30	12,3
	R6 401 - R25 600	84	29,5	81	33,4
	R25 601 - R102 400	27	9,5	96	39,5
	R102 401 or more	3	1,1	15	6,2
	TOTAL	285	100	243	100

Table 5.3: The economic status of the working age population (aged 15 to 64 years) and employment status of the labour force (economically active population). **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using data from CSS (1991b); UPU (1996b, 1996e, 1996h); SDI&GIS (2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

ECONOMIC & EMPLOYMENT STATUS	1991		1996		2001		2011	
	Total No.	%	Total No.	%	Total No.	%	Total No.	%
Economically active	4260	38,3	4412	46,9	4361	61,8	4020	65,4
Not economically active	6876	61,7	4987	53,1	2695	38,2	2124	34,6
TOTAL	11136	100	9399	100	7056	100	6144	100
Employment rate			95,3		94,2		94,9	
Unemployment rate			4,7		5,8		5,1	
TOTAL			100		100		100	
Economically active	3331	36,7	3559	44,6	3610	61,3	3483	65,3
Not economically active	5757	63,3	4427	55,4	2278	38,7	1848	34,7
TOTAL	9088	100	7986	100	5888	100	5331	100
Employment rate			95,3		94,2		94,8	
Unemployment rate			4,7		5,8		5,2	
TOTAL			100		100		100	
Economically active	595	44	566	65	460	66	306	61
Not economically active	771	56	309	35	237	34	195	39
TOTAL	1366	100	875	100	697	100	501	100
Employment rate			94,5		91,3		92,2	
Unemployment rate			5,5		8,7		7,8	
TOTAL			100		100		100	
Economically active	334	49	287	53,3	291	61,8	231	74
Not economically active	348	51	251	46,7	180	38,2	81	26
TOTAL	682	100	538	100	471	100	312	100
Employment rate			96,9		97,9		100	
Unemployment rate			3,1		2,1		0	
TOTAL			100		100		100	

³ 'Other not economically active' refers to members of the population who are not looking for work, such as housewives, students, scholars, pensioners and retired people (Stats SA, 2004).

Education levels

According to the latest census, education levels are quite high within the study area population. Only 0.1% of the population had no schooling while 80% had completed Grade 12 with 44% of that number having received a higher education (SDI&GIS, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). Between 2001 and 2011, there was an increase in the number and proportion of the population who had completed Grade 12 as well as a slight increase in those receiving a higher education.

Housing tenure

Home ownership is the most common form of tenure, constituting the tenure status of the vast majority of households across the study area. Home ownership rates have stayed much the same from 70% in 2001 to 66% in 2011 while the proportion of households renting has increased (SDI&GIS, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). In Kalk Bay, the proportion of households renting has remained stable at 32%. Home ownership is 12% higher in the study area than the average for the Cape Town metropolitan (SDI&GIS, 2012). The proportion of households renting is exactly the same for the study area and the average for the Cape Town metropolitan at 30% in 2011.

Access to services

There are very high levels of service delivery in the study area. The latest census data indicates that over 99% of households in the study area:

- live in formal dwellings;
- have access to piped water inside their dwelling;
- have access to a flush toilet that is connected to the sewerage system;
- have access to weekly refuse removal by a local authority or private company; and
- have access to electricity for lighting (SDI&GIS, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c).

Residents' perceptions of other residents and/or changes in the socioeconomic characteristics of the population

According to White (interview, 9 September 2014), during the 1980s/1990s, Kalk Bay had a 'hippie' population and lots of artistic people who were attracted to Kalk Bay for a number of reasons, including low rentals. As Kalk Bay has become more popular and the rentals have increased, wealthier people have moved in and some of these groups have been priced out of the area. Interview respondents from the Kalk Bay historic fishing community (KBHFC) made reference to divisions between the fishing community and the "white sector" (Resident D, interview, 31 August 2014). Gasson believes that these divisions are "not deliberate; it's just a hangover from that past" and that residents in Kalk Bay tend to mix and meet in the public spaces (interview, 4 September 2014). Resident D states that he feels "at ease just here in between our people" – "our people" referring to the fishing community – but in keeping with Gasson's statement, he attributes these feelings to the history of the area and the degree to which the apartheid government "played with your mind" (interview, 31 August 2014). Respondents often used 'us' and 'them' language.

A couple of the interview respondents said that they had the impression that Fish Hoek was not particularly affluent and quite working class (residents E and F, interviews, 3 September 2014). Similarly, Fish Hoek is considered to be a very white area with a slightly older demographic where people have lived for a very long time. Kalk Bay and St James are also noted to have members of the community that have long roots in the area. It is, therefore, perceived to be quite difficult for 'outsiders' or newer residents to feel included in the community. Two of the youngest interview respondents, aged 25 and 30, also made observations that they perceived the attitudes and opinions of the long-time residents to be quite parochial and conservative (residents E and F, interviews, 3 September 2014). Most of the perceived changes in the socioeconomic characteristics were noted for Kalk Bay's population, rather than Fish Hoek and St James.

5.2.2. Urban structure and form

The three suburbs in the study area are comprised predominantly of residential property with some commercial activity located mainly along the Fish Hoek and Kalk Bay Main

Road corridor, as figure 5.7 illustrates below. The most common form of residential development across the study area is single dwelling residential, although there are also some higher density housing typologies, such as blocks of flats and semi-detached units. These tend to be located along or close to Fish Hoek Main Road as well as there being some two or three-storey blocks of flats along Kalk Bay Main Road. Fish Hoek has much lower residential densities due to the suburban nature of development, which tends to be dominated by single-family homes. Figure 5.8 provides some examples of the urban form typical to Fish Hoek, characterised by rows of single-family homes which surround large sites containing public facilities, such as schools. The hexagonal road pattern, mentioned in section 5.1 of this chapter, is still very prominent along with endless cul-de-sacs. It makes Fish Hoek a very confusing place to navigate. There are a number of gated residential estates in Fish Hoek, some of which are retirement villages, indicated on figure 5.9.

Kalk Bay and St James have a very different urban form and structure compared with Fish Hoek owing to the topography and many of the buildings and structures having been developed decades or even centuries ago. Bohlin (2007: 26) describes Kalk Bay's architecture and planning as "small-scale and intimate" and "unlike the nearby suburb of Fish Hoek, it has escaped many of the physical effects of urbanisation and modernisation such as road widening, demolition of buildings and modern architecture". Buildings along Kalk Bay Main Road are colonnaded and retain their original facades, and some of the roads are cobblestoned. Resident E describes Kalk Bay as having an "open streets feel" (interview, 3 September 2014). Photographs in figure 5.10 illustrate the character of Kalk Bay and St James.

Kalk Bay's harbour remains a key element of the area. Residential densities are higher in Kalk Bay and St James as properties tend to be smaller, closer together and built in a terraced fashion on the slope of Kalk Bay Mountain. The fishermen's flats are a prominent feature of Kalk Bay. They are located in a prime spot, backed by the mountain and with views of the harbour and False Bay (Fig. 5.11). Because of the location of the fishermen's flats, the fishing community remains relatively physically segregated from the rest of Kalk Bay.

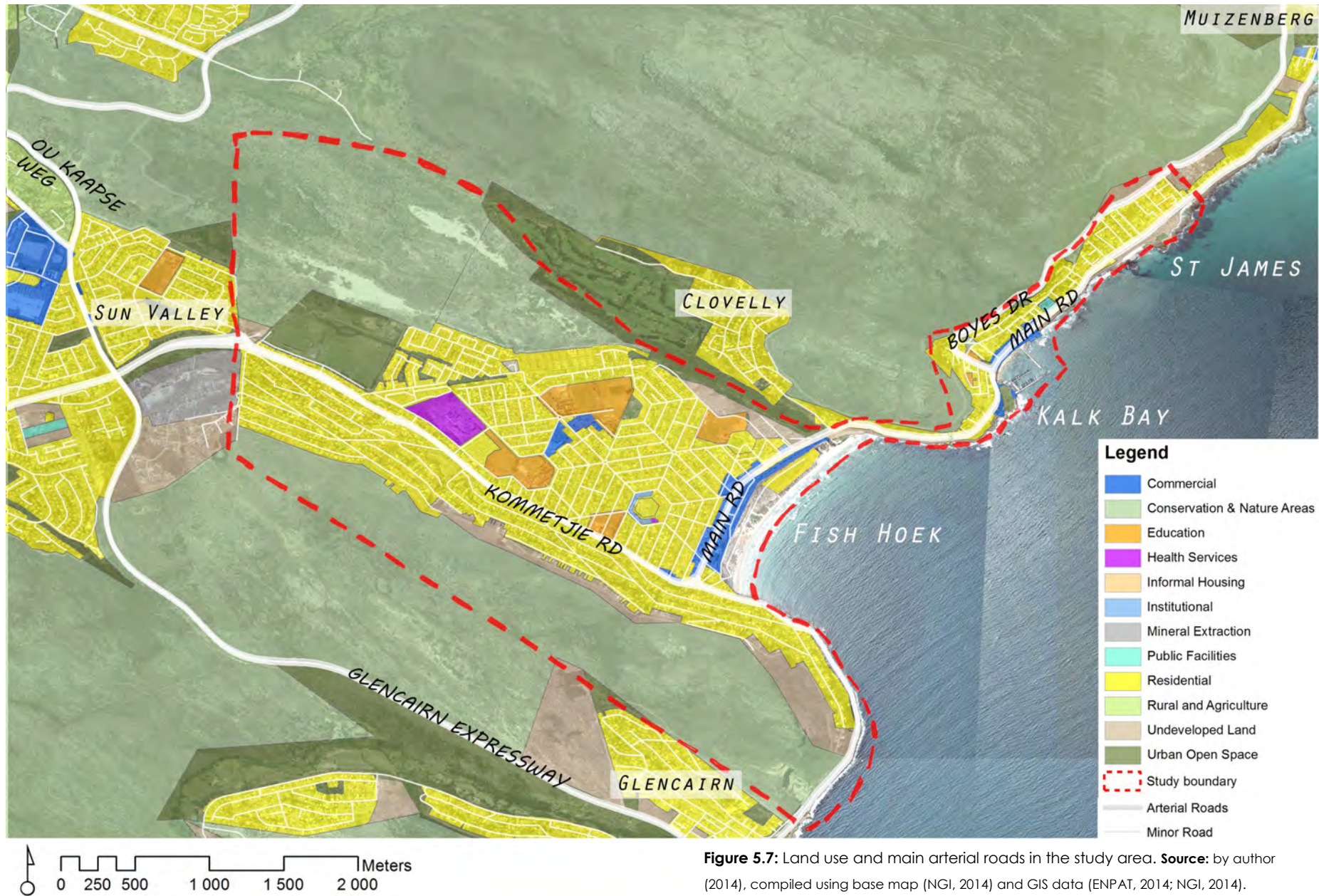


Figure 5.7: Land use and main arterial roads in the study area. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014) and GIS data (ENPAT, 2014; NGI, 2014).



Figure 5.8: Examples of Fish Hoek's residential development. **Source:** author's own (October 2014).

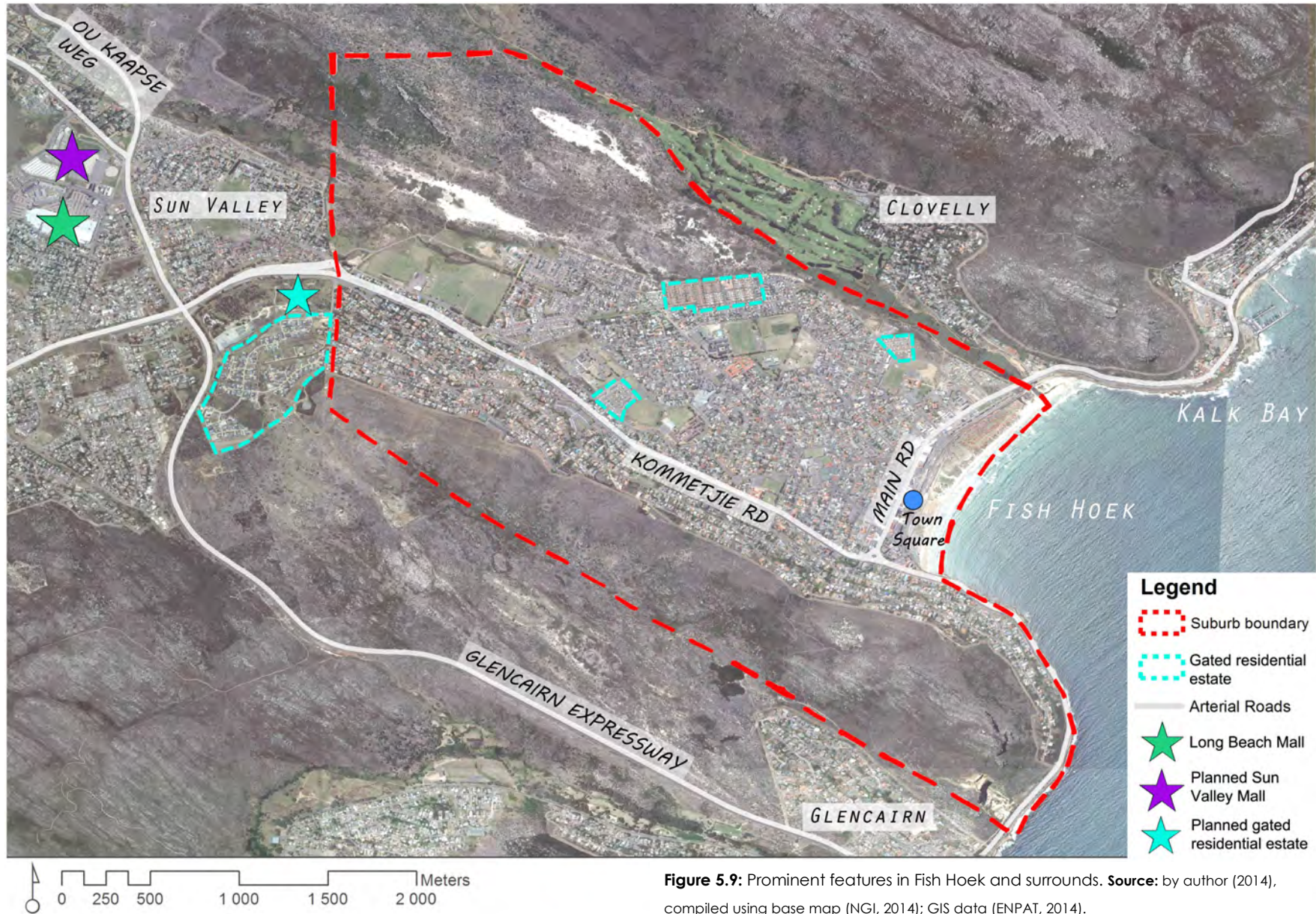


Figure 5.9: Prominent features in Fish Hoek and surrounds. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014); GIS data (ENPAT, 2014).



Figure 5.10: Examples of residential development in Kalk Bay illustrating the quaint architecture and cobblestone streets. **Source:** author's own (October 2014).



Figure 5.11: The fishermen's flats in Kalk Bay. **Source:** author's own (August and October 2014)

Access to community facilities

There are six primary schools and one high school located in the study area, as indicated on figure 5.12. There are another two schools – one primary and one private high school – located directly adjacent to Fish Hoek in Sun Valley. There is also a further education and training (FET) college, False Bay College, located in Fish Hoek. There is, therefore, good access to educational facilities within the study area. The large amount of space occupied by educational facilities is evident on the land use map in figure 5.8. When studying aerial photographs and making observations in the field, it is clear that most of this land is covered by sports fields and tennis courts with nearly every school in the area having their own sports facilities.

All of the respondents from the KBHFC alluded to the poor quality of the sports 'field' in the vicinity of the fishermen's flats. This 'field' is a tarred patch, which is shared with the St James Roman Catholic Primary School. The residents do not believe that a tarred field is adequate for sports and recreation. According to resident A, the school has tried to amalgamate with Bay Primary School across the road in order to improve access to quality facilities (interview, 19 August 2014). If this were to occur, it could potentially open up some land in the vicinity of the fishermen's flats, which resident A believes could be used for a bigger pre-primary school or a clinic.

