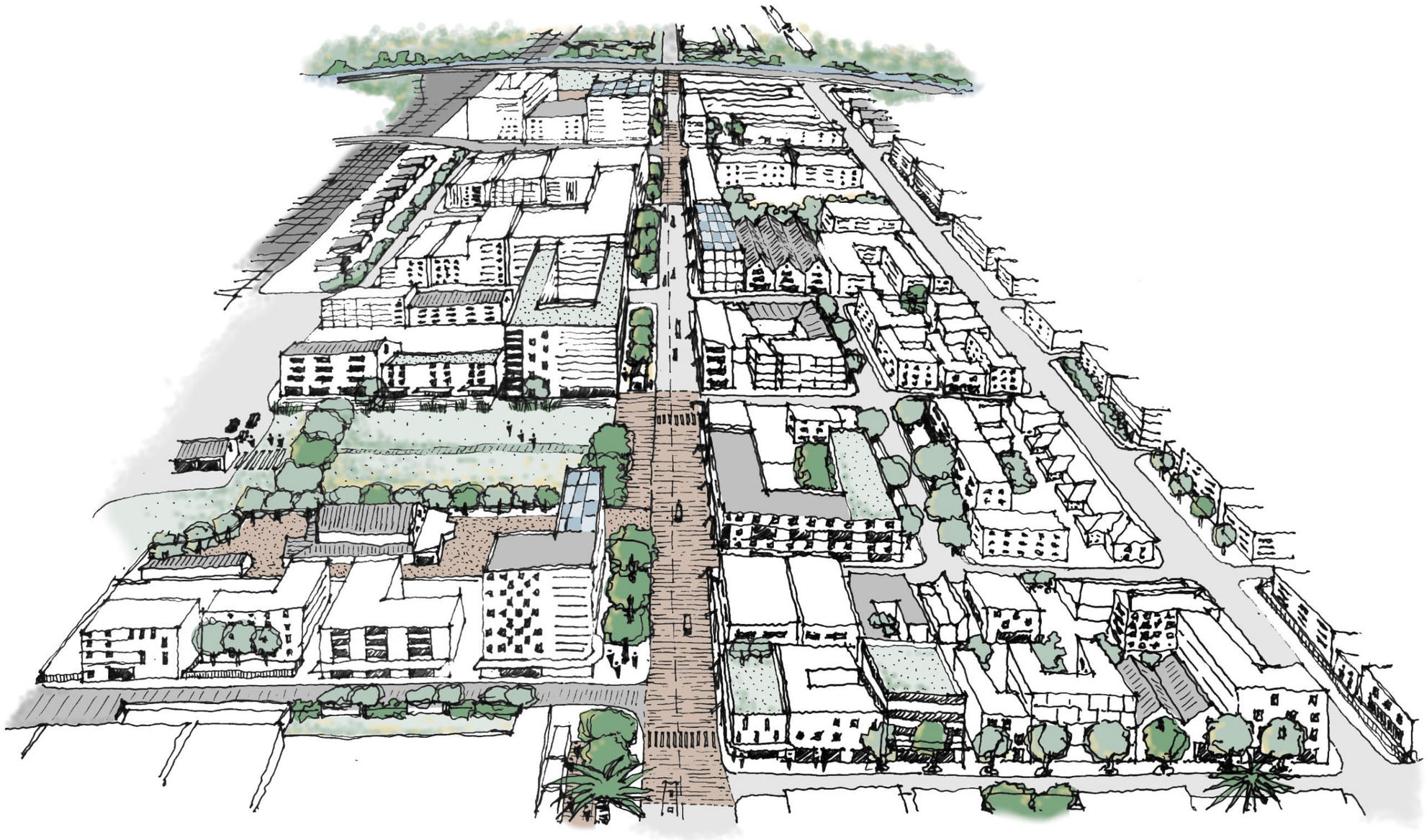
RE-DISCOVERING & RE-CONCEPTUALISING LOCAL AREA PLANS

A Qualitative Investigation in Guiding Spatial Sustainability in Maitland, Cape Town



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DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF MASTER OF CITY & REGIONAL PLANNING APG5051Z

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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  "Both [Arthur and Lindy Messaris], equally intolerant of dullness, encouraged a spirit of investigation in their daughter …

  A parent is inexcusable who does not personally teach their child to think." – Elizabeth Gilbert, The Signature of All Things.
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- To our Arthur, *just* four years old yet already teaching his parents life's most valuable lessons.

ABSTRACT

Cities and their sub-units are increasingly conceived as being dynamic, relational, and unbounded. Due to these attributes, they are recognised as a key means of driving sustainability and sustainable urban development (which is best understood as the entwined requirements for progress towards lasting wellbeing). In response to this, the global policy document the *New Urban Agenda Illustrated* introduced a fourth dimension to sustainable urban development: spatial sustainability, wherein guiding the physical form of urban environments towards specific spatial conditions can enhance social, economic, and environmental value and wellbeing and, in so doing, arrive at equity. The document recommends the use of local area plans to guide urban development toward spatial sustainability.

However, South Africa's local area plans are currently not conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability which, as a recent global concept, has yet to be rigorously researched in specific contexts. Moreover, local area plans are generally under-explored and under-utilised in South African planning theory and policy, where the emphasis is on large-scale strategic spatial plans and spatial development frameworks. In response to this, the research aims to 1) establish whether South Africa's planning system requires local area plans and, if so, to clarify their contribution, and 2) to enrich the interpretation of spatial sustainability, with the view to 3) exploring how planners might re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability.

The research aims were achieved through the qualitative research approach that methodologically made use of a case study in Maitland, Cape Town. Data was collected and analysed through various techniques and against a conceptual framework derived from a literature review. The study employed design-orientated inquiry in which an initial local area plan proposal was presented to a focus group and – based on their feedback – undetected facets of analysis were further explored and the local area plan proposal was redrafted.

The enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability recognises that space that seeks to achieve equity comprises relations and processes as much as the substantive features of physical form. To this end, the research suggests that it is necessary to appreciate the context, structure, and dynamics of place (the product of planned space), which is best understood through analysing the activity, psychology, and physicality of place. The results of this analysis in Maitland are threefold. Firstly, the analysis confirms that local area plans are a crucial component of South Africa's planning system when situated in areas of strategic importance. Secondly, Maitland is revealed to be a multifaceted port-of-entry neighbourhood where relations and practices extend beyond the area's boundaries. Thirdly, the results suggest that a local area plan re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability should be viewed as both a process and a product. In other words, local area planning requires two responses: it needs to produce a material local area plan (the plan as a noun), and the method of achieving that plan needs to foster the conditions for diverse current and future involvement in the planning process (planning as a verb). Based on these significant findings and using Maitland as a point of reference, the research proposes recommendations for preparing for, producing, and sustaining a local area plan in areas of strategic importance. Re-discovered and re-conceptualised in this way, local area plans are an essential means of achieving equity and lasting wellbeing in complex contemporary contexts, which is the fundamental objective of spatial sustainability.

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ACRONYMS

BEPP	Built Environment Performance Plan
CEF	Capital Expenditure Framework
DDO	Design and Development Overlay
DFA	Development Focus Area
DMS	Development Management Scheme
DSDF	District Spatial Development Framework
EMF	Environmental Management Framework
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
ITP	Integrated Transport Plan
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
IZ	Integration Zone
LSDF	Local Spatial Development Framework
MPBL	Municipal Planning By-Law
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MSDF	Municipal Spatial Development Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NMT	Non-Motorised Transport
NSDF	National Spatial Development Framework
NUA	New Urban Agenda
PHSHDA	Prioritised Human Settlement and Housing Development Area
PSDF	Provincial Spatial Development Framework
PSFS	Public Space and Facility Strategy
PT	Public Transport
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning & Land Use Management Act
SSG	Sustainable Development Goal
STA	Spatial Transformation Area
TOD	Transit-Oriented Development
UDZ	Urban Development Zone
UN	United Nations
VRC	Voortrekker Road Corridor

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

"Designing a dream city is easy, rebuilding a living one takes imagination"

Jane Jacobs, 1958

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In the past three decades, there have been two important changes in the way cities are conceived. Firstly, geography, planning, and urban studies recognise that cities are not single, cohesive, unitary, material objects, but are rather complex, dynamic, relational, multi-scalar constructs where diverse and simultaneous webs of processes and experiences coalesce and diverge (Amin & Graham, 1997; Graham and Healey, 1999; Watson, 2016). Graham and Healey (1999) term these 'multiplex' cities. Secondly, these complex urban processes and experiences suggest that cities are the sites of opportunity and potential and are a key means of driving sustainable futures in a range of fields (Barnett & Parnell, 2016; Vaidya & Chatterji, 2019).

Based on this recognition, the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* incorporated Sustainable Development Goal 11 (SDG 11): "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (UN, 2015: 14). The *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* is a global development agreement adopted by all members of the United Nations (UN), including South Africa. Although SDG 11 focuses on sustainable urban development, it seeks to address several interrelated issues embodied in other SDGs (Vaidya & Chatterji, 2019).

At the UN-Habitat III conference held in Quito, Ecuador in 2016, UN member states endorsed the *New Urban Agenda* (NUA), which is a universal framework explicitly created as a step towards achieving SDG 11 (Hague, 2018). Acknowledging the integrative nature of cities, the NUA recognises that the principles of social, economic, and environmental sustainability are fundamental to achieving sustainable urban development (UN, 2017a). These principles have been incorporated into South Africa's planning legislation and spatial planning policies.

In 2020, the UN released the *New Urban Agenda Illustrated* (UN-Habitat, 2020a), which is a companion handbook aimed at improving the implementation of the goals and commitments of the NUA. The 2020 NUA companion handbook includes a fourth dimension to sustainable urban development: *spatial* sustainability.

> *Spatial sustainability, as a concept, suggests that the spatial conditions of a city can enhance its power to generate social, economic, and environmental value and well-being. Governments can achieve spatial sustainability by guiding the physical form of urban environments.*
>
> (UN-Habitat, 2020a: 45)

Although the 2020 NUA companion handbook emphasises that spatial sustainability is a result of intentional planning and development at all scales, it unambiguously promotes the use of neighbourhood-based plans (alternatively referred to in the document as neighbourhood-level master plans and neighbourhood spatial plans) as an appropriate planning instrument to guide urban development towards spatial sustainability (UN-Habitat, 2020a). Neighbourhood-based plans:

> *…are long-term strategies to build connection between buildings, social settings, economic activities, geography and culture … The [neighbourhood] master plan serves as a high-level framework for urban design and planning and forms the basis for local land-use regulations and zoning ordinances that ensure urban development is consistent with the community goals and policies expressed in the master plan.*
>
> (UN-Habitat, 2020a: 80)

Although the term 'neighbourhood' is not precisely defined by the UN, a reading of both the 2020 NUA companion handbook and complementary UN documents (UN-Habitat, 2015a; UN-Habitat, 2015b) suggests that the term is used loosely to address a locality (Madanipour, 2009) and is referring to the scale or extent of urban involvement, for instance: "Spatial planning covers a large spectrum of scales ranging from neighbourhood, city/municipality, city-region/metropolis and supra-national/transboundary" (UN-Habitat, 2015b).

Neither South Africa's spatial planning legislative framework nor Cape Town's spatial planning policies use the term neighbourhood-based plan, or any derivative[1]. However, South Africa has a spatial planning instrument called a local area plan which is directed at a comparable scale (DALRRD, 2017). Local area plans are "discretionary plans prepared for implementation at a local scale within a municipality … [and refer to] a geographically smaller area with specific characteristics…" (DALRRD, 2017: 13). Therefore, although the nomenclature differs, South Africa does have a spatial planning instrument that could be used to guide spatial sustainability.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 IDENTIFYING THE PROBLEM UNDER STUDY & RESEARCH RATIONALE

Although the appropriate planning instrument to guide the NUA's criterion of spatial sustainability exists, local area plans in South Africa suffer from two fundamental challenges.

Firstly, they are vastly under-explored in South African planning theory, planning policy, and in relation to the contemporary complex, dynamic, relational, multi-scalar city context. A literature review of local area planning in South Africa revealed only two readings critically evaluating the potential value of this scale for planning practice (see Cameron, Odendaal & Todes, 2004; Todes et. al., 2010) and no relevant literature on the South African local area within a multiplex city[2]. In contrast to the local scale encouraged by the UN, South Africa's contemporary planning and research emphasis is on strategic spatial plans which are "directive, long-range plans, which consist of frameworks and principles and broad spatial ideas rather than detailed spatial plans" (Watson, 2009: 168). The strategic spatial plans and spatial development frameworks rely on abstract or conceptual design approaches such as nodes and corridors, which have been criticised as being too general, neglecting site-level understanding, insufficiently guiding concept implementation, and failing to adequately integrate spatial forward planning with land use management and decision-making (Todes,

[1] Legislation: Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act No. 13 of 2013 (SPLUMA, 2013). Planning policies: the City of Cape Town's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) (CoCT, 2022a), Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) (CoCT, 2018; CoCT, 2022b), Table Bay District Spatial Development Framework and Environmental Management Plan (CoCT, 2022c), and Municipal Planning By-Law (CoCT, 2015).

[2] Both Google Scholar and the University of Cape Town's library database (Primo) were used to locate relevant literature.

2008; Todes et. al., 2010; Winkler & Steenkamp, 2014). These critiques imply that there is a necessity for plans at the finer and more immediate scale of the local area.

Clause 21(l)(i) of South Africa's Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA, 2013: 32) notes that "a municipal spatial development framework (MSDF) must identify the designation of areas in which more detailed local plans must be developed", yet the City of Cape Town's 2022 draft MSDF only mentions the term 'local area plan' eight times (in comparison, the terms 'node' and 'corridor' are mentioned 261 and 203 times respectively) (CoCT, 2022b; CoCT, 2022c). The City of Cape Town's database contains only 33 area-based policies[3], most of which were developed in the 1990s and early 2000s (see **Appendix A**). In fact, local area plans are so loosely conceived of in South Africa that the State's SDF guidelines refer to them interchangeably with precinct plans (DALRRD, 2017), despite it being acknowledged that they address planning at two different scales.

Thus, although the critiques directed at strategic spatial plans *imply* that there is a need for plans at the finer and more immediate scale of the local area, the above problem statements mean that it is necessary to establish whether this is, in fact, the case and, if so, to clarify what they contribute to South Africa's spatial planning system. Todes et. al. (2010: 419) argue that "there is a surprising lack of debate and exploration on alternative forms of spatial planning, yet there is an urgent need for such engagement".

Secondly, South Africa's local area plans are not explicitly conceptualised to guide the NUA's criterion of spatial sustainability whereby the spatial conditions and physical form of an environment can enhance its power to generate social, economic, and environmental value and well-being. Compare, for instance, the precise way in which local area plans are required to guide sustainability in Belfast, Ireland and Melbourne, Australia, to the generic way they are referred to in South Africa:

> BELFAST, IRELAND
>
> *It is at this level [of the local area plan] that 'place' becomes a physical, community and economic reality. LAPs [local area plans] must provide the frameworks to secure sustainable development that balances social, economic, and environmental considerations at the local level while minimising the potential adverse effects of development on the environment.*
>
> (Belmonte et. al., 2012: 2)
>
> MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA
>
> *A structure plan [local area plan] sets out a vision for an area in the next 10 to 20 years. Structure plans [local area plans] provide guidance about appropriate directions and opportunities for change. They are strongly focused on sustainability, planning for change that is environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable.*
>
> (City of Melbourne, 2022)
>
> SOUTH AFRICA
>
> *[Local area planning] takes place within various local contexts based on context specific issues; [local area plans] are policy instruments to ensure the implementation of MSDF spatial strategies; [they] provide more detailed proposals that indicate desired patterns of development for a local area or precinct.*
>
> (DALRRD, 2017: 15)

[3] Variously referred to as 'action plans', 'local area plans', 'local area spatial development frameworks', 'management strategies', 'node studies', 'structure plans', 'urban design frameworks', and 'spatial development plans'.

Figure 1.1 **Locating Maitland Within the City of Cape Town MSDF's Spatial Concept**

(Author's own, adapted from CoCT, 2022)

Coetzee (2012: 14) notes that although South Africa's planning policies refer to sustainability, the frameworks do little to "unpack the concept, promote its aims and contents, implement it in practice, and integrate and align local authority planning and development efforts towards achieving the common goal of sustainable development". This ushers in the final challenge: spatial sustainability is a recent global concept that has not yet been rigorously explored in specific contexts. At present, the *New Urban Agenda Illustrated* (UN-Habitat, 2020a) is the only document that explicitly refers to it, despite it being alluded to in other UN documents. Therefore, before understanding how local area plans might guide urban development towards spatial sustainability, further research is required to enrich the interpretation of it from a South African perspective and in relation to the 'multiplex' city, as it was this concept that recognised that cities were a key means of driving sustainability.

1.2.2 IDENTIFYING THE RESEARCH AIM & RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In response to the problem statement and research rationale, the aim of the research is:

1. To establish whether South Africa's planning system requires local area plans and, if so, to clarify their contribution.
   And
2. To enrich the interpretation of spatial sustainability.
   With the view to
3. Exploring how planners might re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability.

The research aims can be translated into three clearly formulated, explicit, and researchable questions that can guide the inquiry (Cilliers, 2015). They are:

Does South Africa's planning system require local area plans and, if so, what do they contribute?

What is the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability?

How might planners re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability?

1.3 RESEARCH APPROACH

The above aims and questions indicate that this dissertation intends to produce research with both theoretical and practical outcomes. To achieve this, it makes use of the qualitative research approach and a combination of research techniques, is conducted in a predetermined process that facilitates reflection and adaptability, and occurs within a defined case study area. The research design will be elaborated on in **Chapter 2**, suffice it to say that its structure considers how best the research process can contribute to advances in theory, policy development, and spatial interventions.

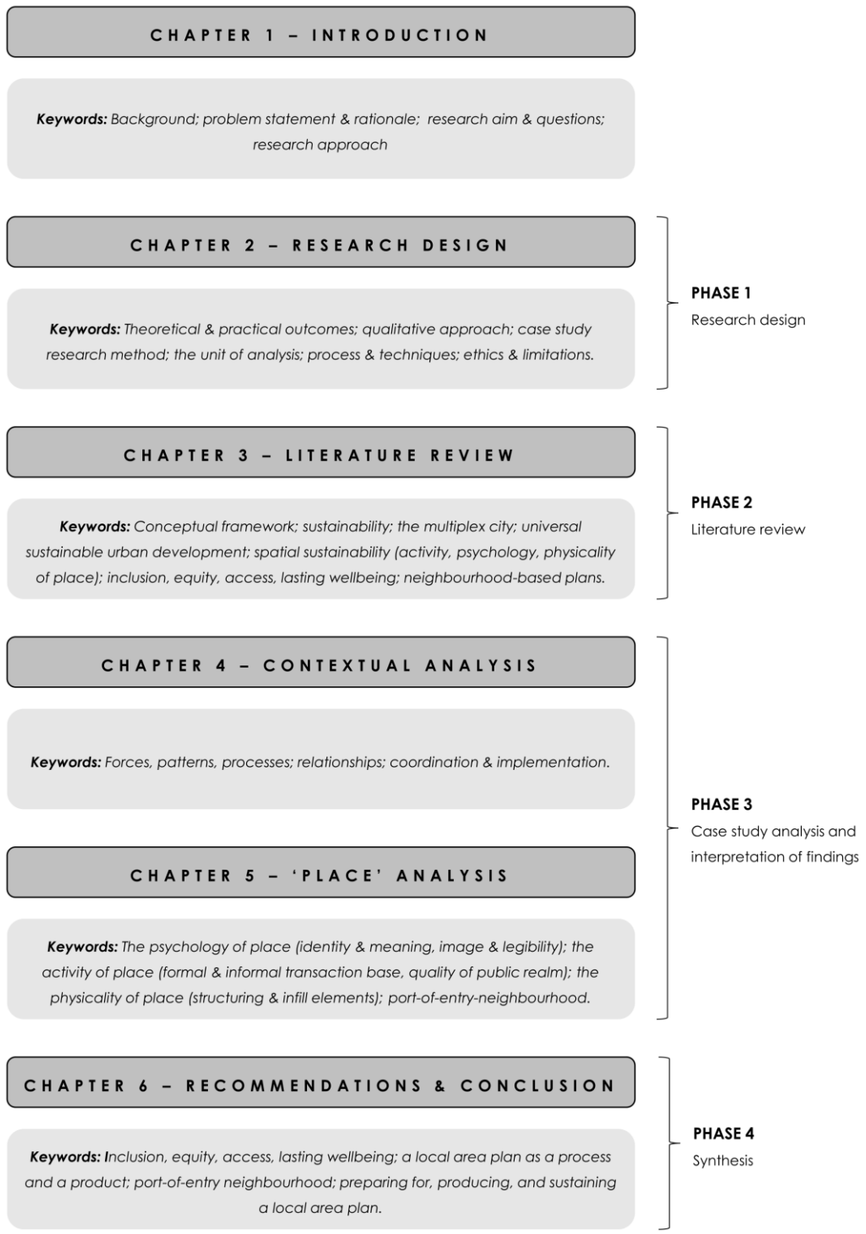

Figure 1.2 **Dissertation Structure**

(Author's own)

The local area of Maitland in Cape Town is a suitable case study area based on its strategic location within the city's urban structuring elements, including within the urban inner core, along the metro-scale Voortrekker Road development corridor, and on a pre-identified development node (see **Figure 1.1**) (CoCT, 2022b). **Chapter 2** will justify the study area's boundaries and **Chapter 4** will expand on the benefits of Maitland's strategic location. The research process revealed that Maitland has an established 1992 Local Area Plan. The City's Urban Planning and Design Department is in the process of reviewing this document and formulating a Maitland Local Spatial Development Framework (LSDF) (CoCT, 1992; CoCT, 2022e). As the anticipated Maitland LSDF is only due for public comment in mid-October 2022, evaluating this document is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Despite this, these historical and contemporary local area planning initiatives validate Maitland as a suitable case study area, add richness to the research process, and findings from this in-depth research provide guidance to other strategically located areas when engaging in local area planning initiatives in the future.

1.4 OVERVIEW & STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation consisted of four phases which are documented in six chapters, as illustrated in **Figure 1.2**.

Phase 1 entails the research design, which is described in **Chapter 2**. The aim of phase 1 is to ensure that the research design is logical, robust, systematic, and responds to the research aim and questions, thus ensuring academic rigour (Winkler, 2021a). **Chapter 2**, therefore, outlines the positionality and research approach, demonstrates why the case study method is appropriate and describes the research process and techniques that allow for the data to be rigorously captured, analysed, and interpreted.

Phase 2 comprises the literature review, which is portrayed in **Chapter 3**. The literature review explores sustainability, the multiplex city, and sustainable urban development to arrive at conceptual framework themes that are used to critique the UN's version of spatial sustainability. This critique directs the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability, which is documented in the second part of the chapter. From this enriched interpretation, additional conceptual framework themes are established that serve as a guide for both the analysis of the case study area and the recommendations included in the final chapter of this dissertation.

