

It is here that we've come to live: Imagined representations of
Delft South as a post-apartheid township.

By

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Declaration

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Dedication

- To the people of Delft South (*The victims of “post-apartheid township housing development”*)
- And to my late friend: Luvuyo Gaji (*I have not yet begun to write about our post-apartheid life in Delft South, but I’ll begin tomorrow*)

Abstract

This research dissertation employed critical research approach and postcolonial theory to investigate and expose the ways in which post-apartheid township space has been imagined and created for the black lives that twenty-one years ago emerged from the long dry season of apartheid hegemony. The dissertation used Delft South township as a case study for the reason that it carries the notion of a post-apartheid township and as a result it has been imagined as such. In its creation as a 'new' kind of township, Delft South was stipulated in terms of section 3 (1) chapter 1 of the Less Formal Township Act, 1991 and imagined through the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme and as well in the 1994 Housing White Paper and later expanded in the 2004 'Breaking New Ground': Comprehensive Plan for Housing. The development of housing in Delft South was adopted in 1994, followed by its physical construction in 1995. Through studying this township, it became apparent that the ways in which the post-apartheid township has been created for the black poor did not challenge the notion of township, as we know it, under the apartheid racial regime. Paradoxically, it has been found that the post-apartheid neoliberalised housing policies that promotes inclusion has exercised exclusion in the housing development and provision of low income houses to the urban black poor. Moreover, in reading what the post-apartheid statecraft has created (making of place) it became clear that the post-apartheid state to follow Achille Mbembe is not 'an economy of signs in which power is mirrored and *imagined* self-reflectively.' But that which is stammering to find its way out from the world of masks, of repetition to the recreation of a new community of life, of collective dreams and healing. Therefore, the creation of Delft South like any other post-apartheid township without doubt, has come to epitomize the manner in which the post-apartheid state asserted itself in the making of place and also, how it has come to create itself defectively after apartheid.

Introduction

The title of this research dissertation, it is here that we've come to live, is referring to the oppressed people who emerged from the long dry season of apartheid hegemony and oppression, dispossessed, wounded – carrying the loads of suffering on their shoulders to a “new” place, a township space that has been imagined and created for them by post-apartheid statecraft. In awakening, I became curious about this new township space that has been created for us and I began to ask: what is of it? Why only us? Like this? Delft South is such a township amongst other post-apartheid townships in South Africa. It was stipulated in terms of section 3 (1) chapter 1 of the Less Formal Township Act, 1991 and imagined through the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme and as well in the 1994 Housing White Paper and later expanded in the 2004 ‘Breaking New Ground’: Comprehensive Plan for Housing. The development of housing in Delft South was adopted in 1994, followed by its physical construction in 1995. It was created for the homeless black families and coloured families living in the round the fringes of Cape Town – in the informal settlements of Nyanga and Gugulethu in Umkhonto Square, Barcelona, Kanana and others from Atlantis, Bishop Lavis, Bonteheuwel and so on.

However, this dissertation is a foundation for an envisaged PhD research project which will provide an in-depth critical analysis on post-apartheid township space and conduct a critical ethnographic investigation on lived realities in Delft South.¹ In order to pave the way for this, this Master research serves as an outline and a critical reading on understanding the post-apartheid township space makings.

There has been few research writings on Delft South which some have focused on racial integration² and inter-racial attitudes amongst residents³, whereas some focused around issues

¹ A comprehensive critical research on post-apartheid township space in South Africa is still lacking. For a PhD research, I have decided to take upon myself to do this task to critically investigate how these post-apartheid housing policies and the manner in which the RDP houses had been designed and shaped life or rather have an effect on life. So, ethnographic investigation will be useful to interrogate this.

² See Sophie Oldfield “Urban Networks, community organising and race: an analysis of racial integration in a desegregated South African neighbourhood”, *Geoforum*, 35 (2004) 189

³ See Singumbe Muyeba and Jeremy Seekings “Inter-racial attitudes and interactions in racially-mixed low-income neighbourhoods in Cape Town, South Africa”, *CSSR Working Paper*, 275. (Centre for Social Science Research: 2010)

of casual labour, issues around community organisations and privacy and community making.⁴ This dissertation research does not necessarily distance itself from these research efforts on Delft South but sought to investigate and expose the ways in which the post-apartheid township space has been imagined in the first place for the oppressed after apartheid. In doing so, it questions the notion of “township” and “post-apartheid township” as to make sense of the ways in which Delft South as a post-apartheid township has been created for black people. In so doing, this research dissertation dedicated four chapters in order to critical outline and explores the imagined representations of Delft South as a post-apartheid township. Therefore, the first chapter provides a brief review of a critical research approach (critical theory) and post-colonial theory as to think through the post-apartheid condition, particularly about the ways in which the post-apartheid township space has been created. Chapter two provides an interplay of theory and literature to explore the idea of township in South Africa under apartheid racial regime. The third chapter, critical surveys the representations of the post-apartheid township through housing policies. And chapter four, critiques the ways in which Delft South as a post-apartheid township has been created for black people.

⁴ See Marianne Millstein and David Jordhus-Lier “Making Communities Work? Casual labour practices and local civil society dynamics in Delft, Cape Town”, *Journal of Southern Africa Studies*, 38. (2012), and also see Marianne Millstein “Challenges to community organising in a context of spatial fragmentation: Some experiences from Delft, Cape Town”, *Critical dialogue – Public participation in Review* (Centre for Public Participation) and also Singumbe Muyemba “Privacy and the weakness of community: Poor post-apartheid urban neighbourhoods in Cape Town, South Africa”, *CSSR Working Paper*, 296 (Centre for Social Science Research: 2011)

Chapter 1: Theoretical framework

Critical research approach

Critical research approach draws from critical theory to provide a critique or an assessment of the current state of things as to resist in order to achieve or reach a desired state. According to John Budd, ‘critique entails examination of both action and motivation; that is, it includes both what is done and why it is done. In application, it is the use of dialectic, reason, and ethics as means to study the condition under which people live.’¹ In relation to this, as John Muncie writes, the intent of critical research ‘is to expose enduring structures of power and domination, to deconstruct the discourses and narratives that support them and to work as advocates for social justice.’² It can also be read as a research that aims to institute social criticism and to push forward radical social change. Critical research as Muncie further cites Lehmann and Young that it has a strong ambition in ‘exposing the exploitations and scandals of the powerful’ and therefore ‘committed to delving beyond surface appearance in order to reveal oppressive and discriminatory social processes and structures and thereby suggests ways in which the oppressive can be challenged through praxis.’³

As the critical research draws much from critical theory, it also relies on historical analysis to make sense of a particular phenomenon – it does this in order to be ‘indicative of current states’ as Budd puts it.

The historical analysis generally focuses on societal action and the impact of large-scale policies and decisions on the behaviour of individuals in society...The historical examination could seek evidence for the loci of decisions that affect the study of society. A single decision could have varying effects on different segments of society; what benefits one group may be detrimental to another group.⁴

As Budd further points out that ‘historical evidence is one building block of critique. That is, the critical theorist will interpret evidence in terms of effects on those individuals and

¹ John M. Budd “Critical theory”. In Lisa M. Given, ed. *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative methods*. (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc: 2012), 175

² John Muncie “Critical research”. In Victor Jupp, ed. *The SAGE dictionary of social research methods*. (London: SAGE Publications, Ltd: 2006), 52

³ Ibid, here Muncie cites David Harvey 53

⁴ John M. Budd “Critical theory”

segments of society that can be least likely to be positioned to influence policymaking.’⁵ In a sense, critical research is a critical theory, if not a critical theory a critical research.

The term critical theory, has been associated with the ideas of the Frankfurt School of Social Research in 1922. In the Frankfurt School, critical theory ‘was conceived within the intellectual crucible of Marxism. But its leading representatives were from the start dismissive of economic determinism, the stage theory of history, and any fatalistic belief in the “inevitable” triumph of socialism.’⁶ According to Stephen Bronner ‘they were concerned less with what Marx called the economic “base” than the political and cultural “superstructure” of society.’ As Bronner further writes:

Their Marxism was of a different variety. They highlighted its critical method over its systematic claims, its concern with alienation and reification, its complicated relationship with the ideals of Enlightenment, its utopian moment, its emphasis upon the role of ideology, and its commitment to resist deformation of the individual. This complex of themes constitutes the core of critical theory as it was conceived by the leading figures of “Western Marxism”: Karl Korsch and Georg Lukacs. These two thinkers provided the framework for the critical project that later became identified with the Institute for Social Research – or “the Frankfurt School.”⁷

The Frankfurt School was headed by Max Horkheimer as its second director and its principal members included Theodor W. Adorno who began his collaboration with the Frankfurt School in 1928; he is known for his writings on music and philosophy; Erich Fromm, a psychologist began to work with Frankfurt School in 1930; Herbert Marcuse, a philosopher of note that became part of the School in 1933; Jürgen Haberman who became the leading philosopher of the School in the aftermath of 1968; including Walter Benjamin, a creative genius of them all and thinker who collaborated with the School but never became its official member. It was Horkheimer, the guiding light of the School who brought together these thinkers of the age ‘in order to construct the interdisciplinary basis for a critical theory of society.’⁸

The Frankfurt School as noted by Tim May, ‘centred its interests on the following key areas: Explanations for the absence of a unified working-class movement in Europe, an examination of the nature and consequences of capitalist crises, a consideration of the relationship between

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Stephen Eric Bronner. *Critical theory: A very short introduction*. (Oxford University Press: 2011), 2

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid, 3

the political and the economic spheres in modern societies, an account for the rise of fascism and Nazism as political movements, the study of familial socialization, and a sustained critique of the link between positivism and science.’⁹

However, in its heart, critical theory as Bronner argues ‘was intended as a general theory of society fuelled by the desire for liberation. Its practitioners understood that new social conditions would give rise to new ideas and new problems for radical practice – and that the character of the critical method would change along with the substance of emancipation.’¹⁰ Inspired by the work of Frankfurt School, critical theory today has been extended in order to critique and resist the forces that impede the 21st century. Fundamentally, critical research is the work of critical theory.

Postcolonial theory

The terms ‘postcolonial theory’ has no single meaning, it has been used broadly in different disciplines like social sciences and humanities, particularly in studies such as history, sociology, anthropology and literary theory. According to Alexander Styhre ‘postcolonial theory denotes a loosely coupled theoretical framework capturing how colonialist, imperialist, neo-colonialist, and post-colonial practices and ideologies are influencing contemporary culture, society, and the economy.’¹¹ As a field of critical inquiry, postcolonial theory as Styhre further points out ‘does not have a distinct origin but it must be as old as colonialism itself, with expansion comes the critique of expansion.’¹² However, with regard to Global South, postcolonial theory has been very much associated with the work of Aime Cesaire who wrote *Discourse on colonialism*, a critical account of the effects of colonialism. Followed by Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The wretched of the earth*, in both texts he examined the psychological effects of colonialism horrors on black life. Edward Said in his text *Orientalism*, Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak on her infamous work, *Can the subaltern speak?* And also the works of Homi Bhabha Robert Young, Dipesh Chakraborty, Walter Mignolo, and Achille Mbembe and others.

⁹ Tim May “Critical theory.” In Michael S. Lewis-Beck, Alan Bryman and Tim Futing Liao, eds. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*. (SAGE publications, Inc: 2004), 224

¹⁰ Stephen Eric Bronner. *Critical theory: A very short introduction*, 24

¹¹ Alexander Styhre “Post-colonial theory”. In Richard Thorpe and Robin, eds. *The SAGE dictionary of qualitative management research*. (SAGE Publications, Ltd: 2011), 161

¹² Ibid, here Alexander cites Robert Young

Postcolonial theory or postcolonialism as a broad theoretical approach examines the ways in which past and present societies had been influenced by the history of colonialism and racism on political, economic and social factors. It focuses broadly on the ways in which the colonised people have been racialised, excluded, marginalised and dehumanised as a result of colonialism. It also analyse as Mark Sherry explains ‘the impact that the process of colonialism has on those people who benefited from colonial acts such as dispossession, violence, and the promotion of racist ideology.’¹³

For the ways of thinking through the writing of this dissertation I drew from Achille Mbembe on the manner in which he makes of the postcolony. According to Mbembe:

The notion “postcolony” identifies specifically a given historical trajectory – that of societies recently emerging from the experience of colonization and the violence which the colonial relationship involves. To be sure, the postcolony is chaotically pluralistic; it has nonetheless an internal coherence. It is a specific system of signs, a particular way of fabricating simulacra or re-forming stereotypes. It is not, however, just an economy of signs in which power is mirrored and *imagined* self-reflectively.¹⁴

As Mbembe further describes:

The postcolony is characterised by a distinctive style of political improvisation, by a tendency to excess and lack of proportion, as well as by distinctive ways identities are multiplied, transformed, and put into circulation. But the postcolony is also made up of a series of corporate institutions and a political machinery that, once in place, constitute a distinctive regime of violence.¹⁵

However, beyond the name ‘postcolony’, writes Mbembe ‘we have been interested in the experience of a period that is far from being uniform and absolutely cannot be reduced to a succession of moments and events, but in which instants, moments, and events are, as it were, on top of one another, inside one another.’ In this sense as Mbembe suggests ‘we must say that the postcolony is a period of embedding, a space of proliferation that is not solely

¹³Mark D. Sherry “Postcolonialism.” In Lisa M. Given, ed. *The SAGE encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. SAGE Publications, Inc: 2012), 651

¹⁴ Achille Mbembe. *On the postcolony*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press: 2001), 102

¹⁵ *Ibid*

disorder, chance, and madness, but emerges from a sort of violent gust, with its languages, its beauty and ugliness, its ways of summing the world.’¹⁶

¹⁶ Ibid, 242

Chapter 2: ‘They passed this way and touched our lives’: A remix on the idea of township

What is this thing called “township”? The concept ‘township’ in South Africa holds a particular meaning than it is the case in some parts of the world.¹ Here is associated with the history of apartheid; of segregation, subjugation and marginalisation. Unlike in other parts of the world where in late sixteenth century Britain ‘township’ was referred as a separated section but counted as part of a parish, while in other British colonies was recognised as a local government unit and a site designated for a town.² However in South Africa, the township as a space created by apartheid legislation it has received much attention from different disciplines such as history, political studies, geography, urban studies, sociology and architectural studies. In writing the township, some of these studies have dealt with the historical development of apartheid urban planning, the critique of apartheid urban planning, land dispossession, segregation and its twin brother forced removals and the living conditions in the township. Following these studies, this chapter seeks to bring to attention the ways in which the township has been constituted as a space of dwelling for black bodies³ under apartheid racial regime; focusing in particular on township as a racialised space, the location of township at the periphery, and the housing and incarceration of township. In looking at the ways the township has been organised – this chapter argues that, what has come to form the township space in the apartheid South Africa was its articulation as a product of power, over which its establishment came to be an instrument and the exercise of disciplinary power. Therefore, the work of disciplinary power is centred on the organisation and supervision of bodies in a space and time in accord with established rules, it observes, reads, and orders the subjected bodies.⁴ Such power in the township was enforced by apartheid state administrators of violence through the combination of brutal force, torture, pain and by leaving excessive amount of suffering, even death in their wake. As Mbembe astutely noted, one of the major defining features of the

¹ On the development of the concept “township” in some parts of the world, see Akihiro Kinda “The concept of ‘township’ in Britain and the British colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” *Journal of Historical Geography*, 27 (2001), 137-152.

² Ibid

³ I use this phrase to refer to black people

⁴ For this argument I draw from Foucault’s ideas of power. See Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books Edition: 1977).

township life under apartheid state ‘was its close articulations with biopower.’⁵ The function of biopower, according to Michel Foucault ‘is the power to “make” live and “let” die, or rather “to take life or let live.’⁶Foucault has shown as well ‘how modern societies that function through biopower can justify the killing of populations only through appeals to race or racism’, that very ‘precondition that makes killing acceptable. Mbembe goes on – ‘by “killing” Foucault meant not simply murder as such, but also every form of indirect murder: the fact of exposing someone to death, increasing the risk of death for some people, or, quite simply, political death, expulsion, rejection, and so on.’⁷ In this light; it’s worth noting then, that biopower under apartheid racial regime operated very much closely within the frameworks of discipline in the township and came in many forms and variations so long as it maintained subjection and executing inhumanity to black folks.

Racialised space in the making

It has been recognisable in South Africa that the matter of race struggle under apartheid regime was merely a discourse of power in its totality.⁸This discourse was only pursued by a race that sculptured itself as the one true race in which South African society became its dominant melody and the object of its power. And what is noteworthy of this race after it became to power; was its talent to register the South African society into an official domain of difference within its infancy in power, something that has taken some totalitarian regimes in other parts of the world decades to implement in their respective societies. Though apartheid was not a unique kind of racial regime as such; as some claim it to be, its rise of course, is deeply rooted in the colonial period in Africa, which configured the African space and time in ways beneficial to the colonial rule. As Mamdani noted ‘as a form of rule, apartheid is what Smuts called institutional segregation, the British termed indirect rule, and the French association.’⁹ In consequence, the apartheid regime under its rule created few cities in South

⁵ Achille Mbembe “Aesthetics of Superfluity”. In Achille Mbembe and Sarah Nutall, eds. *Johannesburg: The elusive metropolis*. (Duke University Press: 2008), 53.

⁶ Michel Foucault. “*Society must be defended*” Lectures at the College De France, 1975-76. Trans, David Macey. (New York: Picardor: 2003), 241.

⁷ Achille Mbembe “Aesthetics of Superfluity”, 53.

⁸ See, Michel Foucault. “*Society must be defended*” Lectures at the College De France, 1975-76. Trans, David Macey. (New York: Picardor: 2003), 61.

⁹ Mahmood Mamdani. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press: 1996), 8.

Africa, ‘the majority were founded as colonial cities with a measure of economic segregation which was reflected in colonial terms.’¹⁰ As a result, it simply reformed and refined the colonial programmes and adopted new methods and techniques that harshly separate black population completely from the city.¹¹ In its ideological stand, the racial regime was very clear regarding the population it had to get rid of, as it was its big mission to create a more whiter city and its way forward to continue where their predecessors left of; so to uphold the tradition and values of white racial superiority, of racism, dehumanisation, exploitation, revulsion and malevolence towards the black populace. In its process of constructing a whiter city, it had to relegate black people ‘into a third zone between subjecthood and objecthood.’¹²

This was absolutely achieved through the series of laws that were established such as the 1950 Group Areas Act, 1954 Native Resettlement Act and the 1955 Group Areas Development Act, that permitted the apartheid regime to remove black population from the places like Sophiatown and District Six which were perceived as legitimately potential white spaces. Consequently, these laws had tremendous effects in the lives of the racialised people whom these laws made of them *les misérables*, dispossessed and displaced in the country of their own. Don Mattera; a young poet then that grew up in Sophiatown amidst its best and worst of times, recorded the traumatic effect of these laws and the experience of loss after the apartheid law implementers (bulldozers) demolished the resident’s houses in Sophiatown:

We gave away
 there was nothing we could do
 although the bitterness stung in us,
 in the place we knew to be part of us
 and in the earth around,

We stood.
 slow, painful slow
 clumsy crushers crawled
 over the firm pillars
 into the rooms that held us
 and the roof that covered our hands,

We stood.