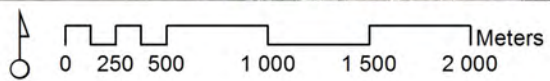


Figure 5.12: Community facilities in the study area. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014); GIS data (ENPAT, 2014; Slingsby, 2014)

Road access and public transport

Road access to the study area is limited due to the topography of the area. Main Road, Boyes Drive, Ou Kaapse Weg and Chapman's Peak are the only access roads between the study area and the rest of Cape Town to the north (Fig. 5.13). Within Fish Hoek, Kommetjie Road is the only arterial road that crosses the suburb in an east-west direction. According to Holwill and Rose-Innes (interview, 8 September 2014), the existing congestion on these main access routes is a cause for concern and a limiting factor for future development in the area. Holwill argues that "as the City approves more and more development down here, they should consider if the road structure is adequate". Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014) agrees that traffic is a problem in the area, particularly along Kalk Bay-St James Main Road and states that this is not a new problem but that it is getting worse.

Access to public transport is thus an essential requirement in the area. The railway line provides public transport along the coast in a north-south direction, with railway stations in St James, Kalk Bay, Clovelly and Fish Hoek. There are also a number of bus routes throughout the area. According to Holwill (interview, 8 September 2014), the City has made mention of upgrading Kommetjie Road and implementing MyCiti feeder buses in the Fish Hoek Valley to help alleviate congestion along Kommetjie Road. However, little is known about the City's plans.

5.2.3. Natural environment

The Cape Peninsula's natural environment is one of its major assets. Kalk Bay and St James are nestled between mountain and ocean while Fish Hoek is surrounded on two sides by mountains and ocean on the other. All of the natural mountainous areas that surround the study area form part of the Table Mountain National Park, which is governed by South African National Parks (SANParks). These mountainous areas are consequently protected in perpetuity (Fig. 5.14). There are also large wetlands situated between Fish Hoek and Sun Valley to the west and between Fish Hoek and Clovelly to the north as a result of the Silvermine River flowing through the valley. These wetlands are designated as Critical Biodiversity Areas (CBAs) as part of the Cape Town Biodiversity Network. Due to the coastal location of the study area, its beaches are important sites of attraction and destinations for people living throughout Cape Town (Fig. 5.15).



Figure 5.13: Road access and public transport in the study area. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014); GIS data (ENPAT, 2014; Slingsby, 2014)



Figure 5.14: Environmental attributes of the study area and its surroundings.

Source: by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014); GIS data (CoCT, 2012, 2013; ENPAT, 2014).



Figure 5.15: Beaches in the study area – Danger Beach (top left), Kalk Bay beach (top right), Fish Hoek beach (bottom).
Source: author's own (October 2014).

5.2.4. Economy, development and property trends

The fishing industry in Kalk Bay

It is clear from the historical background of Kalk Bay that fishing has been a significant element in Kalk Bay's development over centuries and remains an important component of the town's identity. Fishing remains an important economic activity in Kalk Bay, although its economic viability is questionable. Most of the fishermen in Kalk Bay are still hand line fishermen, which is a traditional and quite a low-yielding fishing technique compared to methods used by large-scale fishing companies (Bohlin, 2007). Each fisherman operates on a freelance basis, pays for a spot as a crewmember on a boat and keeps the earnings from his own catch (Bohlin, 2007; Resident D, interview, 31 August 2014). It is difficult to determine how many Kalk Bay residents are still fishermen. Among the resident interview respondents, two of them are directly involved – Resident D being a fifth generation fisherman and having worked as a fisherman in Kalk Bay for over 50 years and Resident A being an active skipper. Resident B, while not a fisherman himself, is involved indirectly in the fishing industry as his brother and father are fishermen. Similarly, resident C's fiancé is a fisherman. The fishermen not only support themselves and their families, but also the hawkers at the harbour who buy the catches to sell.

There are a number of issues which have impacted the livelihoods of the KBHFC over time, as discussed in the historical context of Kalk Bay. Additionally, the fishermen have been under pressure from poaching in the bay, which particularly targets fish stocks close to the shore and high-value species, such as abalone and rock lobster – species traditionally caught by small-scale fishermen (Benkenstein, 2013; Marrs, 2014). Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014) states that "the new fishing policy has devastated the traditional way fishing was done". Their fishing licences are very limited thus their level of return is very low relative to the costs. Resident D said: "I can see fishing has slacked...so we are grateful for the few quotas that fisheries are giving" (interview, 31 August 2014). But the latest fishing rights allocation process, described below, can only be described as a disaster for Kalk Bay and other small-scale fishing communities.

Fishing Rights Allocation Process 2013/2014

The latest issue roots from the outcomes of the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) fishing rights allocation process, which was not exclusive to Kalk Bay fishermen but a countrywide phenomenon. The fishermen had to re-apply for their rights in 2013 as their fishing rights that were extended in 2005 were due to expire on New Year's Eve 2013 (Knoetze, 2014). Only 115 of the 303 existing line fish permit holders in the Western Cape were successful in their reapplication for rights (Knoetze, 2014). This left the remaining fishermen, many of whom have been fishermen for decades and part of families who have survived off the sea for generations, with no income (Gosling, 2014a).

The fishermen reacted to their denial of fishing rights "with threats of lawlessness and acts of despair" (Knoetze, 2014). A DA MP, Mark Wiley, advised the Kalk Bay Ratepayers' Association and businesses to support the fishermen as he believed that the denial of fishing rights threatens the Kalk Bay fishing community and the identity of the village (Gosling, 2014a). Joao Simoes, a Kalk Bay crewman for over 20 years, has proposed that the old Kalk Bay fishing vessels be declared "moving national monuments" (Gosling, 2014a). His proposal aims to ensure that jobs will always be available for crewmen by attaching the licence to fish to the boat, rather than the owner (Gosling, 2014a). What has exacerbated the situation further is that 100 new applicants were granted licences (Knoetze, 2014). According to Marrs (2014), these new entrants into the industry are black African and a result of the department's drive for "transformation".

Both Wally Croome, the chairman of the South African Commercial Linefish Association (SACLA) and the DA spokesman for agriculture, forestry and fisheries, Pieter van Dalen, have cautioned that the denial of fishing rights will have significant implications for jobs and food security in the Western Cape (Knoetze, 2014). The denial of fishing rights not only denies the right holder a livelihood, but also the eight to ten people usually employed by each right holder to work on a fishing vessel as well as the hawkers who work as middlemen between fishermen and consumers at the harbour (Knoetze, 2014). Many people in Cape Town rely on fish, especially snoek, as an affordable source of protein and less fish could result in greater demand and higher prices (Knoetze, 2014).

The fishing rights allocation process went under review and a number of legal actions ensued against the DAFF. As a result, Tina Joemat-Pettersson, the minister of DAFF at the time, launched an investigation into the rights allocation process (Marrs, 2014). Joemat-Pettersson then set aside the entire 2013 rights allocation process in May 2014 (Underhill, 2014). The rights allocation process was considered "fatally flawed and would not stand up to a court challenge" (Gosling, 2014b). Although this flawed process affected Kalk Bay's fishermen very negatively, resident A asserts that "there are far greater things that have affected us negatively even with a successful allocation" (interview, 19 August 2014). One of these issues is the lack of proper management or regulation of fishing rights when they are allocated to the community.

Positive prospects for the Kalk Bay fishing industry

Despite the apparent pressures on the small-scale fishing industry, members of the fishing community still seem attached to the harbour and to their fishing heritage. Resident D states that it is the only life he has ever known, and although he has struggled financially his whole life due to the insecurity of the fishing lifestyle, he still describes it as "a good life; it's a clean life" (interview, 31 August 2014). A glimmer of hope for the future of the KBHFC is the fact that the Marine Living Resources Amendment Act (No. 5 of 2014) was signed into law in May 2014. Up until the passing of the Amendment Act this year, the Marine Living Resources Act (No. 18 of 1998) did not legally recognise small-scale fishers and historic fishing communities, such as the traditional fishing community in Kalk Bay (Masifundise, 2014). The long term fisheries allocation in 2005 also completely excluded small-scale fishers, which was later regarded as discriminatory and initiated the development of the 'Policy for the Small Scale Fisheries Sector in South Africa', which was adopted by Cabinet in June 2012 (Masifundise, 2014). The new policy will allocate rights to small-scale fishing communities rather than allocating rights to individuals. According to the policy, "this shift gives preference to the fishers and communities that can demonstrate their historical involvement in the sector and the use of traditional fishing practices" (Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries [DAFF], 2012: 17-18). Resident A, a skipper, states that for the first time the law recognises historical fishing communities and that these communities have to directly benefit from the ocean's resources

(interview, 19 August 2014). Furthermore, he believes that the small-scale policy will "revolutionise" fishing communities across South Africa as they will be able to form cooperatives and access rights to multiple species, which is how traditional fishing used to be before the restrictive allocation of fishing rights.

Potential options for diversification of the harbour area

According to Bohlin (2007: 28), "although the harbour in Kalk Bay is a well-known and popular tourist destination...it remains foremost a small scale work place". There have been lots of ideas over time about the possibilities for diversifying the harbour area, including turning it into a recreational harbour. But the small size of the harbour area and of Kalk Bay as a whole limits the extent of development and the types of activities possible (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014). Some of the members of the fishing community would like the harbour to be declared a heritage site.

The growth of the tertiary economy in Kalk Bay

As stated in the history, Kalk Bay went into decline as a neighbourhood shopping centre during the 1970s and then regenerated as a popular setting for restaurants. While the Kalk Bay harbour is still in use as a fishing harbour, the restaurant industry has now become a focal point of the harbour through the development of a number of restaurants, including the upmarket Harbour House, Polana and Live Bait as well as two seafood take-away restaurants – Lucky Fish and Kalky's. Michael Townsend, who owns Harbour House, Polana, Live Bait and Lucky Fish as well as a number of other establishments in the town, and other prominent restaurant owners such as Brass Bell owner, Tony White, have attempted to build upon Kalk Bay's identity and attractiveness to develop some of the most well-known restaurants in the Cape. As Bohlin (2007: 40) notes: "the fishing 'lifestyle' is vicariously consumed and experienced in a number of shops, cafés and restaurants on Main Road". Along with numerous restaurants and cafés, other commercial activity includes clothing boutiques, antique stores and art galleries, many of which seem tailored towards its tourist appeal. There is now only one supermarket in Kalk Bay.

Spatial trends of economic activity and development

Commercial activity along Main Road

Commercial activity has remained strong along Kalk Bay Main Road with the ongoing development of restaurants, cafés, clothing stores and antique stores, among others (Fig. 5.16). According to Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014), there are now 26 restaurants in Kalk Bay alone. The Brass Bell is the only long-standing establishment in Kalk Bay. After the decline of Kalk Bay as a neighbourhood shopping centre, people bought up properties along Main Road and began leasing them out to businesses, in contrast to the original trend in which there were high levels of local living and local business ownership (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014). The people that run businesses in Kalk Bay are not often the property owners, which has implications for the management of the business strip and has affected the success of a business association in the area (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014). Resident C says that she would like to see more businesses owned by Kalk Bay locals in order to drive local economic development. The rental prices for business premises in Kalk Bay are much higher than in Fish Hoek (White, interview, 9 September 2014).



Figure 5.16: Commercial activity along Kalk Bay Main Road. **Source:** author's own (August and October 2014).



Commercial activity along Fish Hoek Main Road, on the other hand, has suffered as a result of the development of Long Beach Mall in 2001 in the neighbouring area of Sun Valley, indicated on Figure 5.9. Unlike Kalk Bay, which is more of a dining destination, Fish Hoek is a commercial strip. Moving from the north of Main Road to the south, the types of activities currently present are beach apartments, residential complexes, a police station, electrical repairs, a Chinese restaurant, petrol stations, *Shoprite Checkers*, vehicle dealerships, *Pep*, auto repair centre, furniture shops, cell phone shops, Chinese clothing stores, banks, *KFC* and other takeaway chains, property agents and the Arcade shopping centre which has a *Pick n Pay* and *CNA*, among many other shops. With the development of the mall, a lot of the bigger shops left and the smaller ones could not survive as they no longer had the clientele (Holwill, interview, 8 September 2014). Resident E notes that Fish Hoek Main Road is a lot less conducive to smaller local businesses compared to Kalk Bay Main Road and if they do open, they tend to close quite quickly (interview, 3 September 2014).

According to Holwill (interview, 8 September 2014), another reason for Main Road's decline is that there is no forward thinking about the types of establishments that would add value to the area. Another issue is that there are many different landlords, some of whom are absentee landlords. Holwill (interview, 8 September 2014) argues that "all that absentee landlord wants is someone to pay the rent. Whether it's a shop that's desirable for the town or not is totally immaterial". The Arcade shopping centre is a relatively recent development. While the *Pick n Pay* in the Arcade does quite well, it has not been enough to uplift the Main Road area. A new shopping mall is currently being planned for Sun Valley, also indicated on figure 5.9, which will include a *Shoprite Checkers* and a *Virgin Active*. This is likely to have further negative implications for the state of commercial activity in the Main Road area.

The Brass Bell Restaurant extensions and subsequent disputes

Recently, the Brass Bell restaurant in Kalk Bay has undergone a large amount of public scrutiny as a result of extensions to the restaurant and the erection of decks on the beach area surrounding the tidal pools. Extensions at the Brass Bell have happened gradually

over the last 30 years with the owner, Tony White, acquiring the beach section alongside the tidal pools in November 2011 (White, interview, 9 September 2014). The location of the Brass Bell is indicated on Figure 5.17. The Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) owns all of the property in that area and White leases the land from PRASA; thus, the City has no jurisdiction over the property. Before White undertook the latest extensions, he submitted the plans to PRASA and they were passed. White then went ahead with the development on the beach. Only after the decks had already been built, White found out that he needed development approval under the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA). Under section 24G of NEMA,⁴ White applied for approval and the outcome of that process is still pending (White, interview, 9 September 2014). After the development had gone ahead, there was an outcry from local residents in response to access to the beach and the tidal pools being compromised, and the fact that there was no public participation in the development process. Resident A contended that the Coloured community was not permitted to use the tidal pools during apartheid and now they are once again being restricted from using the facilities. Resident A expressed that "what the Brass Bell is now doing is creating an exclusive area for the patrons...and reminding us of a past that we're trying to avoid" (interview, 19 August 2014). The KBHFC held two protests at the public pools on 8 June and 9 August 2014. Their community newsletter reads:

We demand action not years of negotiation which will ultimately only benefit business while the community suffers. We reject any proposal to limit the Cape Town Community's access to their public pools.

(KBHFC, 2014: 2)

White signed a memorandum of agreement (MOA) on 9 September 2014, the day I met with him. The MOA was developed between White, PRASA and the City of Cape Town's Department of Environmental Resource Management. The MOA ensures that access to the tidal pool is not compromised at any time. While the MOA ensures access to the pools, it does not ensure access to the beach alongside the pools.

⁴ NEMA Section 24G: Rectification of unlawful commencement of activity.

Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014), as a representative of the Kalk Bay-St James ratepayers' and residents' association, said that it was a pity that White went ahead with the development in that manner as there was potential for it to be a collaborative project between different role players in the area, and he believes that as a community "the best we can do is to use the pools as much as possible and precipitate a public community presence there as much as possible".



Figure 5.17: Prominent features in Kalk Bay. **Source:** by author (2014), base map (NGI, 2014).

Spatial trends of informal economic activity

The only informal trading in Fish Hoek happens along Main Road. The main trading spot is in Town Square, indicated on Figure 5.9, where the traders can hire spots, and there are a few other spots scattered along Main Road where people trade. These traders tend to be African foreign nationals from Malawi, Zimbabwe and Senegal who are quite polarised in terms of where they trade and who buys from them (Lindner, interview, 2 September 2014). In Kalk Bay, there are also a few spots along Main Road where informal traders sell crafts (Fig. 5.18). In addition, there is a fair amount of informal trading activity in the harbour area with traders selling crafts outside the Harbour House restaurant and hawkers who sell fish (Fig. 5.19).



Figure 5.18: Informal trading along Kalk Bay Main Road.

Source: author's own (October 2014).



Figure 5.19: Craft sellers and fish hawkers in the Kalk Bay harbour area.

Source: author's own (December 2012; October 2014).