Phase 3 involves the data collection and analysis of the case study area and is divided into two chapters. **Chapter 4** comprises Maitland's contextual analysis. Using a continuum of scales, it understands the context that allows for the establishment of local area plans, appreciates their role in South Africa's planning system, clarifies the intent of the state's spatial frameworks and principles, and recognises the external forces that give meaning to or release the potential within the local area. **Chapter 5** provides an analysis of the structure and dynamics of 'place' in Maitland based on the conceptual framework. The intention is to understand what a local area plan should capture and respond to, what trade-offs might be appropriate, and how the attributes of place in a multiplex city might be leveraged to support inclusion, equity, and lasting wellbeing (i.e., sustainability).

Phase 4 is concerned with synthesis. Based on the preceding phases, **Chapter 6** begins by returning to the research questions and reflecting on the most pertinent research findings. Using these findings as a point of departure, it makes recommendations for local area planning in general and the Maitland case study area in particular. The recommendations are presented in the sequence of a standard local area planning process. **Chapter 6** concludes the dissertation by offering reflections and areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2 – RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of research is to acquire knowledge through a methodological process of in-depth investigation and apply it in such a way that it leads to new insights (Silva et. al., 2015; Winkler, 2021a). In **Chapter 1**, the core focus of the study was defined by identifying and framing the research problem and rationale. Based on this, the research aim and questions were determined. The intention of **Chapter 2** is to justify and describe the research design that guides the methodological process of in-depth investigation and knowledge application. According to Yin (2014: 28), a research design is:

> *A logical plan for getting from here to there, where here may be defined as the initial set of questions to be answered, and there is some set of conclusions (answers) about these questions. Between here and there may be found a number of major steps, including the collection and analysis of relevant data.*

As well as being logical, a research design should be robust and systematic, which ensures that the research questions are answered as unambiguously as possible (Du Toit, 2015; Healey, 2015; Naoum, 2007; Silva et. al., 2015). Robust and systematic research 1) explicitly lays out its approach, which should align with the research aim and questions, 2) requires a careful and thoughtful process by which data is gathered and analysed, which is oftentimes framed around a conceptual framework, 3) incorporates opportunities for self-reflection and interaction to enhance the validity of the research findings, and 4) is attentive to biases and subjectivities (Healey, 2015; Silva et. al., 2015; Van den Broeck, 2015). These characteristics ensure that the research design is rigorous. Although methodological rigour is important, Campbell (2015: 31) argues:

> *There is a need to develop an equally inclusive understanding of rigour, which opens up the possibility of different forms of research questions and places stress on the quality of argumentation and the likely implications, not just the qualities of the methodology. This will not be a lesser form of rigour.*

Therefore, **Chapter 2**'s aim is twofold. Firstly, it aims to demonstrate that the research design has methodological rigour, and secondly, it aims to stress the aspects of research design that contribute to the quality of argumentation and outcomes. This will be achieved by outlining the dissertation's positionality, research approach, and case study research method. Thereafter, the chapter will describe the process and techniques involved in data collection, analysis, and interpretation. It will conclude with a review of the ethical considerations and limitations of the research design.

2.2 POSITIONALITY & RESEARCH APPROACH

By following Du Toit's (2015) logic, this section demonstrates why the qualitative approach is suitable to the research aim and questions. Du Toit (2015) begins by clarifying the context and aim of the research; moves on to the purpose of the research; and concludes with the ontological and epistemological positionality, which justifies the qualitative research approach and the case study method. Du Toit's (2015) systematic process is graphically depicted in **Figure 2.1**, with items of relevance highlighted in grey.

One of the first considerations in a research design is the *context and aim* of the research: "for whom and for what reason is the research being conducted?" (Du Toit, 2015: 62). The aim of this study is to produce planning research with both theoretical and practical outcomes in an authentic contemporary South African context, and to appreciate the interplay between knowledge and action, which is a prerequisite to advancements in intellectual scholarship (Campbell, 2012; Campbell, 2015). Using Du Toit's (2015) terminology, the research is positioned within basic research with theoretical aims (research expanding a field of knowledge), but closer to the practical end of the spectrum.

Following this, one can define the *purpose* of the research, which is inextricably tied to the research questions (Du Toit, 2015). The questions indicate that the research serves two purposes.

> Does South Africa's planning system require local area plans and, if so, what do they contribute?

> What is the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability?

The first two questions suggest that the purpose of the research is exploratory. Exploratory research questions often begin with 'what' and are focused on discovering new ideas, theory development, seeking understanding, and concentrating on relatively unknown concepts in order to generate information for subsequent studies (Du Toit, 2015; Gates & Schwandt, 2018; Naoum, 2007). In comparison, the third research question asks:

> How might planners re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability?

This question implies that the purpose of the research is to contribute to normative theory (Gates & Schwandt, 2018). Normative theory is concerned with what should be (norms, values, or ideas) rather than solely with what is (empirical phenomena) (ibid). It concerns itself with justifying ends or outcomes and is about evaluation, not explanation (ibid). The exploratory and normative purposes should not be considered mutually exclusive and the research is designed to respond to both of them. Furthermore, the use of design-orientated inquiry (detailed later in the chapter) means that the research also serves a formative and evaluative purpose.

Having understood the context, aim, and purpose of the research, Du Toit (2015) recommends that the research design makes explicit the *philosophical positionality* as "research can only be meaningfully interpreted when there is clarity about the decisions that were taken that affect the research outcomes" (Blackman & Moon, 2017). A useful starting point is ontology[4] as this "helps researchers recognise how certain they can be about the nature and existence of objects they are researching" (ibid). The research aligns with a subjective ontological perspective, which supports the idea that multiple realities exist and that people experience reality subjectively (Blackman & Moon, 2017; Du Toit, 2015).

> *Our understanding is always a partial 'interpretation' of what is going on. And our interpretation cannot avoid being shaped by our practical histories and geographies.*
>
> (Silva et. al., 2015: xxxiii)

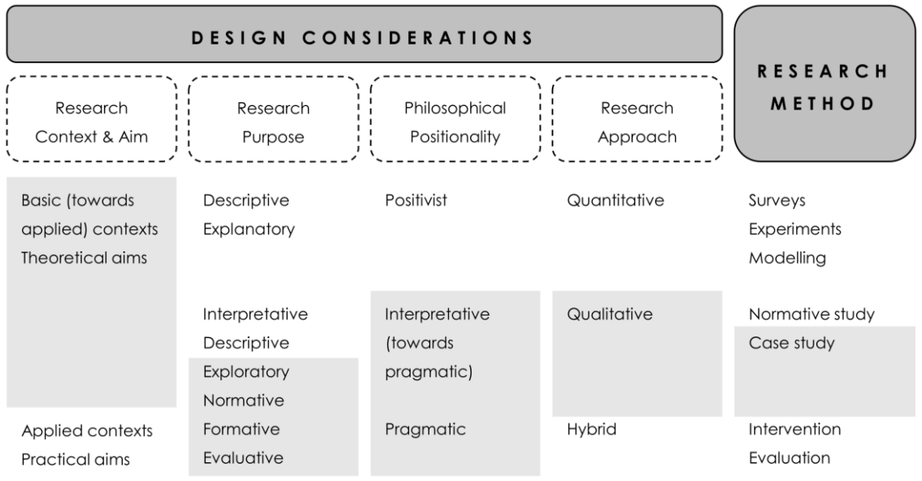

Figure 2.1 **Logic to Arrive at a Suitable Research Approach & Research Method**

(Author's own, adapted from Du Toit, 2015)

[4] Ontology is the study of reality or being and things that comprise reality or being. It asks: "what actually exists in the world that we (humans) can acquire knowledge about?" (Blackman & Moon, 2017).

A subjective ontology infers that the research design 1) should find ways of capturing the different perspectives of participants as their different meanings will illuminate the topic under study (Yin, 2014) and 2) should constantly question 'truth claims' about reality and legitimacy (Blackman & Moon, 2017; Healey, 2015).

Understanding the epistemological[5] positionality is important because it influences the manner in which data is collected and interpreted throughout the study (Blackman & Moon, 2017). Revisiting the context, aim, and purpose of the research makes clear that the epistemology of the study is both interpretive, where the research's intent is to understand meanings and interpretations (ibid), and pragmatic, where the research emphasis is on relevance (Du Toit, 2015: 65):

> *[Pragmatic] research ought to solve problems in the real world and improve the human condition. It accepts multiple social realities and is likely to employ any combination of designs … selected according to what would work best to solve a particular research problem.*

According to Du Toit (2015), the qualitative research approach is best suited to both interpretive and pragmatic epistemologies. As a methodology, qualitative research gathers data through subjective means and the emphasis is on meanings, experiences, and description (Naoum, 2007; Silverman, 2015). Qualitative research attempts to understand the complex totality of a phenomenon, as opposed to simplifying or quantifying data (Strydom, 2021). Van den Broeck (2015) argues that it is well-suited to account for the social dimensions and egalitarian goals of plan-making, whilst Silverman (2015) states that it is adept at capturing the nuances of public life and urban development processes, which adds texture and authenticity to the research and policy recommendations. Although there are many methods associated with qualitative research, Du Toit (2015) advocates for the case study research method, which will be elaborated on in the section below.

2.3 RESEARCH METHOD

2.3.1 OVERVIEW OF THE CASE STUDY RESEARCH METHOD

The research method represents the overall design and conceptualisation of the research project (Winkler, 2021c). Silva et. al. (2015) posits that the case study research method is relevant to place-based, spatial disciplines such as planning. Yin (2004, 2014) argues that the case study is the preferred research method when there are 'how', 'why' and exploratory 'what' research questions, and when the focus of the study is contemporary. As demonstrated in the section above, these criteria are all relevant to this study, thus supporting Du Toit's claim that the case study is the most appropriate research method.

The strength of case study research is that it allows for in-depth and real-life examination, permitting the researcher to make direct observations and collect data on actors, actions, events, physical forms, and context (and the relations between all of them) in natural settings (Duminy et. al., 2014b; Yin, 2004; Yin, 2014). The case study permits a degree of flexibility and accommodates a variety of innovative techniques to capture data in a plethora of diverse environments subject to rapid change and uncertainty (Duminy et. al., 2014a). These attributes mean that the case study research method is a way of recognising and understanding complexity (Duminy

[5] Epistemology is the study of knowledge and is concerned with what constitutes a knowledge claim (validity), how knowledge is acquired and produced (scope), and the extent to which knowledge can be transferred (methods of acquisition) (Blackman & Moon, 2017).

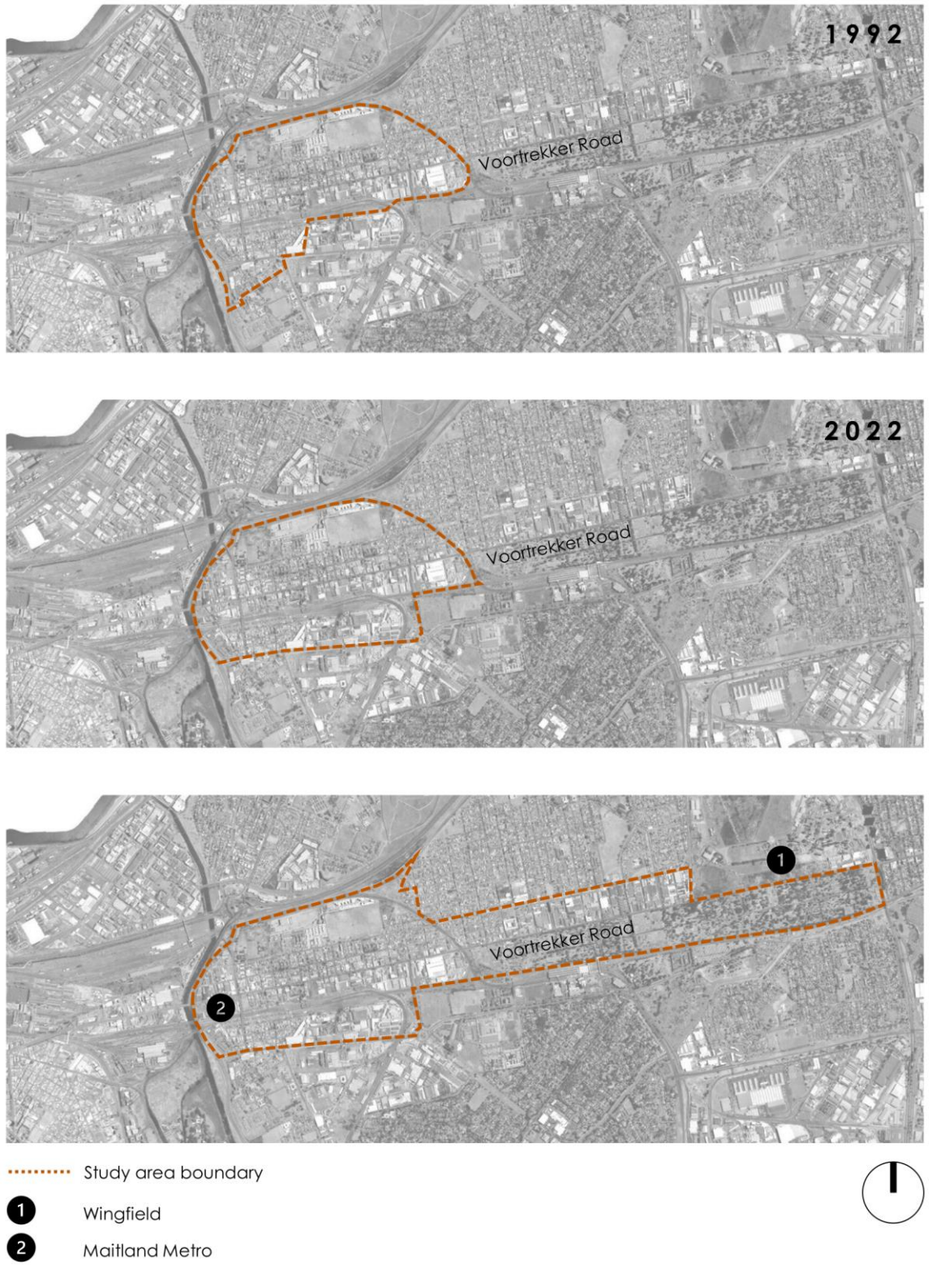

Figure 2.2 **Maitland 1992 Local Area Plan Study Area (Top)**
Anticipated Maitland LSDF Study Area (Middle)
Dissertation Case Study Area (Bottom)
(Author's own, base image from City of Cape Town Map Viewer, 2022)

et. al., 2014b), is well-suited to recording and analysing dynamic processes (ibid). It is thus particularly suitable to South African urban contexts and multi-faceted global topics such as spatial sustainability.

> *If designed and executed in a rigorous manner, the detailed case study is a pre-eminent means of contributing to theoretical development … the case study approach is suited to testing the relevance and applicability of Northern ideas, and to generating the contextualised knowledge that allows Southern urbanisms to speak to urban theory on a global scale.*
>
> (Duminy et. al., 2014a: 10)

In case study research, data collection and analysis occur concurrently. Although this is its strength, it is a challenge for the researcher as undertaking both simultaneously requires a degree of skill and expertise (Yin, 2004). Similarly, handling multiple techniques and knowing when to stop collecting data are yet more skills that the researcher must possess (ibid). Yin (2004), Flyvbjerg (2006), and Duminy et. al. (2014b) agree that the presentation of evidence and analysis requires skill and precision which, if one lacks the necessary talents, is a limitation of case study research. Yin (2004) likens the product to composition whilst Flyvbjerg (2006) portrays it as a narrative. In both, the researcher is required to adeptly weave in an argument to support their research aims. To mitigate these limitations, this dissertation has observed Yin's (2004, 2014) recommendations in that 1) sufficient data was deemed to have been sourced when there was confirmatory evidence for most topics, 2) systematic procedures were developed to ease the challenge of multi-tasking (refer to the 'research process and techniques' section), and 3) adequate time was left for crafting (and reviewing) the narrative.

In summary, case study research allows the researcher a concrete, context-dependent experience which is "more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals" (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 224). Despite its limitations, the following quotation beautifully demonstrates the overall benefit of performing case study research:

> *The proximity to reality which the case study entails, and the learning process that it generates for the researcher will often constitute a prerequisite for advanced understanding.*
>
> (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 236)

2.3.2 THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS

The unit of analysis is the primary object of the research inquiry and defines the conceptual level at which data is collected and analysed (Duminy et. al., 2014b). An important component of the unit of analysis is its spatial and temporal boundaries (ibid). That which lies within the boundaries is granted special prominence and interest, whilst that which lies beyond the boundaries is considered the context of the case (ibid).

Chapter 1 introduced the case study area of Maitland and discussed its relevance in Cape Town's urban spatial structure. The contemporary local area of Maitland and the actors, actions, and relations within it represents a single, normative case study (Gates & Schwandt, 2018; Yin, 2014). Park and Rogers (2015) cite numerous ways in which a local area can be geographically or spatially delineated, including municipal (administrative) boundaries, natural and man-made barriers, and perceptual demarcations. Maitland's 1992 Local Area Plan delineation was based on man-made barriers, which is similar to the delineation of the anticipated Maitland LSDF (CoCT, 2021). This dissertation utilises Maitland's municipal (administrative) boundaries, which means that the eastern edge of the local area plan is extended towards Jakes Gerwel Drive (see **Figure 2.2**). This decision may not necessarily align with the resident's perceptual boundaries of the local area, however, "in this new type of urban life, social relations are no longer necessarily congruent with spatial relations" (Abu-Lughod, 1994: 185). The municipal (administrative) boundaries allow for spatial exploration between two significant project-focused spatial planning approaches: Wingfield to the east (land earmarked for a state-driven

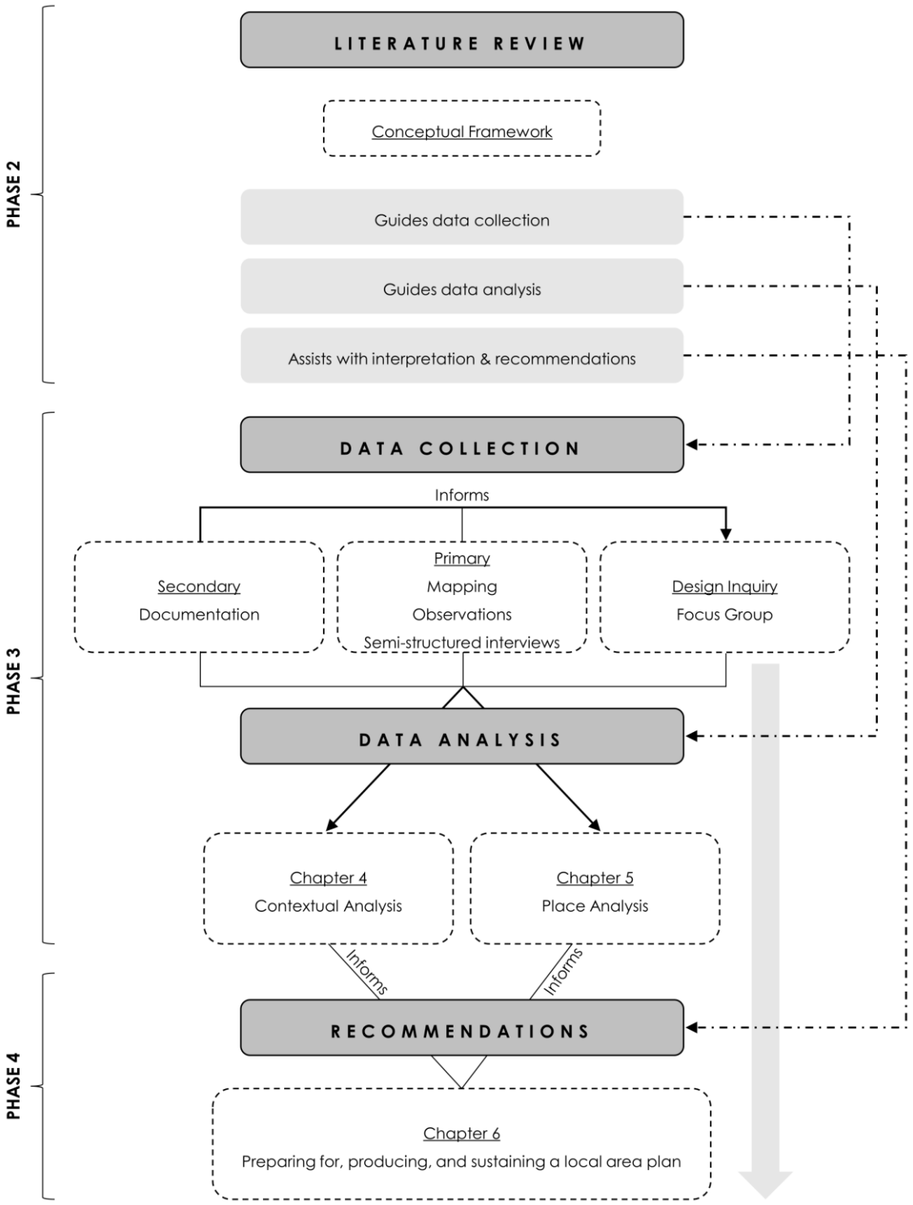

Figure 2.3 **Research Process & Techniques**

(Author's own)

project) and the Maitland Metro precinct to the west (land allocated towards a private-developer-led project). The project-focused approach to spatial planning will be elaborated on in **Chapter 3**.

Being aware of time and resource constraints, focusing on a single case study allows one to pay it particular care and attention (Yin, 2004). The benefit of this attentiveness is that the details (of the local area) allow a more nuanced view of reality (how local plans might be re-discovered and re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability) (Flyvbjerg, 2006). In normative case studies, Gates and Schwandt (2018) recommend that the researcher develop their existing views by describing the features of a case against thick ethical concepts (such as spatial sustainability) which have both descriptive and evaluative dimensions that cannot be disentangled. This aligns with the aim of this research study. Normative case studies can contribute to policy-oriented research by helping to "determine the ends, not just the means of government action" and "help professional communities [such as spatial planners] clarify, elaborate, or even fundamentally revise the way they define these ends" (Thacher, 2006: 1633 in Gates & Schwandt, 2018). A critique of case study research is that one cannot generalise based on an individual case, however, Flyvbjerg (2006: 228) has successfully demonstrated that "formal generalisation is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas the 'force of example' is underestimated". As **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 6** will reveal, by identifying the case study area within the city's urban structuring elements, there is a heightened ability to demonstrate 'the force of example'.