¹⁰ A.J. Christopher “Apartheid planning in South Africa: The Case of Port Elizabeth.” *The Geographical Journal*, 153, 2 (1987), 195-204.

¹¹ *Ibid*

¹² *Ibid*

dust clouded our vision
 we held back our tears
 it was over in minutes,
 done...¹³

For the things lost in the demolition that were the heart and soul of District Six, in his poem James Mathews grieved:

Mechanical monsters
 with rapacious lust have ravished
 the beauty of district six
 seven steps
 where gladiators provide circus
 and flowers flourished
 in fields of filth
 familiar landscapes effaced
 now grey ghosts
 in once hallowed places
 exiled pilgrims worship
 at desecrated shrines
 solitary seagull awheeling
 its melancholy mew
 last rites chanted
 at the death of a spirit
 that was district six.¹⁴

For Bloke Modisane, the loss of his Sophiatown felt so deep after the mechanical monsters destroyed it: ‘something in me died, a piece of me, with the dying of Sophiatown.’ He went on to encapsulate the essence of the loss as follows:

My Sophiatown was a blitzed area which had suffered the vengeance of political conquest, a living memorial to the vandalism of Dr Henrik Frensch Verwoerd; my world was falling away, Martha Maduma’s shebeen was gone, she had moved her business to Meyer Street, but the new shebeen lacked the colour and the smell of the long passage, the stench from the puddles of urine.¹⁵

In his autobiographical text; *Memory is the weapon*, Don Mattera also echoed the same feeling of the loss in the dying of Sophiatown:

Something was dying inside of me; small and unnoticeable, but dying nonetheless. Perhaps it had something to do with change and decay around me. Or the sweet memories that had gone with the twilight.¹⁶

¹³ Don Mattera. *Azanian love songs*. (Johannesburg: Skotaville Publishers, 1983), 5.

¹⁴ James Matthews. *Cry Rage: Odyssey of a Dissident poet*. (Cape Town: Realities: 2005), 208.

¹⁵ Bloke Modisane. *Blame me on history*. (Johannesburg: Ad.Donker: 1986), 5.

¹⁶ Don Mattera. *Memory is the weapon* (Johannesburg: African Perspectives Publishing: 2009), 146.

The apartheid state laws were carried out with such power of efficiency and effectiveness, something that signify that the apartheid law implementers meant business and had no much time at all for the people who were hurt by these laws that forcibly removed them in their own place and in the place they have known.¹⁷ Instead; the victims were treated with aggression for weeping and mourning for their place, as if in doing so they were committing crime or guilty of high treason. Even crime for that matter, was not something that the apartheid law implementers or police were acute to investigate or to discover generally, but to be on hand when the apartheid government decides to do harm or to discipline the black folks.¹⁸

In vivid terms, the removal of the black people in the city was part of the main acts of reconfiguration of South African space which was seen by apartheid architects as ideologically important for exercising the grammar of domination, in line with the vision of apartheid policies, of segregation and subjugation. The reconfiguration of space worked under the same process with the racialization of space, which were refined and extended from the colonial style. As a result, the township in South Africa formally emerged under these major changes as a racialised space, a ‘segregated area, designated for the residential use by those who were not white,’¹⁹ and initially inscribed as everything that the white city is not. In this economy of inscription, the township was established as a site of ‘othering’, to draw separate citizenship between the black and white life and to bring the South African society under white domination. In the technique of ‘othering’, black life was subjected to a state of inferiority, with no ontological resistance in the eyes of the whites, barred from the freedom of movement and regulated to dwell within the designated bounds.²⁰ With regard to this performance, township space was invented to keep the blacks afar from the white city as an attempt to maintain the Fanonian ‘principle of reciprocal exclusivity.’²¹ That is to say; to keep the space that is inhabited by black life contrary to the white inhabited space, to make of the black space as of its own and not complementary to the white inhabited space. On this level of operation,

¹⁷ To get the picture of this experience see also, Pamela Jooste. *Dance with a poor man's daughter*. (Great Britain: Doubleday: 1998).

¹⁸ Following Arendt on totalitarian police, See Hannah Arendt. *The origins of totalitarianism*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company: 1951), 403.

¹⁹ Belinda Bozzoli “Why were the 1980s “millennial”? Style, repertoire, space and authority in South Africa’s black cities.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 13 (2000), 78-110.

²⁰ Frantz Fanon. *Black Skin, White masks*, Trans. Charles. L. Markmann. (London: Pluto Press: 1986), 110-15.

²¹ Frantz Fanon. *The wretched of the earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Weidenfeld: 1991), 38

the apartheid state's intent was to maintain the segregation in all aspects of social, political, and economic life, 'so as to protect the resources and life style of the white' and to subject black life into a state of subordination.²²This subordination was in a form of dehumanising and treating the black body 'as raw material and lived on them as one might live on the fruits of wild trees.'²³In dehumanising the black body, the apartheid state primarily had to inferiorise black skin and create of white skin as superior; so to justify their exploitation for dispossessing, oppressing and racialising blacks. On this note, the township as a racially produced space, constructed for the questioned humanity of black people, tells the whole story of apartheid state, of white privileges, of oppression, and the subjection of black bodies.

Writing township in the periphery

As a space developed in the periphery of the city; the township under apartheid state calculus was created as the other world, the antithesis of the city, excluded 'from the field of "the human," and cast within the perimeter of animality.'²⁴As it is located at the margins of the human, to adopt Mbembe's terms, there, 'the native, with the animal, belongs to the register of imperfection, error, deviation, approximation, corruption, and monstrosity. Not having attained the age of maturity, natives and animals cannot stand on their own two feet; this is why they are put firmly in the grasp of another.'²⁵In this sense of not having attained the age of maturity; the black folk in the racist culture is perceived as a primordial being that has arrived too late in the world of meaning, the white world, the only real one, 'in which one is defined as a brute being who does not mean and therefore is not fully human.'²⁶The perception of the black folk being associated with the animal kingdom or to put it blatantly; being an animal, has been in the Western and colonial imagination ever since the development of slavery and colonialism. Since the coloniser holds this perception so dear to his heart; he finds it necessary for him to assert himself as a human being from the black folk and he act out his

²² Ivan Turok "Urban planning in the transition from apartheid: Part 1: The legacy of social control" *The Town Planning Review*, Vol. 65, 3 (1994) , 243-259

²³ Hannah Arendt cited by Achille Mbembe in "Aesthetics of Superfluity", 53.

²⁴ See Achille Mbembe. *On the postcolony*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press: 2001), 236.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Kelly Oliver. *The colonization of psychic space: A Psychoanalytic social theory of oppression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press: 2004), 15.

status of being a human by consigning the black folk to the status of animality.²⁷ Fundamentally; ‘within the colonial logic, the black man represents a pure positivity, an in-self separated from the world of meaning as an object or animal.’²⁸ In this situation; the colonisation process as Kelly Oliver puts it, makes of ‘the black man a lack of a lack.’

...what the black man lacks is this very lack that makes subjectivity possible. The colonial values deny the black man not just individuality but also humanity. He is not considered fully rational or capable of subjectivity and agency. He is denied the transcendence...He is not allowed to make himself a lack of being to become self-conscious. Rather, he is chained to his being, to his body, more particularly to his skin, by colonial values.²⁹

In *Black skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon recorded this experience of the black man being subjected into a ‘thing’ under colonial values, an unfamiliar weight that challenged his claims into the world:

I came into the world imbued with will to find a meaning in things, my spirit filled with the desire to attain to the source of the world, and then I found that I was an object in the midst of other objects. Sealed into that crushing objecthood.³⁰

Not only had the white world subjected the black folk to a state of objecthood, ‘The white world, the only honourable one’, Fanon adds:

Barred me from all participation. A man was expected to behave like a man. I was expected to behave like a black man or at least like a nigger. I shouted a greeting to the world and the world slashed away my joy. I was told to stay within bounds, to go back where I belonged.³¹

Of course, the black man under colonial situation does not belong in the centre of the human, his place of belonging is created to characterise his status of being, of being in the margin, far from the centre of the human, in the native town.

...the world without spaciousness; men live there on top of each other... (It is) a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. (It) is a crouching village, a town on its knees.³²

²⁷ Achille Mbembe. *On the postcolony*, 236.

²⁸ Kelly Oliver. *The colonization of psychic space*, 15

²⁹ *Ibid*, 14

³⁰ Frantz Fanon. *Black Skin, White masks*, 109.

³¹ *Ibid*, 114

³² Frantz Fanon. *The wretched of the earth*, 38-9

While the place of the coloniser in which the black man is not permitted to set his feet, characterise colonial values, the centre of the human:

...is a strongly built town, all made of stones and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. The settler's feet are never visible, except perhaps in the sea, but there you're never close enough to see them. His feet are protected by strong shoes although the streets of his town are clean and even, with no holes or stones. The settler's town is a well-fed town, an easy going town; its belly is always full of good things. The settlers' town is a town of white people.³³

Under white domination it is not imagined for all human groups to occupy the same centre, to share the same destiny, it is found necessary that the opposite space to the centre should be in existence or created for those considered not fully human. Such way of existence has been imposed and enforced along the lines of separation or to follow Mbembe, along the lines of 'splintering urbanism,'³⁴ that is, of the centre and periphery which has been constructed by apartheid racial regime to draw clear boundaries between the humans and the sub-humans. Therefore, township as a modern invention built in the periphery, 'its purpose was to construct its inhabitants as pre-modern and incapable of negotiating modernity.'³⁵ The basis of this logic and of placing the black life in the periphery, stems from the ways in which the Black African and Africa has been perceived in the Western consciousness, as in the threshold of civilisation.³⁶

Housing and incarcerating the township

Whilst black life was conceived as equivalent to the life of an animal or an object, the apartheid racial regime found it hard to exterminate it or to exercise the right of total killing. The *raison d'être* for this, black life was considered valuable and needed for industrial utility; 'it could be sold and acquired through a multileveled market. But the specifics of the commodity form and the particulars of the market in which blacks circulated were predetermined by a logic of productive sacrifice that was the key underpinning of a racialised

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Achille Mbembe "Necropolitics" trans. Libby Meinjies, *Public Culture* 15 (1) 2003, 11-40.

³⁵ Jordache .A. Ellapen "The cinematic township: cinematic representations of the 'township space' and who can claim the rights to representation in post-apartheid South African cinema," *Journal of African Cultural studies*. 19, 1, (2007), 113-137

³⁶ See Joseph Conrad. *Heart of Darkness*. (England: Penguin Books:1973)

institution of private property.’³⁷ Thus in all, black life became a very important form of commodity for capital accumulation and for keeping white people alive. According to Hannah Arendt ‘it was this absolute dependence on the work of others and complete contempt for labour and productivity in any form that transformed the Dutchman into the Boer and gave his concept of race a distinctly meaning.’³⁸ By virtue of labour to some extent, black life was also transformed ‘into something more than the object he or she was, a thing that always seemed slightly human and a human that seemed a thing like.’³⁹ As black life was valuable for labour, the house in the township that shelters the black folks was among other things constructed to give the black body a brief sort of rest before he or she returns to work for the whites in the city.⁴⁰ Mattera captured this experience of a black worker vividly, on his return from work to his house in the township:

5pm...The workday ends
 To crowded trains
 That smell of sweat and disinfectant.
 6pm...The walk through the township
 Alerts the senses in precaution
 Against the threat of cold steel.
 7pm...The eager smiles of children
 And the soft caress of loving wife
 Fails to soothe the troubled heart
 8pm...Sleep eludes the eyes
 And fear of facing another barren day
 Gnaws like a cancer in the belly...

The fears that the black worker has for facing another barren day, is the fears of being subjected to various forms of struggles and humiliation on the way to work and at work and after work. But more importantly, it is of knowing that his life is fuelled with risk in the white city and might not come back home to his family. In all of this, Wally Serote instead chooses

³⁷ Achille Mbembe “Aesthetics of Superfluity”, 43

³⁸ Ibid, 53

³⁹ Ibid, 44

⁴⁰ Most Studies on black labor have limited this kind of experience mainly on the migrant labor in the hostels and compounds and they have not given much attention on the experiences of labor in the township. On this see Tinyiko Sam Maluleke. “Urban black townships: A challenge to Christian mission,” retrieved on the 10th of April 2014, from http://www.unisa.ac.za/contents/research/docs/Urban_BlackTownships_Challenge.pdf. In relation to this; I argue that, the township as an extension from the hostels and compounds under the white capitalist apartheid South Africa, amongst other things, was created to maintain the permanency of black labor in the city so that the whites, as Mattera puts it in his poem, may incessantly: “gather crops from the fields they have not ploughed, while we the dark sons feed on bitter fruit.” Don Mattera. *Azanian love songs*, 30

to salute the white city, the Johannesburg city: ‘My hand pulses to my back trousers pocket or into my inner jacket pocket for my pass, my life.’ In this way:

Jo’burg city, I salute you;
 When I run out, or roar in a bus to you,
 I leave behind me, my love,
 My comic houses and people, my dongas and my ever whirling dust,
 My death
 That’s so related to me as a wink to the eye.
 Jo’burg city
 I travel on your black and white robotted roads
 Through your thick iron breath that you inhale
 At six in the morning and exhale from five noon.
 Jo’burg city
 That is the time I come to you,
 When your neon flowers flaunt from your electrical wind,
 That is the time when I leave you,
 When your neon flowers flaunt their way through the falling darkness
 On your cement trees.
 And as I go back, to my love,
 My dongas, my dust, my people, my death,
 Where death lurks in the dark like a blade in the flesh...⁴¹

Mattera and Serote share a common experience for the inability to be at home in the city, mainly their condition in the city reflects the state of black life, of being part of the city at the same time not part of the city. Of not feeling part of the Johannesburg city, Serote says in the last lines of the poem:

I can feel your roots, anchoring your might, my feebleness
 In my flesh, in my mind, in my blood
 And everything about you says it
 That, that is all you need of me.

The presence of black life in the city was of limit when the ‘neon flowers flaunt from... the electrical wind’ at 5pm to be exact, the black life is released of work to return back where it belongs, to its house in the township. As Turok pointed out that since black life was denied a right to own property, it was required to live in the township that were designed for them and yet owned by the state, ‘furnished with rudimentary housing and services.’⁴² Among other things; however, it was in developing a civilised, disciplined black worker that the racial

⁴¹ Mongane Wally Serote. *Selected poems*, ed. Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane. (Johannesburg: Ad. Donker: 1982), 22.

⁴² Ivan Turok “Urban planning in the transition from apartheid”

regime was interested in the provision of housing, so as to maintain economic stability and to preserve the township as a reservoir of labour. However; in *Down Second Avenue*, Ezekiel Mphahlele described one of the township in the late fifties as:

...organised rubble of tin cans. The streets were straight; but the houses stood cheek by jowl, rusty as ever on the outside, as if they thought they might as well crumble in the straight rows if that was to be their fate. Each house, as far as I remember, had a fence of sorts. The wire always hung limp, the standards were always swaying in drunken fashion. A few somewhat pretentious houses could be found here and there.⁴³

For Serote, it was ‘a makeshift of abode, a township-that is, black people live here. Live here only if the whims of Verwoerds are still stable to that end.’⁴⁴ As Turok noted, the allocation of the housing for black life, was very much connected to a system of employment permits (pass laws). The power of the pass laws was its incredible weight, to determine the destiny of the black life in the city, of movement, belonging and the status of citizenship. ‘It is almost magical how powerful those pass laws were,’ Mashoba tells Steinberg:

A black jack walks in to see your pass, he takes it, puts in his pocket, and you must follow him. He gathers a few people like this. One cop followed by 12 people. He is on his bicycle; the 12 are jogging to keep up with him. He stops to see this and that one, to drink and to visit, and the 12 wait for him outside. Then he gets on his bicycle again, and the 12 jog again to keep up with him. He has your pass book in his pocket, and you are nothing without it.⁴⁵

The pass laws were fundamentally the crux of constituting and maintaining control of the South African space – without the pass, the black life would be awaited by many kinds of punishment and torture. Hence Serote’s hand pulse in his back pockets or into the inner jacket for his pass, for his life, before he make any movement outside his township house. In fact the pattern and spatial layout of the township was designed to go hand in hand with the system of the pass laws, in this manner the township space was articulated to be a mechanism for discipline, policing and control of black life. This was very much an emphasis of subjection par excellence; as Judith Butler in her text, *Psychic life of power* noted of this subjection, as the process that signifies the state of being subordinated by power and as well the process of becoming a subject.⁴⁶ Therefore, a subject is formed through power or through submission to

⁴³ Ezekiel Mphahlele. *Down Second Avenue*. (London: Faber & Faber: 1959), 31.

⁴⁴ Mongane Wally Serote. *To every birth its blood*. (Johannesburg: Picador Africa: 2004), 26.

⁴⁵ Jacob Dlamini. *Native Nostalgia*. (Johannesburg: Jacana Media: 2009), 7.

⁴⁶ Judith Butler. *The psychic life of power: Theories in subjection* (California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 2.

power, and its very existence is subjected to conditions.⁴⁷ These conditions in the making of township closely correlate with the Panopticon that Foucault wrote about, which epitomises the manner in which discipline and punish function in modern societies. Of Panopticon, Foucault says, 'it is a type of location of bodies in space, of distribution of individuals in relation to another...of disposition of centre and channels of power, of definition of the instruments and modes of interventions of power.' He adds, 'whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be imposed.'⁴⁸ For Foucault, the panoptic schema 'makes any apparatus of power more intense, it assures its economy, it assures its efficacy by its preventative character, its continuous functioning and its automatic mechanism.'⁴⁹ With its relation to the Panopticon, the township under apartheid racial regime was constructed as a space of incarceration that played as a mechanism of surveillance and control of black life. Like the Panopticon, with its peripheralisation of an incarcerated labour "unit" it was a diagram of power in action.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to show how black life through being subjected to power had been racialised, peripheralised, housed and incarcerated in the township space under apartheid racial regime. I have demonstrated the processes through which the township became a racially produced space as the apartheid racial regime came in power. Moreover, I have shown how the location of the township in the periphery signified the status of black life under white rule, of being primordial, not human and the antithesis of the white civilisation. I also connected it with the ways in which Africa has been constructed in the Western consciousness. Lastly, I have shown that the housing of township was purely a move to maintain black labour and also of incarceration for the play of power. Now that apartheid has ended, new questions have been posed on how the post-apartheid township has been created to soothe or console the difficult experiences of suffering of black life under apartheid racial regime. This next chapter explores this difficult ambition as made manifest through official representations of the post-apartheid township.