Residential (re)developments

New residential development in Kalk Bay and St James is very limited due to the lack of empty space remaining. There are a few empty plots still available in the upper roads of Kalk Bay and St James; however, these are limited in size and will inevitably be single-dwelling homes should the plots be developed. There is development pressure in the area but these are mainly renovations or upgrades to existing property (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014).

A recent major development in Kalk Bay was the redevelopment of the old Majestic and New Kings hotels, which started in the early 2000s. As stated in the historical overview of the study area, the original Kings Hotel (the old Kings) was built in 1882 and was one of the first hotels in Kalk Bay. The old hotel was redeveloped into the New Kings Hotels in 1930 and remained a hotel until 1970 (Walker, 2004). The Majestic Hotel was developed in 1916 and it became an iconic hotel and landmark along the coast (Walker, 2004). The Majestic changed ownership a few times after World War II, initiating its decline which was most notable from 1968 until 1970, when it was placed into liquidation (Walker, 2004). Both hotels then became old age homes and later homes for the physically and mentally challenged, but then closed in 1997. After lying dormant for a number of years, the old hotels have been redeveloped into the Majestic Village – a combination of up-market apartments, townhouses and row houses as well as a coffee shop, spa and wellness centre, and bookstore (Property24, 2007). The development is located in the heart of Kalk Bay along Main Road and opposite the harbour, illustrated on Figure 5.17. The Majestic Village's website describes the development as follows:

True to the essence of urban renewal, 1920s buildings have been left intact...The result is a cosmopolitan village where cobbled piazzas intermingle with Edwardian grandeur, where historical meets contemporary.

(The Majestic Kalk Bay, n.d.)

Sales have ranged between R1.4 million and R7.1 million, a record price for Kalk Bay (Property24, 2007). Buyers include locals and foreigners, and have been described as a "cosmopolitan mix of almost exclusively professional couples and individuals" (Property24,

2007). Some of the respondents agree that the development was a success as it was redeveloped in a very sensitive manner and has contributed to the local character and the uplift of Kalk Bay. Two of the respondents from the fishing community expressed negativity about many of the flats in the "crown jewel" of Kalk Bay being owned by foreigners (residents A and B, interviews, 19 August 2014). Historical and current photographs of the hotels are shown in figures 5.20 and 5.21.

There does not appear to be any new large-scale residential development in Fish Hoek itself, most likely due to the lack of available land for development. According to the property agents (interview, 9 September 2014), what is becoming more common in Fish Hoek is that large houses are being subdivided or sectionalised if the zoning allows it. Just outside of the study boundary to the south-east of Fish Hoek, a gated security estate called Stone Haven is one of the most recent developments in the area. On the vacant land just below Stone Haven (along the corner of Kommetjie Road and the Glencairn Expressway), an upmarket retirement village called Evergreen Lifestyle Noordhoek is being planned.

Road works along Main Road

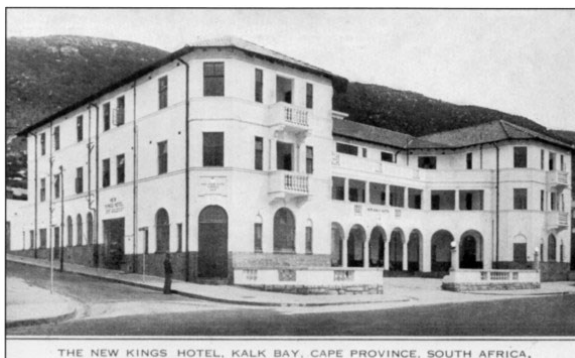
The road works which have been taking place along Main Road from Muizenberg to Fish Hoek have been a massive public investment in the built environment. Not only have they installed new water supply pipes, they have greatly improved the public spaces alongside the road, with people now using the newly landscaped pavements as a promenade (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014).



1917 (Mike Deeks collection)



1930



(Ryno Greenwall collection)

Figure 5.20: The Majestic Hotel in 1917 (top) and 1930 (middle), and the New Kings Hotel. **Source:** Walker (2004).



Figure 5.21: The redeveloped Majestic (top) and New Kings (bottom) hotels in the present day. **Source:** author's own (October 2014).

Residents' attitudes towards commercialisation of spaces in Kalk Bay-St James

All of the interview respondents from the KBHFC strongly emphasised the limited amount of space available to the fishing community in Kalk Bay. Who they blame for this differed from resident to resident. Residents A and B blame local government for not considering the community's needs for growth and for not providing land for affordable homes within the area as they feel that they have a historic right to stay in the area (interview, 19 August 2014). Resident D, an elderly resident, tended to frame issues around race, contending that "we can see how the whites are squeezing us from Clovelly side and from St James side" (interview, 31 August 2014). Additionally, resident D says he cannot understand why Kalk Bay Main Road has changed to the extent that it has, arguing that "Kalk Bay is firmly in the hands of the whites". After speaking with some of the people that participated in the protests against the Brass Bell, it is clear that the protest represented a set of grievances held by the fishing community in relation to the ways in which Kalk Bay has changed over time, in particular the commercialisation of space and the "spectacular arrogance" of certain business owners (KBHFC, 2014: 2). It is evident in the following statement in the KBHFC Newsletter, which reads:

The cultural and traditional identities of the fishing village are being eroded away and boxed into a small geographical area of Kalk Bay which is also threatened by private property developers and restaurant owners.

(KBHFC, 2014: 2)

Resident A argues that Kalk Bay is now "tailored more towards patrons and business and less towards community life...especially the multicultural life that has developed over the centuries" (interview, 19 August 2014). Resident C also spoke of feeling ostracised when walking into local shops as the shop assistants seem to be on "high alert" (interview, 31 August 2014). She said the only establishments that they utilise in Kalk Bay are the supermarket and Kalky's, the seafood take-away in the harbour area. Respondents from the fishing community seem to be resentful of this shift as they feel that they have been excluded from the mainstream markets, such as tourism. They also expressed resentment that the majority of land in such a small town is owned by a few people whereas the fishing community has been limited to their small area for years. Resident C asserts that

"back then it was apartheid, today it is gentrification" (interview, 31 August 2014).

Furthermore, the businesses in the area do not seem to be contributing significantly to local job and income creation. Members of the KBHFC feel that some of the business owners are just using the heritage of the fishing community as a business strategy but not giving anything back to the community, although resident A did say that local restaurant owner, Michael Townsend, does employ a few local people and pays for two children's schooling.

The property market

Property prices fluctuate considerably across the study area. Fish Hoek, in general, has much lower property prices with a median price of R1 465 000 for sales up until August this year (CMA Info, 2014a). The median price for houses sold in Kalk Bay during the same period is R3.3 million (CMA Info, 2014b), and an estimated R5.8 million for St James (Property24, 2014). These are just the median selling prices, and selling prices can be higher or lower depending on the property itself, as indicated in figures 5.22 and 5.23. It is clear that there is a big price difference between Fish Hoek and both Kalk Bay and St James. Between 2005 and August 2014, property prices have increased by 58% in Fish Hoek with quite a gradual increasing trend over the 10-year period. In Kalk Bay, the median selling price increased by 70% over time but demonstrated a much more variable pattern. According to property agent B (interview, 9 September 2014), growth in Kalk Bay has been fairly stable and incremental over time but is quite slow-moving due to the higher property prices. The growth in the selling prices of the three suburbs in the study area has been quite low relative to Cape Town's growth of 142% between 2005 and 2014. It is clear from the graphs that the property market in the study area is buoyant from one year to the next. Overall, there has been increase in the number of sales over time, except for the notable decrease during the economic downturn of 2008 and 2009. This trend suggests a greater interest in properties in the study area.

According to the property agents (interview, 9 September 2014), Fish Hoek is a very popular area for first-time home buyers, with the greatest demand for property being

entry-level, family homes. There is very little stock within this price bracket because the demand is so high. Properties in the avenues tend to sell for between R1.3 and R1.7 million and properties in the crescents range between R1.1 and R1.6 million (Property agent A, interview, 9 September 2014). These properties are sought after because of their close proximity to community facilities. Properties on the mountainside tend to range from R2.3 to R6 million and these properties are more comparable to properties in Kalk Bay in terms of their price. However, value for money is still greater in Fish Hoek even for mountainside properties.

Rose-Innes (interview, 8 September 2014) believes that property prices in Fish Hoek have increased more in the residential complexes that offer good security compared to the houses on the mountainside. The property agents reiterate this trend that "security is certainly one of the driving factors of demand at the moment" (interview, 9 September 2014). Rental property in Fish Hoek tends to be mostly blocks of flats which are located closer to Main Road and thus closer to the commercial strip and public transport. As a resident who rents, resident E believes that there is a lot of rental property available in Fish Hoek but it tends to come and go very quickly, especially if it is in the cheaper price brackets (interview, 3 September 2014). The same sentiment is shared by the property agents. Thus, the demand for rental property is clearly very high. One of the factors is that while there is new development in the area, there is not much new affordable development, and when people cannot afford to purchase in an area, they often resort to renting (Property agent B, interview, 9 September 2014).

Residents' concerns around affordability of property

Holwill, the chairperson of the Fish Hoek Valley Ratepayers' and Residents' Association (FHVRRRA), says that she is not aware of any concern among residents in Fish Hoek around the affordability of remaining in the area (interview, 9 September 2014). In fact, it seems that more people are starting to consider Fish Hoek as an option as other areas of Cape Town become increasingly expensive. Then as Fish Hoek becomes a bit more expensive, people start looking for property even further south, in areas such as Glencairn (Property agents, interview, 9 September 2014). In Kalk Bay-St James, on the other hand, concerns

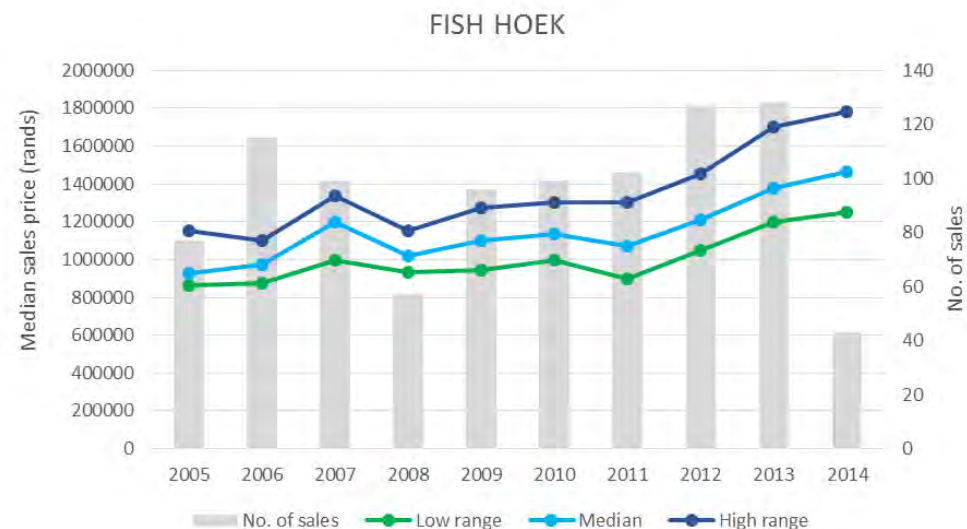


Figure 5.22: Low, median and high selling prices and number of sales of properties in Fish Hoek from 2005 to August 2014. **Source:** CMA info (2014a).

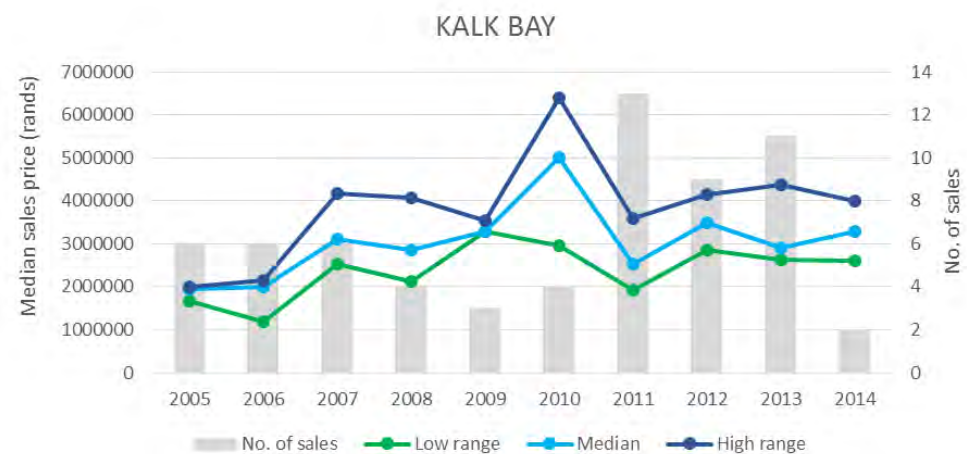


Figure 5.23: Low, median and high selling prices and number of sales of properties in Kalk Bay from 2005 to August 2014. **Source:** CMA info (2014b).

around affordability seem to be a prominent issue. Resident A, a former resident of Kalk Bay from birth, stated that he moved to Lakeside several years ago because of the property prices in Kalk Bay, but still returns to Kalk Bay almost daily as he is an active skipper (interview, 19 August 2014). Some of the interview respondents from the KBHFC are concerned about owners of the fishermen's flats selling their flats. According to resident C, property agents and "outsiders" have shown interest in the flats. Three of the interview respondents from the KBHFC brought up the fact that one of the last remaining fishermen's cottages, seen in Figure 5.24, had recently been bought by a local business owner for about R900 000, renovated and then put on the market. It can now be found on the *property24* website on sale for R3.2 million. Resident A asserts: "we have a population that is under pressure because of a lack of affordable homes" (interview, 19 August 2014). He stated that some of the members of the fishing community have been on a waiting list for 15 years for rental homes, and that they were hopeful with the development of the Steenberg rental complex but they were told that they do not qualify for that area. The lack of affordable housing in Kalk Bay has led to overcrowding in the fishermen's flats.

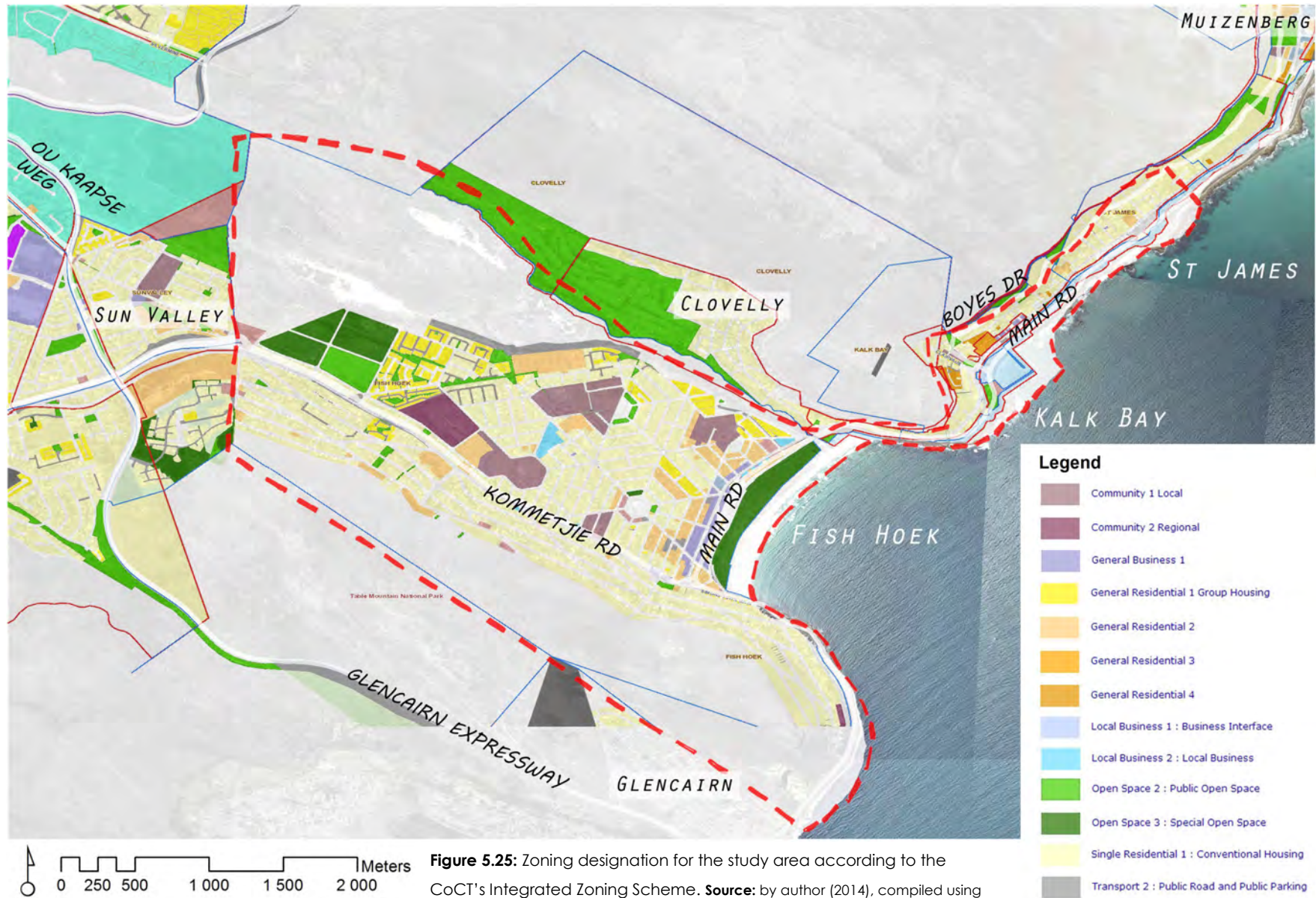
5.2.5. Urban governance and management

Zoning

The designated zoning categories according to the CoCT's Integrated Zoning Scheme (IZS) (2012) for the study area are illustrated in Figure 5.25. The most prominent residential zoning is Single Residential 1 (SR1) while business tends to be zoned General Business 1.