2.4 RESEARCH PROCESS & TECHNIQUES

This section serves two purposes. Firstly, it illustrates the logical *process* of the case study and, secondly, the *techniques* used in data collection and analysis. Silverman (2015) notes that qualitative analysis is an ongoing and iterative activity. Explaining the process and techniques in conjunction with one another will demonstrate that the research is designed to achieve methodological rigour and to allow for reflection and adaptability, which will contribute to the quality of argumentation and outcomes. The process and techniques, and how they will be documented and utilised in the dissertation, are best understood diagrammatically in **Figure 2.3**. This section will be explained sequentially.

2.4.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Campbell (2015), Silva et. al. (2015), and Yin (2014) all agree that case studies benefit from the development of a conceptual framework to guide the collection, analysis, and interpretation of data. Although a primary purpose of a literature review is to position the research study within the existing literature (Campbell, 2015), in this dissertation its other purpose is to develop themes for a conceptual framework that can be used in the case study data collection, analysis, and interpretation. This conceptual framework will be explained in detail in **Chapter 3,** for now it is important to acknowledge that, although initiated in the literature review, the conceptual framework evolved during the course of the research (Silva et. al., 2015); it remains open to analysis, critique, and modification within and beyond the study (Ellis, 2005); and the research techniques were chosen to respond to the themes set up in the conceptual framework (Silverman, 2015).

2.4.2 DATA COLLECTION

The research techniques are the tools and processes used to collect data (Winkler, 2021c). Sources of data can be primary (new data typically collected through fieldwork), secondary (existing data typically collected through desk study), and hybrid (a combination of primary and secondary data) (Du Toit, 2015; Naoum, 2007). Ellis (2005) argues that spatial planners should adopt techniques 1) that enhance site analysis and capture the sense of place, 2) that contribute to participation, and 3) that allow for the design of the elements of cities and regions. Ellis's use of the word 'design' is intentional: he is referring to the techniques that spatial planners embrace that allow them to view cities and their sub-units as three-dimensional beings, not simply as theories / processes / data. This study, therefore, utilises hybrid data collection that responds (as far as possible within the research limitations) to Ellis' criteria. Both Yin (2004, 2014) and Flyvbjerg (2006) motivate the use of more than one research technique as obtaining information in a variety of ways assists with triangulation: "establish converging lines of evidence [inquiry] to make your findings as robust as possible" (Yin, 2004: 9). Five techniques guide the dissertation toward adequately responding to the research questions.

2.4.2.1 DOCUMENTATION ANALYSIS

> *Except for studies of preliterate societies, documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic. This type of information can take many forms and should be the object of explicit data collection plans.*
>
> (Yin, 2014: 105)

To contribute to theoretical richness and to understand the milieu of the study area, the research makes use of academic writings, media articles, and existing and proposed policies and plans. These range from the global to the local scale and originate from both international and local contexts. Yin (2014) notes two important considerations when analysing documentation: 1) all documents are written for a specific purpose and audience other than those of the case study, and 2) in most instances, there is a plethora of documentation, not all of which is relevant and most of which is time-consuming. Documentation analysis, therefore, requires a strong sense of the case study inquiry so as not to deviate too far from the purpose of the research (Yin, 2014).

2.4.2.2 MAPPING & FIELD OBSERVATIONS

Mapping, the art of graphically communicating information, is a technique that is used successfully by urban researchers (such as Kevin Lynch in his book *The Image of the City*, 1960). Mapping relies on non-verbal communication and, as such, is subject to multiple interpretations (Dendekar, 2005). This is both its strength and limitation. Architects and urban designers understand how mapping, or the act of drawing, can provide insight – especially with regard to concrete phenomena – that it is not possible to verbally communicate. In **Chapter 5**, the subjective limitation of mapping is mitigated by having a variety of actors map the local area. Triangulation is not only appropriate *between* research methods but *within* them.

Field (non-participant) observations involve the direct scrutiny of phenomena (Winkler, 2021c) and provide a detailed and interpretative description of actors, actions, events, behaviours, and objects in a natural setting (TDR, 2021). Duminy et. al. (2014b) note that observation is often a good way of starting fieldwork in urban settings. In this dissertation, **Chapter 5** makes use of field observations to analyse the psychology, activity, and physicality of place. Observations were performed incrementally over several days to gauge the full nature of the setting, and results were recorded in photographs, drawings, and field notes. The advantage of field observations is that they are spontaneous, require no special equipment, and are revealing of deeper meanings. Their limitation is that they are subjective and that recording and photography require consent in particular contexts (all photographs containing people's faces were taken after notifying the subject of the research aim and obtaining their verbal consent) (Winkler, 2021c; Yin, 2014). Transferring field observations into mapping is a technique commonly employed by architects and urban designers and has been used in **Chapter 5**'s analysis.

Both mapping and field (non-participant) observations are essential tools for understanding context and capturing the sense of place in an area. Therefore, this dissertation considers mapping and field observation as two complementary actions, each performing a slightly different role in achieving the same objective.

2.4.2.3 INDIVIDUAL SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Interviews use speech and discourse – purposeful conversation (TDR, 2021) – to provide rich insight and descriptions (Silverman, 2015). These attributes mean they are useful for exploration and evaluation, which makes them a common tool in qualitative research (Dandekar, 2005; Winkler, 2021b).

> *Interviews are a particularly important source of information in case research and the extensive use of direct quotations from case actors is often a hallmark of a good case study.*
>
> (Duminy et. al. 2014b: 34)

Prior to fieldwork, four informal discussions were conducted with urban planning and design professionals to gauge the relevance and shortcomings of local area plans. During fieldwork, interviews were carried out with:

- The Ward 56 Ward Councillor to get a sense of Maitland, its main challenges, and sites of opportunity,
- Four Maitland residents to understand what they do or do not like about the area and whether they communicate this to anyone in a position of authority,
- One resident from neighbouring Salt River as Permentier et. al (2009) argues that it is beneficial to acknowledge *other's* perceptions of an area,
- One member of the Development Action Group (DAG) as this NGO has worked in community development in Maitland and neighbouring areas,
- One member of BlueBuck Projects, a property development company with ongoing and completed projects in Maitland,
- One provincial spatial planner well-versed in the challenges of multi-disciplinary planning,
- One additional participant who chose to remain anonymous (known as Participant X).

All interviews were individual and all but three were face-to-face. This provided the environment for immersive engagement and assisted with building rapport between the researcher and participant. The interviews lasted no more than an hour and had a semi-structured format, meaning that they were loosely guided by a set of pre-determined and open-ended questions, where the response of the interviewee directed the interview (Naoum, 2007; Silverman, 2015; Winkler, 2021c). This format ensured continuity and relevance across interviews, whilst still allowing the

opportunity for further insight and additional complementary avenues of investigation recommended by the participant. With the permission of the participant, most interviews were voice-recorded and transcribed immediately after the meeting. This allowed for no detail to be omitted and provided the freedom for the researcher's proper engagement. For those that were not recorded, hand-written notes were taken during the meeting.

Interviews are time-intensive and portray subjective understandings and confirmation bias (from both the researcher and the participants). To alleviate these challenges, sufficient time was allocated to transcription and analysis and subjectivity was lessened by corroborating interview data from other sources (including other interviews) (Yin, 2014).

2.4.2.4 FOCUS GROUP

The final data collection technique is the focus group. Its relevance is best understood by first elaborating on design-orientated inquiry.

> *Merely having a 'method' in the sense of a logical sequence of steps or an analytical technique … is not going to produce excellence in city planning. Planning is not social science, although it certainly makes use of social science research.*
>
> (Ellis, 2005: 142)

In response to this, both Ellis (2005) and Palmero and Ponzini (2015) advocate for design-orientated inquiry in which "analysis must yield fruits in the form of *design synthesis*" (Ellis, 2005: 140 – emphasis in original). 'Design' refers to project-oriented explorations in which case study phenomena and context are incrementally understood, their potential for transformation is explored, and the proposed transformation is critically tested and then redrafted accordingly (Palmero & Ponzini, 2015). The purpose of the focus group was thus to share the preliminary research findings in the form of an initial conceptual local area plan and to have participants provide feedback that identified shortcomings, new areas for inquiry, and undetected facets of analysis (Silverman, 2015). The focus group was comprised of the local ward councillor, a City of Cape Town urban designer (participating in her private capacity), a member of the Development Action Group, two members of BlueBuck Projects and MaitCID, and a researcher from an overseas university. Design-orientated inquiry challenges the linear conceptions of planning, accords well with the qualitative approach, and relates to the exploratory, normative, evaluative, and formative research purposes detailed at the beginning of this chapter (explorative in that there are recursive actions, normative in that a communicable standard or norm is determined, evaluative in that the focus group evaluates the conceptual local area plan, and formative in that the conceptual local area plan is re-formulated according to the focus group's feedback) (Ellis, 2005; Palmero & Ponzini, 2015; Silverman, 2015). Details of the focus group are contained in **Annexure B**.

The format of a focus group is "conducive to the examination of planning issues, particularly when multiple perspectives are sought and there are logistical and time constraints involved in data collection" (Silverman, 2015: 152). Whilst focus groups enrich the data collection process and foster more robust outcomes, they do have numerous challenges. These include keeping the discussions focused on the research topic, accounting for group dynamics and power relations to ensure equal participation, and greater logistical coordination (ibid). In *Who Knows? Exploring Planning's Knowledges*, Leonie Sandercock (2003: 67) writes:

> *Be aware of systematic inequalities and work to redress them. Pay attention to imbalances of information, to lack of representation. Make sure all major points of view are heard, and not only the most articulate and powerful.*

This quote served as a guide to the focus group discussions. Importantly, the objective of a focus group is not to arrive at a consensus or solve a problem, but to provide scope and depth to the research aim (Silverman, 2015). This, in conjunction with a clear focus group format, was clearly communicated to the participants before discussions commenced (ibid).

2.4.3 DATA ANALYSIS

> *If selecting your case(s) to be studied is the most critical step in doing case study research, analysing your case study data is the most troublesome.*
>
> (Yin, 2004: 13)

Based on Yin's guidance (2004, 2014), the data was analysed based on the research questions and conceptual framework and with an over-arching idea in mind of how it might be presented (a guiding narrative). It is worth elaborating further on the conceptual framework. Winkler (2021c) asserts that all techniques benefit from having criteria, categories, and themes that order and structure the information. These themes are incorporated into the conceptual framework which, as previously described, is used to guide data collection. As it shaped the data collection plan, it will naturally yield analytical properties (Yin, 2014). Understanding the data and organising it against the conceptual framework's themes (a process known as coding) is simple and intuitive (Silverman, 2015). Although analysis is never considered easy and requires practice to be used powerfully (Yin, 2014), the conceptual framework provides a foundation from which to work constructively. Data analysis must be rigorous, reliable, and should not just skim the surface of the research. The TDR (2021) notes that there is no uniform way of conducting iterative qualitative data analysis:

> *Collect some data, construct initial concepts and hypotheses, test against new data, revise concepts and hypotheses … Whatever approach is used, all qualitative analyses involve making sense of large amounts of data, identifying significant patterns, and communicating the essence of what the data reveal.*
>
> (TDR, 2021)

2.5 ETHICS & LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

Case study research requires a number of ethical standards. Firstly, the researcher has a responsibility to good scholarship by neither plagiarising nor falsifying information (Yin, 2014). Secondly, the researcher is required to strive for accuracy and credibility in their work by making clear qualifiers and limitations to the research process (ibid – see below). Thirdly, case studies require the researcher to master the careful and fair collection of data, attempting to eliminate all personal thoughts (Yin, 2004). Although this is ideal, it is not necessarily achievable and Flyvbjerg (2006) is clear that the researcher's subjectivities cannot be eradicated, merely controlled. Finally, the research involved the input of a variety of busy participants. Engagement suited their schedules and needs and all dealings with them were fair, kind, transparent, and professional. Each participant understood the aim of the research and granted their informed consent (including use of their name, title, direct quotations, and photographs). The participants had the right to withdraw their consent at any point during the interview or focus group process and, where requested, their confidentiality is respected. The University of Cape Town requires ethics clearance for any research that involves human participants (see **Annexure C**). The research ethics application ensures that "all researchers consider harmful impacts on their research, treat their data sources with respect, and recognise the contributions of other scholars fairly" (EBE, 2018: 5).

The most crucial limitation of the research was the time constraint with the dissertation encompassing only five months. The primary data collection was limited by both time and safety concerns, with most data collected during the day and in locations that did not compromise personal or participant safety. Although safety is an unfortunate limitation, it informs data analysis as a location or event that is perceived as unsafe by the researcher may infer that others (particularly women) may have a similar experience. An additional limitation was access to people, places, and institutions. Local area plans should engage with a variety of actors, covering as diverse a range as possible. This was obviously not possible within the timeframe and participants were engaged based on their availability, willingness, and area of expertise. The final research limitation is normalising and managing anxiety, which if not recognised as inherent in the research process, can become debilitating.

> *By nature, qualitative research is open-minded and open-ended. This approach to research essentially opens a floodgate of information about a topic and attempts to organise it in a purposive manner. The sheer volume of data and the relatively open-ended nature of qualitative research can be a source of anxiety for those new to it. In order to cope with anxiety, researchers should embrace this methodology and view it as a journey aimed at discovering new knowledge. In essence, they should focus on turning anxiety into an adventure.*
>
> (Silverman, 2015: 142)

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter justified and described the research design by focusing on the dissertation's positionality, research approach, case study research method, and the process and techniques it employs in data collection, analysis, and interpretation. Understanding each demonstrates that the research is designed to be logical, robust, and systematic. This ensures that the research has been designed to unambiguously respond to the research aims and questions, and that mechanisms have been incorporated into the design to contribute to the quality of argumentation and outcomes. **Chapter 2** concludes **Phase 1** of the research process, which can now move on to **Phase 2** in which the research design can begin to be applied.

Figure 2.4 **Research Participants (Mr. Gideon, Ms. Tembo, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Anderson)**
(Author's own)

CHAPTER 3 – LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the literature review is to understand, interpret, critically evaluate, and synthesise the literature on the topic under study in order to 1) establish a solid theoretical foundation for the remainder of the dissertation, 2) develop new perspectives on the topic under study, and 3) formulate conceptual framework themes that are used to guide data collection, analysis, and interpretation.

To achieve this, this literature review has four interrelated aims. First, it aims to thoroughly understand the concepts of sustainability and the multiplex city, and the bearing they have on one another. Both contributed to the UN's universal frameworks for sustainable urban development – introduced in **Chapter 1** and broadly reviewed in this chapter – which presented the concept of *spatial* sustainability. Next, it aims to briefly depict the current spatial realities of South African cities. These sections generate initial conceptual framework themes that are used as a frame of reference for the second part of **Chapter 3**, which aims to unpack, critically evaluate, and enrich the UN's concept of spatial sustainability from a South African perspective and in relation to multiplex cities. In doing so, it develops the conceptual framework themes and aims to respond to the research question:

What is the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability?

Finally, the literature review aims to understand the necessity and value of local area plans as a South African planning instrument and in relation to spatial sustainability and the multiplex city. The themes from this section complete the conceptual framework and are an initial step in responding to the research question:

Does South Africa's planning system require local area plans and, if so, what do they contribute?

Chapter 3 is structured in three parts. Part A concerns itself with the broader concepts and contexts of the first two aims. Part B is dedicated to spatial sustainability and moves from the UN's interpretation to a more precise, contextually appropriate interpretation. Part C involves local area planning. The conceptual framework developed in **Chapter 3** is used as a guide to re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans in the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

As both space and sustainability are all-encompassing topics that can be approached from many perspectives, the literature selected in developing the concept of *spatial* sustainability has had to be highly strategic. Flyvbjerg (2006) acknowledges that *all* research portrays a level of subjectivity and confirmation bias. Being aware of biases, reflecting on them, and not allowing them to overwhelm the research are important steps in the research process.

3.2 PART A | CONCEPTS & CONTEXTS

3.2.1 UNDERSTANDING SUSTAINABILITY

Dresner (2008) notes that a key difficulty in achieving sustainability is reaching an agreement on what we mean by the word, which is echoed by Barnett and Parnell (2016: 90) when they state that different disciplinary perspectives, theoretical traditions, and methodologies "jostle for traction" in sustainability debates and practice. Interpretations abound, however, the most lucid and useful seems to be Gibson's (2017: 3) explanation that sustainability should be understood "as current language for lasting wellbeing and exploring what lasting wellbeing entails".

Our Common Future – the 1987 report that introduced the term sustainable development (which it used interchangeably with sustainability) – gives a clear indication that lasting wellbeing entails meeting basic human needs, recognising ecosystem limits, and ensuring intergenerational and intragenerational equity (in other words, present needs cannot compromise future needs) (The Brundtland Commission, 2009). In his exploration of 'just' sustainabilities, Agyeman (2013) includes equity in terms of recognition, process, procedure, and outcome. Broadly, sustainability is regarded as having three dimensions: ecological, economic, and social (Gibson, 2006). Seen in this way, sustainability is less abstract a concept than it is often accused of being.

However, sustainability is multi-dimensional and integrative in nature (Gibson, 2006) wherein targets are "reflexive and respond intelligently to predictions in such a way as to be able to make them self-fulfilling and self-confounding" (Dresner, 2008: 172). Conceptualising sustainability as a system recognises that ecological and human processes – including social, economic, and urban processes – are complex, intertwined, dynamic, and multi-scalar (Gibson, 2006). In this way, the connections between components and how they respond to one another is more important than the individual components (King, Retief & Strydom, 2018). As it is a system, the concept of sustainability rests on achieving balance: "rather than maximizing gain through one specific system, trade-offs between multiple systems and objectives are encouraged" (Vaidya & Chatterji, 2019: 176). This understanding prompted Gibson (2017: 5) to term sustainable *development* as the "inherently entwined requirements for progress towards lasting wellbeing".

Sustainability (lasting wellbeing) is not an endpoint and sustainable development (the complex requirements for progress towards it) cannot be predicted with certainty or managed in a comprehensive way (Gibson, 2006; Gibson, 2017). Therefore, however clear the concept, because of its dynamism sustainability remains difficult to operationalise and faces practical limitations in terms of applicability in policy design (Dresner, 2008; Vaidya & Chatterji, 2019). The systems-thinking approach implies that any plans and policies that aim to guide sustainability need to appreciate that 1) there is no one prescription to achieving it (Agyeman, 2013), 2) it is a relative and place-bound concept (ibid), 3) sustainability inevitably requires trade-offs, and 4) any frameworks guiding sustainability need to allow for the unforeseen reflexive and intelligent responses of components.

Based on this understanding of sustainability, **Table 3.1** indicates the relevant themes for the conceptual framework.

Table 3.1

THEMES FOR SUSTAINABILITY	
Basic needs are met	E
Ecosystem limits are recognised	S
The needs of present and future human and non-human inhabitants are fulfilled	E
There is equity in process, procedure, and outcome	E
Complexity and adaptability are accommodated	C
Balance is achieved by managing trade-offs	E
S: Substantive criteria	*C: Criteria for complexity and time*
E: Equity criteria	*P: Procedure criteria*

3.2.2 THE MULTIPLEX CITY

In 1950, an average of 30 percent of the world's population resided in urban areas (UN, 2019). This number increased to 55 percent in 2018 and is projected to be 68 percent by 2050 (ibid). These figures speak to the fact that the future of the world's population is urban and that any preconceived ideas about cities and urbanity should be revisited. It is, therefore, worth elaborating on the multiplex city that was briefly introduced in **Chapter 1** to understand the dynamics that shape urbanisation and that gave rise to global policies on sustainable development, as well as to appreciate the milieu in which spatial sustainability and local area planning exist.

Both Friedmann (1993) and Graham and Healey (1999) note that contemporary cities portray many space-time geographies. What they mean by this is that sense of time in any space is not static but exists in variegated temporal scales. It can range from the immediacy of social media to the glacial time of ecology. Similarly, space cannot be conceived of as object-centred and bound (a container), wherein the adjacency of spatial objects can be assumed to produce relational meaning within places (ibid). This Euclidean conception of space assumes that the physical structure of a city is a *surface* upon which economic and social activity takes place, in which case the planner's role is to express the desired spatial order which would unproblematically shape human urban life (ibid). Instead, space should be conceived of as non-reductionist, non-deterministic, dynamic, and relational (ibid). Importantly, conceptions of space and time should not be divorced from one another but should rather be viewed as interlaced webs. These notions echo the views of sustainability.

But what exactly do these space-time geographies mean for place in general and cities specifically? Graham and Healey (1999: 628) stress that place is created through social interactions in space and is an "articulated moment in networks of social relations and understandings" which can cover any geographical extent, from the global to the local. This relational approach means appreciating that cities are both materially and mentally constructed (Healey, 2004); that they are subject to multiple perspectives, rationalities, and subjectivities (Amin & Graham, 1997); that there are forces that operate at many different spatial scales (Healey, 2006); that borders cannot 'contain' the relational reach of urban patterns and processes (Graham & Healey, 2006), thus place cannot be "hermetic enclaves 'uncontaminated' by the outside" (Amin & Graham, 1997: 419); and that 'development' occurs in multiple timescales and follows many, sometimes conflicting, pathways (Healey, 2004).

> *Cities are increasingly conceptualised with reference to non-territorial spatial concepts, so that apparently stable objects such as locations or neighbourhoods appear, on closer inspection, to be constituted by practices and relationships that extend beyond and stretch across any identifiable boundary … At its simplest, this shared structure of thought is indicative of a commitment to thinking of the relational constitution of objects of analysis and action – focusing on how the city works, not what the city is physically.*
>
> (Barnett & Parnell, 2016: 91)

Despite its global extent and the impetus on the relational constitution of objects, this approach does not imply that place is unimportant. Rather, the emphasis should be on the "'multiplex', socially constructed time-space experiences within urban life" which requires plans and planning discourses to maintain multiple perspectives of cities simultaneously (Graham & Healey, 1999: 629). Due to the multiplex city's attributes, it is the simultaneous source of both problems and dynamic and innovative opportunities (Admin & Graham, 1997). "A shared emphasis on the conceptual unbundling of stable, territorialised understandings of spatial objects has been the occasion for claims about the importance of cities and regions as hubs, sites and drivers of global processes" (Barnett & Parnell, 2016: 97).

This relational way of viewing time, space, and place has implications for planning. Healey (2006) reflects that the mid-twentieth century (Euclidean) planning and policy culture was dominated by urban form and physical structure, the 1970's and 1980's by projects

and regulations, and contemporary strategic spatial planning fluctuates between rejection of spatial organisation or less-explicit spatial dimensions (such development corridors), as well as a general over-reliance on static time. "These hardly reflect the contemporary understanding of the relational complexity of urban regions" (Healey, 2006: 534). Instead, what is required are creative models of planning that oblige us to explicitly reflect on 'what knowledge is relevant?' and 'in whose actions are we concerned?' (Friedmann, 1993), as well as first considering *relations* and *processes* over *objects* and *forms* (Graham & Healey, 1999). Healey (2006) provides useful guides towards planning for relational complexity and to assist with answering Friedmann's two previous questions, these include: planning should be strategically selective and consider linkages; planning should recognise both borders and cohesions, as well as tensions and exclusions; planning should incorporate the multiplicity of actors who have interests in a place (they need not necessarily be located in the place and their interests may be historical); and, in so doing, planning should be cognisant of power imbalances; and, lastly, planning should recognise interventions that either reveal or stifle creativity.