⁴⁷ Butler citing Foucault, *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish*, 205.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 206

Chapter 3: Surveying the reconstruction and representations of the post-apartheid township

The conception of the post-apartheid has been that which ‘breaks apart’ with the oppressive rule, by introducing a different make up of a nation that contest the apartheid rationality – by means of deconstructing it and ‘reconstructing’ itself. To reconstruct or reconstruction in Edward Soja’s terms means ‘to convey a break in secular trends and shift towards a significantly different order and configuration of social, economic and political life. It thus evokes a sequence of breaking down and building up again.’⁵⁰To take another variation, it has to do with the nation’s aptitude to take all that it has experienced; to read it, and transfigure it so to create its own world of meaning. So, in this chapter I am interested to critically survey and explore how the idea of reconstruction of the post-apartheid place has been represented through the housing policies and laws that administer or govern how the post-apartheid place (township) should look like or be created, if not be conceptualised. By representations here, I refer to a conceptualised space created out of state policies including legislations which stipulates how a certain place should be administered for a particular group of population. Accordingly; these representations to follow Rob Shields, forms part of the ‘logic and forms of knowledge and ideological content’⁵¹in which a space becomes conceptualised and created.

Digging at the beginning

In her text *Living in Hope and History: Notes from Our Century*, Nadine Gordimer has observed that, ‘when the state projects a social vision...it does so through the perceptions of planners, advisers, commissions, experts, constitutional lawyers’⁵² and so on. The state’s mood on this, is to be able to widen the possibilities of its vision through the formation of a collective intelligence so to realise its intentions. In relation to the visualisation of the post-apartheid housing provision: one may ask, what kind of intelligence was instituted in the conceptualisation of housing policy for the making of the post-apartheid place (township space)?

⁵⁰ Cited from Neil Brenner` and Nik Theodore “Neoliberalism and the urban condition.” *City: analysis of urban trends , culture, theory, policy, action*, 9 (2005), 101-107

⁵¹ Rob Shields. *Lefebvre, love and struggle: Spatial dialects*. (London: Routledge: 1999), 163.

⁵² Nadine Gordimer. *Living in hope and history: Notes from our century*. (Cape Town: David Philip: 2000), 191.

It is in the National Housing Forum (NHF) that the future of housing in the post-apartheid South Africa began its momentum through series of discussions and negotiations. Fundamentally, the formation of the Forum was essentially evoked by the growing concerns about the housing crisis and the living conditions in the hostels ‘together with the growing concerns over emerging proposals for hostels conversion, led to a decision by the IDT (*Independent Development Trust*) and DBSA (*Development Bank of South Africa*) to convene a discussion Forum on hostel and housing, on the 1st August 1991.’⁵³ As Sue Rubenstein and Neil Otten stated:

The central issue to emerge from this meeting was the critical importance of locating the hostels question in the context of broader housing and development policy and programmes. The policy vacuum in housing pointed to the need to establish a negotiating forum for housing and led, ultimately to the formation of the National Housing Forum (NHF).⁵⁴

The formation of the Forum was also pushed by a convergence of thoughts from different sectors in South African society. These sectors represented different interests, albeit, formed collective intelligence in developing a future of housing for the post-apartheid South Africa. In one corner for instance, as Kecia Rust noted:

business was thinking of ways to combat the recession, and address development issues as part of the transition to democracy. In a second corner, civic, political and labour organisations sought access to the policy-making process, wanting to begin the process of reconstruction and development prior to a shift in power in government level. In a third corner, development organisations were receiving more and more requests for housing-related funding assistance, and were concerned about sustainability of such ad hoc processes to development, in the absence of legitimate and broadly supported policy guidance. In the fourth corner was government, aware of its diminishing power to govern on its own and the need to effect development within its waning term of office to secure a role in the ‘new’ South Africa.⁵⁵

The Forum was officially founded on the 31st August 1992 in Johannesburg at the Mariston hotel. It was attended by sixteen founding members that launched the NHF which signed the founding agreement and therefore consented on initial programme of work. In its opening preamble the agreement ‘sets out the initial points of consensus to which all founding

⁵³ Sue Rubenstein and Neil Otten “Towards transformation: Lessons from the hostels Redevelopment Programme.” In Kecia Rust and Sue Rubenstein, eds. *A mandate to build: Developing consensus around a national housing policy in South Africa* (Ravan Press: 1996), 140

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Kecia Rust “The National Housing Forum: 1991-1995.” In Kecia Rust and Sue Rubenstein, eds. *A mandate to build: Developing consensus around a national housing policy in South Africa* (Ravan Press: 1996), 5

members and subsequent new members bind themselves.’ As Matthew Nell and Kecia Rust explains:

The document outlines the enabling provisions and structures of the Forum that allow it do its work. It commits members to applying themselves jointly to the negotiation of short terms strategies, medium and long term plans and policy frameworks for the housing sector, on basis which allows maximum participation by the general public through the representative bodies of its members. It also confirms commitment to the pursuit of a non-racial, non-sexist, non-partisan national plan that actively redresses historical imbalances, eradicates the enormous backlog, and prepares for future demands. The emphasis of all activities in the Forum, the members agreed, is on shelter provision for the poor in South Africa. The statement of principle arises from the Founding Agreement, and is supported by all NHF members.⁵⁶

The statement of principle declares that ‘the National Housing Forum aims to negotiate for a workable and non-racial future direction for the housing sector in South Africa, with a particular emphasis on the provision of housing to members of disadvantaged communities.’⁵⁷

The sixteen founding members of the Forum was later joined by three additional members which in all became nineteen. The Forum comprised seven political parties (Mass Democratic Movement including South African National Civics organisation (SANCO) and other political parties), three parastatal agencies (Development Bank of Southern Africa, Independent Development Trust, South African Housing Trust); six business or private sector, the financial service, insurance and construction sectors and three developmental non-governmental organisations (Urban Foundation, Kagiso Trust and Not Profit Housing Delivery Sector).

It has been noted however, that not all the parties had the same opportunity to engage in the NHF and therefore, the representatives of women’s groups, tenants, the homeless, informal savings and rural sector organisations and the main intended beneficiaries of the housing policy were marginalised.⁵⁸The private sector, according to Huchzermeyer was the most

⁵⁶ Matthew Nell and Kecia Rust “The National Housing Forum: Consensus based policy making during political transition in South Africa” *Housing finance International*, (1993), 8-13. Both authors were directly involved in the NHF, Matthew Nell served as a chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the NHF and Kecia Rust served as a Coordinator of the Coordinating Committee, Plenary, Chairpersons and Trustees Committees of the NHF.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Sarah Charlton and Caroline Kihato “Reaching the poor? An analysis of the influences on the evolution of South Africa’s housing programme.” In Udesh Pillay, Richard Tomlinson and Jacques Dutoit, eds. *Democracy and delivery: Urban policy in South Africa*. (Cape Town: HSRC Press: 2006), 273. See as well, Gareth A. Jones and Kevitta Datta “Enabling Markets to work? Housing policy in the ‘new’ South Africa.” *International Planning Studies*, 5:3, (2000).393-416

influential in the NHF housing policy formulation.⁵⁹ Even the balance of power in the Forum as Kiran Lalloo also observed ‘favoured the business interests which generally acted in concert with the state and the parastatal institutions.’⁶⁰ The apartheid government, writes Lalloo, had a part in early talks ‘it soon withdrew under the pretext that the Forum would resort to “government by stealth”...it continued to wield significant influence over the Forum by setting itself up as a “bilateral negotiating partner”.’⁶¹ In its initial conceptualisation phase in January 1992 – it is recorded that the apartheid government negotiators to the National Discussion Forum:

advised a meeting that the government had decided to withdraw from forum discussions in favour of potential alternative processes that could develop through constitutional negotiations. It was agreed that a national housing forum would be pursued without government, and that it would interact with government as and when necessary.⁶²

It was agreed by most members of the Forum that bilateral negotiations between the NHF and government ‘could be as effective as multi-party negotiations that included government’.⁶³ This came clearly from a dominating voice of the nine of the sixteen founding members of the Forum who were pro –business or business representatives which were over-represented. It is suspected among other things that the withdrawal of the National Party government in the Forum had to do with avoidance of facing directly its political opponents of long years, such as members of the Mass Democratic Movement, Azanian People’s Organisation and Pan Africanist Congress and others. Even though, the apartheid government was not present in the Forum – it had its allies that worked together with it through the years in enforcing unequal human settlement in South Africa. Its allies were mainly the Urban Foundation and the Independent Development Trust and other parastatal organisations including the Development Bank of Southern Africa which operated in disguise under the heavy weight of power, of apartheid government.

⁵⁹ See Marie Huchzermeyer “Housing for the poor? Negotiated housing policy in South Africa.” *Habitat International*, 25, (2001).303-331

⁶⁰ Kiran Lalloo “Arenas of contested citizenship: Housing policy in South Africa.” *Habitat International*, 23 (1999), 35-47

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Matthew Nell and Kecia Rust “The National Housing Forum: Consensus based policy making during political transition in South Africa.”

⁶³ Kecia Rust “The National Housing Forum: 1991-1995.”

The Urban Foundation formation was developed at the business conference on ‘quality of life in urban areas’, which was prompted by the occurrence of the 1976 township unrest.⁶⁴ It was officially launched in 1977 as a non-profit private organisation and its main objective was ‘to promote improvement of the quality of life in urban (and primarily African urban) communities through a redefinition of the (apartheid -) established parameters of housing policy.’⁶⁵ The UF was a key role player in shaping ‘legislation about black urbanisation and housing financing and production strategies for urbanised blacks.’ As Christopher Thomas argue, it sought in its terms “peaceful structural change” ‘within the apartheid framework and UF and NP members promoted black homeownership schemes as they hoped such reform initiatives would curb repetition of the 1976 uprising.’⁶⁶The UF initiative as Thomas points out, was supported by business and banks representatives ‘as a forerunner of housing policy and other services imposed on urban blacks.’

Several white academics were also drawn into the organisation’s activities. Its main business advocates were Harry Oppenheimer of Anglo American Corporation and Afrikaner business man, Anton Rupert with former Judge Jan Hendrik Steyn as its director.⁶⁷

The other white ‘radical’ intellectuals, however, who played alongside apartheid were Dan Smit and Jeff McCarthy. According to Khan, these intellectuals during the late 1980s ‘sold out their earlier radical beliefs’ and also showed a radical disdain for the emerging societal demand for transparency.’ Nevertheless, these two intellectuals – Smit and McCarthy, as Khan further cites Patrick Bond ‘criticised capital’s agenda with undisguised venom.’⁶⁸The works of these intellectuals according to Marie Huchzermeyer, focused around the promotion of ‘informal settlements intervention simply as a form of housing delivery, dismissing a role for community organisations, supporting the imposition of individual freehold titles and

⁶⁴ Firoz Khan and Sarah Thurman “Setting the stage: Current housing policy debate in South Africa.” (Isandla Institute: 2001), 6.

⁶⁵ Firoz Khan. *Critical perspectives on post-apartheid housing praxis through the development statecraft looking glass*. Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Public Management and Planning at Stellenbosch University, December (2010), 38.

⁶⁶ Christopher Gerald Thomas. *The discourses on the right to housing in Gauteng province, 1994 – 2008*. Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology at University of Witwatersrand, February (2010), 209.

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Firoz Khan. *Critical perspectives on post-apartheid housing praxis through the development statecraft looking glass*, 39.

promoting increased stakes for the private sector.’⁶⁹ The work of the UF was supported by these intellectuals and also ‘consisted with the NP’s attempts to shift black housing provision to private sector.’ And in its rule, the NP could have continued to shape the housing policy to its terms but it chose to allow the UF to take a lead in creating new approach that do not total challenge the NP government ideologies.⁷⁰

As a business funded think- tank on urban and social policy, the UF clearly – did not disrupt the ways in which urban space has been configured under apartheid. Instead, it has been well known of drafting the Black Local Authorities Act of 1983 – ‘a scheme that meant the transfer of township control to pliant Black administrators’ who ‘would administer the oppression of their fellow blacks.’⁷¹ In avoiding challenging apartheid hegemony; conversely, the leading experts within the UF in the 1980s, says Khan ‘played important role in the lobbying activities of the Foundation by way of generating policy documents and championing these positions in various forums.’ These ‘intellectuals’, Khan maintains:

also piloted and implemented the approaches they developed while consulting for the Foundation, most notably the supply-side, once-off small capital subsidy that created the legendary ‘toilets towns’ and perpetuated territorial segregation – through arms-length, apartheid-funded institutions like the Independent Development Trust (IDT).⁷²

Thus, the Independent Development Trust became formed in 1991 to promote the product linked capital subsidy.⁷³ In doing so, it serviced sites by way of utilising a capital subsidy to the value of R7 500 per site.⁷⁴ The notion of capital subsidies, as Charlton and Kihato pointed was ‘shaped by Urban Foundation thinking...onto the agenda of the NHF’⁷⁵and as well, IDT capital subsidy scheme was in accord with the UF national housing proposal of 1990, focused

⁶⁹ Marie Huchzermeyer. “Consent and contradiction: scholarly responses to the capital subsidy model for informal settlement intervention in South Africa.” *Urban Forum*, 12, (2001), 71-106.

⁷⁰Christopher Gerald Thomas. *The discourses on the right to housing in Gauteng province, 1994 – 2008*. 210.

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Firoz Khan “Continuities, Ambiguities and Contradictions: The past, present and (possible) future of housing policy and practice in South Africa. “In Firoz Khan and Petal Thring, eds. *Housing policy and practice in post-apartheid South Africa*. (Heinemann Publishers: 2003), 12.

⁷³ To follow Huchzermeyer’s description: capital subsidy is a scheme which entitles low-income households to a uniform product, consisting of a standardised serviced plot with freehold tenure and a core housing structure, in a formalised township layout. See Marie Huchzermeyer. “A legacy of control? The capital subsidy for housing, and informal settlement intervention in South Africa.” *International Journal of urban and Regional Research*, 27.3, (2003), 891-612

⁷⁴ Sarah Charlton and Caroline Kihato “Reaching the poor? An analysis of the influences on the evolution of South Africa’s housing programme”, 270.

⁷⁵ Ibid

on standardised serviced site financed through a once-off capital subsidy. As a result; the criteria for beneficiaries to qualify for subsidy was authorised in clear terms to be— a first time property owner, over 21 years of age; having dependants forming part of the household and monthly income under R1000.

In its covert promotion of capital subsidy through the IDT, the apartheid government of National Party afforded the business sector ‘an opportunity of implementing its concept at scale, by consulting the Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn on poverty alleviation.’

Literally over a weekend, Steyn designed a programme that was accepted by government within three days. Jan Steyn was charged with its implementation through the 'Independent Development Trust' (IDT), for which the state, on his request, made available a grant of R 2 billion. Over the next four years, standardised serviced sites were delivered at scale to approximately 100 000 qualifiers of the capital subsidy.⁷⁶

The apartheid state supported this move because it saw as an opportunity to utilise a capital subsidy scheme to form part of the continuation of the apartheid housing initiative and the state’s indirect tacit influence in NHF to maintain apartheid spatial division. The UF through IDT, in favour of the state – persuaded the NHF to focus on short term delivery issues, so to leave apartheid remnants not addressed of which in doing so, have succeeded. The withdrawal of apartheid government to participate in the NHF gave it an opportunity to easily criticise the NHF failures on housing delivery while at the same time taking credit for making funds available for such development.⁷⁷ The pursuit of immediate delivery by IDT and its alliances in NHF, Lalloo argues:

...had the effect of shifting NHF focus from long-term policy to address the legacy of apartheid to short-term issues related to immediate delivery and allocation of funds. Since the NHF had not developed any policy to deal with such allocation, it restored to the old IDT capital scheme, which later became the cornerstone of housing policy in the post-apartheid era.⁷⁸

For this to occur, Lalloo maintains that:

the policy negotiations took place against the backdrop of the run-up to the democratic elections, the tension between long – and short term objectives was exploited by the

⁷⁶Firoz Khan and Sarah Thurman “Setting the stage: Current housing policy debate in South Africa Peter.” And see Wilkinson “Housing policy in South Africa.” *Habitat International*, 22:3, (1998), 215-229.

⁷⁷ Kiran Lalloo “Arenas of contested citizenship: Housing policy in South Africa.”

⁷⁸ *Ibid*

apartheid state and the business sector to shift focus away from long term goals that would have addressed the legacy of apartheid more effectively.⁷⁹

Nonetheless, at the NHF during the course of housing policy formulation; capital subsidy was put forward as the only possible solution imagined for housing delivery. It was argued by Urban Foundation and its allies that the ‘capital subsidies are simpler to implement where government capacity is limited.’⁸⁰This among other things led to the major influence on policy formulation and the urgent need for housing delivery. It was clear in the Forum that, the private sector led by the Urban Foundation advocated for an individual site-and services; supported by a capital subsidy, while the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) advocated – a people-centred development to be formulated in line with the RDP manifesto. Yet, the settlement was reached on the creation of a state-built ‘starter house’ added on the site and service model – thus the ‘RDP house’ as it is famously known, became introduced. After the settlement, NHF was in a situation ‘whether the government should deliver the housing or set up the framework within which the private sector would provide it.’⁸¹It is said only the business funded think-tank like the Urban Foundation and its partners became in favour of a market driven approach, while the African National Congress (ANC) and the Non Profit Organisations ‘envisaged the leading role in housing delivery being state driven.’⁸²In the course of negotiation, these oppositional views settled in favour of the partnership approach ‘a facilitative state which drew in the resources and implementation capacity of the private sector.’⁸³ Consequently, the housing policy formulation process culminated after the consensus at the National Housing Summit on 27 October 1994 regarding the future of national housing policy in South Africa. The consensus at the NHS was followed by the release of the Housing White Paper later that year, which marked the end of a housing policy formulation process – ‘the time for policy debate is now past – the time for delivery has arrived.’⁸⁴ It became clear that the policy has been formed on the similar basis with the

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Sarah Charlton and Caroline Kihato “Reaching the poor? An analysis of the influences on the evolution of South Africa’s housing programme”, 271

⁸¹ Ibid, 271.