Figure 5.24: The newly-bought and renovated fishermen's cottage. **Source:** author's own (August 2014)



Local governance and management

There are a number of associations with different roles operating in the study area. As stated previously, the study area is under the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town and falls within subcouncil 19 and ward 64. From 1940 onwards, Fish Hoek was an independent municipality with its own councillors and mayor (Cobern, 2003). In 1995, the South Peninsula Municipality was established, which included all areas from Wynberg to Cape Point. Then in 2000, the South Peninsula Municipality became part of the Cape Town Unicity, a system which remains today. Rose-Innes, secretary of the FHVRRA, notes that because Fish Hoek is now part of Cape Town's extensive metropolitan municipality, any money earned in Fish Hoek, for example from the parking charge at the beach, goes into the central coffers and does not come directly back to Fish Hoek (interview, 8 September 2014). This has resulted in the Fish Hoek beach being maintained and managed at a very low standard (Lindner, interview, 2 September 2014; Rose-Innes, interview, 8 September 2014).

The ratepayers' and residents' associations active in the area play an important role in engaging with residents and with ward councillors to help put forward the interests of those areas. The role of these associations is one of a watchdog in order to police development and ensure its compliance with the City's IZS. According to Rose-Innes, the membership base of the FHVRRA is only a small percentage of the residents and ratepayers (interview, 8 September 2014). Some of the main concerns of the FHVRRA are: trading practices in Fish Hoek; monitoring the beach; traffic congestion; design considerations of new development; development along the urban edge; and applications for liquor licences, which is an especially pertinent issue in Fish Hoek because it is a 'dry' town (Rose-Innes and Holwill, interview, 8 September 2014). Because of the natural beauty of the area and its contribution to the local economy, the FHVRRA is particularly concerned with development that might negatively impact the environment. The FHVRRA is in favour of densification in the Fish Hoek valley if it is planned in conjunction with a public transport plan (Rose-Innes, interview, 8 September 2014). Holwill states that "we're not negative to development but we do point out things that we feel the City should be aware of", such as adequate sewerage, water supply, electricity, storm water

and transport (interview, 8 September 2014). The FHVRRA participated extensively in the formulation of the City's IZS. The City has recently appointed the CSIR to undertake a strategic environmental assessment (SEA) in Fish Hoek, which is expected to become an important document in guiding development in the area. The FHVRRA is currently trying to push for the development of activity centres for the youth, such as a skate park, in response to the issue that there is little for young people to do in Fish Hoek (Rose-Innes and Holwill, interview, 8 September 2014).

The Kalk Bay-St James Ratepayers' and Residents' Association (KBSTRRA) is active in overseeing development applications in the area since the Kalk Bay-St James area is a declared Urban Conservation Zone. Cape Town's IZS has designated Kalk Bay and St James as a heritage protection area (CoCT, 2012b). Accordingly, all new development and alterations need to be approved by the CoCT's Urban Conservation branch and require comment from the KBSTRRA's heritage and development applications subcommittee, chaired by Barrie Gasson. The association has developed a set of guidelines and regulations for development to ensure that "we as a community value our streetscapes and acknowledge it as one of the major assets of this unique area" (Kalk Bay and St James Community Website, n.d.). According to Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014), they are consulted about development plans and they have a measure of influence but they cannot make final decisions. White (interview, 9 September 2014) notes that although development often takes longer because the area is an urban conservation zone, "things are often done sensitively...it only means that whatever happens usually increases the attractiveness of Kalk Bay".

Aside from the ratepayers' and residents' associations operating in the study area, there are supplementary forms of urban management in both Fish Hoek and Kalk Bay-St James. Fish Hoek's business district is a City Improvement District (CID), which commenced in January 2001 (Johnstone, 2003). Some of its main responsibilities are security and street cleaning. Together, Kalk Bay and St James have recently been established as a Special Rating Area (SRA). While the Fish Hoek CID focused solely on the commercial Main Road area, the Kalk Bay St James SRA (KBSTRRA) encompasses both the residential and

commercial areas, although the committee want the SRA-appointed security guards to be active mainly in the residential areas (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014). As a result of the SRA, property owners in Kalk Bay and St James now pay an additional levy of about R43 for every R1 million of the municipal valuation of residential rateable properties and R125 for each R1 million of the municipal valuation of commercial rateable properties. This levy is added to their monthly rates bill. According to the KBSJSRA's business plan and budget, approximately R1.2 million is the budget for the first year of which 67% is due to be spent on public safety services; 6% on cleansing and maintenance of public spaces; 5% on a part time social worker; and 15% on management and other costs (KBSTRA, official website, 2014). Because the Section 21 company is still in the process of being formed, the money collected from the SRA levy cannot be used yet so the running of the SRA is being funded by various private people in the interim (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014). Some of the residents in Kalk Bay and St James have expressed concern about being able to afford the additional SRA levy, particularly elderly and lower income residents. Additionally, some of the residents in Kalk Bay and St James have objected to rates increases in the area, which typically arise as their properties are over-valued by the municipality (Gasson, interview, 4 September 2014).

Members of the fishing community have established a Kalk Bay Fishermen's Residents' Association, which has been active and has faded over time (Resident A, interview, 19 August 2014). Some of the younger members are trying to re-establish the association in order to champion of the interests of the fishing community and represent themselves. For instance, they are trying to develop a by-law or some mechanism, which will compel flat owners to sell their flats back to the community should they wish to sell. Ideally, they want some way to protect the fishermen's flats from getting into the hands of private property developers. Along with fighting for land and affordable homes, they want to find ways to generate inclusive economic growth that allows the fishing community to prosper as well.

Residents' attitudes towards leadership

Respondents from the KBHFC had almost only negative things to say about the leadership in Kalk Bay-St James. Resident A believes that the KBSTRRA has "taken over as the voice of

the area...and portraying the fact that they represent the fishing community as well or the interests of them but they don't" (interview, 19 August 2014). He contends that nothing that the KBSTRRA has ever proposed or implemented has benefited the community in any way. When asked whether members of the fishing community are active in the association, resident A stated that some of the members of the community do occasionally attend meeting but that they have no influence on any of the major decisions (interview, 19 August 2014). Resident C expressed frustration that there are so many channels to go through when wanting to start something in the area and then after going through the channels, they get denied. She resents having to ask permission when "we [the fishing community] were here first" (interview, 31 August 2014).

Furthermore, there seems to be confusion among residents in the fishing community about the roles and responsibilities of the KBSTRRA and the SRA, with residents often conflating the two associations during the interviews. While the respondents from the fishing community agreed that the SRA may be needed, they seemed suspicious of the association and accused them of "trying to infiltrate the community" (Resident A, interview, 19 August 2014). Resident C was also very negative about the SRA and the KBSTRRA, proclaiming: "Do they want to be in charge of us again? Do they want to tell us how to live in this community? I don't think so. It's like history repeating itself" (interview, 31 August 2014). For members of the KBHFC, there is clearly some resonance between the current decision-making processes and organisations, and those during apartheid and before.

5.3. CONCLUSION

It is clear from the history of Kalk Bay that the fishing community has faced a number of pressures over time – from the original rise of Kalk Bay as a coastal town for tourists and non-fisherfolk residents, to the struggles in the fishing industry, to the declaration of the fishermen's living area as a slum, and to the racially exclusionary apartheid laws. Now the respondents from the KBHFC expressed that they feel physically and socially divided from the rest of Kalk Bay, excluded from the mainstream markets and excluded from the decision-making processes. Despite these pressures, there is still quite a large number of

people from the fishing community that remain in Kalk Bay. It seems clear that the fishing community makes up the majority of the lower income component of Kalk Bay's population; thus, there is much emphasis on the KBHFC, and this continues in the following chapter in which I interpret the findings presented in this chapter according to the analytical framework established in chapter two. Using the analytical framework, I attempt to answer the first overarching research question: what are the extent and outcomes of factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area?

INTRODUCTION

In the literature review in chapter two, I began to address the first overarching research question by identifying some of the significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in global South cities, with the purpose of establishing an analytical framework. In this chapter, I utilise the analytical framework in order to interpret the findings presented in chapter five. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the first overarching research question which asks: what are the extent and outcomes of factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area? Chapter seven follows in which I provide recommendations for addressing these exclusionary factors in the study area.

6.1. ANALYSING THE STUDY AREA ACCORDING TO THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

In this section, I analyse the findings presented in the previous chapter using the analytical framework established in chapter two. For each of the eight exclusionary factors, I attempt to critically analyse the extent and outcomes of these factors in the study area. As stated throughout, this research considers how these exclusionary factors affect lower income urban residents, which includes residents living in the area as well as lower income non-residents who may be excluded on the basis that they cannot afford to live in the area or to participate in the social activities of the area.

6.1.1. Labour market change and unemployment

As indicated in the previous chapter, the employment rate exceeds 90% throughout the study area. There is, however, a very high percentage of the population that is not economically active, suggesting high dependency on those that are employed. Additionally, a large component of the economically inactive population is most likely composed of retired people as about 28% of the population is 65 years and older, a trend illustrated in the population pyramids in chapter five (figure 5.6). Even though the employment rate of the working age population might be high, there are many residents who are beyond working age and may be relying on old age pensions, which offer a

maximum of R1350 per month (South Africa Government Services, 2014). Elderly residents are, therefore, likely to be feeling the burden of rising living costs.

For the KBHFC, there is insecurity in the fishing industry with regards to the allocation of fishing rights and the insecure nature of small-scale fishing where each fisherman works on a freelance basis. Thus, while unemployment may not appear to be a problem, the insecurity of employment may be a more significant driver of exclusion. While small-scale line fishing has never been a very financially rewarding job according to the respondents involved in fishing, recent events in the DAFF have shown how unstable and unpredictable the occupation can be. On the one hand, the fact that some of the members of the fishing community are still involved in fishing is one of the biggest reasons keeping them in the area but on the other hand, there is much uncertainty around the future viability of small-scale fishing in Kalk Bay and in other coastal areas of South Africa. DAFF's (2012) new "Policy for the Small Scale Fisheries Sector in South Africa" has the potential to bring some much-needed security to Kalk Bay's fishermen, which could minimise potential financial pressures that are driving their exclusion from the area.

Kalk Bay, St James and Fish Hoek are popular coastal towns, suiting the ideal of Cape Town being a prime tourist destination and desirable place to live, an ideal emphasised in Cape Town's policies, as discussed in chapter four. This ideal of a world-class city and economic restructuring in Cape Town towards tertiary sector activities has likely driven the growth of the service sector in Kalk Bay. Economic growth in Kalk Bay has undoubtedly centred on the restaurant industry and creative enterprises, such as art galleries and antique stores. These restaurants and stores may employ a few local residents as waiters, shop clerks or cleaning staff, but these do not offer significant contributions to local income generation nor to job creation, and consequently do not enable lower income households to benefit. This relates back to the quote by McCarthy (1999) cited in chapter two (section 2.5.1), which points to the fact that some groups are excluded from the benefits of economic restructuring and labour market change. These excluded groups tend to be the low skilled, often low income classes.

As stated in the previous chapter, there seem to be a fair amount of small businesses along Kalk Bay Main Road, suggesting that the urban environment is conducive to small business. However, this may change in the future as rentals for commercial space are on the rise with the growth in Kalk Bay's popularity. High rentals limit the ability of small businesses, especially those with limited capital, to open in the area. On the other hand, the declining state of Fish Hoek Main Road means that rentals for commercial space are not as high but the area has neither the foot traffic nor the attractiveness to shoppers, which are essential to enable small businesses to succeed. As noted by some of the interview respondents, without the big retail chains, such as Shoprite and Pick n Pay, Fish Hoek Main Road has little reason to attract people. There may be potential to expand informal trading activity along the Main Road commercial strip through the provision of infrastructure by the municipality. Supporting small, local businesses could drive local economic development and ameliorate the pressures on lower income households as a result of unemployment or insecure employment. I will elaborate on this in the following chapter.

6.1.2. Income and consumption

It is evident from the demographics section in the previous chapter that there has been a shift towards higher income groups throughout the study area. Although this trend is observed to some extent for Fish Hoek, there is still a diversity of income groups living in the area, with observed growth in the low income bracket. On the other hand, Kalk Bay and St James have experienced a much more dramatic shift towards higher income groups, indicating that a process of gentrification is underway. Many lower income urban residents are inevitably unable to afford to live in the study area owing to high property prices and rentals. I will discuss exclusion from the property market in sections 6.1.4 and 6.1.5.

One of the other factors that leads to exclusion is the fact that lower income urban residents are unable to participate in the consumption activities² of the area. In Kalk Bay, there has been a proliferation of consumption activities targeted mainly at wealthier locals and tourists. Most of the lower income respondents stated that they did not

participate in these consumption activities but did not explicitly state that it was because of low income. They rather gave reasons like "those businesses are biased towards the wealthy or tourists", implying that they could not afford to patronise these establishments. This relates back to the literature in chapter two (section 2.5.2), which discusses the fact that low or lack of income can limit access to opportunities for consumption and leisure - a significant aspect contained in the definition of social exclusion. Besides the beaches, tidal pools and Kalk Bay harbour, there are not many activities, commercial or otherwise, which cater to all income groups. In terms of shops, Kalk Bay Main Road only has one supermarket and the rest are expensive clothing boutiques, antique stores and others. I would argue that these establishments are expensive for the majority of Cape Town's residents, not just those in lower income groups. Therefore, there is little opportunity to do more affordable, everyday shopping in Kalk Bay. Fish Hoek Main Road is well-suited to this purpose with a variety of shops and supermarkets, which cater to a range of affordability levels. Among interview respondents, especially those in the KBHFC, this seemed to be an important factor contributing to their exclusion from the rest of the community. Thus, it appears that exclusion from the consumption activities offered in the area has a greater exclusionary effect on lower income urban residents in Kalk Bay relative to Fish Hoek.