However valid the views of the dynamic, relational, multi-scalar, multifaceted multiplex city are, they too offer one perspective and a partial representation of how a city might be conceived. Similarly, whilst they enrich urban *processes* or *procedural theory* and accord well with the sensibilities of sustainability (in that components are complex, intertwined, dynamic, and multi-scalar), they are not particularly helpful in understanding how theories and policies might manifest themselves as urban tissue / fabric or, as Sternberg (2000: 265) says, "the substantive features of the object in question", which is surely one aim of theory and policy and is inferred when both Friedmann (1993) and Campbell (2012) refer to planning as the synthesis between knowledge and action. To this end, Friedmann suggests that planners (when practicing a non-Euclidean mode of planning) privilege the regional and local scales[6] as they adeptly reflect the variety and difference of locales and are the sites in which meaningful public participation can take place: "It is the specificities of place that should be our guide" (Friedmann, 1993: 482). This may be why both local area planning and spatial sustainability are substantively useful when planning in a multiplex city context.

Table 3.2 indicates the relevant multiplex city themes for the conceptual framework.

Table 3.2

THEMES FOR THE MULTIPLEX CITY	
Space is conceived as dynamic and relational (unbounded linkages, multiple scales, and varied timescales are incorporated) [Graham & Healey's 'Processes']	C
Relations are prioritised (there are opportunities for social interactions with multiple perspectives, rationalities, and subjectivities) [Graham & Healey's 'Relations']	C E
There is an emphasis on how the city works	S
Planning is strategically selective	S
Planning is cognisant of power imbalances, tensions, and exclusions	E
S: Substantive criteria	*C: Criteria for complexity and time*
E: Equity criteria	*P: Procedure criteria*

3.2.3 UNIVERSAL SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORKS

The multiplex city described above ushered in an understanding that cities and urban development could be a legitimate means of progress toward sustainability. As described in **Chapter 1**, the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (UN, 2015) (hereafter called the 2030 Agenda) is a broad and universal policy framework to guide global development toward sustainability, and its SDG 11 paved the way for the *New Urban Agenda* (NUA) (UN, 2017a) which recognised the spatial nature of development (Stats SA, 2019). As the term 'spatial sustainability' arose from the companion handbook to the NUA (UN-Habitat, 2020a), and as South Africa has committed to realising the visions and goals of these global policy documents, it is important to understand both what they are saying and what they are *neglecting* to say. This analysis will 1) promote an understanding of the value of these documents, 2) allow future plans to draw from their normative agendas, and 3) the critiques will prompt future plans to incorporate aspects that have been overlooked or underexplored.

[6] At the local scale, Friedmann highlights cities and neighbourhoods (again the term is used in relation to the scale of urban involvement) and the primary sites of engagement.

3.2.3.1 THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT & SDG 11

The 2030 Agenda comprises 17 sustainable development goals (SDGs), 169 targets, and 230 indicators (which are how the targets can be monitored) (Ritchie et. al., n.d.). They are universally applicable, comprehensive, integrated, and indivisible, and reflect a single normative position for global development (UN, 2015; Watson, 2016). The 2030 Agenda introduced SDG 11: 'make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable' and its targets which together are "a spatially organised development framework which seeks to address several interrelated issues by focusing on urban sustainability" (Vaidya & Chatterji, 2019: 175) (refer to **Appendix D**). **Figure 3.1** demonstrates how pursuance of one target in SDG 11 leads to cascading benefits, therefore, if implemented appropriately, SDG 11 can support social, economic, and environmental wellbeing.

Both the 2030 Agenda and SDG 11 have shortcomings. Firstly, in attempting to ensure all goals and targets are measurable, they display a propensity for reductionism. Caprotti et. al. (2017) note that, although standardisation is useful for monitoring progress, it assumes common discourse on 'sustainable urbanism' and can exclude spaces and people that/who are difficult to measure. This is particularly problematic in the context of a multiplex city. Additionally, perceiving the city as a measurable entity presumes the existence of a strong technically and financially resourced government (Croese & Duminy, 2022; Watson, 2016). Secondly, sustainable urbanism cannot be considered in isolation and *must* be understood in its geographical, social, political, economic, and legal contexts (Du Plessis, 2017; Vaidya & Chatterji, 2019).

> *Sustainable urbanism and the pursuit of sustainable cities must be informed not by a vision of a city of maps and statistics, but rather by an analysis of the city as it is experienced by urban dwellers, with the difficulties and opportunities that cities offer for sustaining our livelihoods and providing for our well-being. Recognising this gap between the reality and its representation is necessary, as ideas of urban sustainability … are often informed by visions of ideal cities (most often Western cities) … which do not reflect the complex realities of life in cities around the world, nor the challenges and opportunities specific to cities of the Global South.*
>
> (du Plessis, 2017: 258)

This standpoint affirms the relevance and potential 'usefulness' of planning at the scale of the local area. Finally, the 2030 Agenda calls on all member states to develop an ambitious national response for implementation and to build on existing planning instruments to achieve sustainable development (UN, 2015). Watson (2016) states that this speaks of a nation-state applying urban 'order'. By reviewing *The International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning* (UN-Habitat, 2015a) she concludes that the UN's planning approach is largely regulatory and harks back to the static, bound, spatially fixed spaces that the multiplex city approach is attempting to move away from. To counteract this, Watson recommends that planning recognise the diversity of actors in the development process (the state is unlikely to be the most powerful actor and civil society is unlikely to be obedient), and spatial forms and relations should be 'tested' in context, rather than assuming universal generalization (Watson, 2016).

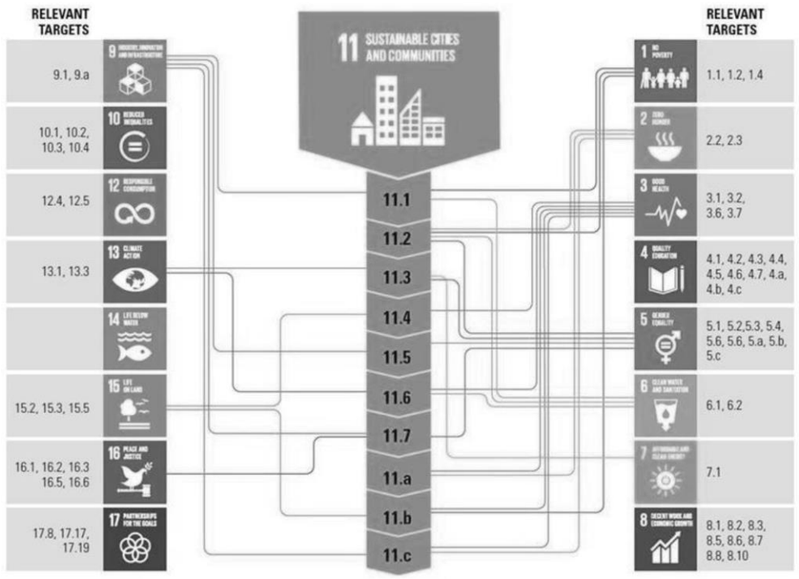

Figure 3.1 **SDG 11 Interconnectivity**

(Researchgate Source [2022, July 1])

3.2.3.2 THE NEW URBAN AGENDA

In stating that "urbanisation is an endogenous source of sustainable development" (UN, 2017a: 51), the NUA recognises that places are different and that each holds value. The NUA has the same overarching objectives as the 2030 Agenda, however, the emphasis is on how *cities* can assist in achieving sustainable development. Its main commitments are 1) to leave no one behind (eradicate extreme poverty, ensure equal rights and opportunities, support diversity, and integrate urban space), 2) to ensure sustainable and

inclusive urban economies, and 3) to uphold environmental sustainability. For a full appreciation of the NUA, it should be read in conjunction with *The International Guidelines on Urban and Territorial Planning* (UN-Habitat, 2015a), the *Habitat III Issue Paper 8* (UN-Habitat, 2015b), and *Leading Change: Delivering the New Urban Agenda through Urban and Territorial Planning* (UN-Habitat, 2018). The first document recognises that a strong legal framework, urban planning and design, and municipal finance are the enabling components of the NUA. The second focuses on the key *spatial* concepts of sustainable urban development and summarises these into 1) promoting compact cities and preventing sprawl, 2) providing sufficient public space with an efficient street network, 3) ensuring areas have a mixed use of functions and social mix with limited zoning, all of which requires 4) planning in advance. It recognises that an emphasis on the spatial aspects of planning and policy can improve the coherence and integration of piecemeal sectoral projects, private developments, and decision-making. The third document explicitly recognises that planning must adjust to its new global context.

> *Most planning systems were devised and codified in the twentieth century, before issues such as climate change, inclusion, equal opportunities, gender, resilience or renewable energy were thought about. Too often national and local governments and professional planners are using yesterday's mind-sets and practices rather than connecting to the globally agreed outcomes that planning needs to deliver in this generation.*
>
> (UN-Habitat, 2018: 6)

These documents address many of the critiques directed at the 2030 Agenda and SDG 11 and begin to acknowledge the complexity of contemporary urbanism and the legitimacy of updating existing planning instruments. By interrelating social, economic, and environmental components with urbanity, and incorporating governance and participation, the documents speak to Graham and Healey's (1999) emphasis on *relations* and *processes*. The critiques directed at these documents again include that they presume a strong state, employment growth, and financial and institutional capacity (Caprotti et. al., 2017), that they tend to want to regulate and impose top-down order (ibid), that they fail to offer concrete means of implementation (Garschagen et. al., 2018), and finally "the extent to which a proposed form, such as 'compact cities' … will lead to particular social, economic, and cultural behaviours needs to be demonstrated in terms of the relational dynamics of specific instances, not assumed as a universal generalisation" (Graham & Healey, 1999: 642).

3.2.3.3 HOW BEST TO APPROACH UNIVERSAL FRAMEWORKS?

Caprotti et. al. (2017: 374) regard the 2030 Agenda, SDG 11, and the NUA as a "temporally bounded moment of opportunity" and Hague (2018) considers them a basis for challenging conventional thinking and an occasion to inspire and legitimise alternative approaches. Despite the UN's (misguided) emphasis on targets and indicators, the documents should not be approached as a box-ticking exercise in one-version sustainability and urban form, nor should they be expected to impart concrete implementation strategies to the multitude of urban experiences, which would be an impossible task. Instead, the documents should be seen as a useful starting point to creatively explore the multi-dimensional role cities and space might play in achieving lasting wellbeing in relational, complex environments, and should encourage planning instruments, such as local area plans, to be honed to assist in achieving multifaceted objectives. Scholarship on both sustainability and multiplex cities stresses that components (problems and opportunities) are borderless, which means that there is a need for a communally agreed global policy that can broadly interpret *what it is we're collectively trying to do here*. It is the role of all actors in local space to translate this into contextually appropriate and feasible plans of action which, in the case of this dissertation, is exploring how local area plans might guide spatial sustainability.

Based on the summary of sustainable urban development, **Table 3.3** indicates the relevant themes for the conceptual framework.

Table 3.3

THEMES FOR SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT	
The legislative and policy context is accounted for	P
The geographical, social, political, and economic context is accounted for	P
The capacity of the state in achieving its aims is considered	P
A diversity of actors is incorporated into the development process	E
The specificities of place are acknowledged; thus, spatial concepts are 'tested' in place rather than assuming universal generalisations	S
Interventions are not trying to impose 'order' and 'regulation' onto an environment	P
Interventions include space and people that / who are difficult to measure	E
There is an ambitious response to implementation	P
S: Substantive criteria	*C: Criteria for complexity and time*
E: Equity criteria	*P: Procedure criteria*

3.2.4 SOUTH AFRICA'S SPATIAL CONTEXTUAL REALITIES

The spatial pattern of South African cities is mired by sprawl, separation, and fragmentation, and – despite the state's rhetoric on integration – low densities and suburban development prevail in formal areas (even in low-income mass housing schemes) (Dewar, 2015; Todeschini, 2008). These low settlement densities make the provision of an efficient public transportation system difficult, which results in large-scale automobile movement and high levels of non-motorised transport (walking is the primary form of movement) (ibid). Both cover large distances at a great cost to household budgets, time, infrastructure expenditure, and the environment (ibid). Additionally, low densities result in settlement thresholds that struggle to support (or support unevenly) social facilities and the diversification of the economy, as small and informal enterprise relies on high densities and foot traffic (Dewar, 2015; Todeschini, 2008; Montgomery, 1998). The structure of South African formal settlements results in sterile spaces (little vitality, sense of place and place-making qualities) and limited access to quality public space. Conversely, informality is prevalent in all parts of South African cities. "It is both a spatial phenomenon and an economic phenomenon, and straddles many sectors in society – housing, transport, trade and business" (Poulsen & Silverman, 2012: 121).

Importantly, both formal and informal spatial structures aggravate developmental and environmental problems, which include high levels of poverty, unemployment, crime, social and economic exclusion, food insecurity, the depletion of natural resources, and increasingly vulnerable natural landscapes (Dewar, 2015; Todeschini, 2008; Watson, 2009). These problems are reinforcing: spatial structure exacerbates social, economic, and environmental challenges, which in turn cement unsustainable spatial patterns.

These unsustainable spatial, social, economic, and environmental patterns are a result of the ideologies of modernism, apartheid, and contemporary neoliberal forms of governance (Dewar, 2015; Winkler, 2013). Modernism introduced the rational, comprehensive approach to planning which promoted the separation of land use, urban activity, and movement uses; viewed the building as the basic building block of settlement; de-emphasised the role of the street for humans; actively discouraged 'ribbon' development along corridors; and aimed to control informality (Dewar, 2015; Harrison & Todes, 2015). Apartheid extended and distorted the idea of separation on the grounds of race, so that people of colour were moved to the periphery of settlements, with little access to opportunities (ibid). Due in part to the contemporary emphasis on market-led hyper-liberalism, South Africa's spatial patterns have responded slowly to post-apartheid political change, and it is still most often poor people of colour who live on the fringes of cities and bear the brunt of spatial inequalities (Dewar, 2015; Watson, 2009; Winkler, 2013). Indeed

> *…the racial divisions put in place in South African cities under apartheid have been exacerbated in the post-democracy period as the country has opened up to the global economy, although now taking the form of class rather than racial divides: the outcome is that South African towns and cities are now more spatially divided and fragmented than they have ever been.*
>
> (Watson, 2009: 159 - 160)

South Africa stands as a pertinent example of how the planned manipulation of space has (in this case negative) social, economic, and environmental consequences.

Dewar (2015) argues that transforming South African settlements (he is referring specifically to Cape Town) requires: 1) combating sprawl and reclaiming natural landscapes, 2) promoting structural intensification in key areas along movement routes, 3) embracing urbanity, and 4) working creatively with informality. Most of what the UN is promoting in their global agendas accords with Dewar's spatial transformation objectives.

Table 3.4 indicates the relevant South African spatial context themes for the conceptual framework.

Table 3.4

THEMES FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S SPATIAL CONTEXT	
Interventions promote and support spatial integration	S
Interventions promote and support structural intensification in key areas	S
There is a logic to where structural intensification is required and what it entails	S
The intensification makes the following viable: • An efficient public transport system, • Comfortable NMT movement, • Economic inclusion (particularly for small and informal enterprises), • Social inclusion (which includes viable social facilities), • Spatial inclusion (which includes well-located affordable housing), • Accessible, quality public space	S E
Informality is creatively and positively incorporated	S
Places are vital with a sense of place and place-making qualities	S
Natural landscapes are thriving and the depletion of natural resources is mitigated	S
S: Substantive criteria	*C: Criteria for complexity and time*
E: Equity criteria	*P: Procedure criteria*

3.3 PART B | SPATIAL SUSTAINABILITY

Part A provided an overview of the context in which spatial sustainability and local area planning exist. Based on the analysis of sustainability, the multiplex city, sustainable urban development, and South Africa's spatial conditions, a set of conceptual framework themes was developed. In Part B, these themes are used to unpack, critically evaluate, and enrich the UN's interpretation of spatial sustainability from a South African perspective and in relation to multiplex cities. Part B will begin by reviewing what the UN means by 'spatial sustainability', including the actions it promotes to achieve it. This interpretation will then be assessed against Part A's initial conceptual framework. Based on this, Part B will develop an enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability that is more appropriate to a contemporary South African context.

3.3.1 UNPACKING THE UN'S INTERPRETATION OF SPATIAL SUSTAINABILITY

The concept of spatial sustainability is not explicitly referred to in the NUA, but it is frequently alluded to. When introducing it in the *New Urban Agenda Illustrated* (UN-Habitat, 2020a: 8), the UN uses the following NUA commitment as its point of departure:

> *NUA 15(c)(iii): We commit ourselves to working towards an urban paradigm shift for a New Urban Agenda that will … reinvigorate long-term and integrated urban planning and design in order to optimize the spatial dimension of the urban form and deliver the positive outcomes of urbanisation.*

As mentioned in **Chapter 1**, the *New Urban Agenda Illustrated* suggests that social, economic, and ecological value and well-being (sustainability) can be *enhanced* by guiding the physical form of urban environments towards specific spatial conditions. They term this spatial sustainability. Although given a new name, conceptually this is not a novel idea and, it could be argued, is a principal concern of all professionals involved in the built environment.

The UN elaborates further: "Beyond descriptors of the built environment, spatial sustainability is fundamentally about people and access" (UN-Habitat, 2020a: 46) and describes how affiliating *people* and *access* achieves *equity*. Broadly, access can be understood as "the opportunity that an individual at a given location possesses to participate in a particular activity or set of activities" (Doki et. al., 2001: 601, in Harrison & Todes, 2015). The UN specifically promotes access to housing, livelihoods, and public services. Equity can be understood as both a *process* wherein all groups have access to the resources and opportunities necessary to improve their lives, and an *outcome* wherein the differences in life cannot be predicted based on race, class, or other dimensions of identity (UN-Habitat, 2020a).

In the UN's version of spatial sustainability, equity is arrived at through *urban density*, which requires the following five actions: 1) growth management to encourage compact development, 2) polycentricity, 3) infill and densification, 4) mixed land and building use, and 5) partnerships with the private sector to encourage infrastructure and housing finance. These actions necessitate four avenues of implementation.

1. *Urban Legislation & Regulations*

Urban law is required to create a stable and predictable framework for urban governance. An accountable and effective spatial planning system must promote a multi-scalar approach to influencing urban patterns and forms. It must also be explicitly aimed at achieving sustainable urban development. Urban regulation includes long-term strategy frameworks (they misleadingly call them master plans), zoning ordinances, and building codes.

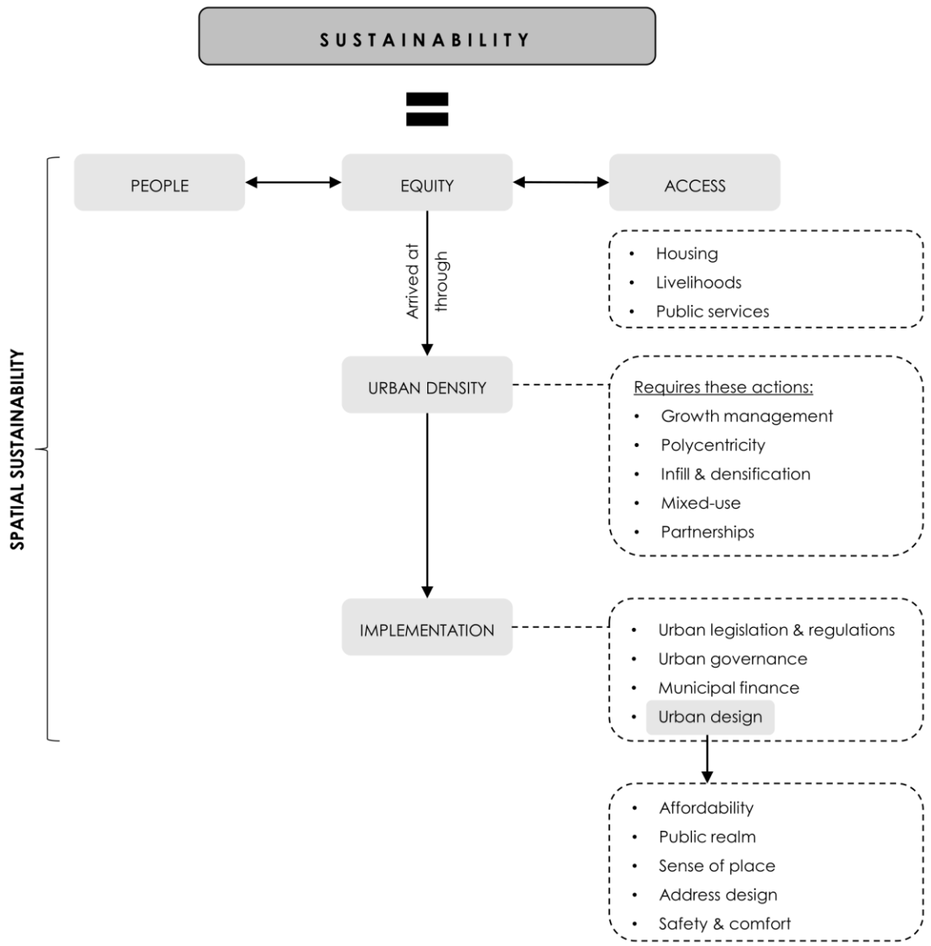

Figure 3.2 **The UN's Conceptualisation of Spatial Sustainability**

(Author's own)

2. *Urban Governance*

The UN refers to the structures and processes that ensure "accountability, transparency, responsiveness, rule of law, stability, equity, inclusiveness, empowerment, and broad-based participation" (UN-Habitat, 2020a: 86). They recognise that power balances exist and that decisions involve complex relationships between many actors.

3. *Municipal Finance*

Municipal finance involves the revenue, expenditure, and means of financing projects through the use of borrowing, partnerships with private entities, and instruments such as land value capture.

4. *Urban Design*

Urban design is the category that the UN elaborates on the furthest and contains the most overt references to (what the UN terms) neighbourhood-based planning. The UN states that urban design is fundamentally about shaping the built form of cities, the relationships between infrastructure systems and land use, and the quality and experience of the public realm. It is a critical component in achieving spatial sustainability. Despite the broad urban design objectives, they provide only five principles for urban design geared towards spatial sustainability, namely: 1) that it should be clear and inclusive and should promote affordability in new developments, 2) that it should expand, promote, and protect a vibrant public realm, 3) that it should foster a unique sense of place, 4) that it should address all scales of design, and 5) that it should ensure safety and comfort. They briefly recognise that urban design has a role to play in promoting resource efficiency, climate mitigation, and resilience.