⁸² Ibid, 272

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ *White Paper: A new housing policy and strategy for South Africa.* (Department of Housing: 23 December 1994), 4

housing policy that was developed by the Urban Foundation and IDT which ‘centred on the capital subsidy scheme... in large projects on cheap, peripheral land.’⁸⁵

Imagined post-apartheid housing policy

One of the fundamental directives of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was the establishment of housing as a human right, which became codified in the 1994 Housing White Paper and enshrined in the 1996 *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* and legislated in the 1997 *Housing Act* and later in the 2004 ‘Breaking New Ground’ Comprehensive housing plan. When the RDP was put forward as the ANC election manifesto, it went through six drafts between 1993 and 1994. In January 1994, at the conference on ‘Reconstruction and Strategy, the ANC and its alliances, and other civic organisations - ‘made final amendments and approved the document as the policy framework and programme in which the ANC would contest the elections.’⁸⁶ The RDP document was endorsed by the then ANC president Mandela, that it:

Represents a framework that is coherent, viable and has widespread support. The RDP was not drawn up by experts – although many, many experts have participated in that process – but by the very people that will be part of its implementation. It is a product of consultation, debate and reflection on what we need and what is possible.⁸⁷

On the 2 May 1994, at the ANC election victory celebration, he proclaimed:

We have emerged as the majority party on the basis of the programme which is contained in the Reconstruction and Development book. That is going to be the cornerstone, the foundation, upon which the Government of National Unity is going to be based. I appeal to all leaders who are going to serve in this government to honour this programme.⁸⁸

In the 1994 Housing White Paper, it is stated that ‘the Reconstruction and Development Programme sets out a clear vision for housing in the future. It is therefore imperative that future housing policy and strategy be developed with this vision and guideline.’⁸⁹ In other words, since housing provision is a key priority component of the RDP, it is stated ‘the role of housing needs should be correctly located within the overall framework of the RDP.’⁹⁰ The

⁸⁵ Kiran Laloo “Arenas of contested citizenship: Housing policy in South Africa”

⁸⁶ Patrick Bond and Meshack Khosa, eds. *An RDP policy audit* (Pretoria: HSRC Publishers: 1999), 1.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 2.

⁸⁹ *White Paper: A new housing policy and strategy for South Africa*, 26

⁹⁰ *Ibid*

RDP framework for policy formulation and implementation entailed wide range of social and economic policy arenas including housing – so the White Paper on housing was released in 1994 after the RDP policy. Its national vision rhetorically declares that, ‘government strives for the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities, within which all South Africa’s people will access on a progressive basis, to:

A permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements, and
Potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply.⁹¹

In order to accomplish this, as stated in the housing policy ‘government’s goal is to increase housing’s share in the total state budget to five percent and to increase housing delivery on a sustainable basis to a peak level of 350 000 units per annum, within a five year period, to reach the target of the Government of National Unity of 1 000 000 houses in five years.’⁹² Today, this goal in one way or another has been achieved according to Colin Bundy, ‘over 2.25 million ‘housing units’ have been provided: 10 million South Africans have been rehoused. By international comparative standards, this is remarkable achievement, both in its scale and for the fact that households in RDP have security of tenure.’⁹³As Bundy writes, 2011 Census revealed that 77.6% of all South African now live in formal dwellings. The delivery of housing; water, sanitation and electricity was crucial in winning legitimacy for the new state in the eyes of its supporters. It provided beneficiaries with access to basic services, security of tenure, and shelter.⁹⁴ In the housing policy it is declared that the security of tenure is a key foundational basis of the State’s approach towards providing housing to people in need.⁹⁵ As stated in the housing policy that ‘government’s primary aim with the introduction of subsidies is to, in the first instance, provide security of tenure and access to basic services as well as possibly a rudimentary starter formal structure to the poorest of the poor.’⁹⁶

⁹¹ Ibid, 21

⁹² Ibid 22

⁹³ See Colin Bundy. *Short changed? South Africa since 1994*. (Johannesburg: Jacana Media: 2014), 90.

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ *White Paper: A new housing policy and strategy for South Africa*, 43.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 45

The policy was formulated on a belief that it will address the past injustices that among other things resulted on marginalisation of the poor and oppressed to proper human settlement, by introducing ‘income based housing capital subsidy targeted at the South African poor.’⁹⁷ Subsidies, as affirmed in the housing policy are ‘specifically designed and targeted at redressing anomalies created by past government subsidisation interventions.’⁹⁸ The post-apartheid government adopted an income based subsidy scheme as a base for its approach to low-cost housing. As Pottie pointed, ‘the housing scheme for project linked subsidies was first approved on 15 March 1994 and included three income bands (up to R 2 500, 00 per month). On 16 February 1995, a fourth income band (R 2 500, 00 to R 3500, 00 per month) was introduced and approved retroactively. On 5 June 1995, the individual subsidy scheme was introduced to complement the project linked approach.

To qualify for consideration in either of the schemes, subsidy applicants had to conform to a number of criteria. Applicants had to be South African residents, had to be married or cohabit habitually with another person, had to be legally competent to contract and had to be able to acquire residential title to a residential property either in the form of ownership, leasehold or deed of grant. The income bands were based upon a calculation of monthly household income and a prospective beneficiary was required to submit proof of his or her income. No subsidy was payable if the price of the house exceeded R 65 000.⁹⁹

It has been recognised in the housing policy, that as from 1994 forty percent of households in South Africa had a joint household income of less than R800 per month. In recognition of this problem, most subsidies were granted to project-linked applicants in the lowest income category.¹⁰⁰ As a result ‘for each housing unit, the state made a once-off contribution, purchasing the land, granting tenure to a means-tested family – either as a site or more commonly with a building of 30 square metres.’ As Bundy noted, ‘the original expectation was that households would over time consolidate or add onto the starter home. This model lent itself to a target-driven programme of delivery: identical structures, one size fits all, on modest plots, on land that could be cheaply acquired, built through private developers.’¹⁰¹ The result of this, has to do much with the failure of NHF and its adopted housing policy to imagine a

⁹⁷ David Pottie “Local government and housing in South Africa: managing demand and enabling markets”, *Development in Practice*, 14:5 (2004). 606-618

⁹⁸ *White Paper: A new housing policy and strategy for South Africa*, 45

⁹⁹ David Pottie “Housing the nation: the politics of low cost housing policy in South Africa since 1994”, *Politeia*, 22:1 (2003), 119-143

¹⁰⁰ David Pottie “Local government and housing in South Africa

¹⁰¹ Colin Bundy. *Short changed? South Africa since 1994*, 91

cognitive map that depicts how the post-apartheid place (township) would look like at least by producing design drawings of post-apartheid township houses, the space in which these houses would be constructed and how the physical layout of post-apartheid township space would truly epitomise the ideals of nation building and rainbow nation that was highly advocated in the making of post-apartheid South Africa.

‘Breaking New Ground’: A new plan for housing

The question before us is Breaking New Ground does indeed break new ground: Does it present an empowering and egalitarian alternative and elaborate ‘appropriate’ technique and technologies and stratagems to re-order and re-orient the axes of governance?¹⁰² Firoz Khan

The Comprehensive Plan for Sustainable Housing, referred to as ‘Breaking New Ground’ came out after Lindiwe Sisulu was appointed as the Minister of Human Settlement on April 2004 by former President Thabo Mbeki. The Breaking New Ground housing plan was unveiled by Lindiwe Sisulu on the 2nd September 2004 after it was approved by the Cabinet on the 1st September of the same year. In the public unveiling of the new housing plan, Sisulu proclaimed that:

The Plan's necessity stems from the fact that at its inception the Housing Policy and Strategy (1994) focused on stabilising the environment to transform the extremely fragmented, complex and racially-based financial and institutional framework that was inherited from the previous government, whilst simultaneously establishing new systems to ensure delivery to address the housing backlog. Therefore, whilst government believes that the fundamentals of the policy remain relevant and sound, a new plan was required to redirect and enhance existing mechanisms to move towards a more responsive and effective delivery.¹⁰³

In a way, the plan was devised to address the failures of the original housing policy that in its implementation was hindered in providing proper human settlement for the black poor. The most notably failures of the original policy implementation included poor quality housing provision, peripheralisation of residential spaces for the poor, maladministration and its twin

¹⁰² Firoz Khan. *Critical perspectives on post-apartheid housing praxis through the development statecraft looking glass*, 185

¹⁰³ Lindiwe Sisulu. Public unveiling of new housing plan (02/09/2004). Accessed on 1 December 2016: <http://www.polity.org.za/print-version/sisulu-public-unveiling-of-new-housing-plan-02092004-2004-09-02>

sister corruption, lack of community participation and underspent budget. So, the new plan – intended to break away from the failures of the original housing policy by planning in providing sustainable human settlements and quality housing. According to plan ‘the new human settlement plan moves away from the current commodified focus of housing delivery towards more responsive mechanisms which addresses the multidimensional needs of sustainable human settlement.’¹⁰⁴ It further points out that ‘the new human settlement plan reinforces the vision of the Department of Housing, to promote the achievement of a non-racial, integrated society through the development of sustainable human settlements and housing.’ Through the broader vision of the Breaking New Ground housing plan – the Department of Human Settlement has committed itself in meeting the following objectives:

- Accelerating the delivery of housing as a key strategy for poverty alleviation
- Utilising provision of housing as a major job creation strategy
- Ensuring property can be accessed by all as an asset for wealth creation and empowerment
- Leveraging growth in the economy
- Combating crime, promoting social cohesion and improving quality of life for the poor
- Supporting the functioning of the entire single residential property market to reduce duality within the sector by breaking the barriers between the first economy residential property boom and the second economy slump
- Utilising housing as an instrument for the development of sustainable human settlements, in support of spatial restructuring.¹⁰⁵

The comprehensive plan in its own right, clearly indicates that it intends to ‘Break New Grounds’ – even the concept ‘sustainable human settlement’ in the plan indicates the overall mark of its new approach in delivering houses to the poor, whereas in the original policy the concept does not feature. As stated by the Minister of Human Settlement, Lindiwe Sisulu that the plan for sustainable human settlement:

Provides a framework for the integration and the building of homes in healthy and secure living environments where everyone will have access to the services and goods produced by society. It provides for the provision of a total package of infrastructure such as clinics, schools, police stations, community facilities and clinics within the vicinity of actually built homes, in facilitation of good governance.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Part B, section 2.2, “Breaking New Ground”: A comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements. (Department of Human Settlement: 05 August 2004),

¹⁰⁵ Part B, section 2

¹⁰⁶ Lindiwe Sisulu. Public unveiling of new housing plan

The concept of ‘sustainable human settlement’ as pointed by some urban researchers in South Africa, can be traced to the late 90s and be linked to the Department of Human Settlement’s relationship with United Nations Habitat and its commitment to the Habitat agenda.¹⁰⁷ As it has been pointed, the association that the Department of Human Settlement with UN Habitat, signify the influence of international Organisations in the conceptualisation of the Breaking New Ground housing plan.¹⁰⁸ This as well is evident in BNG housing plan’s determination on the eradication of informal settlement which is parallel with Cities Alliance organisation’s 1999 action plan on ‘Cities without slums’.¹⁰⁹ In corresponding with the Cities without Slum – it is stated in the new housing plan that:

The new human settlements plan adopts a phased in-situ upgrading approach to informal settlements, in line with international best practice. Thus, the plan supports the eradication of informal settlements through in-situ upgrading in desired locations, coupled to the relocation of households where development is not possible or desirable.¹¹⁰

In affirming this, in her speech at the occasion of tabling the budget vote for Department of Human Settlement, Lindiwe Sisulu declared that:

As government, we have articulated our concerns over informal settlements. These are growing at an alarming rate and this government has indicated its intention towards a shack-free society. The difference now is that we are not dealing with intent, we will now be operational. There will be visible results within the time frames we set ourselves.¹¹¹

In the same speech, the Minister of Human Settlement has shown enthusiasm and determination to get rid of informal settlements:

The premier of Gauteng has fired the first salvo in our war against shacks. His bold assertion that informal settlements in his province will have been eradicated in ten years, is the best news I have heard in my tenure as Minister.¹¹²

It has been also noted by some urban researchers that the commitment that has been shown by the Department of Human Settlement in eliminating informal settlements is somewhat

¹⁰⁷ Sarah Charlton and Caroline Kihato “Reaching the poor?”, 257

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, citing Marie Huchzermeyer’s “Housing the poor” and Firoz Khan’s Continuities, ambiguities and contradictions.

¹⁰⁹ See, Cities Alliance website: <http://www.citiesalliance.org/node/3750> . The Cities without Slum initiative proposed a target of “improving the lives of 100 million slum dwellers by the year 2020...”

¹¹⁰ Part B, section 3.1 “Breaking New Ground”, 12

¹¹¹ Lindiwe Sisulu (at the occasion of the tabling of the budget speech for the Department of Human Settlement for the financial year 2004/5. National Assembly, Cape Town (Pretoria: Ministry of Human Settlement).

¹¹² Ibid

confused with the political discourse that is directed on ‘inferiority of informality’. Whereas it is pointed out in the housing plan that eradication has to do with integration of informal settlements ‘into the broader urban fabric to overcome spatial, social and economic exclusion’ and part of the drive for sustainable human settlements.’¹¹³ Though, this refers to the upgrading of informal settlements through the provision of services and tenure, it is also acknowledged that in some instances ‘where development is not possible or desirable’ the households may be relocated to other areas.¹¹⁴ In terms of this, the new housing plan intervenes to overcome the reality of poverty by coupling housing ownership to alleviating asset poverty, which according to the plan, ‘arises out of inadequate access to assets by individuals, households and communities, including inadequate shelter (which finds expression in badly located, low quality and overcrowded dwellings).’ So, as it is said in the new housing plan that ‘housing primarily contributes towards the alleviation of asset poverty. This contribution is to be strengthened in the new human settlements and the development of housing assets.’¹¹⁵ However, the Minister in her speeches has been encouraging the poor to realise that they can uplift themselves from the reality of poverty – at the launch of the new housing plan, she said ‘housing represents the single biggest investment...and as a result, housing is inextricably linked to the national economy.’ The idea of housing as an asset has been popularised by the Peruvian economist and housing researcher, Hernando de Soto who argued that the ‘poor are poor because they lack access to assets that they can collateralise in order to access finance which they can use to grow their wealth’¹¹⁶ In de Soto’s terms, to have ownership of property can open the possibilities to acquire financial access and stimulate economic development. But in relation to the South African context, it is unknown whether those black poor who owns RDP houses and sell for profit are able to advance their state of life economically¹¹⁷, and whether for real RDP or BNG houses are really an ‘asset’. It is acknowledged in the new housing plan that the subsidy houses that have been built have not in fact become valuable assets in the hands of the poor. Thus, in another hand it is pointed that,

¹¹³ Sarah Charlton and Caroline Kihato “Reaching the poor?”, 258

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Part B, section 3 “Breaking New Ground”, 11.

¹¹⁶ Cited from Kecia Rust, Tanya Zack and Mark Napier “how a focus on asset performance might help ‘Breaking New Ground’ contribute towards poverty reduction and overcome the two-economies divide.” *SSB/TRP/MDM* 54, (2009), 53

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 54

the inability of the beneficiaries of subsidy housing to pay for municipal services and taxes has meant that such housing projects have been viewed as liabilities to municipalities and have done nothing to help out the national government's overall intentions around housing provision.¹¹⁸ However, in terms of the categorisation of housing beneficiaries, according to the Minister:

The Plan collapses the subsidy system and creates a three-tier category of income groups for better targeting. In the categorisation, the hard-core poor (income levels 0 - R1, 500) receive the full housing subsidy of R28, 000. The poor (income levels R1, 500 - R3, 500) receive too the full subsidy. A new subsidy band is created for affordable housing targeting the middle-income level (those earning R3, 500 to R 7,000 pm), for whom government pays a deposit.¹¹⁹

The new housing plan restricts subsidies to households earning less than R 3500 per month. According to the plan, 'this was premised upon the assumption that the end-user finance would be accessed for the construction of houses by income groups above R3500 per month.'¹²⁰ For Judith TOjo-Aromokudu, there is no doubt that the new housing plan has created access to housing to over 79% poor South Africans who earns less than R3500 a month. But also in financially terms they are also excluded to participate in the housing market which only provides for those with minimum monthly income of R7500...¹²¹

The urban researchers and scholar in South Africa have raised number of serious criticisms for BNG housing plan. BNG has been criticised for being 'profoundly schizophrenic' and having a 'rhetorical commitment' (lip-service) and no actual implementation happening on the ground.¹²² The BNG plan has not navigated its way out from the weaknesses that were identified in the research work and in reports commissioned by the department in investigating the limits or failures of the original housing policy. As pointed by Charlton and Kihato, 'it certainly does not offer the clear direction with respect to the difficult political issues of land ownership, the land market and rights around property values... Although the programme strives for broader outcomes, key indicators of performance appear to remain largely

¹¹⁸ Part A, section 3 "Breaking New Ground", 4

¹¹⁹ Lindiwe Sisulu. Public unveiling of new housing plan

¹²⁰ Part B, section 2.1 "Breaking New Ground", 8

¹²¹ Judith T TOjo-Aromokudu. Housing subsidy criteria and the housing backlog in South Africa. The Southern Africa Housing Foundation: Cape Town. (2013). Accessed on the 22 January 2017:

<http://www.sahf.org.za/Images/2013%20Proceedings/Papers/OJO-AROMOKUDU,%20JUDITH.pdf>

¹²² Firoz Khan. *Critical perspectives on post-apartheid housing praxis through the development statecraft looking glass*, 245

quantitative, focused around numbers of houses produced and budget spent.’¹²³ In addition, the BNG plan ‘does not clearly demonstrate a unifying conceptual foundation which offers policy direction into the future.’