6.1.3. Lack of access to services

The lack of access to services does not seem to be a significant issue in the study area according to the census data presented in chapter five, which indicates that over 99% of households have access to services, such as water, sanitation and formal housing. Not one interview respondent cited access to services as an issue. It seems that income levels are high enough in households across the study area that they are able to access basic services. As illustrated in chapter five, the study area is located in close proximity to public transport, although some of the respondents questioned the adequacy of these transport services. One of the issues observed is that road congestion is getting worse over time due to the limited number of roads accessing the study area and the over-reliance on private cars. Some of the interview respondents argued that the quality and reliability of public

¹ Consumption activities are defined as "access to durables, food expenditure (nutritional content), and expenditure relating to recreation, cultural and leisure activities" (Atkinson, 1998: 20).

transport services are not adequate to accommodate more users or to attract middle income users. This issue has major implications for future development in the study area as the road structure is regarded as being inadequate to support further development. Therefore, public transport will need to be improved if development is to continue. The only issue that was raised by respondents from the KBHFC with regards to services is the poor quality of the sports and recreation facility in the vicinity of the fishermen's flats. They believe that they have received a lower quality facility in relation to the park in the centre of Kalk Bay used by mainly middle income, white residents. Overall, I would not consider the lack of access to services to be an important exclusionary factor in the study area. The main issue with regards to services is the inadequacy of the existing road structure and public transport, and the implications of this for future development and the prospect of developing affordable housing. Along with transport, the FHVRRRA has also raised concerns about the adequacy of sewerage, water supply, electricity and storm water. If densification or further development is proposed, the capacity of these services will need to be expanded in line with development plans.

6.1.4. Urban land and property markets which do not work for lower income urban residents

The lack of affordable housing seems to be one of the most significant issues mentioned by lower income interview respondents. As stated in chapter two (section 2.5.4), South Africa's urban land markets mainly cater to middle and high income groups at the expense of lower income households. Land and property in the study area is well-located in terms of the quality of the natural and urban environment and its close proximity to public transport and the Main Road corridor. This means that land and property is typically expensive thereby excluding lower income households. Property prices are very high in St James and Kalk Bay with limited or no affordable housing. The only affordable housing in Kalk Bay appears to be the fishermen's flats; however, these are now individually owned and impacted by market forces. An outcome of the lack of affordable housing is that the fishermen's flats are becoming overcrowded, which is affecting standard of living and resulting in the flats deteriorating more rapidly. As stated in the previous chapter, there is a

fair amount of rental accommodation close to Fish Hoek Main Road where a number of blocks of flats can be found, some of which are quite run down. It is difficult to determine the extent of exclusion as a result of high rentals owing to a lack of quantitative data on this. But based on qualitative interviews with property agents and residents who rent in the area, there is no affordable rental accommodation in Kalk Bay-St James. There are some affordable options in Fish Hoek, but the demand for these is high and the demand is likely to be driving the market. Thus, it seems likely that exclusion from the rental property market is more significant in Kalk Bay-St James than in Fish Hoek although Fish Hoek's rental market is likely to become more exclusionary as high demand leads to higher rentals.

As stated previously, there has been limited recent residential development in the study area except for renovations to existing housing stock. The only large-scale development was the redevelopment of the Majestic Village in Kalk Bay, which does not cater for a range of affordability levels or a range of tenure options. A limiting factor to the development of new housing is the lack of vacant land in the study area. The only land that could be classified as vacant are extensive plots in Fish Hoek, which are currently utilised for sports and recreation and zoned as 'open space'. The zoning of these 'vacant' parcels as 'open space' could be a constraint to development in addition to the environmental attributes of these sites, both of which are outlined in chapter two as obstacles to development. In addition, the prevalence of single residential 1 (SR1) zones as the zoning for most residential property across the study area limits the potential for higher density housing provision as SR1 zoning provides for single-family dwelling homes only.

The census data indicate that home ownership has been and continues to be the dominant tenure status of residents in the study area. The proportion of households renting has, however, increased over time, indicating that there is more rental accommodation available in the study area than before. This could be driven by the high demand for rental accommodation as households cannot afford to purchase property. Property titling is not really an issue in the study area as all of the housing seems to fall within the formal housing market. Before the early 1990s when members of the KBHFC were given the

opportunity to purchase their flats, they may have felt the burden of not being able to access financial services, such as formal credit. Although, as Watson (2006) argues, having a legal property title does not necessarily lead to these opportunities in South Africa.

6.1.5. Urban regeneration, increased property prices and gentrification

As stated in chapter two, urban regeneration generally begins as a well-meaning attempt to revitalise an old or run-down area but gentrification is often the outcome. The recent redevelopment of the old Majestic and New Kings Hotels to create the Majestic Village was an attempt to drive Kalk Bay's regeneration through the redevelopment of old, disused building stock. Many of the respondents described the development as adding value to the area. However, it seems apparent that the redevelopment has helped to facilitate an already ongoing process of gentrification in the area as it has added more properties that are unaffordable to the masses, which has resulted in a number of foreign buyers – an issue with some of the KBHFC. The advertisements for the Majestic, cited in the previous chapter, speak of the kinds of buyers of these properties and imply a desired kind of buyer, which relates to Winkler's (2009) argument that the notion of the 'right kind' of household often implies intended gentrification. Whether or not gentrification was intended, the improved quality of the physical environment and the prices of the properties within the development are likely to have caused general increases in property values and rates, an outcome of which is the increased exclusion of lower income urban residents. As mentioned in section 6.1.2 of this chapter, there is an increasing number of households that earn higher incomes living in the study area, particularly in Kalk Bay and St James. As observed in the Woodstock and the Bo-Kaap cases in chapter two, some of the indicators of gentrification are improvements to building stock, increased property values and an increase in middle class residents. Some of the other indicators of gentrification observed in the study area are an aging population; a slight increase in education levels; and a decrease in the number households, suggesting displacement of residents. These are all signs that the area is in economic and social flux and that gentrification may be occurring in the study area. This may have been facilitated by the financially exclusionary property market.

In addition, there are strong efforts to protect the architectural heritage of Kalk Bay and St James. Urban heritage conservation is also a well-meaning and positive attempt to enhance the urban environment but as Donaldson et al (2012) argue, it is possible that urban heritage conservation contributes to processes of gentrification. Donaldson et al (2012) also argue that heritage conservation, as in the case of the Bo-Kaap, tends to focus on the built environment – the tangible heritage – with little focus on the heritage of the inhabitants of the area – the intangible heritage – leading to the displacement of the historic population. The same could be said for Kalk Bay-St James in which heritage conservation focuses solely on protecting and enhancing the built environment with what appears as no consideration for the protection of the historic fishing community. Interest in the fishermen's flats from property agents and developers may be an indication of downward raiding or what Lemanski (2014) refers to as 'hybrid gentrification', as described in chapter two. The fact that the last remaining fishermen's cottage was bought and is now on the market for more than triple the price is an indication that the property market and property investors are facilitating a process of regeneration and an outcome of regeneration is gentrification. Respondents from the KBHFC often used the term 'gentrification' to describe changes being experienced in Kalk Bay, and the pressures that are leading to their exclusion from the area.

Property prices have increased in Kalk Bay more substantially but Fish Hoek's growth has kept pace with Kalk Bay although the properties fall into lower price brackets (indicated on figures 5.23 and 5.24 in chapter five). This is evidence to suggest that the property market is becoming more financially exclusionary over time. Properties in coastal areas are likely to become more expensive over time, especially as Cape Town becomes an increasingly popular destination for tourists and foreign property buyers, a trend which has already contributed to the appreciation of Cape Town's property values, as noted in chapter four. This trend is unlikely to have a direct exclusionary effect on lower income urban residents as these property prices are already unaffordable for this income bracket. It will, however, have a knock-on effect on the lower end of the property market in Fish Hoek; for instance, as the houses on the mountainside become more expensive, properties in the valley are likely to become more expensive due to higher demand for

more affordable housing. An interesting trend is already being noted in Fish Hoek; with property becoming more expensive in other areas of Cape Town, there is a greater demand for the more affordable family homes in the Fish Hoek valley. This is a trend that is likely to continue into the future as Cape Town continues to be marketed as a desirable place to live thereby driving increases in property prices. It seems likely that with these increases in residential property prices in Cape Town, the properties in the Fish Hoek valley that currently fall into the lower price brackets of the property market in the study area will become increasingly more expensive thus exacerbating the degree of exclusion.

Unlike Kalk Bay's commercial strip along Main Road which has regenerated over the last decade, Fish Hoek Main Road has been in decline with even more potential for further decline with the opening of a new shopping mall in Sun Valley. Thus, the area around Fish Hoek Main Road, where most of the blocks of flats are located, is currently not an important factor in driving income exclusion. This area is likely to become the subject of regeneration at some point in the future given the precedent of Woodstock (described in box 2.1 in chapter two), which was in decline for many years. Unlike Woodstock, which is experiencing the effects of the inner city's urban regeneration policies and the establishment of creative industries, urban change in the study area is being driven by the desirability of Cape Town's coastal areas as places to live and as destinations for tourists. Should regeneration of Fish Hoek Main Road begin to occur, an outcome of this may be the development of new more expensive residential development and increase the degree of exclusion. Although these trends are not a reality at present, urban planning needs to consider the possibility of these trends coming to fruition and the implications of these trends for the exclusion of lower income urban residents.

6.1.6. Privatisation of and exclusion from urban spaces

The privatisation of and exclusion from urban spaces is another factor that seems to be a significant issue for interview respondents. The extensions at the Brass Bell Restaurant are an example of the privatisation of a coastal area since it resulted in a previously public beach and public tidal pools being turned into a commercial space thereby limiting freedom of movement. While access to the tidal pools is now open to the public at all

times, the space surrounding it is now a privately-owned commercial enterprise. Thus, in order to use the "Beach at the Bell", one must be a patron of the restaurant, which implies that you are able to afford to patronise such an establishment. For many lower income residents of Cape Town, this is not possible. Additionally, the development of restaurants at the Kalk Bay harbour represents another example of the privatisation of space. As in Dray (2009)'s research, referred to in chapter two, the privatisation of coastal areas has the potential to impact on the livelihoods of local subsistence fishers. While the KBHFC are small-scale fishers, not strictly subsistence fishers, there may be some members of the community as well as people that come from all over Cape Town who fish for subsistence or for recreation. Coastlines need to remain as public spaces for these purposes to ensure that people are not excluded, especially given the fact that the privatisation of these spaces tends to be for commercial activities that cater only for middle-upper income groups.

Moreover, most recent residential development in Fish Hoek and surrounds has been in the form of gated-style high security estates. As stated in chapter two, these forms of development represent the more visible manifestations of the privatisation of urban space. Similarly, the development of Long Beach mall and the planned development of a new mall in Sun Valley are also facilitating spatial exclusion through "the creation of fortified enclaves and a withdrawal from public space" (Lemanski, 2004: 101). In accordance with Lemanski (2004), the fear of crime or rather people's perceptions of crime and the need for security is fuelling this demand for high-security residential and retail complexes. Even the Majestic Village development in Kalk Bay is a gated village, which is closed off to all non-residents or people not permitted to enter.

As stated in the literature review, privatisation of and exclusion from urban space can take on other forms through, for example, forms of urban management, such as SRAs and CIDs. Both of these instruments of urban management have been adopted in the study area in an effort to increase security and the cleanliness of these urban areas. It is likely that through the KBSTRA those whose behaviour is not deemed conducive to the consumption activities of Kalk Bay may be excluded, as noted by Paasche et al (2014) to

be the case in the CCID. This is not to say that improved security and management of spaces is not needed, especially on the beach area in Kalk Bay, which was a concern for all respondents regardless of income. But as Van der Ploeg (unpublished, cited by Landman and Ntombela (2006)) warns, as soon as these responsibilities are transferred to private entities, that private entity can choose who to exclude. As mentioned in the previous chapter, some of the respondents from the KBHFC alluded to the fact that they felt like the SRA was, in part, implemented to infiltrate their community and control them, which has resonance with Mirafitab's (2012) recognition of the colonial legacies of these contemporary strategies of urban governance. The SRA also adds an additional levy onto the rates bills of residents in Kalk Bay and St James, which is a concern for some lower income residents, including the elderly. Although a small addition to rates, it could contribute to the financial pressures of lower income households.

These examples of social and spatial exclusion in the study area – the privatisation of a public coastal area, the proliferation of high security residential and retail complexes as well as contemporary forms of urban governance in the form of SRAs/CIDs – do not necessarily only affect lower income urban residents, but as Landman and Ntombela (2006) argue, poorer urban residents are most affected by such attempts at social and spatial exclusion as it can limit their ability to access facilities and opportunities, and achieve more sustainable livelihoods. These exclusionary factors are significantly affecting the study area, an outcome of which is a more exclusionary urban form and structure.

6.1.7. Exclusionary perceptions of the 'other'

It is difficult to determine the extent of this factor in the study area as I did not directly ask the interview respondents about this. Sometimes respondents alluded to their own exclusionary attitudes or the feelings of exclusion that they experience. On the part of the respondents from KBHFC, they seem to feel ostracised from the 'white sector' in Kalk Bay. They often used 'us' and 'them' language, which Lemanski and Saff (2010) state is common in exclusionary discourse. All of the respondents from the KBHFC distinguished between 'their' community – the fishing community – and the rest of the Kalk Bay

population. In accordance with Lemanski and Saff's (2010) observation, residents often ascribe positive characteristics to 'us' and negative ones to 'them'.

As noted in the previous section, the trend towards privatisation of urban space through, for instance, high security residential and retail complexes indicates a desire to exclude others but also to self-exclude. Similarly, as Landman and Ntombela (2006) note, these forms of development represent a way for "dominant groups in society to take various measures to privatise public space as means of creating order, control, predictability, comfort, sameness and security". As Sandercock (2003) argues, these exclusionary forms of development are often in response to the fear of the "stranger within".

6.1.8. Uneven power relations and exclusion from decision-making

It appears that the governance structures within the study area, such as the executive committees of the ratepayers' and residents' associations as well as the KBSTSRA committee, are dominated by middle income, predominantly white, residents. As discussed in the literature review in chapter two, what results is uneven power relations as particular socioeconomic groups tend to be the dominant voice in these organisations. Based on responses from the interviews with residents from the KBHFC, they feel excluded from decision-making processes that affect them. While they felt excluded, it is also my impression that they were self-excluding. They seemed resentful of the existing power structures and they also appeared to be disillusioned with the decision-making processes. They also felt as if information was withheld from them at times in order to intentionally disempower them. As Beall et al (2002) describe, one of the biggest challenges with urban governance is trying to address the competing agendas of middle-upper classes and the urban poor. There are definitely competing agendas between these classes in the study area, most notable in Kalk Bay-St James. A priority for the KBHFC is the provision of affordable housing and land to be allocated to them for heritage projects and other community facilities. I do not know whether or not these are even on the agenda of the KBSTRRA but this could be due to the lack of communication between the KBHFC and the KBSTRRA. What is clear from the responses during interviews is that the existing power and decision-making structures are not effective at meeting the needs of lower income

residents; thus, leading to their exclusion from decision-making. This factor will be addressed in the following chapter.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

Based on the above interpretation of the research findings, exclusion is taking place in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area. Many of these exclusionary pressures are currently being experienced to a greater extent and with more significant outcomes in Kalk Bay and St James relative to Fish Hoek, although Fish Hoek is experiencing exclusion but not as high up the income ladder. I would argue that lower income or even lower-middle class households could not afford to live in Kalk Bay and St James and that the only reason the fishing community is still there is because they own their flats and they have a historic connection with the area. The exclusionary pressures affecting Kalk Bay are significantly impacting the historic fishing community – who were historically and remain the lower income, working class component of Kalk Bay's population. While history indicates that they have suffered a number of attempts to exclude and expel them from the area in the past, there is no longer a set of actors deliberately driving their exclusion from the area. It is now market forces and gradual processes of gentrification that are threatening their existence in the area. It may be inevitable that due to the market value of property in Kalk Bay and St James, and the push towards more tourist-driven commercial activity in the area and in Cape Town in general, that the fishing community and other lower income urban residents may be excluded from the area. It also may not be sensible for lower income residents to remain with limited economic and employment opportunities in the area. But it would be a great pity for the fishing community to be gradually forced out of Kalk Bay since they have a long history in the area and the presence of the fishing community is often credited with giving Kalk Bay its charm and character. I believe that they have a historic right to continue living in Kalk Bay and utilising the ocean's resources, despite the pressures from market forces. Thus, in the following chapter I will suggest a number of recommendations to address the key factors that are potentially leading to the exclusion of the KBHFC and other lower income urban residents in the area.