Thus, similar to equity, spatial sustainability is both a *process* and an *outcome*. The UN's interpretation is that it concerns four avenues of implementation, however, in emphasising urban design (and the neighbourhood-based plan) they are implying that a primary concern in spatial sustainability is providing a 'good' city form to achieve specific ends (density, equity, and sustainability). They conclude that this form can enhance the ability of the environment (this term is used broadly and includes people) to achieve lasting value and wellbeing. **Figure 3.2** is a graphic summary of how the UN conceptualises spatial sustainability.

3.3.2 CRITICALLY EVALUATING THE UN'S INTERPRETATION OF SPATIAL SUSTAINABILITY

The conceptual framework themes can largely be subdivided into four categories (which interlink and interact): substantive criteria; criteria regarding complexity and time; equity criteria; and procedure criteria (the broad categorisation is indicated in the relevant tables). Reviewed together, it is apparent that the UN's version of spatial sustainability is reverting to a Euclidean conception of space, where the spatial structure of the city is a *surface* for social and economic activity. Having said this, by starting with equity, the UN is beginning to speak to the *relations* and processes that guide spatial form.

The UN's version of spatial sustainability demonstrates an erratic response to the substantive assessment criteria. By encouraging intensification, the conditions for housing, livelihoods, public services, etc. can theoretically be achieved, however, the UN does not indicate where intensification is required, what holds it together, and what it entails (stating 'densification', 'polycentricity' and 'mixed-use' provides no clarity. Density and mixed-use of what? Where? Why? What unites polycentric form?). In this omission, they 1) are not strategically selective, 2) apply universal generalisations to urban concepts, 3) neglect to define the key structuring elements of urban form, and in so doing 4) fail to incorporate the complex reality of urban elements.

This provides a segue into the complexity and time assessment criteria. Although the UN states that spatial sustainability can be achieved through many scales, it fails to incorporate any other aspect of complex, relational, dynamic environments. Sustainability

and the multiplex city validate space as multi-scalar and temporal, that urban actions have long-term consequences which need to be considered, that place and space have multiple interpretations, and that urban environments should incorporate change, adaptability, infill, accretion, and informality. None of these are considered by the UN.

What follows is a question of who the UN are including and excluding in their interpretation of spatial sustainability. Because it fails to account for informality, complexity, etc. it is implied that there is one version of spatial sustainability (and 'good' urban form) that is aimed at an established, organised version of urbanity. Whilst the UN encourages participation and partnerships, this assumes that everyone is willing and able to partner and participate, and ignores any potential critiques of tokenistic participation. The UN also stresses the *human* experience of urbanity, and entirely omits the experience of non-human urban participants. Having understood the fundamental intentions of the 2030 Agenda and NUA, this omission is clearly not the UN's intent.

Finally, there are the procedural questions. Based on the above critiques, it is apparent that the version of spatial sustainability in the *New Urban Agenda Illustrated* is motivating for 'order' and 'regulation'. This is supported by their promotion of zoning ("zoning laws should be developed to form the bedrock of urban design regulations" [UN-Habitat, 2020a: 80]) and building codes ("codes can regulate materials used…" [UN-Habitat, 2020a: 81]). Most importantly, there is their curious hard separation of urban design and spatial planning (which is included in the 'urban legislation and regulation' implementation category). The disjuncture between the two implies that spatial planning has no bearing on the more qualitative aspects of space; that it is "bureaucratic, uncreative, and administrative in nature when in fact it deals directly with critical issues of aesthetics, culture, and ethics" (Talen & Ellis, 2002: 38). Both Ellis (2005) and Anselin, Nasar and Talen (2011) lament the loss of the design focus in spatial planning and stress that a concern for design is a concern for place. It is a missed opportunity on the UN's part to view urban design as a "physically oriented search for ideal form" and planning as a process-oriented discipline (Anselin, Nasar &Talen, 2011: 197).

3.3.3 AN ENRICHED INTERPRETATION OF SPATIAL SUSTAINABILITY

To enrich the concept of spatial sustainability, the primary question is how to merge the UN's aim of equity arrived at through spatial structure with the theories of complex, dynamic urban environments established in Part A. Furthermore, the enriched interpretation must be suitable to a South African context. The questions should be less 'what physical forms promote densification?' and more 'what are the elements well-performing environments possess?', 'for whom?', 'through what means?' and 'how can these aspects be leveraged to achieve equality and sustainability?'. These questions cannot necessarily be answered independently or sequentially as, just like any sustainable system, they all have a bearing on one another.

Let us, therefore, begin at the same starting point as the UN – that spatial sustainability is fundamentally about people, access, and equity – and enhance the understanding of each. Firstly, "the phenomenon of place is in no way exclusive to human existence" (Metzger, 2014: 1002) and any attempts at achieving equity and sustainability need to appreciate the "complex, more-than-human ecologies" (Metzger, 2014: 1004) of our existence. The co-existent mingling of matter and organisms in space has been called multispecies entanglements by Katzschner (2017) and Houston et. al. (2017). This conceptual shift forces humans (and planning instruments) to acknowledge that rights and representation in systems is not "exclusively and exclusionary human" (Metzger, 2016: 584). Secondly, Harrison and Todes (2015) agree that access should indeed be foregrounded as a key objective for South African spatial transformation, however, it is a multi-dimensional concept with both spatial and non-spatial aspects. Gender, race, class, income, and education can all impact access (ibid), which means that careful attention should also be given to realising the *co-benefits* of access, including social inclusion (ibid). Nelson (2022) asserts that social inclusion can be understood as the ability to access resources and participate in normal relationships and activities and, whilst accessing these opportunities is more than a function of how they are

distributed in space, understanding how the urban environment either restricts or supports this access is an important step. This accords with Madanipour (2009: 162) when he argues that social inclusion has three dimensions, economic, political, and cultural, and states:

> *The question of social inclusion and integration, it could be argued, largely resolves around access. It is access to decision-making, access to resources, and access to common narratives, which enable social integration. Many of these forms of access have clear spatial manifestations, as space is the site in which these different forms of access are made possible or denied. There is a direct relationship between our general sense of freedom and wellbeing with the choices open to us in our spatial practices.*

The above enhanced understandings clarify why the UN views equity as both a process and an outcome (UN-Habitat, 2020a) and explains why place is created through social interactions in space (Graham & Healey, 1999). However, it also explains why there should be an appreciation of the underlying *structure* and *dynamics* of the *activities* that make up place. Unless this is understood, place will be a mere artefact that cannot arrive at either equity or access (Montgomery, 1998). Similarly, an interest in the means and production of place cannot detract from the fact that there must be an understanding of the product being planned (Crane, 1960). Therefore, the next logical step in understanding spatial sustainability is not density (as proposed by the UN), but fully conceptualising what is meant and understood by place (the product of planned space), as well as an appreciation of how it can be conceived with a built-in capacity for complexity, access, and inclusion.

3.3.3.1 CONCEPTUALISING PLACE

Montgomery (1998) contents that theories of place can be broadly divided into three categories: those with an emphasis on the *activity* of place, those interested in the *psychology* of place, and those concerning the *physicality* of space. Because there is no single interpretation of place – never mind a common agreement of what makes it 'good' – a plan cannot advocate for any one specific approach but should combine elements from all three, and should never devolve into a set of formal, universally applicable typologies (Montgomery, 1998; Sorkin, 2013; Sternberg, 2000). Having said this, even complex, dynamic, multigenerational, never-finished artefacts need frameworks "that allow for innovation, hybridization, organic growth, change, and surprise" (Greenberg, 2013: 638), and Talen and Ellis (2002) contend that planners should move beyond relativism to incorporate aspects of urban design's 'theoretical infrastructure' into their planning frameworks. What follows, therefore, is a brief exploration into Montgomery's three categories of place and what could, potentially, be construed as the theoretical infrastructure for how to make well-performing places. It is important again to affirm that the division of categories is fairly artificial as interconnections occur between all three of them.

Figure 3.3 **Jane Jacobs' Activity of Place Principles**

(https://www.pps.org/article/jane-jacobs-at-100-roundup [2022, October 1])

3.3.3.2 THE ACTIVITY OF PLACE

"Activity is very much the product of two separate but related concepts: vitality and diversity" (Montgomery, 1998: 97). Vitality refers to the presence of an active street life at different times of the day and night, and generally the extent to which a place feels lively (ibid). Jane Jacobs' book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) is primarily about the concepts of vitality and diversity, and she contends that good planning can induce (or prevent) each. Gehl (2011) asserts that there are three kinds of activities: necessary activities, optional activities (pursuits participated in if time and place permit), and social / resultant activities (which depend on the presence of public space and are typically the result of necessary or optional activities). He demonstrates that the quality of the physical environment impacts on the kind of activity that occurs and that social / resultant activities are not achieved when street

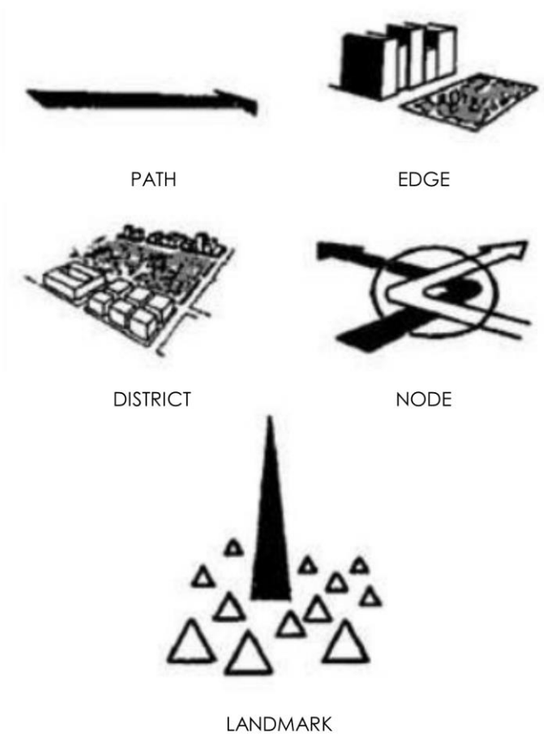

Figure 3.4 **Lynch's Elements of the City**

(Lynch, 1960)

and public city spaces are of poor quality. To achieve 'good' quality public city spaces, Jacobs advocates for the avoidance of arbitrary use separations; for co-existence and intensity of many uses within one city block to create a fine-grain quality that lends itself to a variety of people and buildings; for streets (the primary public realm) to be permeable with buildings orientated towards it; and for frequent opportunities for people to rest and linger (Jacobs, 1961). Throughout her book "she stresses the intricate mutual relationships that streets, buildings, and human uses have with each other" (Sternberg, 2000: 273). What is pertinent in Jacobs' argument is that intensity also requires variety and that in tandem they produce the pre-conditions to sustain a large range of economic and social transactions.

> *The key to successful urban places, therefore, is the transaction base, and this must be as complex as possible. Not all transactions take a monetary form, and not all are economic. Urban areas and cities must also provide space for social and cultural transactions … without a transaction base of economic [and social] activity at many different levels and layers, it will not be possible to create a good urban place. Providing the space for transactions, across the day and night, is what cities have always done.*
>
> (Montgomery, 1998: 99)

With this in mind, it is important in South Africa for this complex transaction base to include informal livelihoods, which operate as a component of the entire economy but whose activities are mostly undocumented and function 'below the developmental radar' (Poulson & Silverman, 2012). Planning should recognise that formal and informal economies interface with each other, exist in response to each other and that they represent points on a continuum of market activity (Poulson & Silverman, 2012; Roy, 2005).

By starting with the activity of place, spatial sustainability focuses on "how the city works, not [only] what the city is physically" (Barnett & Parnell, 2016: 91). Understood in this way, the activity of a place and the physical ingredients to achieve it, are a means of access and thus social and economic inclusion. William Whyte's (2003) careful observations of how people use New York demonstrates the key elements of design [or planning] is "how people actually behave, what they actually do, and how to bring about those elements that enhance the diverse use of public space" (Hough, 2013: 531). For Lynch (1981), a 'good' city is one that allows maximum scope for activity. However, there is a cautionary note in that Jacobs' intensity can be taken to excess. Equal levels of density and vitality (intensification) are not appropriate everywhere (Dewar, 2015; Sternberg, 2000). "We can appreciate her [Jacobs'] ideas about vitality when we do not elevate them into an all-purpose, single-minded design goal" (Sternberg, 2000: 273). Where intensification is required, and of what sort, is determined by both the psychology and structure (physicality) of place.

3.3.3.3 THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLACE

Each place has both an identity (an objective idea of what the place is like) and an image (how a place is perceived) (Montgomery, 1998). The image of the city is based partly on 1) an individual's and society's values, beliefs, and ideas, 2) the extent to which a place imparts meaning, and 3) the degree to which the place is legible (ibid).

Scholars such as Norberg-Schulz (1979) affirm that the meaning of a place (its spirit) can only be understood through the study of nature as a comprehensive totality, others like Geddes (2013), through local history and culture (Sternberg, 2000). These are not necessarily independent ideas. Hough (2013: 527) states:

> *Identity is connected with the peculiar characteristics of a location that tell us something about its physical and social environment. It is what a place has when it somehow belongs to its location and nowhere else. It has to do, therefore, with*

two fundamental criteria: first, with the natural processes of the region or locality – what nature has put there; second, with social processes – what people have put there.

'Localising' history and culture, however, may be problematic, particularly in complex environments like South Africa. Each place is likely to have experienced many histories, meanings, cultures, ethnicities, and experiences (Sternberg, 2000). "Urban landscapes necessarily accrue multiple meanings, as they accumulate objects referencing varied cultural sources" (Sternberg, 2000: 274). This implies that there cannot be a homogenisation of meaning and that instead of trying to achieve it, place (and the process to arrive at it) should be flexible enough to accommodate multiple meanings. It also implies that meaning is accrued across several timeframes and cannot be predetermined. Hough (2013: 533) promotes a minimal approach:

The making of memorable [meaningful] places involves principles of evolving natural process and change over time. It involves economy of means where often the less one does to make purposeful change the better. It involves variety and choice that evolves naturally through countless interactions between people and nature, providing a secure basis for ecological and social health.

Legibility was most comprehensively written about by Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (1960). He described it as the extent to which the constituent elements of the city are organised into a coherent and comprehensible pattern and defines the elements as paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (ibid). Individually the ingredients are meaningless; it is in the interrelation between them into legible patterns that the city (at whichever scale) becomes 'imageable' and can thus be used as a point of reference for inhabitants. In a multiplex city, it is important to recognise that this imageable system can extend beyond the bounds of the locale and even the city. "The planner who uses the concepts properly 'would deal with the interrelations of elements, with their perception in motion, and with the conception of the city as a total visible form'" (Kevin Lynch, 1961 in Sternberg, 2000: 272). Lynch (1981) later critiqued his 1960 work and stated that imageability is mere pathfinding unless combined with meaning (Sternberg, 2000).

The psychology of place reveals why it is so difficult to arrive at one version of what constitutes 'good' city form, for whom, and through what means. It is impossible to reconcile the multiple meanings and readings of place into one 'correct' physical form. The best approach is likely to be one that provides legibility with as many opportunities to establish common narratives as possible, which is an act of social inclusion.

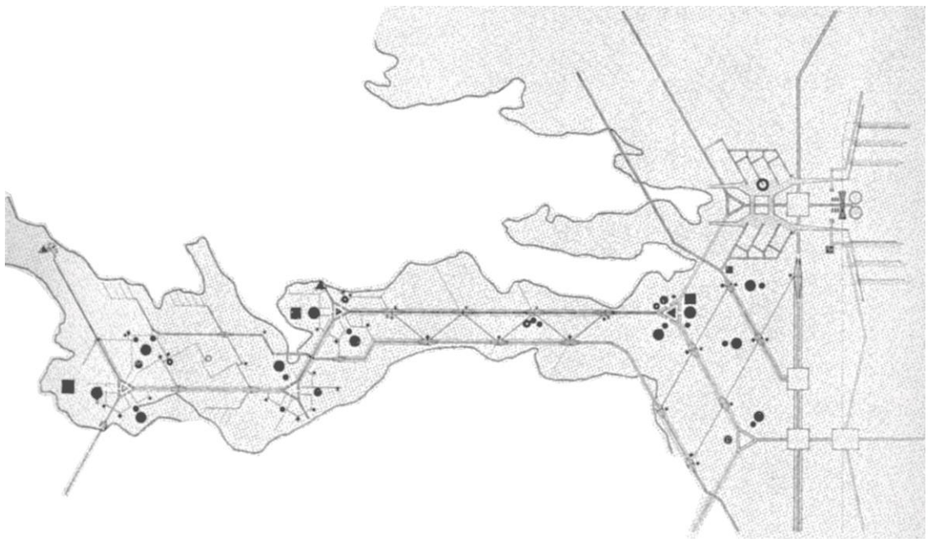

Figure 3.5 **Uytenbogaardt's Exercise in Capital Web / Structuring Elements Design**

(Crane, 1960)

3.3.3.4 THE PHYSICALITY OF PLACE

The question now is 'how can a place's spatial structure be planned and designed so as to stimulate the activity of place and the psychology of place?'. Lynch (1981: 151) states:

The fit of a settlement refers to how well its spatial and temporal pattern matches the customary behavior of its inhabitants. It is the match between actions and form in its behavior settings and behavior circuits.

Based on the requirements of activity and meaning – and seen in tandem with sustainability, the multiplex city, and the South African context – it seems logical to propose that the physical form of a place should guide rather than prescribe. David Crane (1960: 284) determined that every city should have a process of "translating generalities of city order to reflect natural differences in outward shape which should exist from region to region" which he said required "organised change capacity and permanence of structure … and an unspecific structure to permit choice and flexibility of individual usages". He called this simultaneous network of structure and flexibility 'the capital web'. Based on Crane's argument, this dissertation proposes that the physicality of place should be viewed in

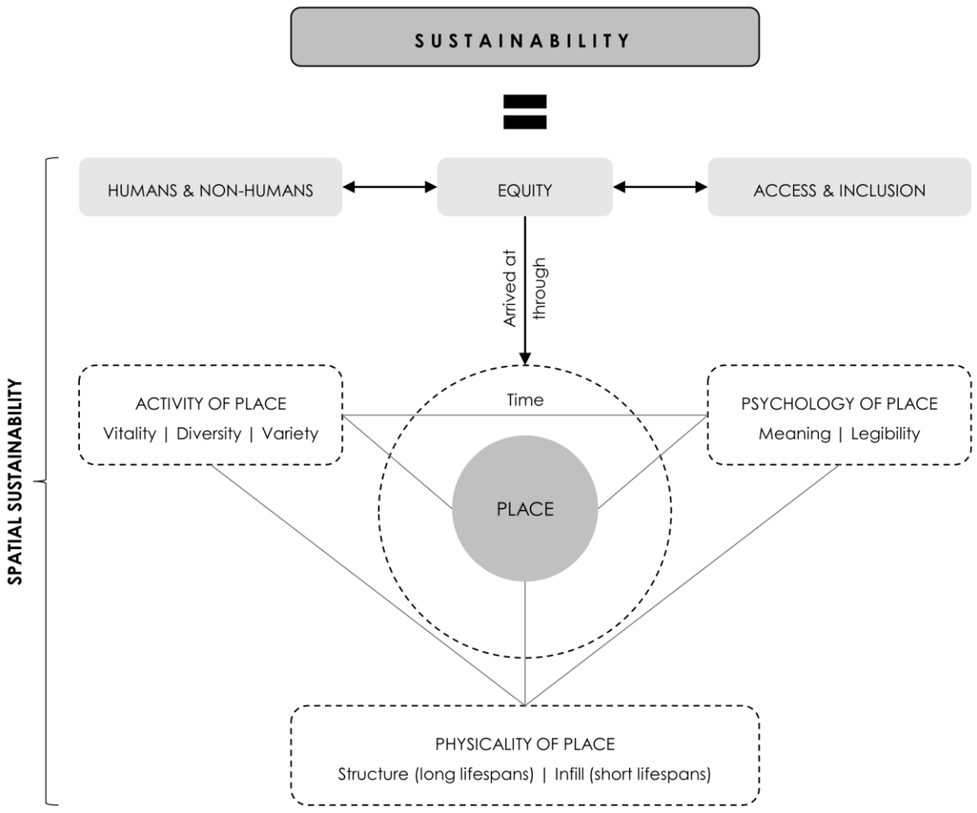

Figure 3.6 **An Enriched Interpretation of Spatial Sustainability**

(Author's own)

two categories: those spatial elements with long lifespans (the structuring elements), and those with short lifespans (the infill elements). Each will be elaborated on below.

Structuring Elements with Long Lifespans

Crane's (1960, 1964) 'capital design' is a useful starting point in understanding the structuring elements of a city. The 'capital' that he refers to is the public realm: the land, streets, community facilities, etc. that account for between 40 and 55 percent (ibid) of urban structure and that is overseen by the state (in South Africa's case, the local, provincial, and national government). Crane advocated for this public realm to be the primary tool of physical planning as it allowed for "adaptability with permanence" (Crane, 1960: 288). Montgomery (1998: 100) echoes Crane and states that: "it is important to recognise that successful urban places tend to have a more active (and certainly recognizable) public realm: a space system for the city in which meeting, movement and exchange are possible". Before considering the attributes of this public realm space-system, it is important to acknowledge that neither Crane nor Montgomery elaborated on the *natural* realm.

For this, it is worth referring to McHarg (1967) who, in *Design With Nature*, argued that it is necessary to understand nature as an interacting process with a relative value system that offers both opportunities and constraints for humans. McHarg's approach used ecology as an organising framework from which to derive decisions, which he termed the ecological planning method. The requirements of natural processes and natural systems are, therefore, the primary temporal and structuring elements, and ones to which the capital design should respond.

Having understood that nature is the structuring elements' guide and that the main component of structure is the public realm, it is necessary to determine its attributes. Dewar and Uytenbogaardt (1995) advocate for an approach that begins with the lowest common denominator – people on foot – and a spatial distribution of the main elements of the public realm (green space, movement channels, public institutions, utility and emergency services) into a broadly predictable spatial logic that creates an 'accessibility surface' (Dewar, 2015). The movement channels provide the structure of accessibility, and its pattern of points, lines, cross-overs, and grids affects the range of choices and opportunities offered to inhabitants (ibid). The patterns of movement determine the appropriate location of intensification (densities and use), where intensive activities tend to agglomerate relative to cross-over points (Dewar, 2015). It follows that, in a walking environment, these cross-over points should not be too broadly spaced. Similarly, 'lines' (such as urban corridors) are made up of "a hierarchically differentiated system of larger and smaller corridas" (Dewar, 2015: 237), with the large corridors being more suitable to fast-paced movement and the smaller ones responding to the people on foot. Within these patterns of movement are the public institutions, whose relationships with each other and the movement network guides the importance of place, its character, and locational choices (what kinds of infill and where) (Dewar & Uytenbogaardt, 1995).