What is also surprising about the process of formulating the plan is the lack of involvement of the Deputy Director-General: Policy and Programme Management, and the Acting Chief Director of Research. Both of these officials were instrumental in driving an extensive research process in 2002/03 to lead to what was a ‘second’ generation policy.¹²⁴

Some have contested that the housing plan is faulty in assuming that ‘a shift from an informal to a formal housing unit, as facilitated by the national housing subsidy or through the market, will immediately translate into a move between a ‘second economy’ status in which people may be trapped in conditions of social exclusion and economic poverty to a ‘first economy’ status of social inclusion and economic prosperity.’ As argued by Rust et al that, ‘the degree of economic and social mobility that households might derive from their housing is dependent upon many factors of which the actual dwelling is only one.’¹²⁵ It has been also argued that the BNG plan’s stance to upgrade informal settlements ‘cannot only be understood as a pro-poor agenda of the government, but also needs to be located in the government’s drive for global competitiveness.’ In this light, it is argued that the hosting of the Soccer World Cup in South Africa played a vital and influential position in the processes that led to the formulation or the drafting of the BNG. As it is said the government did not focused much on upgrading as stated in the BNG plan, instead they have spent their energies in trying to eradicate and redeveloping ‘visible’ shacks that stood on the way in the beautification of the city in preparing for the 2010 Soccer World Cup.¹²⁶

¹²³ Sarah Charlton and Caroline Kihato “Reaching the poor?”, 259

¹²⁴ Ibid

¹²⁵ Kecia Rust, Tanya Zack and Mark Napier “how a focus on asset performance might help ‘Breaking New Ground’ contribute towards poverty reduction and overcome the two-economies divide.” 52

¹²⁶ Floortje Jacobs and Isa Baud. “The challenge of housing the poor: Stakeholders, politics, and knowledge use in decision making processes for the N2 Gateway housing project in Cape Town.” *N-AERUS XIV*, (2013), Marie Huchzermeyer. *Cities without slums. From informal settlement eradication to a right to the city in South Africa*. (UCT Press: Claremont: 2011) and see also, Caroline Newton. The N2 Gateway project in Cape Town: Relocation or forced removal? Accessed on the 25 December 2017: <http://www.ids-uva.nl/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/the-N2-Gateway-Project-in-Cape-Town-Relocation-or-Forced-Removal.pdf>

N2 Gateway pilot project: Implementation of the BNG plan

The N2 Gateway project is a ‘flagship’ initiative of the Department of Human Settlement with the objective to actual implement the BNG housing plan which aims to create integrated human settlement. The target of the project was set to deliver 20,000 housing units by 2014 in order to eradicate informal settlements bordering on the N2 highway between Cape Town city centre and the International airport. ‘We are happy that the project has delivered 14,000 housing units. I want the remaining 6,000 units to be completed before 2019. If it was up to me, it must be completed by 2016 but I am very proud of work done, more than 40, 000 people have benefitted and have decent shelter over their heads’¹²⁷Lindiwe Sisulu said. The N2 Gateway project is a joint venture between the national government in close collaboration with the Western Cape Provincial Government, the City of Cape Town and the Housing Development Agency. The N2 Gateway pilot project focused on these particular areas for the housing development, New Rest, Delft precinct 7 – 9 and Delft symphony, Barcelona, Kanana, Europe, Boystown and Joe Slovo. The N2 project seemed to have followed in the same areas that were under the integrated Serviced Land (iSLP) in the 90s but I’ll dwell on iSLP in the next chapter. Nevertheless, it is said these areas have been prioritised for being underdeveloped – people live in impoverished conditions with no proper shelter, sanitation and access to water is poor and has a high rate of unemployment. In addition, the project in these areas is ‘prioritised by the City of Cape Town and other spheres in light of its high visibility on the gateway corridor linking Cape Town International Airport with the city.’¹²⁸ In doing so, it is stated that the N2 Gateway project is to ‘comprehensively address the housing and development needs of communities located in the targeted areas in such a way that individual and household livelihoods are enhanced; people are housed in habitable, affordable and sustainable housing.’¹²⁹ Some observers find interesting about the ways in which the N2 Gateway project became pushed so rapidly after South Africa accepted the bid for the 2010 FIFA World Cup. It was on the 15th of May 2004 when South Africa was announced by the president of the Federation of International Football Association, Joseph ‘Sepp’ Blatter that

¹²⁷ Sisulu calls on HAD to fast track completion of N2 Gateway project. (Timeslive: 10 August 2015). Accessed on the 20th of Jan 2017: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/article610821.ece>

¹²⁸ See Briefing document for the N2 Gateway project: A joint initiative of the National Department of Housing, Western Cape Department of Housing and the City of Cape Town.

¹²⁹ Overview of the N2 Gateway business plan. Accessed on the 26th January 2017: <http://pmg-assets.s3-website-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/docs/2005/050301n2gateway.htm>

South Africa would be the host for the 2010 Soccer World Cup. This announcement was followed by the launch of BNG plan later in the same year. Nonetheless, Cape Town was considered as a preferred city to implement the project and the ‘lesson learned here will be applied across the country’¹³⁰ said Sisulu.

As a result, the phase 1 of the N2 Gateway project comprised of 705 three-storey rental units on land adjacent to the existing Joe Slovo informal settlement was completed in 2006. The construction of rental units was built after the shacks in Joe Slovo settlement burned in flames on the 15th of January 2005, leaving about 12000 black families homeless. The N2 Gateway project subsequently aided some of the homeless families in accommodating them in a ‘communal tent camp.’ The people were not allowed by the project to re-erect their shacks on the same site, ‘as the fire had conveniently opened up land for the planned construction of new housing.’¹³¹ So, a huge number of families were relocated from the communal tent (in Joe Slovo) to Temporary Relocation Areas (TRAs) in Delft, which contained 2000 units and in addition to another 500 units in a TRAs settlement in Langa. The TRAs in Delft has been called ‘Tsunami’ by its residents as a form of contestation and protest against their relocation to Delft – the residents call it Tsunami because ‘it’s a disaster awaiting to happen’ in a sense they anticipate more daily struggles and suffering in their lives in this place located in Delft. It has been reported that ‘many residents who moved to Delft have lost their jobs as they cannot afford transport from Delft to Cape Town’¹³² (and there’s no railway line connecting to the city).

The Development Action Group (DAG) has found that 63% of people who were moved from Joe Slovo to Delft were either fired or retrenched from their jobs because they were often late or simply did not arrive for work because of lack of transport. Only 40% of the people in Joe Slovo are employed, earning an average of R1 300 per month.¹³³

The residents of Joe Slovo were disgruntled being relocated to Delft – they find Delft to be more problematic because of its location on the outskirts of Cape Town and a crime-ridden area

¹³⁰ Sobambisana Consortium wins N2 Gateway project. Mail and Guardian, 15 Feb 2005. Accessed on the 28th Jan 2017: <http://mg.co.za/article/2005-02-15-sobambisana-consortium-wins-n2-gateway-project>

¹³¹ Marie. Huchzermeyer. *Cities with ‘slums’: From informal settlement to eradication to a right to the city in Africa*. (UCT Press: 2011), 144

¹³² ‘We don’t want to live in Delft’. (Mail and Guardian: 05 September 2007). Accessed on 29 Jan 2017: <http://mg.co.za/article/2007-10-05-we-dont-want-to-live-in-delft>

¹³³ Ibid

and also – the houses in the TRAs are substandard. However, when the units were completed the relocated residents to TRAs were provided with forms to apply to be considered to rent or buy the units – including the backyard dwellers who live in the round of Bonteheuwel, Nyanga, Gugulethu, Bokmakierie and Langa with the Western Cape Provincial Department of Housing and Local government overseeing the processing of applications. Though, the Minister of Human Settlement promised the TRAs victims of fire priority in the allocation of units.¹³⁴ Most of the TRAs victims of fire could not afford to rent or buy the units that were built in their Joe Slovo settlement – only few managed to rent. Whereas their Councillor ‘had informed them that accommodation in the flats would be available at rentals ranging from R150 for single units and R300 for double units.’ They were informed about these rates before the completion of phase 1 rental units and accepted them. But after the completion of the units ‘rentals were increased to R600 for single units and R1050 for double units – rates which were clearly out of range for the residence of Joe Slovo.’¹³⁵ It is said the units were mostly occupied by high income earners from elsewhere while the residents of Joe Slovo remain in TRAs in Delft waiting to be allocated houses by government. After the completion of N2 Gateway phase 1 which excluded financially the residents of Joe Slovo settlement to rent the flat units that were built. N2 Gateway phase 2 was launched in June 2006. The government structures that were involved in managing and overseeing the phase1 project were not directly involved in the phase 2 of the project – it is said that phased 2 is managed in its entirety by national government and Thubelitsha Homes as a project manager.¹³⁶As reported by the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) that:

Phase 2 of the N2 Gateway project involved an agreement between the national and provincial governments, Thubelitsha and First National Bank (FNB) to build 3000 bonded houses in Joe Slovo and Delft costing between R150, 000 to R250, 000. Access to these houses would be through FNB bonds available to applicants earning between R3, 500 to R7, 500 per month.

This move by the National Department of Human Settlement clearly shows that the fire victims that were relocated to Delft would also still be excluded on phase 2 project and will only cater for the formally employed and ‘bankable’ families. Instead of providing houses for

¹³⁴ David Jordhus-Lier. Local contestation around a flagship urban housing project: N2 Gateway and the Joe Slovo community in Cape Town. (Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research:2011), 6

¹³⁵COHRE. N2 Gateway project: Housing rights violation as ‘development’ in South Africa. (2009), 13

¹³⁶ Ibid, 15

the vulnerable residence of Joe Slovo settlement – the TRA units in Delft 7-9 were being constructed to relocate the ‘remainder of the Joe Slovo shack dwellers to be cleared for the phase 2.’¹³⁷

Frustrated with the top-down approach to development, on 3 August 2007 residents of Joe Slovo informal settlement marched on Parliament to protest their planned forced removal to Delft to make a way for Phase 2 of the project. They claimed that there had been no negotiations with the community and that government was treating them “like animals.” The Joe Slovo Task Team stated that all children living in the informal settlement attended local schools in Langa, where there were also clinics and employment opportunities for people who relied on piece work in the surrounding suburbs or nearby city centre...The Task Team criticised the government for dumping them “in a slum called Delft” more than 30km on the outskirts of the city.¹³⁸

The residence collectively gathered and presented lists of demands to the National Department of Human Settlement which included ‘an end to removal to Delft, provision of houses close to urban centres and say in the development of the Slovo area.’ According to COHRE report the Human Settlement Minister, Lindiwe Sisulu was given seven days by the angry residence ‘to respond to demands or protesters would blockade the N2 highway with burning tyres and rubbish.’¹³⁹ In her response to the demands of the protesters, the Minister said that ‘while she understood peoples ‘anxieties, this had to be balanced with eradicating slums that were both a blight on democracy and unsuitable for human development.’¹⁴⁰ Disgruntled with the manner in which the Minister responded to their demands, ‘over 2000 residents of Joe Slovo barricaded parts of the N2 freeway adjacent to their homes on 10 September 2007. The protest took a violent turn as residents clashed with members of the South African Police Service (SAPS), who fired rubber bullets at the crowd and injured more than 30 residents who had to be taken to hospital for treatment.’¹⁴¹ In the aftermath of the protest, the Minister decided to take a legal route to compel the residence of Joe Slovo to move to the TRAs in Delft in order to make a way for housing development in Joe Slovo site. So, on the 20 September 2007 ‘the Minister of housing together with provincial Housing MEC and Thubelitsha Homes secured an interim eviction order against the residents of Joe Slovo from the Cape High Court.’ In

¹³⁷Marie Huchzermeyer. *Cities without slums. From informal settlement eradication to a right to the city in South Africa*, 149

¹³⁸ COHRE (2009), 16

¹³⁹ *ibid*

¹⁴⁰ *ibid*, 17

¹⁴¹ *ibid*

response to this, the residents submitted their applications for objection against the eviction order.

The residents argued against the eviction, pointing out that they had the tacit consent of the city of Cape Town to occupy Joe Slovo and therefore could not be considered “unlawful occupiers” under the Prevention of Illegal Eviction and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act of 1998 (‘PIE Act’). Joe Slovo residents also argued that they had a legitimate expectation that allocation of houses constructed in Joe Slovo under N2 Gateway project would be according to the 70:30 ratio, whereby 70% would be allocated to residents of Joe Slovo and 30% to the backyard dwellers of Langa.¹⁴²

Alas, their arguments did not convince the Cape High Court. As a result, the Cape High Court presided by Judge John Hlope ruled in favour of the government to evict residents of Joe Slovo settlement. According to Judge Hlophe, ‘residents of Joe Slovo had no legitimate expectation or any right to remain in Joe Slovo’ given that the state was providing a ‘more than adequate temporary accommodation at the states expense’¹⁴³ The residents appealed this decision to the Constitutional Court with support from the Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape, the Legal Resource Centre and Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign and also the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions.

As reported by COHRE that ‘the Constitutional Court of South Africa unanimously found that the respondents, Thubelisha, Minister of Housing and the Western Cape Minister of Local Government and Housing, had acted in accordance with section 26 of the Constitution, and that granting an eviction order was reasonable given the circumstances and sufficiently took into consideration questions of ‘justice and equity.’ The Court ordered a staggered relocation of residents to Delft over ten months, in accordance with time table provided by the government.’ Furthermore, the judgement of the Constitutional Court regarding the eviction of the Joe Slovo residents as explained by COHRE:

First, the order stipulates that 70% of houses built in phase 3 of N2 Gateway must be allocated to current or former (those who relocated to Delft previously) Joe Slovo residents who apply and qualify for a housing subsidy. Secondly, the Court ordered that every Joe Slovo resident relocated to Delft must be given a temporary residential unit (TRU), and specified the quality and nature of the TRUs including size, composition, amenities and provision of transport. Finally, the Court ordered that an ongoing process of engagement must take place between residents and state parties concerning the relocation, in relation to the date and timetable of relocation (if

¹⁴² *ibid*, 18

¹⁴³ *ibid*

different from that provided by the respondents) and “any other relevant matter upon which they agree to engage.” Other issues in the judgement include the need for government to provide information to relocated residents about their current position on the housing waiting list in relation to permanent housing, as well as providing assistance with the completion of application forms for housing subsidies.¹⁴⁴

The residents of Joe Slovo had mixed reception of the judgement, some began to wonder about the place of justice in their suffering lives and some accepted the fact of the judgement. Most of the residents decided to continue to be unwilling to relocate to Delft, whereas some began to move their shacks and everything that contains their lives to another area around Langa.¹⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the post-apartheid housing policies have some good intentions for the provision of low income houses to the black poor. In actual implementation they have exercised the work of violence, of exclusion and there seems to be no break between the old housing policy and the new housing policy in terms of implementation. As a result, the N2 Gateway housing project is another extension or perpetuation of Delft South which is the product of the old housing policy.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 20

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

Chapter 4: The making of Delft South as a post-apartheid township: A reimagined space for black life

People who had given everything wonder with their empty hands and bellies, as to the reality of their victory.¹ Frantz Fanon

The creation of Delft South like any other post-apartheid township in South Africa; without doubt, has come to epitomise the manner in which the post-apartheid state asserted itself in the making of place and also, how it has come to create itself after apartheid. In its creation as a ‘new’ kind of township, Delft South was stipulated in terms of section 3 (1) chapter 1 of the Less Formal Township Act, 1991 and imagined through the Reconstruction and Development Programme and as well in the 1994 Housing White Paper and later in the 2004 ‘Breaking New Ground’ Comprehensive housing plan. The development of housing in Delft South was adopted in 1994, following its physical development in 1995. Delft South township constitutes seven sections, which are section eight to fourteen – ‘over 4000 houses have been built since 1996’ according to Oldfield citing the 1998 iSLP report, progressing from the first building in Section 8 and 9 in 1996 to the completion of Sections 12 – 14 in 1998.’² Today, the whole of Delft South is known by its residents as ‘Suburban’ particularly by taxi drivers and other persons that regularly utilise public transport to Delft South. This township is located about 35 km on the outskirts of Cape Town city centre, bordering just the north eastern edge of the Cape Town international airport. It was created after the Delft (North) township which was established on a farm then called ‘Delft’ (named after Delft in Holland). The farm was purchased by the Development Board (land acquisition and provision of bulk services and infrastructure in townships) in 1988 from its owner and Delft township; became established in 1989 in terms of the Land Use Planning Ordinance (no 15 of 1985) with four towns; The Hague, Voorbrug, Roosendaal and Eindhoven.³ As part of the apartheid tricameral system, Delft township was created to provide affordable housing for coloured populace on the waiting list, residing in the Cape metropolitan area and who qualified for the state housing loan. Mainly, the Delft housing project was funded by the Development Board and the

¹ Cited by Nigel Gibson “The limits of black political empowerment: Fanon, Marx, ‘the Poors’ and the ‘new reality of the nation’ in South Africa.” *Theoria*, (2005), 89 - 114

² See Map 3 in this chapter and Sophie Oldfield. “Urban networks, community organising and race: an analysis of racial integration in a desegregated South African neighbourhood”, *Geoforum*, 35, (2004). 189 - 201

³ See Map 1 in this chapter.

Housing Board (provision of some 6500 individual loans varying from R14000 to R35000).⁴ In short, the Development Board acted as a developer while the Housing Board was involved in providing long term loans to the qualifying home-owners.⁵ Both these boards were statutory bodies of the Administration: House of Representatives (a project team from the Department of National Housing).

Consequently, on the emerging of the post-apartheid state in 1994 with its RDP and the national housing policy, Delft housing project was ceased to expand further to other part of Delft after its completion. As a result, the Southern portion of Delft was taken over by the integrated Serviced Land Project (iSLP). The land was identified by iSLP policy committee which constituted various Community Based Organisations (CBO's) and political parties as one of the key areas for housing development, where accommodation could be offered to black families living in Cape Town.⁶ The iSLP however, was conceived under apartheid South Africa in 1990 'at a time when low cost housing development for Blacks, in particular, had become paralysed by a lack of acceptance of government policies, no accredited community leadership, uncontrollable urbanisation and increasing violence in overcrowded squatter camps.'⁷The primary focus of the iSLP then was Crossroads, one of the political unstable informal settlements in Cape Town in the 1980s. The first name of the project was therefore 'The Crossroads and Environs Project' which proposed the provision of state-financed housing. In 1991, the project name was changed to 'Serviced Land project' which focused on delivery of serviced sites and it then, expanded to other informal settlements around the Cape metropolitan area. At this point it was conceptualised as iSLP, we are told – because it 'had become so much part of people's hopes and plans that the only alteration made was to preface

⁴ Agenda document for Delft Housing Development (City of Cape Town: 29/06/1994)

⁵ The loan qualifiers for a house in Delft were allowed to pay back the loan over a period of 30 years and the instalment was required on the day the house owner received the keys and the loan interest, was charged after the completion of the house. The kind of house the home owner chose to have dependent on the salary he/she earns 'If your salary is between R400 and R600 per month, you qualify for a R5500 house... If your salary is between R601 and R800 per month, you qualify for a R10 000 house... If your salary is between R801 and R1000 per month, you qualify for a R10 000 house in The Hague with a bigger stand. If your salary is between R 1001 and R1200 per month, you qualify for a R15 000 house in The Hague.' People were allowed to select a cheaper house type than what they qualify for, but not allowed to select an expensive house if they don't qualify for it. The houses that were built varied in sizes, from 18m² to 68m² on plots that range from 160m² to a maximum of 350m², in Agenda document for Delft Housing Development.