Exclusionary pressures are likely to intensify in Fish Hoek in the future as property prices

continue to rise given the popularity of coastal properties in Cape Town. One factor that is affecting Fish Hoek at a much larger scale and is influencing Fish Hoek's urban form to create a more exclusionary environment is the privatisation of and exclusion from urban spaces through the proliferation of high security residential and retail complexes in Fish Hoek. These commercial developments are contributing to the decline of Fish Hoek's Main Road area. As stated in section 6.1.5 of this chapter, Fish Hoek Main Road has been and continues to be in decline, and given its decline, it is likely to become the subject of regeneration initiatives in the future, especially considering its location and the ongoing regeneration of Kalk Bay Main Road. This may exacerbate existing pressures on lower income residents. Thus, recommendations for Fish Hoek outlined in the following chapter focus on improving the quality of residential and commercial spaces in the Main Road area but in a manner that is not economically exclusive; in other words, proposing mechanisms for regeneration that do not inevitably lead to exclusionary gentrification. Furthermore, I will investigate the possibility of developing new affordable housing in Fish Hoek, together with suggesting improvements to the public transport network in order to support further development in the area.

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I attempted to answer the first overarching research question by determining the extent and outcomes of factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area. Arising from the interpretation of the research findings, the factors that may be having the greatest exclusionary effect are: the lack of affordable housing and the limited potential for future development within the area; the financially exclusionary property market; the commercialisation and privatisation of public spaces; gradual processes of gentrification; exclusion from decision-making; and limited employment opportunities within the area. As stated in the previous chapter, it seems apparent that many of these exclusionary pressures are currently being experienced to a greater extent and with more significant outcomes in Kalk Bay and St James in comparison to Fish Hoek. This is not to say that these factors are not significant in Fish Hoek, but the degree of income exclusion is currently greater in Kalk Bay-St James. It is, however, likely that these factors will gradually have greater effect in Fish Hoek in the future as market forces become stronger over time. The purpose of this chapter is to suggest a number of recommendations to address these key factors that are leading to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the study area. I thereby aim to answer the second overarching research question.

Owing to the fact that this research is based on a unique case study, the recommendations proposed apply only to the case study in question as one cannot generalise from a single case as case studies are highly context-dependent, as discussed in chapter three. These recommendations cannot be applied in other parts of Cape Town experiencing exclusion without careful analyses of these contexts. The recommendations are presented as follows: more inclusive local governance and decision-making; diversifying the Kalk Bay Harbour; local economic development by supporting small to medium businesses; improved management and maintenance of existing public spaces; increasing the supply of affordable housing; and densification and improvements to infrastructure.

7.1. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations proposed below are driven by the interpretation of the research findings discussed in chapter six. As stated in the introduction chapter, these recommendations are also driven by a set of values, namely urban justice underpinned by the principles of equity, democracy and diversity in addition to urban sustainability. The recommendations that follow are directed at institutions, including government and community-based organisations, which can take action to address these exclusionary factors in the study area.

7.1.1. More inclusive local governance and decision-making

Given the issues regarding uneven power relations and exclusion from decision-making discussed in chapter six, I would argue that in order for any of the recommendations presented in this chapter to be implemented effectively, there needs to be a restructuring of the existing governance and decision-making structures within the study area, most notably the ratepayers' and residents' associations. As stated in the previous chapter, the executive committees of these associations are dominated by middle class, predominantly white, residents. Thus, my first recommendation is that these associations should be diversified in order to be more representative of the demographics of the area. I am not necessarily implying racial diversification, but economic diversification in terms of having representatives from different income brackets. There are clearly competing agendas between classes in the study area, and it is typically the interests of the dominant middle-upper classes that are addressed. This is particularly notable in Kalk Bay-St James where there are clear divisions between the Kalk Bay Historic Fishing Community (KBHFC) and the rest of the Kalk Bay community. In the case of Kalk Bay-St James, I recommend that members of the fishing community should re-establish the Kalk Bay Fishermen's Residents' Association (KBFRA) and representatives of this association should either form part of the executive committee of the Kalk Bay-St James Ratepayers' and Residents' Association (KBSTRRA) or representatives of the KBFRA should work together with the executive committee of the KBSTRRA to ensure more inclusive decision-making. Although members of the KBHFC alluded to the fact that they wanted to act on their own and represent themselves when engaging with local government, I would argue that the

best way for their interests to be met is by integrating into the existing governance and decision-making structures. The ward councillor, Dave D'Alton, could help facilitate the restructuring of these associations and act as a mediator between often competing interests.

Furthermore, I noted in chapter five (section 5.2.5) that there seems to be confusion among interview respondents in Kalk Bay about the roles and responsibilities of the KBSTRRA and the Special Rating Area (SRA), with some of the respondents conflating the two associations. This indicates misinformation or lack of knowledge about these associations. This issue needs to be addressed by the executive committees of these associations and the ward councillor by informing residents about the roles and responsibilities of the various associations, and how they can become more actively involved to enable more equitable distribution of power and inclusion in decision-making.

7.1.2. Diversifying the Kalk Bay Harbour

In considering the future of the Kalk Bay harbour, I recommend that activity at the harbour should be diversified while the harbour continues to be used for small-scale fishing. With the implementation of the new small-scale fisheries (SSF) policy, referred to in chapter five, there is greater potential for the fishing community to benefit economically as more fishing rights should be allocated to the fishing community. Under the new SSF policy, the KBHFC will have to apply to the Minister of DAFF to be recognised as a small-scale fishing community and the government will then assist the community to register as a community-based legal entity (CBLE)¹, and fishing rights will then be allocated to this entity (Masifundise, 2014). The CBLE must “implement a community based management approach” and “ensure all activities associated with the harvesting and management of marine living resources are coordinated and properly controlled” (Masifundise, 2014: 6). This approach, therefore, gives the fishing community more control over their allocated fishing rights but with greater control comes greater responsibility given the possibility for rights to be mismanaged, an issue already acknowledged by an interview respondent, referred to in chapter five. Mismanagement could have a detrimental effect on the entire fishing community. In order to ensure that the KBHFC benefits as much as possible from the

new policy, I recommend that the establishment and management of the fishing community's CBLE is underpinned by the principles of democracy, accountability, transparency and equity. Some of the more educated members of the fishing community should attempt to educate and empower the entire fishing community so that they all understand the implications of the new policy and the required processes. For example, resident A whom I interviewed, seemed to understand the opportunities associated with the new policy and its implications for the KBHFC. It is critical for the future of the KBHFC that they follow the correct procedures and manage the CBLE following the principles listed above.

Aside from the implementation of this new policy, the recommendation that the harbour should continue to be used for small-scale fishing is underpinned by the fact that the fishing community is an integral part of Kalk Bay; they have a historic right to the area; and the use of the harbour for traditional fishing gives Kalk Bay its identity as a fishing village, which adds to its touristic appeal. Furthermore, small-scale fishing provides a local livelihood opportunity, especially for low skilled groups, and contributes to food security in the study area and in Cape Town in general. Although we are yet to see the effect of the new policy, I believe it has the potential to enhance the viability of small-scale fishing and give the KBHFC more motivation to fight to remain in the area. Therefore, I recommend that the continuation of small-scale fishing activity should be supported by the local community, the Greater Cape Town community and the municipality.

Nevertheless, despite the potentials of the new SSF policy to improve access to fishing rights and enable more sustainable livelihoods, a major issue that remains is limited fish stocks in False Bay and the heavy maintenance costs of the harbour. Thus, it seems inevitable that the harbour will need to become a more profitable venture and that traditional fishing activity will need to be subsidised by other activities. There is great potential to diversify the Kalk Bay harbour as a cultural centre that combines the traditional fishing culture and allows for associated recreational and retail activities. Although larger in size, the Whitstable Harbour in south-east England is a good precedent

¹ CBLE will be a trust, cooperative or Section 21 or other company (Masifundise, 2014).

of a fishing harbour that was able to diversify its activities through an effective management system (see Box 7.1). A number of lessons are derived from this precedent to guide the recommendations for diversifying Kalk Bay Harbour.

BOX 7.1: PRECEDENT: WHITSTABLE HARBOUR, UK. Source: Department of the Premier (2012).

In 2000, fishing activities at Whitstable Harbour were not profitable enough to maintain the council-owned harbour, which was experiencing huge annual losses. A harbour board was established in 2001 in an effort to develop a new management system. The role of the board is to manage finances and the development of the harbour. The harbour board only allows harbour-dependent activities in the harbour area and supports harbour-related industries. The board is made up of both harbour users and non-users, thus representing both local needs and city-wide interests. Through more effective management, the harbour was able to diversify its economic activities and transform into a mixed-use environment with fishing remaining as a core element of the harbour. It is now completely self-sustaining with other activities in the harbour subsidising the fishing industry.

Lessons learned for diversifying harbour activities:

1. Only harbour-dependent activities should be allowed in the harbour area.
2. An effective management system is critical.
3. A harbour board should be composed of both harbour users and non-users to represent a variety of interests.

Possibilities for diversifying Kalk Bay harbour:

- Traditional small-scale fishing and associated fish market;
- Other retail activities, such as a craft market, limited to small businesses (formal and informal);
- No further restaurant development;
- Marine-based sport and recreational activities in the harbour area;
- Leisure boat trips and whale watching;
- Cultural festivals or events which celebrate fishing heritage and attract more visitors to the area and harbour specifically.

Many of these proposed ideas are in accordance with the proposals put forward in the report commissioned by the Department of the Premier (2012)². Appropriate trading facilities need to be provided by the municipality both for fish trading and other retail activities, such as a craft market. More space needs to be provided for these activities than what is currently provided. There is limited space available in the harbour but many spaces could be utilised much more effectively. I would suggest that the area currently occupied by a parking lot located between the harbour quay and the surrounding restaurants could be much better utilised, for example, for small-scale trading activities. Wind is a significant factor on the Kalk Bay point; thus, the provision of more sheltered facilities would create a more hospitable environment for traders and visitors alike. All of these proposals aim to preserve the traditional harbour character while simultaneously realising the underlying economic potential of the harbour. Harbour activity should aim to be inclusive of the fishing community due to their historic right to the area. For example, local skippers could act as tour guides given their knowledge of the bay as well as their historical knowledge of Kalk Bay and surrounding areas. Due to the number of restaurants already found in the harbour area and in Kalk bay, I would not recommend further restaurant development. There is a greater need for small businesses, both formal and informal, to be given access to such a prime location and to ensure that diversification of economic activities at the harbour does not contribute to the privatisation of and exclusion from urban space, a concern raised in the previous chapter.

Constraints to development at the harbour:

- Harbour area is owned by three different stakeholders – Transnet, Department of Public Works and the municipality.
- Limited space for further development both landside and seaward, a constraint highlighted by Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014) who suggested that the harbour remain as is.
- Weather conditions and difficult positioning of the harbour entrance/mouth may limit potential for leisure boat trips.

² Report on the Economic and Socio-Economic State and Growth Prospects of the 12 Proclaimed Fishing Harbours in the Western Cape.

- If recreational vessels were introduced, they would need to be kept separate from fishing vessels due to the fragility of recreational vessels relative to robust fishing vessels, as stated by Gasson (interview, 4 September 2014). The amount of space in the harbour may limit this.

Recommendations to ensure effective and inclusive harbour diversification:

The vision for the harbour development and diversification should be determined between numerous key stakeholders, including:

- National Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF) and Department of Public Works (DPW) who are responsible for the management and management the harbours;
- The municipality and Transnet who are also landowners in the harbour area;
- The CoCT's Department of Environmental Resource Management to ensure that all development plans comply with the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA); and
- The local community, particularly the historic fishing community who are directly affected by the harbour.

This recommendation is supported by Fainstein (2010: 175) who argues that for areas that are already developed, "plans should be developed in consultation with the target population" but that the existing population "should not be the sole arbiter of the future of an area". Similarly, there is a need to establish an effective harbour management committee or harbour board, which should be composed of both harbour users and non-users, as in the case of Whitstable Harbour. The development plans will need to carefully consider the constraints listed above. Given land ownership by a number of government departments and parastatals, the municipality would need to negotiate a long-term lease from the other stakeholders to facilitate effective management and maintenance. It is critical that the harbour management committee improves their management of traffic congestion at the road entrance to the harbour and the directing of cars into and out of the harbour area. This is currently a major issue that slows traffic flow in Main Road, a key transport route on the Cape Peninsula. Diversification will require a number of stakeholders

to work together in order to take advantage of the enormous potential of the Kalk Bay harbour area.

7.1.3. Local economic development: Supporting small to medium businesses

As stated in the previous chapter, the growth of service sector activities, such as restaurants in Kalk Bay, has not contributed significantly to local economic development (LED) through income generation or job creation. It has also resulted in a proliferation of consumption activities from which lower income urban residents are excluded. Additionally, there is limited potential for lower income residents to start up small, local businesses along the commercial strip of the study area. If the environment was more conducive to small business, it could help drive LED and possibly ameliorate the pressures on lower income households as a result of unemployment or insecure employment.

The informal sector should be regarded as an important economic sector because of its contribution to employment in addition to its potential to provide goods at cheaper prices to lower income consumers since goods sold through informal markets are often significantly cheaper than their equivalents in formal shops, especially fresh produce (Skinner, 2009). Furthermore, informal trading has the potential to create more lively urban environments. There are a number of ways to enable the growth of the informal economy; firstly, by providing the physical infrastructure for informal trading in towns; and secondly, by developing an enabling regulatory environment. Accordingly, I recommend that the municipality needs to make provisions for informal trading, particularly along Fish Hoek Main Road. As mentioned in chapters five and six, there are various spots along Fish Hoek Main Road where informal trading happens but no provisions are made to support these trading activities. The municipality should, therefore, provide well-located and appropriately designed trading facilities and associated infrastructure, such as ablution facilities, a proposal that is in keeping with policy 3 of the CTSDF³ (CoCT, 2012a).

³ CTSDF Policy 3: Introduce land use policies and mechanisms that will support the development of small businesses (both informal and formal) (CoCT, 2012a).

There is potential to develop trading facilities around the Fish Hoek railway station and taxi rank where pedestrian traffic is high. While the scale of trading at Warwick Junction in Durban is not comparable in the least to the scale of trading possible in the study area, it provides a good precedent to illustrate how planning can create an enabling environment for informal trading (see Box 7.2).

BOX 7.2: PRECEDENT: WARWICK JUNCTION, DURBAN

Warwick Junction is an informal trading market located at a busy transport interchange in Durban's city centre where up to 8,000 street traders sell a variety of products, from fresh produce to traditional medicines (Skinner, 2009). The Warwick Junction Project has managed to integrate the needs of various stakeholders into planning processes through continued collaboration and negotiation (Skinner, 2009). This can be attributed largely to the organisation and collective action of traders, especially women traders in organisations such as the Employed Women's Union (SEWU). Warwick Junction demonstrates that the combination of investment in appropriate infrastructure and collaborative planning processes can lead to the successful integration of the informal sector into city planning.

As stated in the previous chapter, Fish Hoek Main Road is likely to become the subject of regeneration initiatives or urban upgrading at some point in the future. Should this begin to happen, these initiatives should aim to accommodate small to medium businesses, including the informal sector, through appropriate urban design and planning. This recommendation is supported by Fainstein (2010: 173) who recommends, in furtherance of equity, that "economic development programs should give priority to the interests of employees and, where feasible, small businesses, which are more locally rooted than large corporations". In order to support inclusive LED, the municipality should provide skills development programmes in the area in the form of business development and management skills.

Additionally, In order to become a more desirable location for shoppers, thus growing the customer base, development or redevelopment of buildings along Fish Hoek Main Road should adhere to the following urban design guidelines:

- Retail activities should front onto the street to create active street interfaces;
- Developments should be mixed-use where appropriate;
- In line with the zoning for GB1, buildings should be no more than 15 metres (approximately five storeys) and they should be appropriately set back;
- Buildings should support pedestrian activity and movement through the integration of public and private spaces;
- Developments should be small and finely-grained to create a more pedestrian-friendly environment;
- Buildings should be colonnaded to create a sense of enclosure and some degree of protection from the elements, including wind, which is a significant factor in the area.