Infill Elements with Short Lifespans

These structuring elements (what Crane later called 'The City of Change and Permanence' [1964]) provide the framework for the infill elements with shorter lifespans (Crane's 'City of a Thousand Designers' [ibid]). It is in this realm that over-regulation can generate tedium and exclusion (Hough, 2013) and where maximum flexibility and opportunities should be encouraged. It is also where southern scholarship becomes particularly relevant and useful. Roy (2005: 148) argues that informality "is not a separate sector but rather a series of transactions that connect different economies and spaces to one another" and that informality most often results from the suspension of order (or structure). Seen in this way, "the planning and legal apparatus of the state has the power to determine what is informal and what is not, and to determine which forms of informality will thrive and which will disappear" (Roy, 2005: 149). Kamalipour

Table 3.5
THEMES FOR SPATIAL SUSTAINABILITY
ACCESS, INCLUSION & EQUITY
Non-human inhabitants are recognised
There is equitable access to decision-making and common narratives
THE ACTIVITY OF PLACE
The place incorporates 'good-quality' public space, which includes: • Arbitrary use separations are avoided • Blocks are fine-grained with co-existent uses • Streets are permeable with buildings orientated towards them • There are frequent opportunities for people to rest and linger
Opportunities exist for necessary, optional, and resultant activities
There is an active street life at different times of day and night
There is a complex, multi-level social transaction base
There is a complex, multi-level economic transaction base
Informal livelihoods are creatively and positively incorporated
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLACE
There is recognition of many histories, cultures, meanings, and experiences (across multiple timeframes)
The inter-connections between nature and people reveal the place's *genius loci*
The place is arranged in a coherent and comprehensible pattern
THE PHYSICALITY OF PLACE
The structuring elements are the primary tools of planning
The structuring elements are predicated on natural processes and natural systems
The accessibility surface has a predictable spatial logic and caters to people on foot
The accessibility surface determines areas of intensification and public institutions
'Codes' are proscriptive or generative
The regulatory and spatial frameworks result in a diversity of material outcomes
The regulatory and spatial frameworks support incrementality and are not cumbersome

and Dovey's (2020) analysis of the incremental production of informal urban space provides a critical point of departure in understanding which forms of urban informality should thrive and how. They reveal that incremental urbanism is governed by informal rules or codes that are proscriptive or generative, which means that they focus on constraining undesirable outcomes but leave the actual outcomes open (in contrast, prescriptive codes determine or control a former outcome) (ibid). These proscriptive or generative codes enable a huge diversity of material outcomes, whose emergent morphology and spatiality people often identify with informality, but is in fact a common theme of, for instance, traditional Mediterranean urbanism. The 'undesirable outcomes' are most often related to loss of pedestrian access, loss of natural light and air flows, and loss of air space. In light of Roy's (2005) assertion, the role of the state in the 'infill' areas should simply be framing the rights of way, rights to natural light and air flows, and air rights. All other codes are non-critical and do more to constrain inclusion and equity than support it. Furthermore, Kamalipour and Dovey (2020) assert that the main difference between formal and informal construction processes is that the increment of change is smaller, while the number of adaptations is far larger. This means that the regulatory framework to support growth / development / change should be less cumbersome and support incrementality rather than end-state forms.

"Planning authorities inherently view informality as vulnerability. As a result, the first step in engaging [informal or incremental] settlements is usually some sort of formalisation" (Poulsen & Silverman, 2013: 128). Seen in relation to the above Southern scholarship, informality should not be viewed as something that requires 'fixing', but rather as an important source of embodied logic from which to derive equitable outcomes. Informality and incrementality (within a defined structural framework) also promote a temporal grain for the city, where change and flux are appreciated and incorporated.

3.3.3.5 FINAL THOUGHTS ON SPATIAL SUSTAINABILITY

What, then, is the final enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability? Spatial sustainability does not begin by asking 'what kind of physical form achieves social, economic, and ecological wellbeing?', but rather asks the questions 'what are the elements well-performing environments possess?', 'for whom?', 'through what means?' and 'how can these aspects be leveraged to achieve equality and sustainability?'. It recognises that there is no one answer to these questions and engaging with them requires an integrative appreciation of the three components of place: activity, psychology, and physicality. Appreciating the underlying structure and dynamics of place in a particular context might reveal what trade-offs are appropriate and how the attributes of the place might be leveraged to support inclusion, equity and, ultimately, lasting wellbeing. Spatial sustainability speaks of an environment (and a planning and design system) that recognises complexity, change, incrementality, and inter-connectedness. As Sternberg (2000) says, the objective is to direct attention to the pertinent features of reality to help guide practice. In Metzger's (2014) opinion, paying attention is an act of care. Thus, spatial sustainability is not the auspices of a single profession in pursuit of determining the 'correct' physical form of space, but rather a range of actors caring for a place to deliver richer and better outcomes (Greenberg, 2013). **Figure 3.6** is a graphic summary of how this dissertation conceptualises spatial sustainability.

Based on this understanding of spatial sustainability, **Table 3.5** indicates further relevant themes for the conceptual framework.

3.4 PART C | CONTEXTUALISING LOCAL AREA PLANNING

It is necessary to understand South Africa's prevalent spatial planning instruments when discussing the role of local area plans in guiding spatial sustainability. Part C will demonstrate that there is a 'gap' in the planning system that local area planning could fill (in other words, it will confirm that there is a need for local area plans). There is then a brief diversion to help clarify why this dissertation favours the term 'local area plan' to the UN's 'neighbourhood-based plan'. Finally, Part C will briefly explore local area planning in relation to sustainability and the multiplex city. This exercise will provide initial suggestions as to the contribution of local area plans.

3.4.1 SOUTH AFRICA'S PLANNING CONTEXTUAL REALITIES

South Africa has two broad approaches to spatial transformation (Cirolia & Smit, 2017). The first involves changing institutional and financial frameworks and incentivising urban restructuring, which can be termed the institutional approach (ibid). The second focuses on large, capital-intensive, state-led projects (ibid).

The institutional approach makes use of strategic spatial plans, which were introduced in **Chapter 1**. These are concerned with the planning and management of the whole city, are strategically focused, provide frameworks that concentrate on change management in complex urban environments, are implementation driven, determine the parameters for place-making, and rely on state investment to trigger private sector and community investment (the state is an enabler) (Cirolia & Smit, 2017; Coetzee, 2012; Odendaal & McCann, 2016). The primary strategic spatial planning tool is the Spatial Development Framework (SDF). SDFs are necessarily broad and flexible as they address long-term development directions. In general, these attributes mean that SDFs are reasonably well-prepared for the multiplex city context and could be used to facilitate sustainability (Watson, 2009). The SDF's concept-driven design tools are the node, corridor, and urban edge, all of which encourage accessibility and compaction (Todes, 2008). The critiques directed at large-scale SDFs were introduced in **Chapter 1**, however, it is worth reiterating that the SDF's conceptual approach makes implicit assumptions about space, economies, social environments, etc. that are seldom borne out on closer inspection (Todes, 2008), that their broad brush-stroke approach runs the risk of decontextualizing space (Odendaal & McCann, 2016), and that they fail to establish the necessary spatial detail to guide planning decisions (Winkler & Steenkamp, 2014) and place-making. Graham and Healey's (1999) critique of form-based assumptions that generalise and universalise is as relevant to SDFs as it is to the 2030 Agenda. A node in, for instance, Claremont cannot and should not perform in the same way as it does in, for instance, Delft.

At the opposite scale is the project-focused approach, which is driven by the desire to act quickly and materially in urban contexts (Cirolia & Smit, 2017). These kinds of mega-projects are usually expensive, physical, very public, and have low levels of transparency and participation (ibid)[7]. Whilst Cirolia and Smit (2017) use the examples of state-driven projects such as N2 Gateway in Cape Town and Cato Manor in Durban, Winkler and Steenkamp (2014) provide the example of the private-developer-led Waterfront project in Cape Town. Todes (2008) notes that the proliferation of these corporatised, privatised, car-oriented (and often exclusionary) projects is exacerbated by the SDFs 'looseness' and how they are divorced from the reality of their contexts.

[7] It is worth reading Cameron, Odendaal, and Todes' (2004) article on how the Cato Manor project came about as it provides context to Cirolia and Smit's (2017) critiques and demonstrates how mega-projects *can* involve transparency and participation.

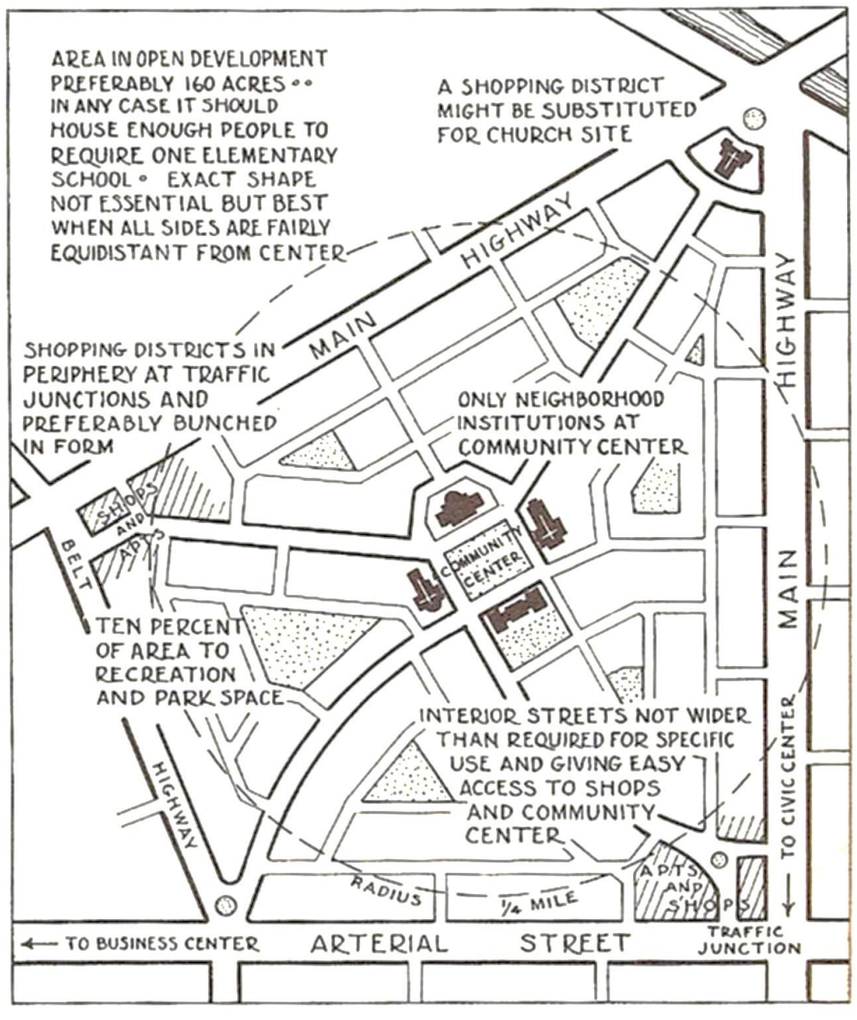

Figure 3.7 **Clarence Perry's Neighbourhood Unit Diagram of 1929**

(Mehaffy et. al., 2015)

> *There have been criticisms that, at least in the UK, this project-driven approach has allowed the revival of the master plan, but now in the form of market-led rather than state-led plans, with the architect and developer primarily in charge.*
>
> (Watson, 2009: 169)

There is, therefore, a need for a South African planning instrument that can bridge the divide between broad institutional policies – projects, and forward-plans – land-use plans; that can adequately translate conceptual approaches into contextual realities; and that can facilitate responsible and multifaceted inclusive development at a scale that is devolving either to private-sector or state-driven projects, both of which can be exclusionary. Christine Boyer (in Amin & Graham, 1997: 421) argues that there are now two cities: the figured city ("the grids of isolated, imageable, carefully designed and controlled consumption nodes for affluent groups") and the disfigured city ("the neglected, unimageable, interstitial spaces for the poor [or everyone else]"). This figured / disfigured city does not present true urban inclusion, equity, or unity. Similarly, Crane (1960: 280) states that "while it is interesting to talk 'metropolitan design', we cannot achieve at super-scale what we have not managed to do at district or block scale". This dissertation argues that the local area plan, in attempting to guide spatial sustainability, can begin to unify these figured / disfigured, and metropolitan / block city landscapes.

3.4.2 WHY THE LOCAL AREA PLAN IS NOT A NEIGHBOURHOOD UNIT

It is worth briefly reflecting on how the neighbourhood was first conceived and how it has been appropriated. To do so will reveal why this dissertation favours the term 'local area plan' and may indicate why the scale of the local area is not prioritised in South Africa.

The neighbourhood-unit was introduced in 1929 by the American Clarence Perry[8], who developed the planning and design model largely in response to the newly arrived motorcar, which he viewed as a safety concern for safe, pedestrian-oriented movement (Mehaffy et. al., 2015). The neighbourhood he presented was a physically defined unit of a precise size (about 800m wide). Civic uses such as schools and parks were placed at the centre of the unit, residential use in the middle, and commercial uses on the edge. Through-traffic was discouraged with discontinuous street patterns, which meant that motorcars were largely consigned to major arterials on the fringes of the neighbourhood. These formed hard boundaries that physically defined the neighbourhood edge and created 'residential islands' (Lawhon, 2009; Mehaffy et. al., 2015) or what Rick Hall described as "pedestrian petting zoos" (Mehaffy et. al., 2015: 210). The neighbourhood unit was conceived as self-supporting (all amenities were within walking distance), inward-looking, and promoted segregation by function, which is a central feature in 'Euclidean' land use zoning. Although Perry's principles emphasised the physical nature of the concept, he stressed that these had social implications, such as the social cohesion of the area and being able to establish a neighbourhood identity and sense of community (Dewar, 2015; Lawhon, 2009). **Figure 3.7** represents arguably "the most famous diagram in the history of planning" (Mehaffy et. al., 2015: 202). Perry's neighbourhood unit has been

[8] Scholars suggest that Perry was not the originator of the neighbourhood idea and was greatly influenced by Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement and the Chicago planners' City Beautiful movement (Mehaffy et. al., 2015), however, "Perry's writings and presentations gave the neighbourhood unit its name and helped to crystallize the actual form and substance of this residential planning scheme" (Lahorn, 2009: 113).

incorporated to some extent into forms of urban renewal, community action programmes, New Urbanism, and transit-oriented development (TOD) (Mehaffy et. al., 2015; Rohe, 2009), all of which have been critiqued[9].

In South Africa, both modernism and apartheid used the neighbourhood-unit and area-based zoning policies to design and support acts of separation: "the model of the 'neighborhood unit' or 'urban village' accorded with the urban model, in the sense that access to and egress from these cells occurred at a limited number of points, and these could be relatively easily controlled and secured in the event of social unrest" (Dewar, 2015: 233). In *contemporary* South Africa, the neighbourhood unit has contributed to gated and enclosed neighbourhoods, where for safety reasons residents choose to install gated access to local areas (Landman, 2000; 2008).

Despite its initial honourable objectives, the neighbourhood unit described above has been rightfully criticised for promoting homogenous enclaves that encourage social, economic, and functional separation and exclusion; for its physical determinism and boundedness; for contributing to urban sprawl; and for internal thresholds that cannot support the services the unit claims to, which is particularly relevant in South Africa (Dewar, 2015; Mehaffy et. al., 2015; Rohe, 2009). This version of a neighbourhood[10] bears no relation to the non-reductionist, non-deterministic, dynamic, and relational areas required to achieve spatial sustainability, and the critiques and associations may be why 'neighbourhood planning' has not been prioritised in South Africa. It also reflects why this dissertation favours the term 'local area plan' to 'neighbourhood plan' (or any variation of the term).

3.4.3 THE RELEVANCE OF LOCAL AREA PLANNING

However, the neighbourhood-unit critiques do not mean that the *scale of engagement* is unnecessary or problematic. The sociologist Abu-Lughod (1994: 182 – 183) states:

> *For a number of years I have been arguing that only in concrete situations on the ground is it possible to study the interactive effects of the micro and macro forces that now determine the fate of our cities and their constitutive subareas. And yet, paradoxically, such studies have recently become exceedingly rare. The decline of the 'neighbourhood' case study in urban sociology has been neither accidental nor due to a capricious shift in tastes or fads. Rather, there are fundamental reasons for its difficulties which, unless they are addressed, will continue to inhibit a revival. These causes lie both in the changed object (the very nature of how urban life is organized in contemporary American cities) and in the absolute unsuitability of existing methods in urban ethnography for capturing this changed object.*

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[9] A critique of New Urbanism: "Nothing in the charter of the Congress of New Urbanism, with its spirited defence of both urban and rural environments and its call for reinvigorating both local and regional perspectives, is likely to be opposed by any sensible urbanist. The controversy, rather, is over the dreary and uniform translation of principles to practice, the weirdly religious insistence on 'traditional' architectural form, the dubious bedfellows, and, most especially, the weakness of most New Urbanist product, almost invariably car-focused, class-uniform, exclusively residential, and without environmental innovation … No matter the input, the outcome always seems the same" (Sorkin, 2013: 630 – 631).

A critique of TOD: "But comfort and consumption have become too thoroughly embedded … The incrementalism of urban design … had none of their rebellious edge: urban design became urban renewal with a human face" (Sorkin, 2013: 625).

[10] This acknowledges that there are *many* definitions for a neighbourhood and how they can be viewed varies considerably. For example, see Horn's (2004) analysis of how Pretoria residents conceive of a neighbourhood, and Park and Rogers' (2015) research on how a neighbourhood can be defined by either area, population, boundary, or social constructs. This dissertation argues that the UN's interpretation of neighbourhood also differs from Perry's (see **Chapter 1**).

Both Amin and Graham (1997) and Graham and Healey (1999) corroborate this when they stress that there is a tendency to view 'the city' as a unitary or homogenous entity and to over-emphasise the mobility of people and things in all-encompassing assumptions about place-transcendence. This fails to capture the changing relationships *within and between intra-urban areas*. Both argue that the intra-urban areas are sites of central concern given that many cities are splintering and fragmenting into cellular zones (as can be seen when exploring South Africa's spatial and planning contextual realities).

> *… without this understanding of the ways in which the space-time 'bits' of cities do or do not interconnect, it becomes difficult to develop an understanding of the wider constitution or fragmentation of an urban asset base. It also becomes difficult to capture what the 'urban' means as a superimposed complex of relational webs, a complex of culturally specific representations and as a place for the interconnections of diverse circuits linking infrastructure, exchange, institutions and the materially and socially lived world.*
>
> (Amin & Graham, 1997: 417)

Du Plessis (2017: 261) reminds us that efforts to secure large-scale sustainability depends on efforts at fine scales "just as any complex ecosystem depends on the most ordinary organisms". This is why Valencia et. al. (2019: 8) state that "neighbourhoods still offer the most likely and effective scale at which to address urban sustainability". Barnett and Parnell (2016) note that localising sustainability objectives will begin to reveal conflicting interpretations of what sustainability may or may not be, which is likely to enrich development strategies toward achieving it.

Therefore, viewed from either the 'global' perspective of sustainability and the multiplex city, or the 'immediate' perspective of sociologists, the scale addressed in local area plans holds valuable potential. It is worth reiterating, however, that this potential is only released when the local area is viewed in relation to its broader context and strives towards inclusionary and equitable objectives.

Table 3.6 indicates the relevant local area planning themes for the conceptual framework.

Table 3.6

THEMES FOR LOCAL AREA PLANNING
The plan translates broad conceptual approaches into contextual realities
The plan provides sufficient detail to guide forward planning and land-use management (and decision-making)
The plan provides the necessary detail to guide place-making
The plan connects state policies with private-sector or state-driven projects
The plan facilitates inclusive and multi-faceted development
The plan captures the interconnections within and between areas

3.5 CONCLUSION

There is a new way of viewing cities at all scales: not as bound objects but as complex, relational, diverse, and evolving environments with inherent potential for achieving multi-dimensional sustainability. The relationships within cities manifest as urban tissue / fabric, which is equally complex and rich with potential and, in South Africa, has particular challenges. The enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability demonstrates that appreciating the activity, psychology, and physicality of place can begin to capture the qualities of a multiplex city, and the interacting requirements for sustainability. Although inquiry at all spatial scales is necessary, the literature has demonstrated the relevance and necessity of investigation at the scale of the local area. The literature review has developed themes in a conceptual framework that can guide data collection and analysis in **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5** and can be used as a reference for the recommendations in **Chapter 6**.

CHAPTER 4 – CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter marks the beginning of **Phase 3** of the research process, in which data is collected and analysed based on the themes in **Phase 2**'s conceptual framework. It is divided into two chapters. **Chapter 4** concerns itself with context whilst **Chapter 5** examines the structure and dynamics of 'place'. **Phase 3** is both an opportunity to verify and contextualise the dissertation's theoretical arguments and a first step in demonstrating:

> How might planners re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability?

In **Chapter 2**, Duminy et. al. (2014b) note that special prominence and interest is given to that which lies within the bounds of the case study, whilst everything beyond the bounds is considered context. Although this is an important distinction to make for the object of inquiry, **Chapter 3** stresses that human and ecological processes operate at various spatial scales (Gibson, 2006) and that cities are increasingly conceptualised as non-territorial, dynamic, and relational where the urban forces, patterns, and processes that are generated outside of the study area impact and support what happens inside of it (Abu-Lughod, 1994; Barnett & Parnell, 2016; Graham & Healey, 2006). Furthermore, the conceptual framework is clear in that interventions cannot be considered in isolation of their geographical, social, political, economic, legislative, and policy contexts. The purpose of **Chapter 4** is thus 1) to understand the context that allows for local area plans to be established, 2) to appreciate their role in South Africa's planning system, 3) to clarify the intent of and opportunity in the state's conceptual approaches so that they can be translated into contextual realities, and 4) to recognise the external forces that either give meaning to or release the potential within this local area. In doing so, **Chapter 4** is not simply an act of situating the case study area, but also an opportunity to respond to the first research questions:

> Does South Africa's planning system require local area plans and, if so, what do they contribute?

Chapter 4 moves down the continuum of scales, beginning at the global and ending at the local scale. Each yields a different perspective, culminating in a rich appreciation of the multidimensional context in which this case study and local area plans are situated.