⁶ See Map 1

⁷ See www.islp.org.za

it with ‘integrated’ and spelt with a small ‘I’ to conform to the syntax of isiXhosa – the first language of most beneficiaries.’⁸In December 1994; iSLP was proclaimed by President Nelson Mandela as a Special Integrated Presidential Project of the RDP, fifty percent of the iSLP funding came from the national RDP office and another fifty percent was from the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape and the Cape Metropolitan Council. In terms of its status as a Special Integrated Presidential Project, iSLP was under the auspices of the provincial housing ministry, implemented and managed by the Provincial Administration of the Western Cape in co-operation with the Cape Metropolitan Council, the City of Cape Town and Tygerberg. It was a project of R1.2 billion aimed at addressing housing needs of 40 000 black families living in informal settlements and backyards in Crossroads, Langa, Nyanga, Gugulethu, and Philippi. As stated in iSLP review, the project was ‘geared to serve these communities in an integrated fashion and therefore to take cognisance of their housing, education, health, community, economic and human development requirements.’⁹In its focus on Delft South among other areas for housing development and, its capacity as a Special Integrated Presidential Project of the RDP. The iSLP established Delft South as a racial integrated or mixed township for black and coloured families. In specific terms, the fifty percent of Southern Delft serviced residential sites was awarded to black families from the informal settlements of Barcelona, Black City, Crossroads, Green Park, KTC, Mahobe Drive, Millers Camp, Mkhonto Square, Mpetha Square, Mpinga Square, New Rest, Kanana, Polla Park/Fezeka/Waterfront¹⁰ (most of these areas are located in Nyanga and Gugulethu). Another fifty percent was granted to coloured families on the waiting lists that had been held by previous Local Authorities.¹¹ Some of the coloured families were backyard dwellers or tenants in areas like Atlantis, Kuilsrive, Belhar, Mitchells Plain, Ravensmead, Elsies River, Uitsig, Hanover Park, Bishop Lavis, Bonteheuwel and so on.

The justification that was rationalised to advocate for the integration of these groups, was that: integration in Delft would be necessary to be done in order to avoid creating racial townships in one area, the Delft North (coloured) and Delft South (blacks). And fundamentally, a way of

⁸ Ibid

⁹ The Integrated Serviced Land Project Review 1998/9.1

¹⁰ *iSLP Bulletin*: News from the integrated Serviced Land Project, Issue No 4 (May 1996)

¹¹ *iSLP Bulletin*: News from the Integrated Serviced Land project, Issue No. 1, (1 February 1996).

upholding the vision of the RDP on urban renewal and the national housing policy vision on integrated communities for addressing racial spatial divisions that were engineered by the previous regime. Delft South became somehow a product of this vision and also, one of the first housing projects in post-apartheid human settlement used as a machinery tool for realizing the idea or a vision of 'rainbow nation'. I will come back on this idea of 'rainbow nation' in Delft South in the next section.

In relation to the allocation of houses for black and coloured families in Delft South, the iSLP strictly adhered with the terms of national housing policy which some aspects of it can be traced from the UF and IDT capital subsidy scheme. In so doing, beneficiaries had to comply with certain requirements in order to acquire a house, such as to be at least twenty one years of age; have lived in the iSLP project area for at least for two years; live with dependents; never have owned residential property/government housing subsidy; be a legal resident of South Africa, monthly household income not exceeds R3 500; be a first time home owner. The allocations of sites according to the iSLP principles were only permitted to be allocated by Site Allocation Committee to each qualifying persons. In allocating the RDP houses, conversely, 'the poor must be at the front of the queue' said Billy Cobbett, the Director General in the Department of Housing, speaking at the workshop for the iSLP Consultative Forum at the beginning of March, 1996. 'The government's major contribution to housing is subsidy' Cobbett pointed out, 'and this subsidy was aimed at helping the poor. 'The poor you are the more subsidy you get' he insisted. He explained in the Consultative Forum that the 'state can only afford to pay a maximum subsidy of R15 000 per household. This has been increased to R17 250 in the iSLP area because development costs are so high here.'¹² Though in Delft South, as stated in Delft South Housing Development document, it was proposed that the subsidy should be R14375 instead of the R12500 subsidy that was provided for the freestanding houses that were to be built in 1995 until 1997/8.

It has been noted on the other hand, in some studies and generally that the RDP houses that the state created were not well built; in other words, did not even adequately meet the basic standards prescribed by the national housing policy. As it has been pointed out, a common

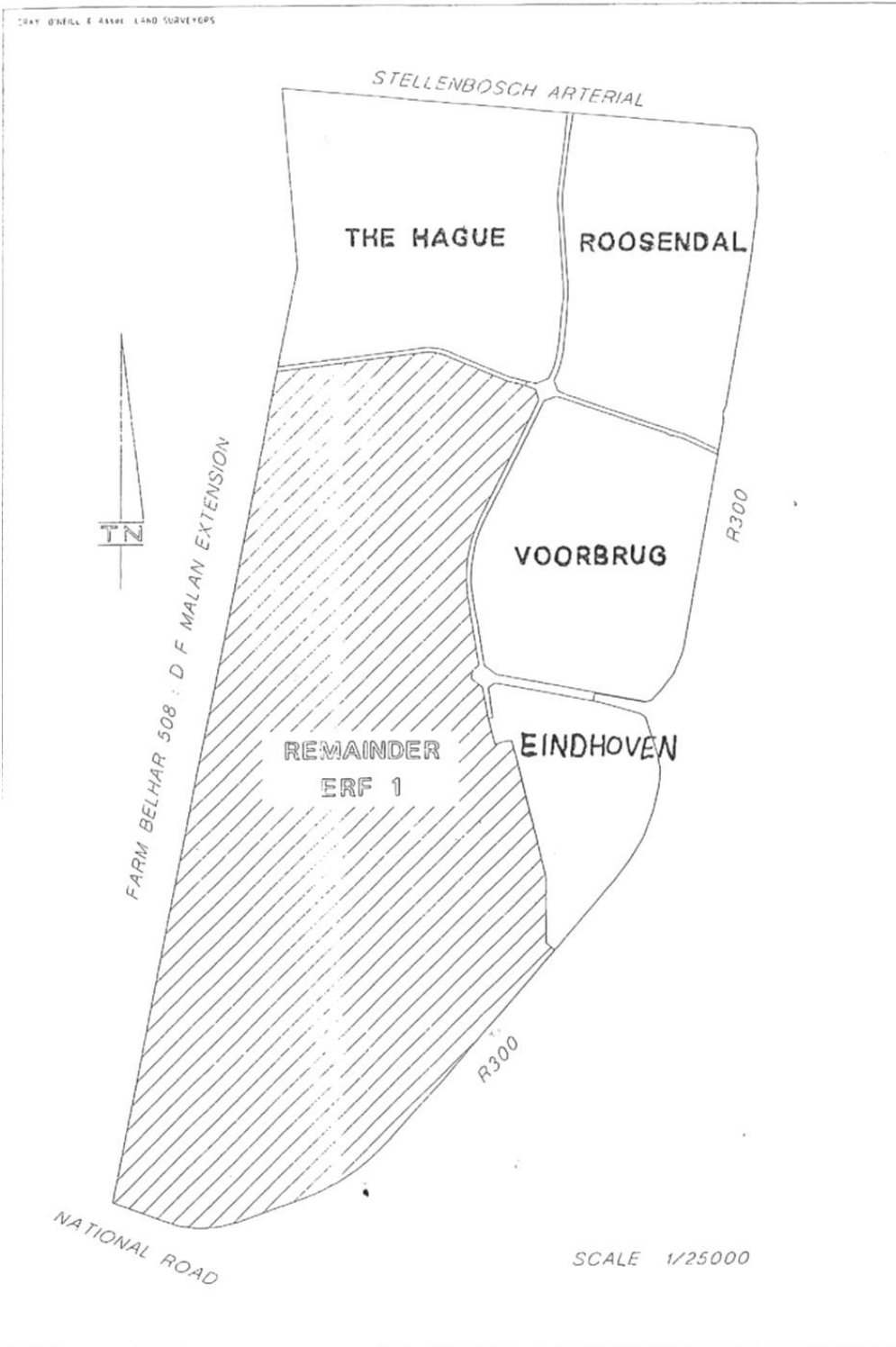
¹² *iSLP Bulletin: News from the integrated Serviced Land Project, Issue No. 3, (Mar/ Apr 1996).*

RDP built house in South Africa has an area of 36 m² and is usually located in 250 m² lot.¹³ Even though they are not built in the same way, some are bigger and measure up to 45 m². Whereas, according to Moolla et al that, thirty percent of all RDP house built by government ‘were larger than 30 m², and few of the houses constructed up to 1999 complied with the standard building regulation.’¹⁴ In Delft South to be specific, such ‘bigger’ houses were not built, there, RDP house specifications range from 21, 3 m²; 22, 3 m² and 24 m².¹⁵ Furthermore, the built structure of the units are different; for instance, the unit in figure three in this chapter is built with corrugated iron all over, the one in figure four is built with asbestos all over and the other one in figure five is walled with bricks all over and roofed with asbestos. The open space (kitchen area?) in these units consists of a toilet which is either in the corner or in the middle of the house with a tap and a sink set into one of the walls next to the toilet or behind the door. The method in which these houses had been constructed signify the state in which black people had been imagined to live in the post-apartheid South Africa, thus by creating low cost housing that rhyme and echo the monotones of black life condition, of low-life and low-living as it has been conceived by the apartheid racial regime. In clear terms, they are built to be as low as possible in order to complement the social and economic status of black life as created by apartheid calculus – this time around not by anybody else. But by human figures in front, with black skins and black masks.

¹³ See Raeesa Moolla, Nico Kotze and Kiz Block. Housing satisfaction and quality of life in RDP houses in Braamfischerville, Soweto: A South Africa case study, *Urban izziv*, 22:1 (2011). 138-143

¹⁴ Ibid

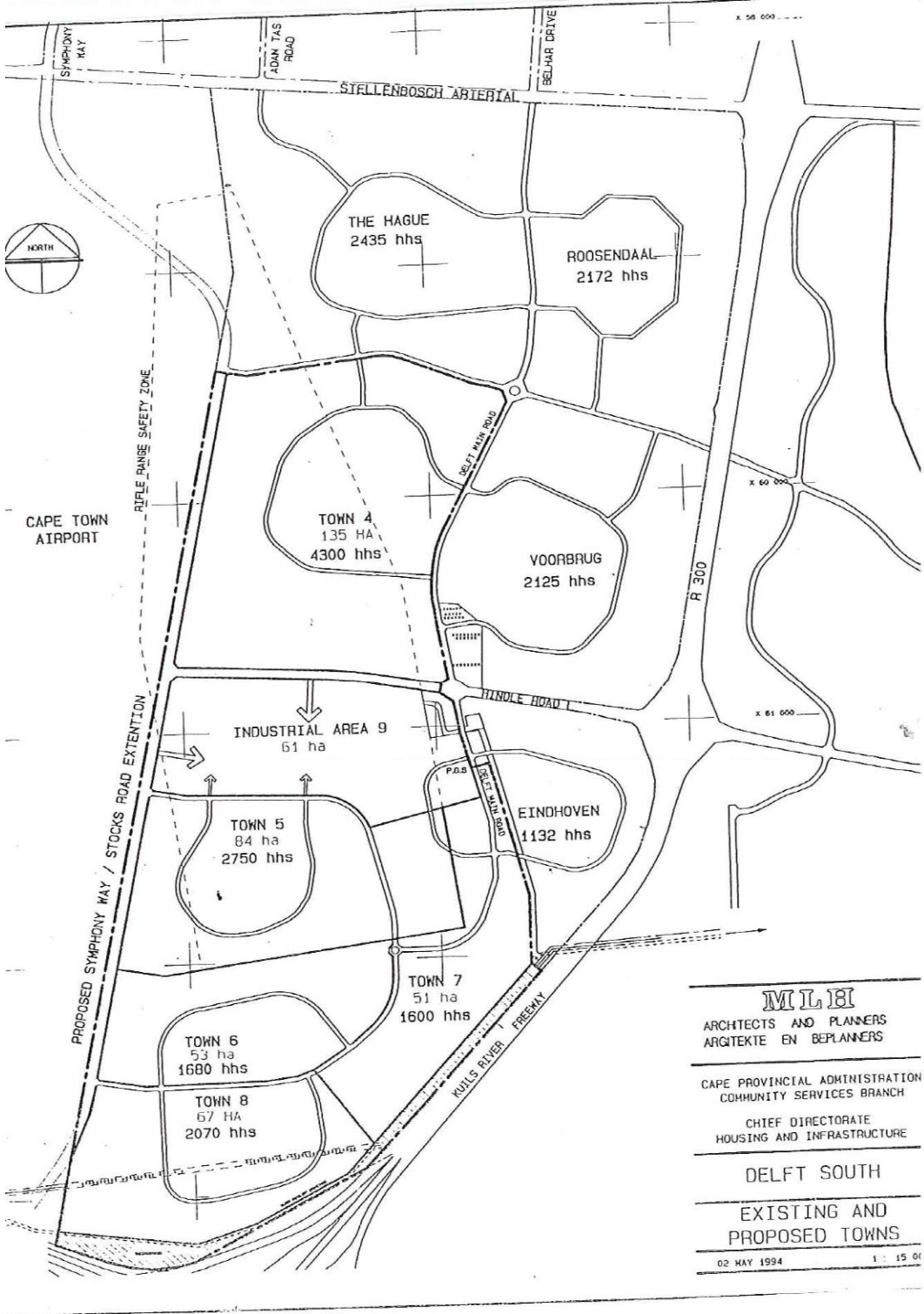
¹⁵ See figure, 1, 2 and 3



PLAN OF REMAINDER OF ERF 1 DELFT
DELFT SOUTH PROJECT

IN EXTENT APPROXIMATELY 490 HECTARES

Map 1: Southern Delft land remainder (Delft Housing Development document, City of Cape Town, 1994)



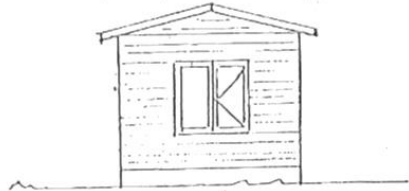
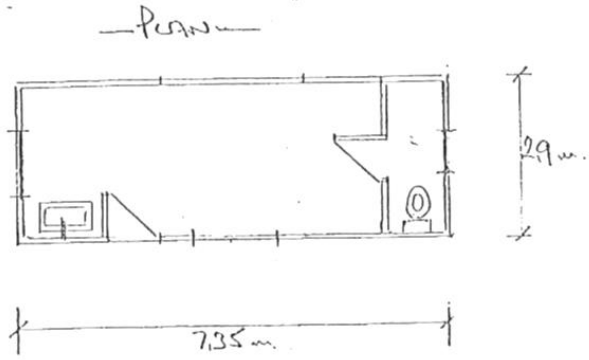
Map 2: Southern Delft towns (Delft Housing Development document, City of Cape Town: 1994)



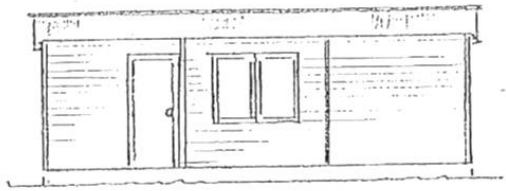
Map 3: Map of Delft South sections (Source: Sophie Oldfield. "Urban networks, community organising and race: an analysis of racial integration in a desegregated South African neighbourhood," *Geoforum*, 35, (2004). 189 - 201)

MARCON TIMBERS — DELFT TYPE B.