A further recommendation that could possibly facilitate the improvement of Fish Hoek Main Road is the establishment of a business association for the commercial strip. The association should include the landlords of property along Main Road, leaseholders (especially long-term leaseholders), representatives from the CID committee, representatives for informal traders and representatives from the ratepayers' and residents' association. Establishing such an association is likely to be challenging since many of the landlords are absentee landlords, as stated in chapter five (section 5.2.4). However, because of the declining state of the commercial strip along Fish Hoek Main Road in terms of the number of businesses that add no value to the area and deteriorating buildings in some parts, it is imperative that there is some form of intervention. A business association could have some influence on the types of businesses that come into the area and ensure that landlords properly maintain and manage their properties. As Holwil (interview, 8 September 2014) argues, there needs to be some forward thinking about what is desirable and what will add value to the area. The success of such an association will depend on the level of participation of relevant stakeholders.

7.1.4. Improved management and maintenance of existing public spaces

The management and maintenance of existing public spaces, such as the beaches, parks and tidal pools, should be improved by the municipality in order to prevent any further attempts at privatisation and commercialisation, which often lead to exclusion. Motivations for the privatisation of 'public' spaces are often underpinned by accounts of poor management and maintenance, which has led to the deterioration of these spaces, and greater crime and anti-social behaviour. This was the motivation used by Tony White, the owner of the Brass Bell, when he took over the beach surrounding the tidal pools. The dominant forms of development in the study area, such as high security residential and retail complexes and privatisation of coastal areas in the form of restaurants, are creating enclaves of wealth and contributing to an urban environment characterised by social and spatial exclusion. Yet, there is little planners can do to stop these market-driven developments, which are typically motivated by a fear of crime and the need for more order and control. Thus, it is critical that public spaces are well-maintained and well-managed by the municipality and associations like the SRA in order to ensure that there is a public presence in these spaces. In a context whereby public areas are constantly becoming exclusive spaces of consumption, these public areas are the only spaces that are not commercialised and are consequently free for everyone to use. In order to continue attracting a diversity of urban residents, these public areas need to be protected. Furthermore, as set in the precedent of the V&A Waterfront case, referred to in chapter two (section 2.5.6), in the case of private properties that have a distinctly public character in terms of providing public access, the owners cannot discriminate on the basis of class who to allow onto these properties or not.

7.1.5. Increasing supply of affordable housing

I would argue that increasing the supply of affordable housing in the study area is the most important intervention based on the research finding that the financially exclusionary property market may be one of the most significant factors leading to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the study area. The public

sector cannot take control of the property market in an attempt to ensure that lower income residents are not excluded from these areas. One of the ways to address the exclusionary forces of the market is for government to increase the provision of affordable housing. The national Department of Human Settlements (DoHS) provides for the development of social housing, as set out in the Social Housing Act (2008) and Social Housing Policy (2009). South Africa's Social Housing Policy (SHP) defines social housing as "a rental or co-operative housing option for low income persons" (DoHS, 2009: 17). Low income persons are defined as those earning a monthly household income below R7500. Social housing is inclusionary in the sense that it aims to accommodate a mix of income groups with projects targeting persons with monthly incomes ranging between R1500 and R7500 – often defined as part of the gap housing market in South Africa. According to the latest census data, an estimated 20% of the population in the study area falls within this target market thereby suggesting a local demand for affordable housing in the area. Social housing projects are not inclusionary in the sense that they include affordable housing within market-driven developments, which tends to be the definition of inclusionary housing in international contexts, as discussed in chapter two. The fact that there is national social housing policy and legislation creates an enabling environment to facilitate the provision of social housing at municipal level. In addition, this recommendation is supported by policy 35 of the CTSDF⁴ of which one of the policy guidelines is to support the development of social housing (CoCT, 2012a).

Given the limited amount of space available for further development in the study area, the only piece of land that has potential to be the site of any new development is the land currently utilised for sports and recreation in Fish Hoek on the western edge of the study area, illustrated on figures 7.1 and 7.2. This area is approximately 26 hectares in extent, and the land is currently owned by the municipality and zoned as 'open space 2 and 3'. In accordance with the Social Housing Act (2008), it is the role of the municipality to provide access to land for housing development. Thus, because the land is municipal-owned, the municipality could make the land available to an accredited social housing

⁴ CTSDF Policy 35: Redress existing imbalances in the distribution of different types of residential development, and avoid creating new imbalances (CoCT, 2012a: 70).

institution (SHI) who would be responsible for developing and managing the project. The municipality must also provide the infrastructure and services for approved projects. According to the Social Housing Act (2008), the National Housing Finance Corporation (NHFC) must provide access to loan funding. A good precedent of a social housing project in Cape Town is the Steenberg Social Housing Project (Steen Villas) located in Steenberg, an area approximately 10km from the study area (see Box 7.3). As with the other precedents in this chapter, a number of lessons are learned from this case, which could be applied in other social housing projects.

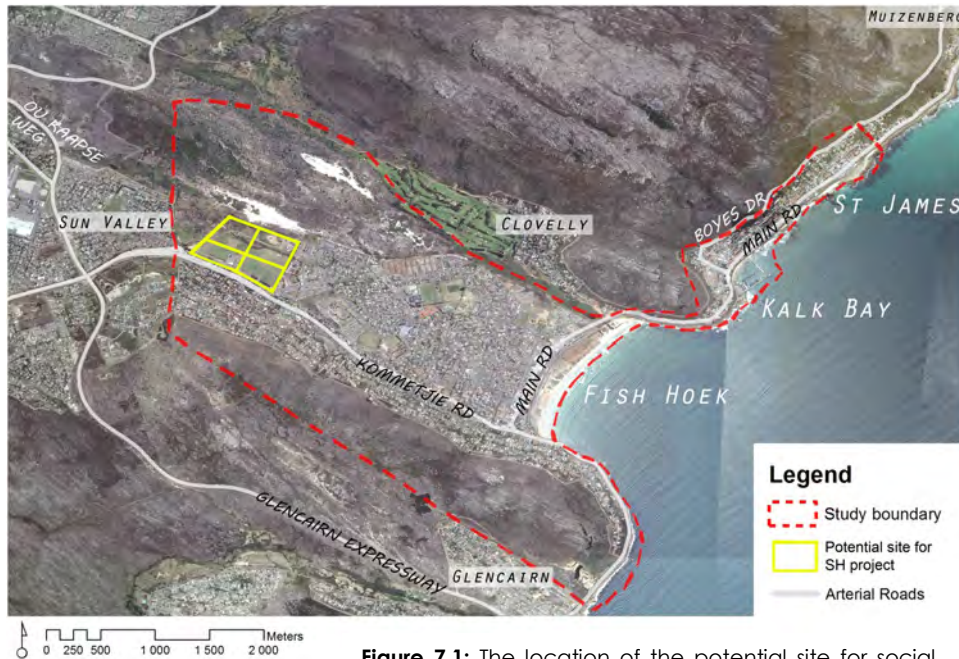


Figure 7.1: The location of the potential site for social housing in the study area. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014). GIS data (ENPAT, 2014).



Figure 7.2: The potential site for social housing in the study area with its environmental attributes. **Source:** by author (2014), compiled using base map (NGI, 2014). GIS data (CoCT, 2012; ENPAT, 2014).

BOX 7.3: PRECEDENT: THE STEENBERG SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECT, CAPE TOWN

The Steenberg Social Housing Project comprises of 700 units contained in one, two or three storey blocks designed around courtyards in the area of Steenberg, Cape Town (SOHCO, n.d). The site covers an estimated seven hectares, thus the gross density is around 100 dwelling units per hectare. Steenberg is a well-located area of Cape Town, and is located close to the Main Road activity corridor. The site is well served by public transport, and there are a variety of social and cultural facilities located in the area. The housing units were developed by SOHCO, an accredited social housing institution, which is also responsible for management of the housing project. The majority of the project finance was provided by National Social Housing subsidies in addition to Provincial Housing Subsidies, loan funding from NHFC and the Dutch International Guarantees for Housing (CoCT, 2014).

Lessons learned from Steen Villa social housing project:

1. The use of urban design principles to create different kinds of spaces – private, public, semi-private and semi-public – helps to produce a higher quality living environment.
2. Good location, well served by public transport and close proximity to social and cultural facilities are some of the contributing factors to the success of the project.
3. Good management of the housing project by an accredited social housing institution, such as SOHCO, is crucial for the sustainability of the project.
4. The chosen housing typology, which in this case is one, two or three storey walk-ups, allows for higher densities.



Figure 7.3: The Steenberg Social Housing Project.

Source: http://www.sohco.co.za/cape_town.htm

I consider Fish Hoek to be well-located for a social housing project. Based on the Steenberg case, good location is clearly an important factor contributing to the success of such a project. While Fish Hoek is fairly limited in terms of access to major economic nodes and employment opportunities, it is very well-located in terms of access to good community facilities, such as schools and a library, recreational facilities, public transport, and commercial and retail opportunities. Access to public transport is particularly important as lower income groups typically do not have access to private cars; thus, in the following section, I will suggest some improvements to the public transport network in the study area in order to support further development. As stated above, the potential site for social housing in Fish Hoek covers 26 hectares. Using the gross density of the Steenberg case as a guide (100 dwelling units/ha), over 2500 units could be provided on this site. There is, however, a wetland that covers part of the site; thus, development plans would need to consider these wetlands so that development does not encroach on these valuable aquatic ecosystems, which are also prone to flooding during heavy rains. Because of these environmental attributes, the amount of land that would in fact be developable is reduced. Furthermore, based on the current densities and typologies of housing in the area, I recommend that densities should not exceed 50 dwelling units/ha but should not be less than 35 dwelling units/ha (see Box 7.4 for different scenarios on the development potential of the site depending on the extent of developable land and the gross density).

BOX 7.4: SCENARIOS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL OF THE SOCIAL HOUSING SITE

Scenario 1:	Scenario 2:	Scenario 3:
20 ha of developable land	15 ha of developable land	10 ha of developable land
50 du/ha	50 du/ha	50 du/ha
= 1000 dwelling units	= 750 dwelling units	= 500 dwelling unit
Scenario 4:	Scenario 5:	Scenario 6:
20 ha of developable land	15 ha of developable land	10 ha of developable land
35 du/ha	35 du/ha	35 du/ha
= 700 dwelling units	= 525 dwelling units	= 350 dwelling units

The SHI in conjunction with the municipality should determine the gross density appropriate for the site. The benefits of social housing are that there are a range of housing typologies available, and the SHI can control the allocation of units to the targeted income groups and ensure that the units remain affordable (PGWC, 2009). The fact that the units are rental helps to combat the issue experienced in many affordable housing programmes, which provide freehold tenure to households, that as soon as a housing unit becomes privately owned, it is subject to market forces and no longer guaranteed to remain affordable (Cape Town Partnership, 2013). According to the Social Housing Policy, rentals should be escalated on an annual basis in line with inflation (DoHS, 2009). Restrictions controlling the transfer of rental units to private ownership, which thereby control the affordability of the units, are removed after 15 years (DoHS, 2009). In line with Fainstein's (2010: 172) recommendation referred to chapter two, I recommend that rental units developed for social housing projects should remain affordable in perpetuity or "be subject to one-on-one replacement".

Should any of the residential buildings in the Fish Hoek Main Road area be redeveloped or renovated, the municipality should offer the developers or landlords incentives to retain or expand the number and proportion of affordable units contained within these buildings. If Fish Hoek Main Road were to become the subject of regeneration initiatives or urban upgrading at some point in the future, a prospect which seems likely, retaining affordable housing, especially rental stock, is one of the only ways to ensure that regeneration does not give rise to a process of gentrification and lead to exclusion, already evident in Kalk Bay and in areas of Cape Town, such as Woodstock.

7.1.6. Densification and improvements to infrastructure

Across the study area, densification is only possible in Fish Hoek, and not in Kalk Bay and St James. The Kalk Bay-St James area is extremely limited in terms of space for further development and the area is a declared urban conservation zone and, therefore, protected by a heritage overlay zone by the CoCT's integrated zoning scheme (2012). In Fish Hoek, I would argue that incremental densification, as defined by the CoCT's densification policy (2012), is most appropriate for the majority of the residential area

because of the lack of space available to develop and densify in addition to the character of the built and natural environment. The CoCT's densification policy defines incremental densification as "small densification that has a relatively low impact on the character of an area, e.g. the subdivision of a residential property or construction of a second dwelling" (2012d: 5). The strip along Fish Hoek Main Road could be densified in conjunction with an intensification of land uses, as proposed in the Southern District Plan (2012). Densification in this area must consider the surrounding environment because "the mountain skylines and views of the sea are the defining elements that make Cape Town unique" (CoCT, 2012d: 10). The densification policy designates certain zoning categories as 'density priority zones'. From these zoning categories, the ones that are found in the study area are general resident 1-4, community zones 1-2, local business zones 1-2, and general business zones 1. In line with the policy, I recommend that property owners and developers should aim to densify these zones, especially land that is in close proximity to Main Road. As proposed in the policy, the municipality should encourage densification in these zones through the use of incentives, such as land measures or financial mechanisms (CoCT, 2012d). Through the use of such incentives, the municipality could encourage the development of more affordable housing by incentivising the inclusion of affordable units within developments, such as rezonings or subdivisions; thus accommodating a mix of incomes.

Densification is only possible in Fish Hoek provided it is done in conjunction with improvements to the public transport network and the increased capacity of other infrastructure, including water supply, storm water, sewerage and electricity. As stated in chapter five, there has been extensive road works between Muizenberg and Fish Hoek because of the installation of new water supply pipes. The fact that there has been significant public investment in infrastructure could support the recommendation for densification in Fish Hoek. In addition, the City has mentioned the implementation of MyCiti feeder buses along Kommetjie Road in Fish Hoek to improve public transport services between Kommetjie and Fish Hoek railway station. This would be a positive addition to the area, which is currently under pressure from traffic congestion owing to the limited road access into, out of and across the study area. Despite the congestion

problem, a concern raised by a number of respondents, I would not recommend the development of any new major roads in the area. Public investment should focus on improving public transport, which will help to minimise the congestion. In addition, the municipality should investigate the possibility of implementing safe bicycle routes. These routes could serve both residents and visitors who could use it as an alternative form of transport and a new way to experience the area.

7.2. CONCLUSIONS

The recommendations proposed in this chapter aim to answer the second overarching research question, which asks: what are the appropriate planning interventions to address the factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area? Thus, the recommendations are directed at institutions that could take action to address the factors that are having the greatest exclusionary effect on lower income urban residents in the study area. As stated before, these recommendations are driven by a set of values, which inform my ethical position that urban justice should be the desired object of planning. Following Fainstein's (2010: 3) definition of the 'just city' as a "city in which public investment and regulation would produce equitable outcomes rather than support those already well off", these recommendations aim to address the exclusionary factors in order to generate more equitable outcomes for lower income groups. Along with urban justice, the recommendations aimed to achieve urban sustainability with greater focus on achieving sustainable livelihoods rather than sustainable development.

This dissertation has sought to answer the overarching research question: what are the extent and outcomes of factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area? The research began with an exploration of the literature in the field of urban social exclusion in chapter two. Through the review of the relevant literature, I established an analytical framework consisting of eight significant factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in global South cities. The eight factors identified were: 1) labour market change and unemployment; 2) income and consumption; 3) lack of access to services; 4) urban land and property markets which do not work for lower income urban residents; 5) urban regeneration, increased property prices and gentrification; 6) privatisation of and exclusion from urban spaces; 7) exclusionary perceptions of the 'other'; and 8) uneven power relations and exclusion from decision-making. This analytical framework was used in chapter six to interpret the research findings and critically analyse the extent and outcomes of these exclusionary factors in the Kalk Bay- St James-Fish Hoek study area.

The case study method was adopted, with chapter three providing a discussion on the method in addition to the research techniques employed to gather the relevant data. A combination of research techniques were utilised including document analysis; analysis of archival records; field observations; semi-structured interviews; and questionnaires. By utilising a variety of research techniques, I was able to collect both qualitative and quantitative data from multiple sources, which strengthened the research findings as I was able to triangulate these findings. In chapter four, I explored the historical context of urban exclusion in Cape Town and provided an overview and analysis of the policies and plans that have been developed by government in an attempt to address social and spatial exclusion in Cape Town. Through this analysis, it became clear that there is in fact a policy void with regards to exclusion in areas that are already economically mixed, reinforcing my argument that there is an underlying assumption in these spatial policies and plans that all areas in Cape Town are completely segregated post-apartheid. This is problematic for areas like Kalk Bay and Fish Hoek where lower income urban residents are being increasingly affected by a range of exclusionary pressures, most often market-

driven.