4.2 GLOBAL CONTEXT

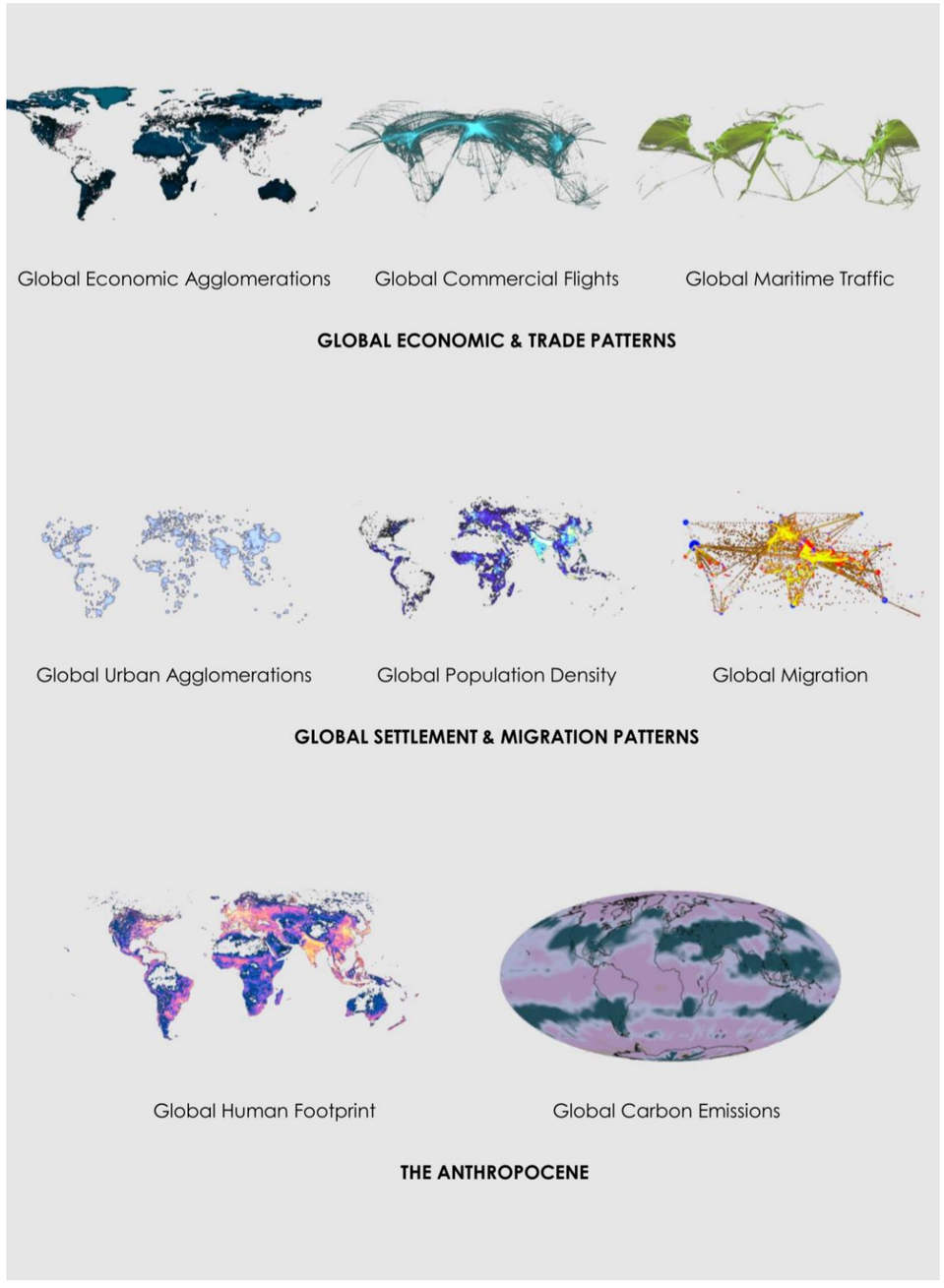

Figure 4.1 **Global Context (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on Esri GIS 'The Human Reach'; NASA 'New Night Lights'; NASA 'Carbon Dioxide's Global Nature')

The global scale, indicated in **Figure 4.1**, reveals pertinent information about the networks of trade and economies, the subsequent movement of people, and the resultant ramifications on the Earth's natural systems, all of which impact the local area.

The top row of **Figure 4.1** depicts global economic and trade patterns. The images reveal that we are in a geographically uneven era of globalism, where the global distribution of economic activity and trade is largely consigned to the northern hemisphere and economic clusters are occurring around city-regions (Barca, McCann & Rodriguez-Pose, 2012; Ghosh, 2019). The air and maritime shipping movement between these economic clusters demonstrate that 'regions' (however they may be defined) are open, porous, and are defined by their linkages and nodes in economic and movement networks (Pike, 2007), which aligns with the theories of the multiplex city. Although the Western Cape is comparatively insignificant in global economic processes, the map of maritime density indicates that Cape Town's port is an area of heavily concentrated maritime traffic and trade (Symington, 2022). The identification of the importance of city-regions and Cape Town's port implies that, if economic sustainability is an objective, any plan should attempt to respond to the linkages that connect the local area to the broader economic network, with Cape Town's port – which is relatively close to the study area – being a critical point of connection into the global economy.

The middle row of **Figure 4.1** illustrates that a settlement framework has developed in response to these economic and trade patterns, which is what SDG 11 is responding to. The final map in the row gives insight into global migration patterns between 2010 and 2015, in which the blue dots indicate positive and the red dots negative nett migration (World Economic Forum, 2016). It is apparent that during this period South Africa experienced significant positive nett migration (ibid). Migration is a universal vehicle for facilitating the exchange of ideas, culture, money, and goods and is a major contributor to globalisation (Davis et. al., 2013). It follows that migration contributes to the complexity of place, the significance of which will become apparent in **Chapter 5**.

The bottom row of **Figure 4.1** reveals the impact of people and products in perpetual motion, which has been so profound that it has ushered in a new epoch that scientists call the Anthropocene, which is "characterised by humans as a force shaping nature" (Collar, Dempsey & Sunberg, 2015: 322). The Anthropocene is an unpredictable context, constrained by climate breakdown, degraded natural systems, accumulating chemicals and waste, and resource scarcity, the effects of which will be significantly borne out in cities and are experienced acutely by the poor (LePan, 2020; UNEP, 2021). The images clearly indicate that the previously described networks and agglomerations are the direct drivers of carbon emissions and significantly threaten natural systems. These findings give credence to the objectives of the SDGs and global sustainability policy documents introduced in **Chapter 3** and are why local area plans need to be premised on the needs of the area's natural systems.

The above information makes clear why Africa's Agenda 2063 (African Union Commission, 2015) identifies their first aspiration as a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development, in which Africa has the means and resources to drive its own development whilst maintaining the long-term stewardship of its resources (ibid).

4.3 NATIONAL & PROVINCIAL CONTEXT

The Constitution is the supreme law of South Africa. "The constitutional objectives, duties, and status of municipalities unequivocally speaks to development" (Du Plessis, 2017: 249). However, this development must respect citizens' fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution's Bill of Rights and be facilitated by the sphere of government with the relevant competency (Constitution, 1996). This has two implications for local area planning. Firstly, it is constitutionally obligated to foster conditions to facilitate rights such as equality; human dignity; freedom of expression, movement, and trade; access to housing, healthcare, and education; and a protected environment where ecologically sustainable development is ensured. Secondly, realising any of the objectives and rights within a local area lies within the competency of all three spheres of government, not just the local government tasked with creating the plan. In Maitland, over 20% of the study area and significant tracts of land bordering it is comprised of various public sector land holdings (refer to **Figure 4.2**). Although clause 41(h) of the Constitution requires cooperation amongst spheres of government, the case study reveals that this is not easily achieved. A research participant affiliated with the anticipated Maitland LSDF – which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter – gives two examples of the difficulties in inter-governmental cooperation. The first refers to the City's discussions with national government in negotiating possible land swaps of under-utilised state land in the area. National government's response was, essentially, that they had prior claim to the land and were thus uninterested in further negotiations (Interview, Participant X, 22 August 2022). The research participant viewed this lack of cooperation as a significant hurdle in the development of a revised Maitland LSDF and as a stance that reinforced apartheid planning (ibid). The second example is regarding the western approach to Maitland, which is characterised by vast tracts of sterile land owned and operated by the Transnet National Ports Authority. Responding meaningfully to this area in the anticipated Maitland LSDF is a challenge due to the lack of communication from Transnet, who view the sharing of plans with local government as a courtesy only and one which they are not willing to perform (ibid). The inference is that it is not only the anticipated Maitland LSDF that will be impacted but also Transnet's plans, which are unlikely to be realistic or achievable without local government input (ibid).

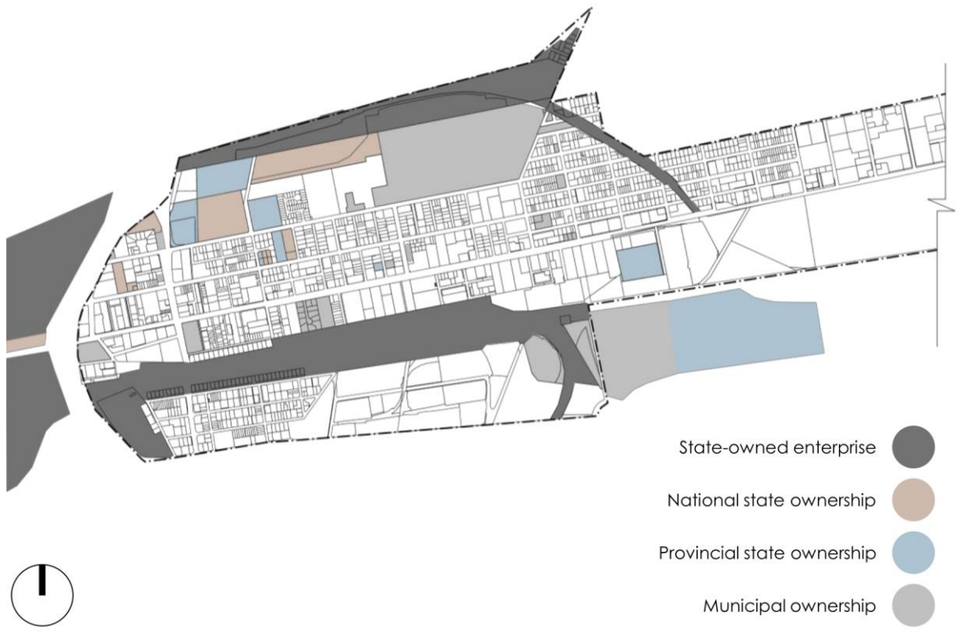

Figure 4.2 **Public Land Holdings In & Around Maitland (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on CoCT, 2021)

What is implied is that the success of a local area plan (and, by implication, achieving the objectives of the Constitution's Bill of Rights) can be constrained rather than supported by the architecture of government. A necessary role for local area planning is, therefore, fostering conditions for cooperative intergovernmental relationships, which may explain why Graham and Healey (1999) in **Chapter 3** recommend first considering *relations* and *processes* over *objects* and *forms*.

SPLUMA mandates the national, provincial, and local spheres of government to prepare SDFs to achieve inclusive, developmental, equitable, and efficient spatial planning and to provide a level of certainty in a uniform, recognizable, and comprehensive system of spatial planning (SPLUMA, 2013). SPLUMA importantly defines five principles that must be incorporated into all levels of spatial planning, namely spatial justice, efficiency, spatial resilience, good administration, and spatial sustainability (ibid). SPLUMA's interpretation of spatial sustainability does not directly accord with either the UN's interpretation or the one developed in this dissertation. SPLUMA's version speaks more to ensuring that spatial planning and land use management is achievable, affordable, consistent, and guides sustained urban form, land markets, and viable communities. However, the definition of spatial sustainability developed in this dissertation incorporates aspects from all five principles, therefore, any local area plan conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability should be able to reliably demonstrate that it aligns with SPLUMA's principles.

At the national level, the National Development Plan (NDP) is South Africa's comprehensive plan for national development with the goal being to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality (National Planning Commission, 2012). What is significant is that the NDP recognises that progress is multidimensional and requires spatial transformation across *all* geographic scales and with the collaboration of many actors (ibid), which reinforces the necessity for local area planning. The NDP's Chapter 8 deals with transforming settlements and the national space economy. It recognises networks, location-specific approaches, and priority precincts (ibid). The recognition

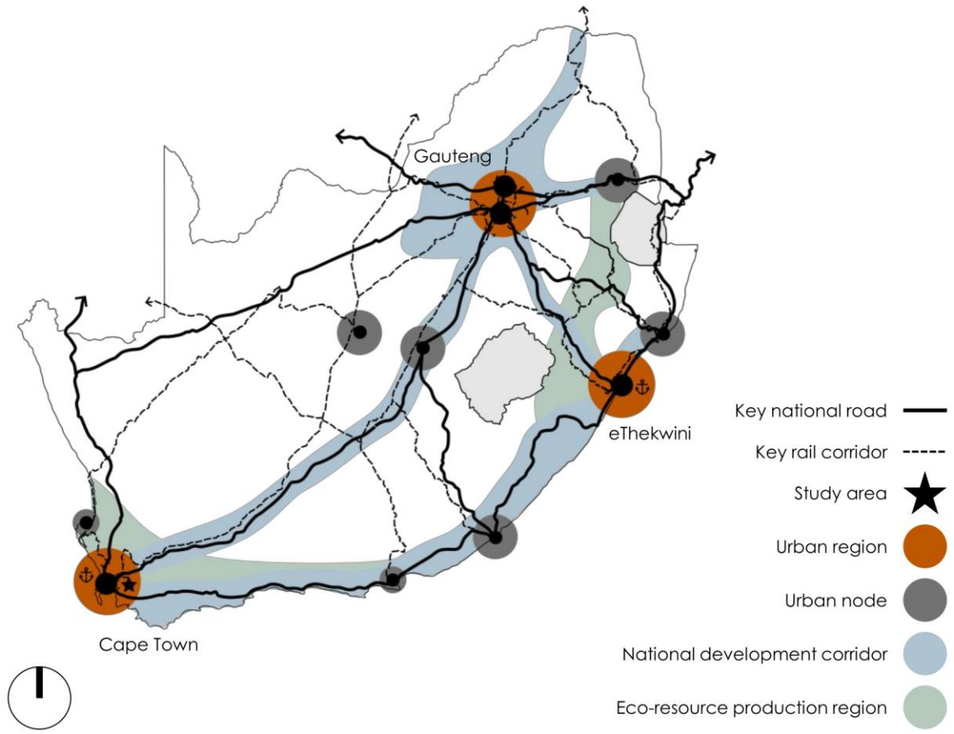

Figure 4.3 **National Context (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on NSDF fig. 39, 41, 44, 45 [DRDLR & DPME, 2019])

of priority precincts at a national level is important as it sets up the framework for Integration Zones (IZs) at a city-scale which, as will be demonstrated later in the chapter, is significant for local area planning.

The Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) is the national government's urban policy to guide the future growth and management of urban areas. It responds to SDG 11 and the NDP's chapter 8, and calls for urban growth that is compact, connected, and coordinated (CoGTA, 2016a; CoGTA, 2016b). The IUDF's policy levers 3 and 7 are particularly important as they call for the effective use of urban design that prioritises social facilities, public spaces, and green infrastructure, and for empowered, active communities to be a part of urban development processes (ibid). Because of the requirements in these policy levers, the IUDF documents "are aligned in their mention of the local scale and on focusing on the project local area or human level" (IUDF, 2018).

The national spatial development framework (NSDF) gives spatial expression to the NDP and sets out to achieve spatial outcomes premised on networks of urban nodes and development anchors, national corridors and movement infrastructure systems (with rail being a priority), productive rural regions, and well-protected and managed ecological infrastructure (DRDLR & DPME, 2019). The NDP's vision is depicted in **Figure 4.3**. Maitland lies within the nationally significant urban region of Cape Town; at the intersection of the N2's coastal growth and development corridor, the N1's national development corridor, and key rail corridors; and within an eco-resource production and livelihood region, which requires natural resources to be cherished and restored (ibid).

At the provincial level, the Western Cape Government's provincial spatial development framework's (PSDF) spatial logic is underpinned by the province's unique natural resource asset base; legible, diverse, and unique settlement form; vibrant regional growth nodes; and the hierarchical inter-settlement space-economy that unites them (WCG, 2014), which is depicted in **Figure 4.4**. Both **Figure 4.3** and **Figure 4.4** demonstrate that Maitland is positioned at the confluence of highly strategic natural systems, network systems, and settlement systems with local, regional, and national importance. The spatial frameworks suggest that a local area plan conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability would need to respond to these dynamic linkages.

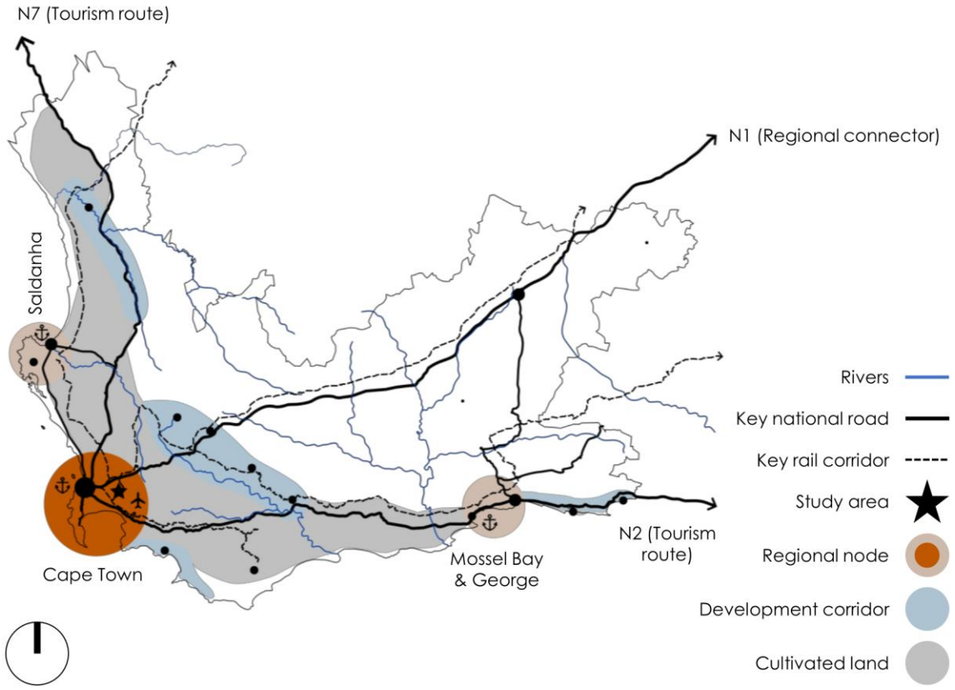

Figure 4.4 **Provincial Context (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on PSDF fig. 26, 38, 39, 58, 59 [WCG, 2014])

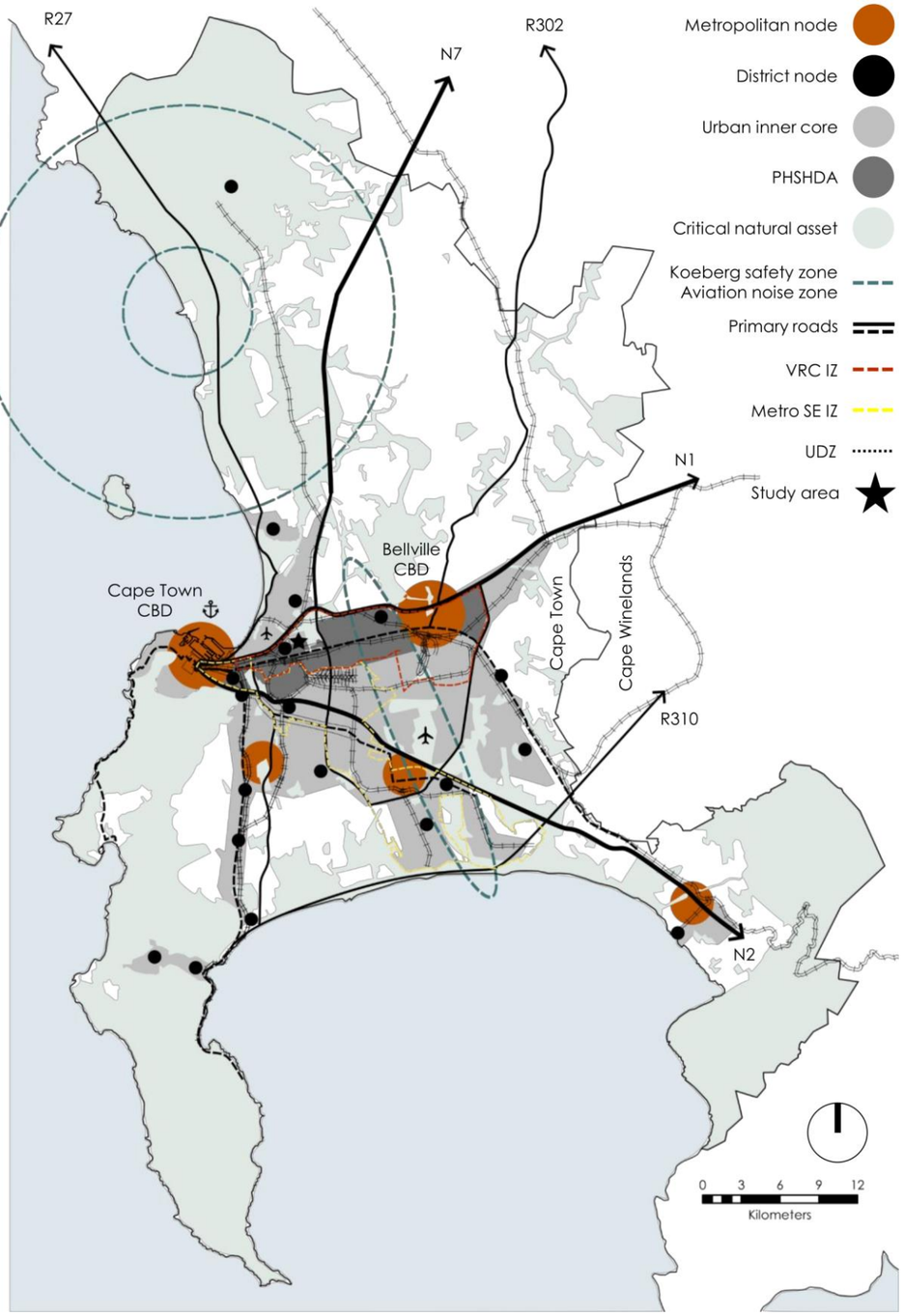

Figure 4.5 **City Context (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on maps 3.3, 4.1, 5a, 5b, 5d, diagram 4c [CoCT, 2022b]; diagram E2 [CoCT, 2022c]; CoCT Open Data, 2022)

4.4 CITY CONTEXT

The city is the scale at which policy design and implementation becomes more feasible than at the national and provincial levels (Du Plessis, 2017). Both the Municipal Systems Act (MSA, 2000) and SPLUMA (2013) require local government to prepare municipal spatial development frameworks (MSDFs) as a core part of their integrated development plan (IDP) (DALRRD, 2017). The City of Cape Town's IDP is the central strategy that communicates the City's long-term vision and how it plans to achieve it (CoCT, 2022a). During this dissertation, the City of Cape Town released its IDP for the 2022 to 2027 term of office. It is premised on six priorities, namely economic growth, safety, basic services, housing, transport, and public space / environment / amenities (ibid). The IDP identifies three spatial strategies to achieve these priorities: 1) plan for employment and improve accessibility and access to economic opportunities; 2) build an inclusive, integrated, and vibrant city; and 3) manage urban growth and create a balance between urban development and environmental protection (ibid). An important new addition to the 2022 IDP's implementation plan is the inclusion of a table indicating how the City's objectives contribute to achieving the SDGs, meaning that the City of Cape Town's policy is concerned with aligning with the objectives of the universal development frameworks presented in **Chapter 3**.