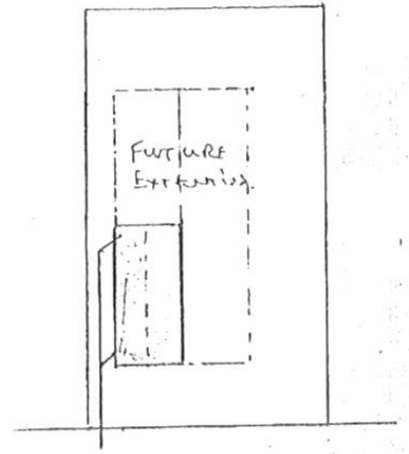
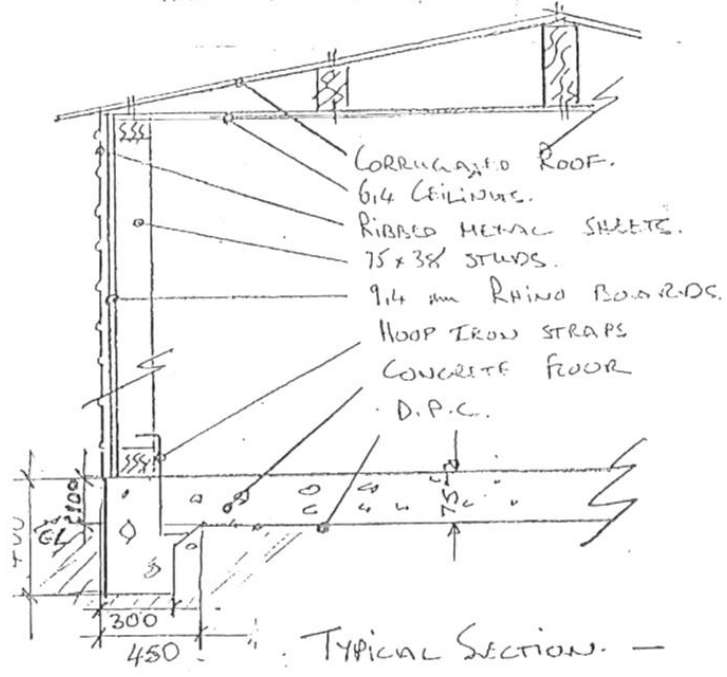
MARCON CONSTRUCTION & TIMBER PRODUCTS
P O BOX 2061
CLAREINCH 7740
TEL. 787-4764



— SIDE ELEVATION —



— FRONT ELEVATION —



STREET.
— SITE LAYOUT —

Figure 1: First RDP house plan unit in Delft South: 21, 3 m² (Source: City of Tygerberg, Parow)

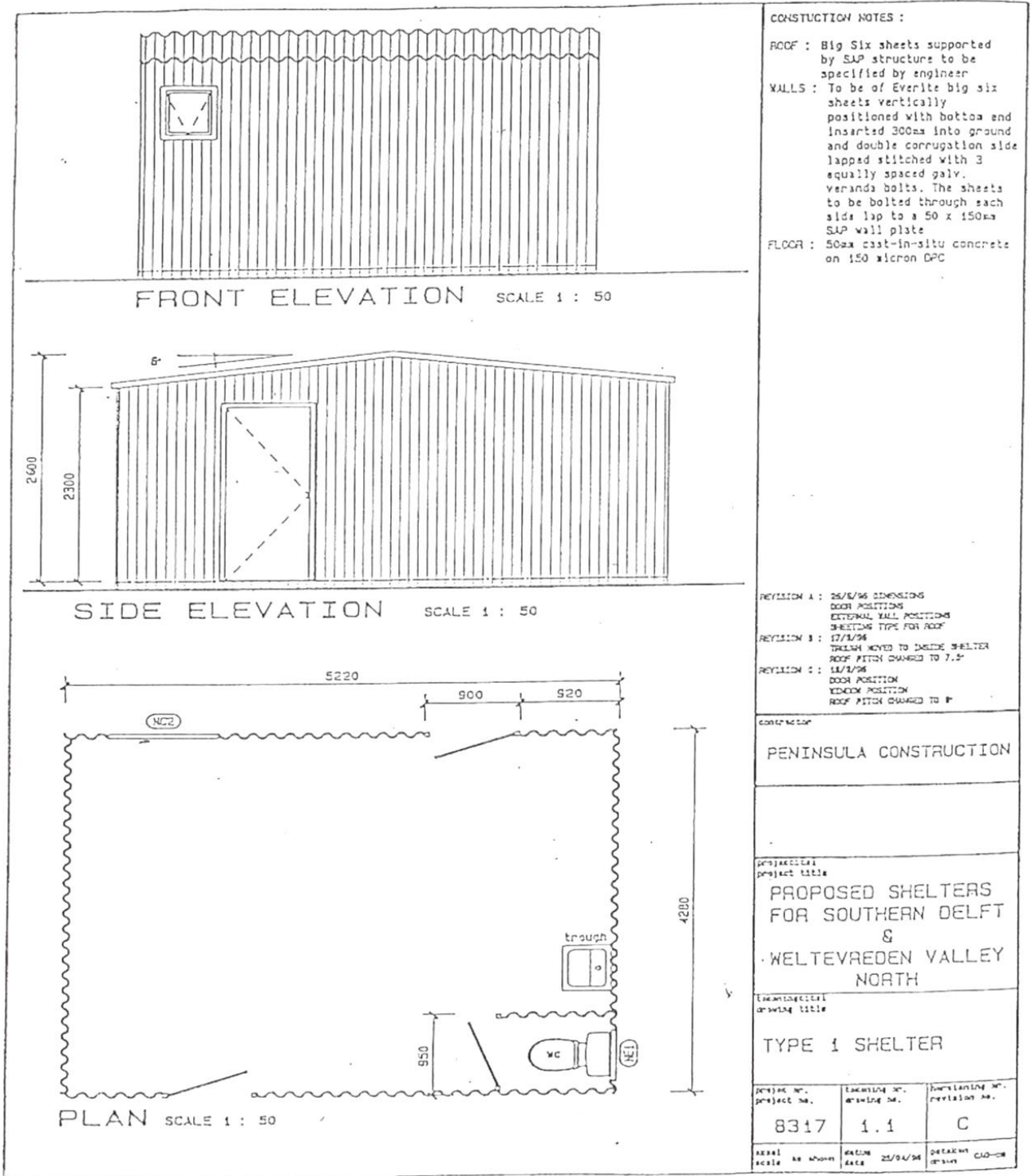


Figure 2: Second RDP house plan unit in Delft South: 22, 3 m² (Source: City of Tygerberg, Parow)

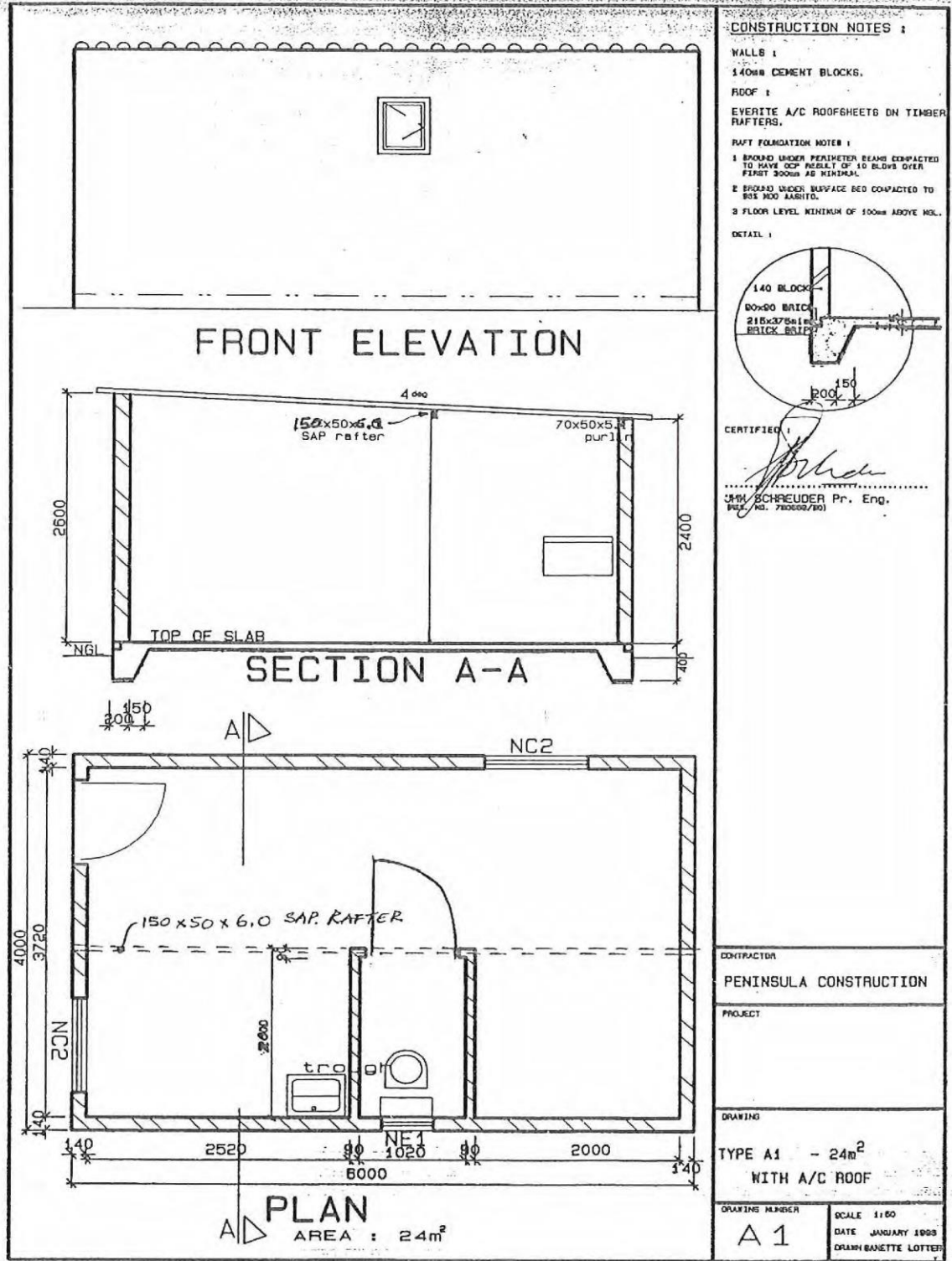


Figure 3: Third RDP house plan unit in Delft South: 24 m² (Source: City of Tygerberg, Parow)

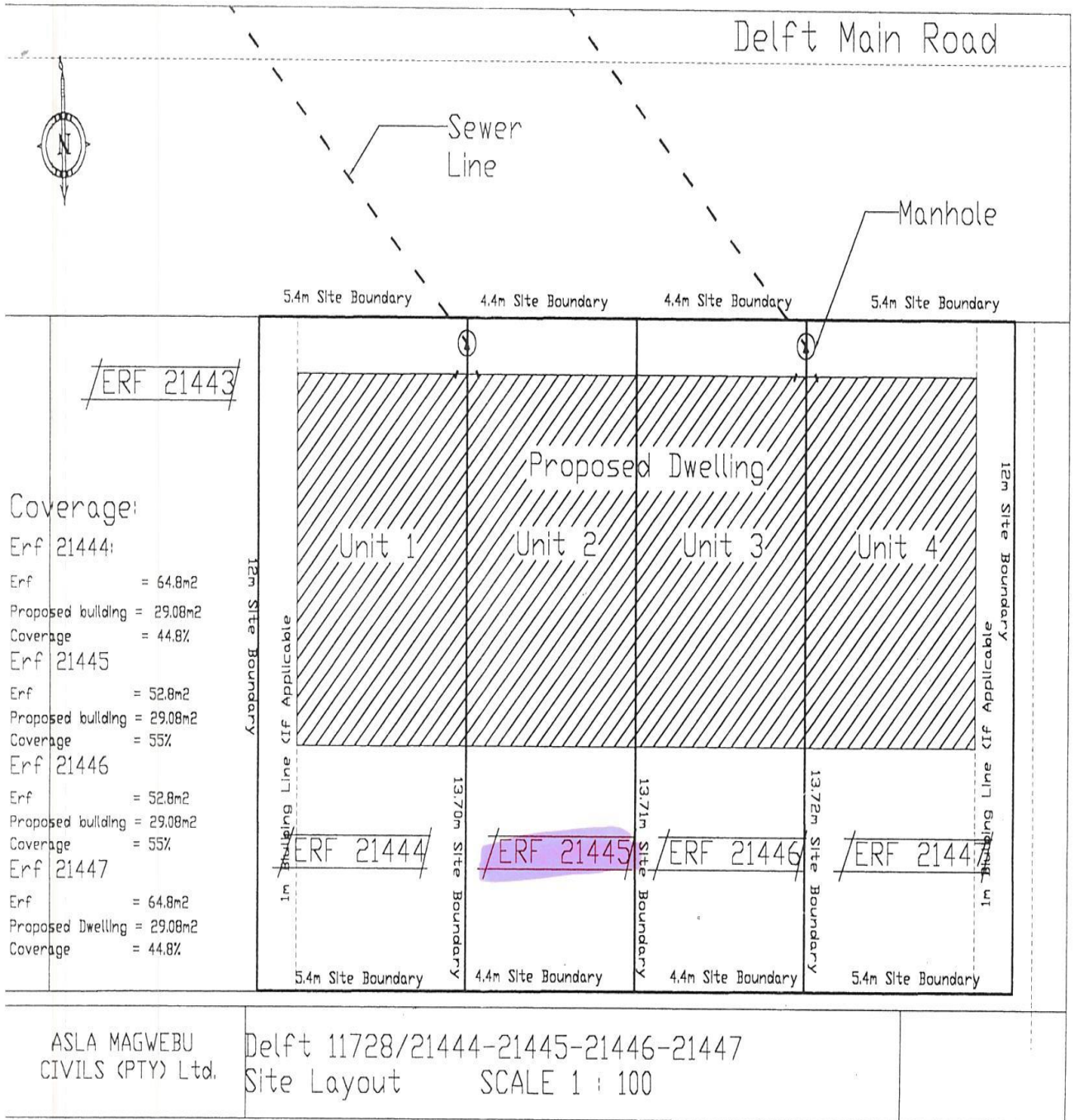


Figure: 4 (a) BNG house plan units in Delft South (Source: City of Tygerberg, Parow)

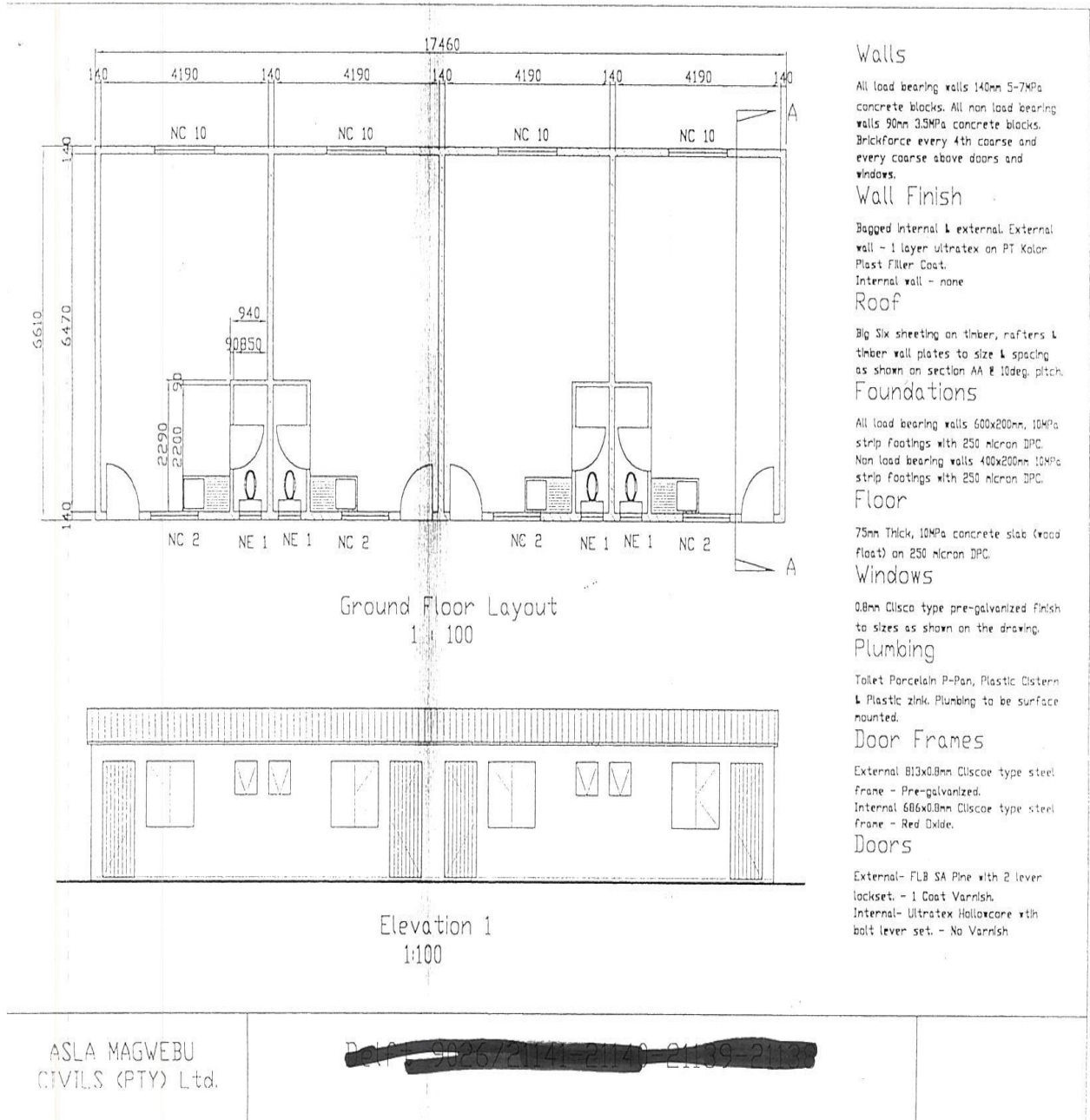


Figure: 4 (b) BNG house plan units in Delft South (Source: City of Tygerberg, Parow)

The conception of ‘rainbow nation’ in Delft South: An integration that is built on falsity

To return on the idea of ‘rainbow nation’ or integration in Delft South; which first and foremost, forms part of the national narrative of the post-apartheid state project, centred on nation building, reconciliation and non-racialism. Rainbow nation metaphor as coined by Archbishop Desmond Tutu projects an inclusive human community¹⁶ that houses different racial groups in living together in harmony. The rainbow nation metaphor, has been adopted by government officials into the post-apartheid housing policy vision of building integrated communities. However, rainbow nation or “rainbowism” can be read as an ideological and political project; born out of the will to dismantle the legacies of apartheid, one of which were imposed segregated spaces that had been built to enforce and maintain separate existence of different racial and ethnic groups. As noted by Taylor and Foster that it rests on ‘rejecting racial categorisation and racial segregation, advancing integration through a united struggle to build a democratic society in which racial divisions would be swept away.’¹⁷

When apartheid racial regime was formally abolished, attention was paid to the ‘reconfiguration’ of South African spaces in line with the vision of rainbowism qua nation building and non-racial democratic state. Archbishop Tutu introduced the rainbow nation metaphor in 1989 and former President Nelson Mandela captured it for advocating in building the nation – for a post-apartheid state that is free from the burden of race. As pointed by Hana Horakova that rainbow nation ‘represents resistance to the apartheid legacy of deeply divided society while pointing to the ideal of South Africa’s common, shared future. It stresses reconciliation and tolerance embodied in the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).’¹⁸

¹⁶ See Nwamilorho Joseph Tshawane. *The rainbow nation: A critical analysis of the notion of community in the thinking of Desmond Tutu*. Dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Systematic Theology at University of South Africa (2009), 55

¹⁷ Rupert Taylor and Don Foster, “Advancing no-racialism in post-apartheid South Africa.” In Mai Palmberg, ed. *National identity and democracy in Africa*. (Human Sciences Research Council and Mayibuye Centre of the University of the Western Cape: 1999), 327.

¹⁸ Hana Horakova. “Non-racialism and nation building in the new South Africa.” *The annual of language & politics and politics of identity*, V. (2011), 109 - 124

As it became a government-driven project, ‘it envisaged the rapid growth of a single national identity and culture.’¹⁹ As a result, it has been enshrined in the Constitution, of which in its preamble calls for the citizens to advocate and build ‘unity in diversity.’ In making this to happen, formerly oppressed and oppressors are called upon to bury the past and participate as citizens in the newly constituted nation, to look forward and embrace each other in unity. In the making of the post-apartheid South Africa – the Constitution became the cornerstone for championing non-racial values and building a democratic society. As a result, the post-apartheid state ideology firmly believed that the idea of inclusive human community and non-racialism would best be realised and achieved when South Africans are socially and spatially integrated.