The local analysis and research findings were presented in chapter five, which began with a historical overview of the local area in order to understand the current context of exclusion. This chapter included descriptions of the demographic profile and trends; the natural environment; the urban form and structure; the economy, development and property trends; and local governance and management. These findings were interpreted according to the analytical framework in chapter six. Based on the interpretation of research findings, the factors that may be having the greatest exclusionary effect in the study area are: the lack of affordable housing and the limited potential for future development within the area; the financially exclusionary property market; the commercialisation and privatisation of public spaces; gradual processes of gentrification; exclusion from decision-making; and limited employment opportunities within the area. Based on the coastal location of the study area and the City of Cape Town's focus on positioning Cape Town as a desirable place to live, work, visit and invest, it seems likely that these exclusionary pressures will intensify in the future as property prices continue to rise and commercial activity continues to be driven by the service sector, in particular tourism.

In accordance with these findings, I proposed several recommendations in chapter seven. These recommendations were directed at institutions that can take action to address these exclusionary factors in the study area. I thereby aimed to answer the second overarching research question: what are the appropriate planning interventions to address the factors that lead to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the Kalk Bay-St James-Fish Hoek study area? Planning is particularly well-positioned to address the issues of social and spatial exclusion, and because I adopted a more process-orientated definition of social exclusion, the proposed recommendations sought to address the underlying causes of exclusion. However, because there are limits to which urban planners and the public sector can intervene in market forces, some of the recommendations focused on improving the outcomes of these exclusionary factors, rather than addressing the underlying causes of exclusion.

As argued by scholars such as Fainstein (2010) and Beall (2002), there is a limit to which local-scale interventions can meaningfully address exclusion and achieve a more just city owing to the inherent contradictions in the contemporary context of neoliberal capitalism and globalisation. Furthermore, the recommendations aimed to address the economic factors that are central to the social and spatial exclusion of lower income urban residents in the study area, which are often not adequately addressed in existing plans and policies. Accordingly, the proposed recommendations were as follows: more inclusive local governance and decision-making; diversifying the Kalk Bay Harbour; local economic development by supporting small to medium businesses; improved management and maintenance of existing public spaces; increasing the supply of affordable housing; and densification and improvements to infrastructure. In order for spatial plans and policies to work towards achieving the goals of integration and inclusion, these policies need to effectively address the economic factors that often underlie the social and spatial exclusion of lower income residents. The value of this research is in the method and approach utilised to answer the overarching research questions, which could be used to analyse the extent and outcomes of exclusion in other contexts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: List of interview respondents

INTERVIEW RESPONDENT	DESCRIPTION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
Resident A	Former resident of 25 years; been a resident in a neighbouring area for the past 7 years	19 August 2014
Resident B	Existing resident for 36 years	19 August 2014
Resident C	Existing resident for 35 years	31 August 2014
Resident D	Existing resident for over 70 years	31 August 2014
Resident	Former resident of about 5 years on and off; now a resident in a neighbouring area for the past few months	3 September 2014
Resident F	Former resident of about 20 years; now a resident in a neighbouring area for the past few months	3 September 2014
Alan Lindner	Existing resident of 15 years; secretary of the Fish Hoek Valley Historical Association	2 September 2014
Barrie Gasson	Existing resident of about 70 years; secretary of the Kalk Bay and St James Ratepayers' and Residents' Association; member of the Kalk Bay Historical Association	4 September 2014
Allen Rose-Innes	Existing resident of 17 years; secretary of the Fish Hoek Valley Ratepayers' and Residents' Association	8 September 2014
Janet Holwill	Existing resident of 46 years; chairperson of the Fish Hoek Valley Ratepayers' and Residents' Association	8 September 2014
Property agent A	Property agent; resident of neighbouring area	9 September 2014
Property agent B	Property agent; resident of neighbouring area	9 September 2014
Tony White	Existing resident of about 30 years; owner of the Brass Bell restaurant	9 September 2014

Appendix II: Interview Guide: Questions used to structure interview

Questions for residents:

1. Can you tell me a bit about your history of living in Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?
2. How did you come to live in Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?
3. How long have you lived in Kalk Bay/ Fish Hoek/St James?
4. What are your attachments to Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?
5. Have your experiences of Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James changed over time? If so, how?
6. Have you noticed changes in the socio-economic characteristics of residents in Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?
7. Have you ever or do you currently feel excluded from Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James, possibly the rest of the community or places within the area? If so, what are the main reasons for your experiences of exclusion?
8. Have you ever or do you currently feel pressured to move out of Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James? If so, what factors are driving these pressures?
9. Do you think that the types of business or the nature of business activity has changed over time in Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James? If so, how?

Additional questions for respondents from the Kalk Bay Historic Fishing Community:

1. Can you tell me a bit about how the local fishermen were affected by the rights allocation process in the beginning of the year?
2. Do you think that the fishing community is integrated with the rest of the Kalk Bay & St James community?
3. Do you live in the fishermen's flats? If so, do you or one of your family members own the flat in which you live?
4. How did you feel about the transfer of the flats to private ownership?
5. Do you worry about other flat owners selling their flats to people not in the fishing community?
6. What are your impressions of the Kalk Bay & St James ratepayers' and residents' association? Do you feel like the interests of the fishing community are represented by the association?
7. What is your impression of the issue with the Brass Bell? Have you noticed this sort of exclusionary behaviour from other establishments in the area?

8. Can you tell me a bit about how the local fishermen were affected by the fishing rights allocation process in the beginning of the year? Were you directly affected? Have you experienced issues with rights allocation previously?

Additional questions for shorter-term residents who rent:

1. What were your reasons for choosing to live in the Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area?
2. What are your impressions of the availability of rental property in the Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area? What about rental prices? Do you consider them to be affordable?
3. Where are your impressions of Fish Hoek/St James/Kalk Bay in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of residents and the built environment?
4. Did you notice divisions between people in different income groups in terms of where they live and the places they visit?
5. What are some of your observations of Fish Hoek Main Road compared to Kalk Bay -St James Main Road?

Additional questions for former residents:

1. For how long did you live in Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?
2. When did you move away from Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?
3. What were your reasons for leaving Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?
4. Would you like to move back to Kalk Bay/Fish Hoek/St James?

Questions for Alan Lindner, Secretary of the Fish Hoek Valley Historical Association and resident:

1. Are you from Fish Hoek? How long have you lived in Fish Hoek?
2. How was Fish Hoek affected by the implementation of the Group Areas Act during apartheid?
3. What was the racial composition and distribution of Fish Hoek's population before the implementation of the Group Areas Act?
4. What are some of the major ways in which Fish Hoek changed post-apartheid?
5. Has there been noticeable changes in the socio-economic characteristics of residents in Fish Hoek over time? Describe these changes.

6. According to census data covering the last 20 years or so, Fish Hoek has been quite a mixed-income area. Do you think that there are divisions between these different income groups, for example in terms of where they live in Fish Hoek?
7. Do you think that the types of businesses and the nature of economic activity in Fish Hoek have changed over time? If so, how?
8. How has Fish Hoek's built environment changed over time? Where has most investment in the built environment taken place?
9. How has Fish Hoek Main Road changed over time? How do you expect the Fish Hoek Main Road to change in future, given past trends and the changes experienced in Kalk Bay & St James Main Road?
10. What have been some of the key issues experienced in Fish Hoek over time?
11. Have your experiences of Fish Hoek changed over time? If so, how?
12. What are your attachments to Fish Hoek?

Questions for Barrie Gasson, historian, secretary of Kalk Bay & St James Ratepayers' and Residents' Association and resident:

1. Would you like to start by telling me about your history of living in Kalk Bay?
2. How did you come to live in Kalk Bay? How long have you lived in Kalk Bay?
3. What are some of the major ways in which Kalk Bay & St James have changed over time?
4. What have been some of the key issues experienced in Kalk Bay & St James over time?
5. Which specific areas within Kalk Bay & St James have experienced the most investment in the built environment?
6. How has the Kalk Bay Harbour changed over time?
7. Can you tell me a bit about the transfer of the fishermen's flats to private ownership? What drove the transfer? What were the predominant responses at the time?
8. Do you consider the fishing community to be integrated into the greater Kalk Bay & St James community, and represented by the ratepayers' and residents' association?
9. To what extent have property prices increased in Kalk Bay & St James over time?
10. To what extent have rates and taxes increased in Kalk Bay and St James over time?

11. Have existing residents expressed concerns about the affordability of remaining in the area?
12. Do you think that there has been a decline in local business or business run from people living in KB?
13. Does the ratepayers' and residents' association have any say in what types of businesses come into the area? If so, how? Who else plays a role in determining or influencing business developments/decisions in the area, e.g. a business association?
14. How has the ratepayers' and residents' association been involved in the issue with the Brass Bell? What is your view on the matter?
15. What is your impression of the SRA? How is it going to be enforced?

Questions for Allen Rose-Innes and Janet Holwill, secretary and chairperson of the Fish Hoek Valley Ratepayers' and Residents' Association:

1. Would you like to start by telling me a bit about how and when you both came to live in Fish Hoek?
2. Can you tell me about the roles and responsibilities of the Fish Hoek ratepayers' and residents' association?
3. Can you describe the channels of communication between the association and residents?
4. What are some of the major ways in which Fish Hoek has changed over time?
5. What have been some of the key issues experienced in Fish Hoek over time?
6. Does the association play any role in determining or influencing development decisions in the area? If so, how?
7. Does the association have any say in what types of businesses come into the area? If so, how? Is there a business association which influences or controls business developments in the area?
8. Which specific areas in Fish Hoek have experienced the most investment in the built environment?
9. How has Fish Hoek Main Road changed over time?
10. To what extent have property prices increased in Fish Hoek over time?
11. How have property prices increased in Fish Hoek relative to surrounding areas?
12. What do you think are the main factors leading to these increases in property prices?

13. To what extent have rates and taxes increased in Fish Hoek over time?
14. Have existing residents expressed concern about the affordability of staying in the area?
15. Have you noticed changes in the socio-economic characteristics of residents?
16. Are there any conflicts of interest between different role players in the area?
17. Since you have been members of the association, what projects have you been influential in proposing or advancing?

Questions for property agents:

1. How have property values and prices changed over time in the Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area?
2. How are property values and prices projected to change in the future?
3. How do property prices in Fish Hoek compare to the surrounding areas of Kalk Bay and St James?
4. What is the demand for property in the Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area?
5. In what price brackets is demand the highest?
6. How has demand changed over time? Is demand exceeding supply?
7. What is the availability of property to rent in the Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area?
8. Where is rental property mainly located in Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area and in what form/typology is rental property generally available?
9. How have rental prices changed over time?
10. Have you noticed a change in the socio-economic characteristics of people currently living in or interested in living in Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area?
11. What specific geographic areas within the broader Fish Hoek/Kalk Bay/St James area have experienced the most investment in the built environment?

Questions for Tony White, owner of the Brass Bell restaurant and resident:

1. Can you tell me about the history of the growth of the Brass Bell in Kalk Bay?
2. What attracted you to Kalk Bay as a site for business opportunity?
3. Are you also a resident in the area?
4. What would you say has been your role in the regeneration of Kalk Bay?
5. Is the Brass Bell your only business venture in the area?

6. Is there a business association or some organisation which influences or controls business in Kalk Bay? If so, what is their role?
7. Can you describe some the changes that you have noticed in Kalk Bay over time?
8. What would you say are the impacts your businesses in terms of job creation and income generation in the area?
9. How would you describe your relationship with the community?
10. Can you tell me about the recent additions to the Brass Bell? What were the procedures you followed? What has been the outcome?
11. Do you have any potential plans or ideas for future development in the area?
12. What have been some of the challenges of growing your business in Kalk Bay?

Appendix III: Ethics Approval

EBE Faculty: Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects (Rev2)

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. When completed it should be submitted to the supervisor (where applicable) and from there to the Head of Department. If any of the questions below have been answered YES, and the applicant is NOT a fourth year student, the Head should forward this form for approval by the Faculty EIR committee: submit to Ms Zulpha Geyer (Zulpha.Geyer@uct.ac.za Chem Eng Building, Ph 021 650 4791). **NB: A copy of this signed form must be included with the thesis/dissertation/report when it is submitted for examination**

This form must only be completed once the most recent revision EBE EIR Handbook has been read.

Name of Principal Researcher/Student: Samantha Dyer Department: Architecture, Planning and Geomatics

Preferred email address of the applicant: dyrsam001@myuct.ac.za

If a Student: Degree: Masters in City and Regional Planning Supervisor: Prof. Vanessa Watson

If a Research Contract indicate source of funding/sponsorship: n/a

Research Project Title: Displacement, and social and spatial exclusion as a result gentrification processes in Kalk Bay and Fish Hoek.

Overview of ethics issues in your research project:

Question 1: Is there a possibility that your research could cause harm to a third party (i.e. a person not involved in your project)?		NO
Question 2: Is your research making use of human subjects as sources of data? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 2.	YES	
Question 3: Does your research involve the participation of or provision of services to communities? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 3.		NO
Question 4: If your research is sponsored, is there any potential for conflicts of interest? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 4.		NO

If you have answered YES to any of the above questions, please append a copy of your research proposal, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires (Addendum 1) and please complete further addenda as appropriate. Ensure that you refer to the EIR Handbook to assist you in completing the documentation requirements for this form.

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

Signed by:

	Full name and signature	Date
Principal Researcher/Student:	Samantha Dyer <input type="checkbox"/> Signed by candidate	5/6/2014

This application is approved by:

Supervisor (if applicable):	<input type="checkbox"/> Signed by candidate	4/6/2014
HOE (or delegated nominee): Final authority for all assessments with NO to all questions and for all undergraduate research.		
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduates	G. Sithole <input type="checkbox"/> Signed by candidate	22/7/2014

students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.		
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- Please see reviewers comments

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

FEEDBACK ON THE ASSESSMENT OF ETHICS IN RESEARCH PROJECTS

This form has been prepared to provide applicants with feedback on their Ethics Clearance applications submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and The Built Environment. For further correspondence regarding this assessment please contact Zulpha Geyer (Zulpha.Geyer@uct.ac.za)

NAME OF APPLICANT : Samantha Dyer	
CYCLE DATE: June/July	
COMPLETED APPLICATION FORM	This is a complete application
DETAILS OF METHODS USED	This is adequately covered in the attached proposal. However, the type of people to be interviewed (household, business, poor, middle class, rich, etc.,) needs to be stated explicitly so that the potential ethics implications can be understood. At the moment the proposal states that residents will be interviewed. What kind of residents are these? Could they be vulnerable? Can the choice of residents interviewed skew the results of the research?
STATEMENT EXPLAINING HOW DATA OR SENSITIVE INFORMATION WILL BE SAFELY USED	The potential for bias has been considered. The potential to cause harm has been considered. The handling of information gathered needs consideration.
COPY OF QUESTIONNAIRE	Included
CONSENT FORM	Included
PERMISSION (STUDENT INTERVIEW)	Eg: Not required
FURTHER COMMENTS	This is a low risk project, while some of the information collected could be of a sensitive nature.
RECOMMENDATION	Accepted

Appendix IV: Example of ethics consent form



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

September 2014

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF A MASTERS DISSERTATION, AS A REQUEST FOR PERMISSION FOR THE NAME AND/OR IDENTITY OF THE INTERVIEWEE TO BE REVEALED IN THE DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it.

MY NAME IS SAMANTHA DYER AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON SOCIAL AND SPATIAL EXCLUSION IN KALK BAY, ST JAMES AND FISH HOEK AS PART OF MY MASTERS DISSERTATION AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE YOUR NAME, DESIGNATION AND POSSIBLY DIRECT QUOTES IN MY DISSERTATION AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION. PLEASE INDICATE YES OR NO BELOW TO GIVE OR WITHOLD YOUR PERMISSION FOR ME TO DO THIS.

YES I GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

NO I DO NOT GIVE PERMISSION FOR YOU TO USE MY NAME / DESIGNATION / WORDS IN YOUR DISSERTATION

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS PROF. VANESSA WATSON AND HIS/HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE:
Email: vanessa.watson@uct.ac.za

.....
Name of interviewee

.....
Signature and designation (interviewee)

.....
Signature of student