Though there has been a lot of criticism laid against the notion of rainbow nation qua non-racialism for the making of the post-apartheid South Africa. Thus it is Adam Habib who argued that the ‘the politics of the rainbow nation is unlikely to realise the consolidation of democracy. That it would do so is perhaps one of the biggest myths of the South African transition. For, the true heir to the politics of the rainbow nation is authoritarianism, in whatever guise, that is inherent in dynamics of the country’s current politics.’²⁰ According to Horakova there is a lot of evidence that has been showing that ‘the vision of rainbow nation remains in the domain of romantic ideal, perpetuated at a symbolic level. In practical life, there is little social integration, especially in socially enforced forms of contact.’²¹ So, this is to say as Mbembe affirmed that, the moment in which the post-apartheid South Africa will be able to recognise itself and be recognised as such, as an integrated and non-racial community is still far way.²² Some have been saying rainbow nation qua non-racialism is not in favour of justice. Rather, it is a distraction or disruption from what the nation seek to do to obtain equitable society.²³ Further, it is even said that to consider South Africa as a colour blind society based on rainbowism notion is a dangerous thing to do – instead it is suggested that ‘the country

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Adam Habib. “South Africa – the rainbow nation and prospects for consolidating democracy.” *Afr.J.polit.sci*, 2:2 (1997), 15-3

²¹ Ibid

²² Achille Mbembe. Apartheid futures and the limits of racial reconciliation. Accessed on 4 February 2017: <http://wiser.wits.ac.za/system/files/documents/Mbembe%20-%202015%20-%20Public%20Positions%20-%20Apartheid%20Futures.pdf>

²³ Phumla Gqola. “Defining people: analysing power, language and representation in metaphors of the new South Africa.” *Transformation*, 47, (2001), 100

shall rather begin to deal with the challenges of its fractures nature by being real about lived differences between black and white South Africans.’²⁴ Even more, the disillusionment of black people living in townships and informal settlements – with the failings of the post-apartheid government for not alleviating their sufferings of long years, made them doubt the fact of rainbow nation in their lives that their government has been advocating for. In fact, rainbow nation as an instrument of national unity – it is further argued ‘served to conceal historical injustices’ in order to project a utopian raceless nation.²⁵ Some have warned us that rainbow nation qua nation building has become exclusively an elite or top down process that ‘impose a common culture in a multiracial society.’²⁶

However, in terms of place making in the post-apartheid settlement; one would wonder then, as the township space has been recreated: who belongs in it? Or rather; what sort of rainbow nation or racial integration has been fashioned in the post-apartheid township space, in this case, Delft South? As aforementioned that Delft South on its founding was designed to be an integrated township space for black and coloured families to realise the post-apartheid state vision of “rainbow nation”. The racial integration vision in Delft South as can be seen in other post-apartheid township space, is never strong from the onset – it lacked the full dimension of South African populace. In light of this argument, it does not challenge strongly the narratives of race in the post-apartheid settlement. What we have seen happening in Delft South rather is a false integration which in this township operated on the level of combining merely those groups that were deprived of freedom, oppressed and historical underprivileged and poor into one distant peripheral location far away from the city – reproducing and replicating the same domestic enclaves of the previous regime which ceaselessly recreate black bodies, sites of poverty and iniquities that the post-apartheid government keep saying is trying to get rid of.

²⁴ Matthew Savides. ‘Rainbow nation is not reality’ McKaiser tells social cohesion conference, 21 April 2016. Accessed on 7 February 2017: <http://www.timeslive.co.za/politics/2016/04/21/%E2%80%98Rainbow-Nation-is-not-reality-now%E2%80%9A%E2%80%99-McKaiser-tells-social-cohesion-conference>

²⁵ Kenneth Tafira. The nation in the post-apartheid era: A black consciousness perspective. Short paper series on Race and Identity (ASRI:2016)

²⁶ See Brandan P. Boyce, “Nation-building discourse in a democracy.” In Mai Palmberg, ed. *National identity and democracy in Africa*. (Human Sciences Research Council and Mayibuye Centre of the University of the Western Cape: 1999), 237, and Johannes J. Degenaar. "Beware of Nation Building". In Nic Rhodie and Ian Liebenberg (eds.) *Democratic Nation-Building in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers: (1994).

For many, racial integration of these groups in Delft South has come to be seen as a failure of the state to address the iniquities in the post-apartheid present, which led to the introduction of integration that is built on false. This kind of integration has been seen by many of us as associated with previous regime's justification of imposing unequal coexistence in South Africa. Under current status quo in Delft South, racial integration in this township purely means 'keeping blacks in their place.'²⁷ Moreover, the ways in which racial integration in Delft South has been executed, especially in the name of rainbow nation and nation building, did not have to be the way it is now.

In the next section I will dwell more, on how this phenomenon of keeping blacks in their place has been maintained and legitimised in the post-apartheid state through neoliberalised housing policies and housing development.

Post-apartheid township: A reproduced space of exclusion (Neoliberalism reason at work)

Throughout the nations of the world, it has been apparent that neoliberalism governmentality does not cater equal life opportunities and living for everyone. This fact is well documented in academic literature on neoliberalism, whether its literature on neoliberalism in Global North or Global South. Neoliberalism as economic policy and a modality of governance according to Wendy Brown 'intersects in Sweden with the continued legitimacy of welfarism, in South Africa with a post-apartheid expectation of a democratising and redistributive state, in China with Confucianism, post-Maoism, and capitalism, in the United States with a strange brew of long-established antistatism and new managerialism.'²⁸

However in South Africa in particular, the employment of neoliberalism policy in the wake of the post-apartheid state in the 1990s resulted in maintaining the economic legacy of the apartheid racial regime and its forces that advocated unequal existence between black and white populace. There is some neoliberals who have argued that the government of the African National Congress 'had no alternative but to implement neoliberal economic policies in the context of the 'Washington consensus.'²⁹ Washington consensus according to Marianne

²⁷ Here I'm following Achille Mbembe "Blind to colour or just blind?" (Mail & Guardian: 18 July 2014)

²⁸ Wendy Brown. *Undoing the demos: Neoliberalism's stealth revolution*. (New York: Zone Books: 2015), 20

²⁹ Nigel Gibson "The limits of black political empowerment"

Morange is a ‘global discipline purported to be established through deregulation and privatization (structural adjustments of the 1980s in the South) and likely to engender “unequal geographical development.”’³⁰In this light, the South African housing policy became influenced by neoliberal principles that the South African government followed blindly in its creation of the post-apartheid state. Among other things, this came to light when the NHF was actually instrumental in developing housing policy in line with the World Bank proposals. As rightly pointed by Anita Venter and Lochner Marais that ‘South African housing policy favours a neoliberal, market-driven approach with the role of the state reduced being facilitative.’³¹To this end, neoliberalism principle were further maintained in the ‘Breaking New Ground’ Comprehensive Housing Plan which rests on economic strictures and capitalist development.

South Africa’s neoliberalism policy agenda began to dominate the sphere of the post-apartheid statecraft after the Reconstruction and Development Programme which was replaced by Growth, Exchange and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996. GEAR as Sharone Tomer pointed ‘emphasized fiscal discipline, reduced expenditure and enhancement of private sector expansion. By initiating policies that encourage rapid economic growth, tightening the labour market, driving up wages, and luring private investment.’ As Tomer further pointed, ‘GEAR shifted the model for economic governance in South Africa from that of welfare to a neoliberal state.’³² Some commentators have argued that the launch of these economic policies ‘indicated the ANC’s shift from the principles of the Freedom Charter and NDR.’ For this reason, as it is further said:

South Africa’s post-1994 government had to repay the debt that South Africa owed to the IMF, as incurred by the National Party government. The pre- 1994 government had presided over economic stagnation due to sanctions from the international community, and the apartheid regime’s overproduction of luxurious uncompetitive products. This led our country to further borrow from

³⁰ Marianne Morange “Right to the city, neoliberalism and the development state in Cape town.” *SJ/SJ*, 4 (2011), 1-15

³¹ Anita Venter and Lochner Marais “The urban neo-liberal façade” Re-interpreting the South African housing policy from a welfare state perspective.” ENHR, (Istanbul: 2010)

³² Sharone Tomer “Cape Town: Negotiating the public in the neoliberal city” *Breslauer Symposium*, (2009)

international neo-liberal institutions such as the World Bank and IMF in order to grow the economy and integrate it into the global system.³³

Whereas some have argued that, it is not that South Africa inherited apartheid state debt for it to have find itself taking the neoliberalism trajectory. It is because almost all nation states of the world were embracing neoliberalism policies and therefore the post-apartheid state in its turn according to David Harvey ‘quickly embraced neoliberalism.’³⁴ GEAR is the example of this, which as Mark Gevisser writes ‘embraced the market economy.’³⁵ According to Geoffrey Schneider, ‘GEAR was developed with the help of World Bank economists, and the World Bank has been extremely influential in directing the GNU’s macroeconomics policies.’³⁶As Schneider cites Patrick Bond that:

Indeed in both urban and rural South Africa, two major Bank research reports regarding municipal infrastructure in 1994 – 5 and economic strategy in 1996 - have generated as much chaos and misery as do Bank loans and formal Structural Adjustments Programs elsewhere in the Third World. This is also true in most areas of South African social policy advice (land reform, housing, education, health, welfare), where the Bank has dogmatically recommended market-oriented solutions to problems created both by apartheid and South African capitalist’s extraordinary inequality.³⁷

In Harvey’s terms:

The World Bank treated post-apartheid South Africa as a showcase for the greater efficiencies that could be achieved through privatization and liberalization of the market. It promoted, for example, either the privatization of water or ‘total cost recovery’ by municipal owned utilities. Consumers paid for the water used, rather than receiving it as a free good. With higher revenues the utilities would, theory went, earn profits and extend services. But, unable to afford the charges, more and more people were cut out of the service, and with less revenue the companies raised rates, making water even less affordable to low-income populations.³⁸

However, it is further stated that in relation to electricity and water projects, the World Bank has preferred to advocate the provision of these services only to those who are in a good

³³ Ashley Nyiko Mabasa “ANC must craft policies in order to counter neo-liberalism” Media for Justice, 3 June 2016.

³⁴ David Harvey. *Brief history of neoliberalism*. (New York: Oxford University Press: 2005), 3

³⁵ Mark Gevisser “Ending economic apartheid”, *The Nation*, 29 (1997), 24 - 6

³⁶ Geoffrey Schneider “Neoliberalism and economic justice in South Africa: revisiting the debate on economic apartheid.” *Review of Social Economy*, 61:1 (2003), 23-50

³⁷ Ibid citing Patrick Bond

³⁸ David Harvey. *The new imperialism*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2003), 159

position to pay or afford to pay ‘without regard for the positive effect of uniform water and electricity standards upon public health, labor productivity, employment or geographical (racial and class) integration...Since poor people often can’t pay—at free market rates—the Bank’s solution was to deny people access to water-borne sanitation and give them pit latrines instead.’³⁹ This is also related with the provision of low cost housing to the poor which are built with cheap materials in the peripheral locations. Most of these low cost houses (RDP houses) are not integrated in the formal housing market, they occupy status of their own. This among other things, under neoliberal reason is to keep the poor people poor and deprive them of engaging freely in the market.⁴⁰ As a result, the RDP township houses are nothing but spaces that reproduce poverty and unemployment which goes hand in hand with criminality and vulgarity. Neoliberalism in its truth produce this reality – its mode of operation is to exclude or rather engages in the work of excluding and at the same time includes and protects those who are politically, economically and socially valued.

On post-apartheid state construction of place

The adopted neoliberalised housing policies in which the post-apartheid government settled on for housing delivery deliberately failed to imagine a new community for oppressed people under apartheid, instead it recreated the same spaces in which the oppressed were subjected to. This happened in the guise of what Khan calls the ‘let’s join-hands (LJH) paradigm of transition’ which refused to realise an empowering human settlement for the oppressed folks that emerged from apartheid oppression. This kind of approach according to Khan ‘when funnelled through corporatist frameworks like the NHF – appeals to both old and new elites, and is a vehicle to further the aims of centrist politics, orthodox economics and elite-driven change’⁴¹ that leaves inherited divisions and inequities in a society intact. It is a wonder for Njabulo Ndebele, for this syndrome to be permitted to ensue, ‘for a people so extensively traumatised and anguished by settlements created for their dehumanisation’,

newly enfranchised South Africans have displayed an exasperating lack of urgency in their commitment to changing these conditions in radical ways. The townships, as these settlements are popularly known, are dormitory enclaves... Dormitory enclaves are by definition built to export their energies...Dormitory settlements are minimally administered enclaves lacking in form all institutional complexity. This is because the

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Martin Van Staden “Why RDP housing is keeping people poor” (Business Day: 15 December 2016)

⁴¹ Ibid,14

span of allowable social interest is limited to basic housing, under-resourced schooling, limited entertainment, limited formal medical facilities, limited shopping and trading facilities, extensive religious participation, high birth-rates, a network of transportation to export labour out of the dormitories. This basic conception of township settlements still remains fundamentally intact fifteen years after liberation and after decades of conditioning black people's expectations of human settlements. Dormitory settlements were not designed to stimulate the social imagination. Consequently, post-apartheid provision of housing has not produced bold models that represent alternative conceptualisations of settlements.⁴²

Such failure of transition politics in the provision of housing, of course, can be firmly located within the NHF housing formulation process in which the apartheid state agencies and liberal capitalist took different oppressive ideological stand which further perpetuates wounding living conditions, but this time around in alliance with the MDM led by the ANC. We can therefore understand the elite transition in housing policy, as Bond suggested, by 'considering the old regime's 'deracialised urbanisation' strategy to gradually evolve apartheid racial segregation into class-based segregation.' This was done, writes Bond 'in a manner that also invoked a new political strategy: a form of corporatism based on the definitive mediation of the market.'⁴³

To understand why shelter in transitional South Africa may actually be worse for more people than during the harshest years of apartheid oppression, requires an explanation of the process by which racial segregation degenerated into a combination of residential class segregation and housing market failure, overlaid by neoliberal fiscal policies which slowly but surely strangled the potential for realising the benefits of proper shelter.⁴⁴

In partnership with this, the ANC found it necessary to draw distance from the key radical principles that were developed by the oppressed masses in the traditional Freedom Charter that could have healed the oppressed in the making of place in the post-apartheid South Africa. In agony, the oppressed saw the 'demise of those principles as processes of coercive harmony set in.'⁴⁵ Fanon a key analyst of post-struggle syndromes, saw this queasiness in the 'unpreparedness of the elite, the lack of practical ties between them and the masses, their apathy, and yes, their cowardice at the crucial moment in the struggle, are the cause of tragic

⁴² Njabulo Ndebele. "Arriving home? South Africa beyond transition and reconciliation" in Fanie du Toit and Erik Doxtader. *In the balance* (Johannesburg: Jacana: 2008), 58.

⁴³ Patrick Bond. *Elite transition: From apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa*. (Pluto Press & University of Natal Press: 2000), 95

⁴⁴ Ibid. 97

⁴⁵ Ibid, 95

trials and tribulations.’⁴⁶ Rather than be the realisers of people’s dreams, and the healers of the wounded people who came out of the horrors of apartheid racial regime. For any nation state that has emerged out of an oppressive rule it would be expected of it by its citizens to create a new community of life that the people imagined during the course of collective struggle against the ‘bad men’. A community of life that points only to the acceptable future, a life and a society in which citizens can be proud of who they have become after oppression. On a clear note; the way the nation state creates its human settlement, reflects too, the way it creates itself.

Furthermore, having the apartheid human settlement being reproduced in a more or similar tone in the post-apartheid society and black life still on the margin and repetition under black rule – Fanon as Mbembe writes believed that, as a result of this syndrome and deep injuries ‘inflicted on those who have been the victims of white supremacy was their inability to project themselves forward in time. Crushed by the misery of the past, their historical consciousness had been severely crippled. They had developed a propensity for compulsive repetition and a profound disbelief in their capacity to shape their own future.’ For Fanon, says Mbembe, ‘repetition was the way death inhabited thought and language.’⁴⁷ In this reason, repetition could be seen as a signature of failure, maybe of slumber, a sign of the oppressed to surrender their gestures or actions even their psyche, to something that has kept them captive.

⁴⁶ Frantz Fanon. *The wretched of the earth*, trans. Richard Philcox. (New York: Grove Press: 2004), 97.

⁴⁷ Achille Mbembe “Consumed by our lust for lost segregation.” (Mail & Guardian: 28 March 2013)

In conclusion: weaving the last note

As I stated earlier in the introduction that this dissertation is envisaged for a PhD research project which will entail an in-depth critical analysis and empirical research on Delft South township. As for this research dissertation, I have sought to provide a critical assessment of Delft South as a post-apartheid township on how it has been created for the dispossessed majority of black people after apartheid. In engaging and exploring Delft South township, I wanted to expose the manner in which the post-apartheid township space has been created and to argue that the manner in which it has been imagined and created, did not challenge the notion of township as it was conceptualised by the apartheid racial regime. Instead, it has become more and more a space that reproduce black life, that is peripheralised and a space that wallows in the mire of poverty with high rate of unemployment at its heart, and criminality which goes hand in hand with vulgarity. As a result, I dedicated chapter two in this dissertation in order to explore the idea of township in South Africa under apartheid racial regime, so to lay it bare how it has been racially produced to dehumanise black people and a space created to access cheap labour for maintenance of white power. In chapter three, I have surveyed the post-apartheid housing policies in order to look at how these policies critique the apartheid township and also look at how they imagined the reconstruction of the post-apartheid place (township space). In chapter four, I looked at the ways in which Delft South as a post-apartheid township has been created through housing policies for the black and coloured families living in the round of Cape Town. Consequently, in reading what the post-apartheid statecraft has created (making of place) through housing policies, it became clear that the post-apartheid state to follow Achille Mbembe is not ‘an economy of signs in which power is mirrored and *imagined* self-reflectively.’ But that which is stammering to find its way out from the world of masks, of repetition to the recreation of a new community of life, of collective dreams and healing. Therefore, the creation of Delft South like any other post-apartheid township without doubt, has come to epitomize the manner in which the post-apartheid state asserted itself in the making of place and also, how it has come to create itself defectively after apartheid.

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