The City's concomitant draft 2022 MSDF has the same vision and spatial strategies as the IDP and notes that an imperative to achieving the spatial strategies is the concept of transit-oriented development[11] (TOD), which requires land use intensification (densification and diversification) framed by development corridors, a system of metropolitan and district-scaled nodes, and an integrated and affordable transport network comprising public transport (PT), non-motorised transport (NMT), and travel demand management[12] (CoCT, 2022b; CoCT, 2022c; TDA, 2018). The City's spatial vision is depicted in **Figure 4.5**. The broadness of the node-corridor concept was referred to in **Chapter 1** and **Chapter 3**; however, the value of the city scale and draft 2022 MSDF is in seeing the relational links and hierarchy of the components of the city, in identifying the areas that are strategic to achieving spatial integration, and in managing where to invest finite resources. In other words, the MSDF manages trade-offs, which is identified as necessary in the conceptual framework.

It is because of the TOD approach that the City's spatial intent is best understood when the draft 2022 MSDF is scrutinised in tandem with the integrated transport plan (ITP) (TDA, 2018). The networked system of nodes and corridors determines the location of the City's spatial transformation areas (STAs), which are areas that are the focus of government and private sector interventions, services, and infrastructure (CoCT, 2022b). Maitland falls within the urban inner core, in which land use, population, and employment intensification and diversification are encouraged, a wide variety of affordable housing is required, and where public expenditure and other capital investments are prioritised (CoCT, 2022b; CoCT, 2022c).

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[11] "TOD is an approach to development that focuses land uses around transit stations or within a transit corridor. It is typically characterised by: its strategic location around public transport; transportation choices that promote PT and NMT; a mix of land uses that promote multi-directional travel demand and shorter average travel distances; moderate to high density; pedestrian orientation / connectivity; reduced parking; high quality design, including of public space" (TDA, 2018: 229). **Chapter 3** revealed that TOD incorporates aspects of Perry's contested neighbourhood-unit concept.

[12] The 2022 draft MSDF retains the rail network as a critical city structuring element but acknowledges that any further deterioration of the rail system, or lack of implementation of measures to enhance the rail system, will require a re-think of transport infrastructure in the city (CoCT, 2022b). The current state of Maitland's stations is referred to in **Chapter 5**.

As previously mentioned, the NDP requires cities to identify priority precincts. To be eligible for additional national grants[13], a city is required to implement a built environment performance plan (BEPP) (National Treasury, 2017). The purpose of a BEPP is to assist with the *implementation* of planning intentions by aligning practical programmes of action, built environment grants, and inter-governmental coordination. The BEPP process recommends that integration zones (IZs) are defined and prioritised within a city's urban network (ibid). IZ's are intended to direct and integrate the planning, budgeting, and investment across all sector departments and catalyse private investment (ibid). To do so, they require area-based solutions (ibid).

> *Within this targeted policy, planning, budgeting, and urban management context the integration zone is conceived as the link between citywide (urban network) and local area (precinct) planning.*
>
> (National Treasury, 2017: 4)

Therefore, in the context of a city's BEPP, a local area plan is seen as a critical means of implementing the spatial objectives of the MSDF. Two aspects of this are important. Firstly, the local government is capacitated to undertake local area plans only by means of national government grants (in other words, in most instances embarking on a local area planning process is beyond the financial means of a local government). Secondly, the BEPP's use of the IZ suggests that local area plans are not required everywhere and local government should be strategically selective in where they are identified and implemented. Both the capacity of the state and the necessity to be strategically selective are themes in the conceptual framework. In Cape Town, the Voortrekker Road Corridor (VRC) – within which Maitland is situated – has been identified as an IZ. The VRC is anchored by the Cape Town CBD node to the west and the Bellville CBD node to the east.

> *The Voortrekker Road Corridor IZ … is home to the key business districts of Bellville, Maitland, Parow, Goodwood, and Salt River … It does not, however, reflect the same socio-economic profile of the Metro South-East IZ. It has been negatively impacted by urban decay and is in need of structured management approaches to support and stimulate investment and re-investment in the corridor. There is an abundance of opportunity to optimise land use in support of transit investments and intensify development to serve the diverse community residential and commercial needs. The availability, and increase in supply, of affordable rental stock is recognised as one of the key levers towards integration and renewal of the corridor.*
>
> (CoCT, 2022c: 67)

What is pertinent is that a local area plan arises from a national objective (in the NDP) being incorporated into a city policy (the BEPP) and planning instrument (the IZ) that is funded through national grants. This demonstrates a complex intermingling of time and scales, which reinforces **Chapter 3's** theoretical argument that space manifests itself through process, an understanding of (policy) context, and should be conceived of as dynamic and relational. Although the institutional landing of IZs was approved in 2014, officials are only now beginning to understand their relevance (Interview, Participant X, 22 August 2022).

This implies that an MSDF should not be perceived and promoted as a policy document that can give concrete guidance on physical form (which is what the critiques in **Chapter 1** and **Chapter 3** require from it), but rather as a useful and strategic document to identify and leverage opportunities, which is the fundamental objective of the institutional planning approach introduced in **Chapter 3**. However, the IZ example also demonstrates that the benefit of the institutional approach becomes tangible only when enacted through a complimentary planning instrument such as a local area plan. What the IZ – local area plan structure also reveals is that

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[13] Such as the Integrated City Development Grant (ICDG), Urban Settlements Development Grant (USDG), Human Settlements Development Grant (HSDG), Public Transport Infrastructure Grant (PTIG), and Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant (NDPG) (National Treasury, 2017).

urban tissue does not 'magically' develop but is rather born from a long and largely invisible process of plans and policy intervention, which is what Ryan Fester from the Development Action Group meant when he said:

> *Sometimes certain things happen decades before that will allow a building to be built.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Fester, 11 August 2022)

In her efforts to quantitively assess urban-scale social inclusion in Cape Town, Nelson (2022) uses the indicators of land use composition, transport, street network configuration, and socio-economic factors to arrive at four 'types' of local area, ranging from higher to lower accessibility and inclusion (see **Figure 4.6**). Nelson's research findings quantitively demonstrate that the VRC is the most accessible sub-metropolitan area of the city. It is this accessibility that earmarked it as an IZ as well as a Prioritised Human Settlement and Housing Development Area (PHSHDA) and Urban Development Zone (UDZ). PHSHDAs were declared by the Minister of Human Settlements to achieve sustainable human settlements "through a process of intergovernmental cooperation, integrated planning, and coordinated programmed implementation aimed at fast tracking housing delivery" (Urban Dynamics, 2022). They attract "a significant portion of public funding" (PHSHDAs, 2020). A UDZ is a tax incentive zone in which taxpayers are eligible to claim deductions with the view to encouraging investment in certain types of property (SARS, 2022). The UDZ incentive is set to expire by the end of March 2023. In the draft MSDF, Maitland is defined as both a district node and a transport accessible precinct (TAP), in which catalytic TOD projects are encouraged, and road improvements and a class 3 cycle route are expected (CoCT, 2022b; TDA, 2018). Building densities are required to be between 250 – 375 du/ha in developments of 4 to 15 storeys in height (CoCT, 2013).

The analysis of the city context shows that a local area plan is a necessary instrument for integration, coordination, and implementation and to release the potential embedded in strategic spatial plans. In other words, it is required to translate broad conceptual approaches into contextual realities, which is a theme identified in the conceptual framework. The city context also demonstrates that the study area is key to the City's spatial strategy and is ripe for a local area plan. In it, there should be a focus on design, policy, and collaboration mechanisms that facilitate inclusive intensification and diversification, support various modes of transit, stimulate economic investment, allow for a variety of affordable housing options, and assist with multi-sector engagement.

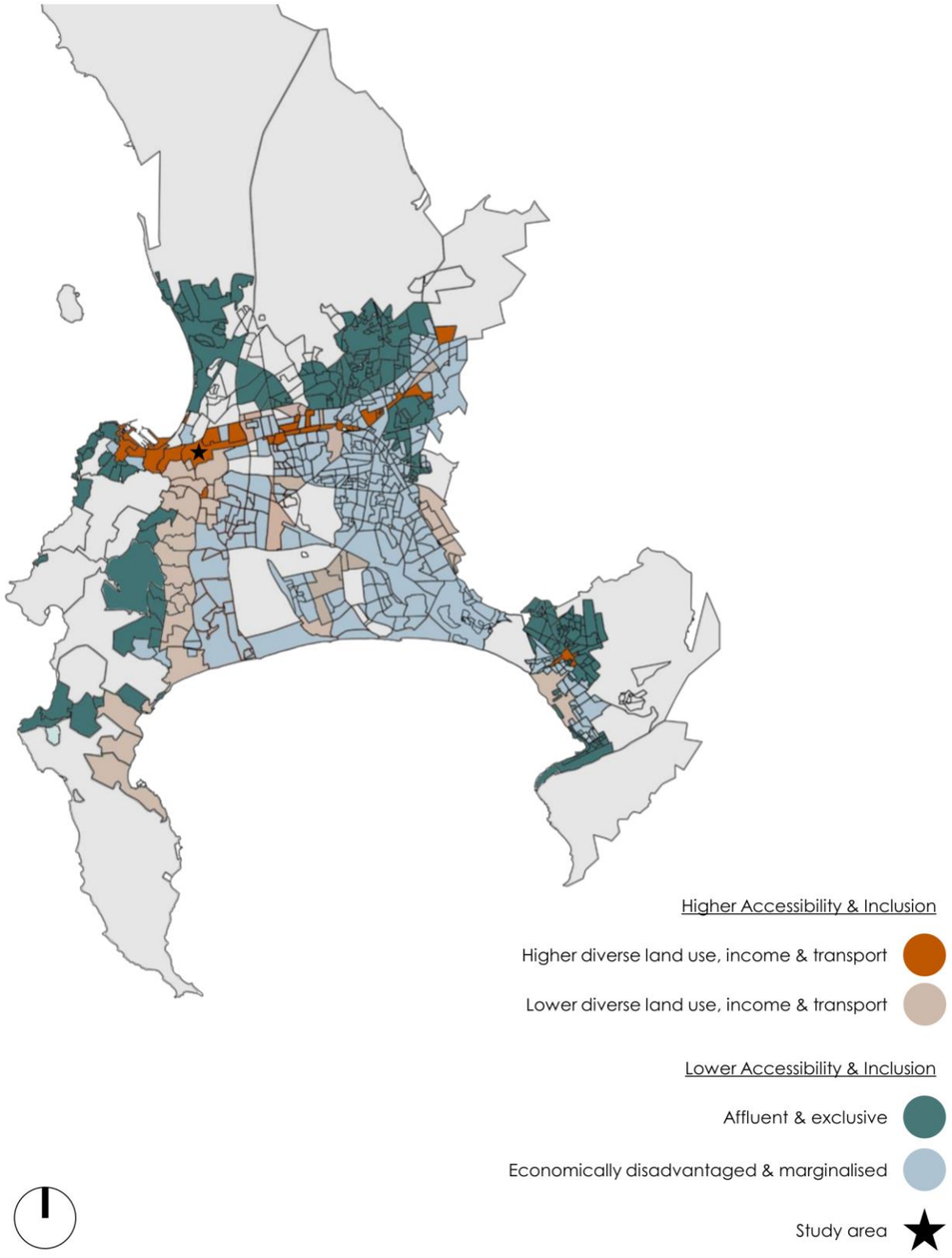

Figure 4.6 **Mean City Accessibility & Inclusion by Official Suburb (NTS)**

(Author's own, adapted from Nelson, 2022; CoCT Open Data, 2022)

4.5 DISTRICT CONTEXT

The study area falls within the Table Bay District, which covers an extent of 113 km², is the economic heart of the city, and houses the oldest urban centre in the province (CoCT 2022d; CoCT, 2022e). The Table Bay draft integrated district spatial development framework and environmental management framework (DSDF and EMF) is the medium-term plan for the district (CoCT, 2022e). The purpose of the DSDF and EMF is to guide decision-making and private investment and to set an agenda for implementation and coordinated interventions (ibid). Despite this, Shaun Reznick of BlueBuck Projects – the property company developing the Maitland Metro precinct (elaborated on in **Chapter 5**) – confirmed that his company was unaware of the MSDF and DSDF when they purchased property in Maitland (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022). Their decision to purchase in the area was based, in part, on reasonable land prices and the property's zoning (ibid). Thus, if aiming to guide private investment, an important role for an SDF is to be able to influence land-use management and decision-making (a theme in the conceptual framework).

> *Maitland's a big suburb. So what does that mean, like to have Maitland mentioned, or even Bellville mentioned, the city bowl, the CBD? You can focus into or define that but, like, what does it mean that Maitland is mentioned in that thing [an SDF]? Is it this [the Maitland Metro] node, is it the train station, is it the suburban area close to the school? … I'm a bit unsure of how it's going to actually develop into something that is tangible, that is useful, from that spatial development framework level.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

The draft DSDF and EMF's spatial vision and spatial strategies are aligned with the 2022 IDP and draft MSDF, and it uses the same terminology such as 'intensification', 'diversification', and 'inclusion', however, it provides a greater level of insight and detail into the surrounds of the study area and explicitly incorporates environmental requirements and restrictions.

Whilst the MSDF locates the study area within the urban inner core and metro-scale VRC, the draft DSDF and EMF narrows the focus within these 'zones' to Development Focus Areas (DFAs), which are areas with the highest level of accessibility and highest possibility for transformative impacts (CoCT, 2022e; CoCT, 2022f). The CBD, foreshore and port, District Six, Victoria Road Corridor, and Maitland have all been identified as DFAs (ibid) (see **Figure 4.7**).

> *These are targeted areas for urban restructuring that have the highest potential spatial transformative impact (i.e., addressing issues of spatial fragmentation, inefficient urban form, and segregation by integrating communities and increasing opportunities to a greater number of people in highly connected areas) where dedicated budget, planning, or investment is and should be prioritised to facilitate development.*
>
> (CoCT, 2022f: 34)

Maitland has also been identified as a district node and Wingfield a future node[14]. Nodes are clusters of higher intensity due to good accessibility, exposure, convenience, and opportunity (ibid). The district-wide development corridor guidelines and nodal guidelines define nodes as the areas within the corridor that need to have articulated densities, a mix of land use intensification in medium to high-density buildings of 3 to 4 storeys, and initiatives to support informal and formal commercial development and enterprise (including micro-enterprise)[15] (ibid).

Table Bay district is already well-developed, so opportunities for development are geared toward strategic infill and brownfield development, both of which contribute towards a more compact, efficient urban form. The draft MSDF calls these under-utilised land parcels 'New Development Areas' (CoCT, 2022b), and there are a number of them in the study area. Similarly, the study area is surrounded by 'Catalytic Land Development Areas', which are tracts of state-owned land "that present significant opportunities to advance spatial transformation" (CoCT, 2022e: 71), although the difficulties in releasing this land for development was highlighted in the national and provincial contextual analysis. **Figure 4.7** identifies three of the catalytic human settlement and road projects that are either envisioned or being enacted in and around the study area.

It is at the district scale that demographic data can begin to contribute meaningfully to an understanding of the macro forces, patterns, and processes around the local area. The Table Bay population is largely between the ages of 15 and 64 and, although it accounts for only 5.7% of the whole city, its growth rate is higher than the city average (CoCT, 2022d). 30.9% of the city's population works in the district and 34.9% of households in the district earn under R 3,200 per month, which equates to impoverished and insecure circumstances (ibid). Maitland's monthly household income is only marginally better (between R 3,201 and R 6,400 per month) (ibid). Kensington, Maitland, and Langa saw the highest nett population increases, driven by the availability of relatively affordable accommodation and lower transportation costs (ibid). This data means that there is a demand from working-aged people who wish to be located in affordable areas close to centres of employment.

In keeping with its role as the economic heart of the city, the district contributes the highest amount to the city's GDP (CoCT, 2022d). The district's economic focus areas are finance and business services (the CBD), the visitor economy (the CBD and the V&A Waterfront), creative and cultural industries, and iconic or legislative institutions (ibid). Despite having the infrastructure – such as the port, railways, land uses and zoning, and existing buildings – to support industry, it has not been identified as a key economic focus area in the district. This may be because industrial land uses are often seen as being land extensive, low density, and attract relatively few trips, which does not accord with the City's vibrant, compact city approach. However, Epping, Paarden Eiland, Salt River, and Maitland have a rich industrial heritage, which contributes to the meaning of place (this will be elaborated on in **Chapter 5**). Although these areas are experiencing pressure for land use change and are being replaced by uses of a more commercial character (CoCT, 2022d), their industrial legacy – and the benefits of this industry – should not be forgotten.

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[14] The draft DSDF and EMF inconsistently refers to Maitland and Wingfield as both district nodes and local nodes, although each has slightly different density and commercial enterprise requirements. For instance, in the consolidated spatial concept, Maitland is a district node, however, in the nodal guidelines Wingfield is a district node and Maitland is a local node. The decision to highlight Maitland as a district node in this dissertation is that 1) it aligns with the 'role' afforded it in the draft MSDF, and 2) it acknowledges that Maitland already has development and activity that accords with the district node requirements (see **Chapter 5**), whilst Wingfield lacks any existing characteristics that identify it as a district node.

[15] If an area is outside of a node, only intensified residential development is encouraged, whereas a node requires *both* residential and commercial intensification. The discrepancy between the MSDF and DSDF in recommended building heights is noted. The dissertation presumes the MSDF to be accurate, based on the land use rights contained in the Development Management Scheme (DMS).

The Table Bay district contains the fewest number of households in the city and, on average, the household size of 2.9 is smaller than the city average (CoCT, 2022d). Even in the densest area of Langa, the densities of 170 du / ha are lower than those required by the City's policies (ibid). Over a third of dwellings in the district are flats, nearly half are rented, and there is a trend towards increased sub-divisions and plan applications for second and third dwellings, particularly in Kensington, Maitland, and Pinelands (ibid). Regardless of the density patterns that are clearly already occurring, by the end of 2018, 4,045 people in the district had registered their need for housing on the City's Housing Needs Registry (CoCT, 2022d). Despite this

> *There has been little or no investment in affordable housing in most of the district and an increase in land values has triggered concerns about the area excluding local and historic populations.*
>
> (CoCT, 2022d: 65)

The draft Table Bay DSDF and EMF was presented for comment to the relevant ward councillors at a sub-council meeting held on the 16th of August 2022. This meeting revealed that, despite the obvious need for housing, it should not be uniformly prioritised over other social infrastructure or assumed to be a consistent priority. As Langa's ward councillor noted

> *We're not all interested in housing, although we do need houses. We need other public facilities too.*
>
> (Public meeting, Ward 51 Councillor, 16 August 2022)

The draft DSDF and EMF public participation process has demonstrated four further pertinent findings, which are not exclusive and are likely to be mutually enhancing. Firstly, although insightful, the district scale is too broad for councillors and the public to meaningfully engage with.

> *I think there's (from what I've heard) a lot of communication gaps, right? Because the scale is quite difficult. And that's why it's [the DSDF and EMF review process] taking so long because people don't understand and then we don't interpret it [correctly] … There's a scale gap, right? That's why this [the scale of the local area] is useful.*
>
> (Focus group, Ms. Bergoff, 2 September 2022)
>
> *You go to these events and then you get disinterested because it's too out there, it's not detailed.*
>
> (Focus group, Mr. Reznick, 2 September 2022)
>
> *Mine [recommendation] would definitely be not doing it as broad as with the spatial planning they did it: the whole world! We're Ward 56. Yes, we know what's happening on the outside but we must focus on [Ward 56], which is not happening … It's going too broad.*
>
> (Focus group, Councillor Jacobs, 2 September 2022)

Secondly, the state's public participation forums are perceived by participants as technocratic, formal, disingenuous, and where "decisions under consideration are a *fait accompli* and that public input won't make a difference" (Christiansen, 2015: 455). The implication is either a low attendance rate to public engagements or a lack of trust between municipal agencies and citizens, both of which 1) bring into question the degree and quality of participation and, 2) may contribute to possible ineffectiveness of spatial plans.

> *That's the reaction I get from the community, is 'no one takes note of us' … You can say whatever you like, they're still going to do what they have planned.*
>
> (Focus group, Councillor Jacobs, 2 September 2022)
>
> *I think that [public participation] process for me is a really big part of why these things [district or local area plans] don't end up working, or why there are so many objections to them. The other thing I'm curious about is just how [whether] the objections are taken seriously because it does end up feeling like a futile exercise … and it's quite difficult to feel like there's a back and forth, like a conversation.*
>
> (Focus group, Ms. Du Plessis, 2 September 2022)

Thirdly, the planning product that is produced (and of which portions are presented in the public engagement processes) is viewed as lengthy and difficult to relate to and understand (Focus group discussion, 2 September 2022). This begs the question of whether there is a more effective way of communicating relevant information to different audiences, all of whom are likely to require something different from a plan. It is improbable that a static two-dimensional plan is going to achieve everything that it aims to (Focus group, Ms. Bergoff, 2 September 2022).

Finally, people's trust in the state and spatial planning is fundamentally reliant on them seeing progress. This is where the scale of the local area can be substantively useful as it is able to demonstrate change in a shorter space of time than larger-scale planning initiatives (Interview, Mr. Fester, 11 August 2022).

> *The community that has been mostly residents in these areas has lost faith in the people that are in the positions to bring about change. Because there have been promises and promises and meetings called in Salt River Hall and Maitland Hall and nothing seems to have materialised. And people pass on and people move out, but somehow things just say the same.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Ismael, 12 August 2022)
>
> *The public should participate and offer comments and actually form the basis of plans, but we all want to see action.*
>
> (Focus group, Mr. Reznick, 2 September 2022)

An analysis of the district scale and the public responses to the draft DSDF and EMF confirms that there is a need for local area plans as it is the scale that people are more comfortable with and can meaningfully engage with. However, any local area plan would need to improve on the shortcomings revealed in the DSDF and EMF review process, including addressing the approach to public participation, the format of the plan, and ensuring that there are tangible and discernible outcomes. In combination, these attributes would mean that there is more equity in process, procedure, and outcome and that there is more likely to be equitable access to decision-making, both themes in the conceptual framework.

Conradie Better Living Model (WCG, 2022)

Two Rivers Urban Park LSDF (WCG, 2019) & Ndabeni Triangle

District Six LSDF (WCG, 2021)

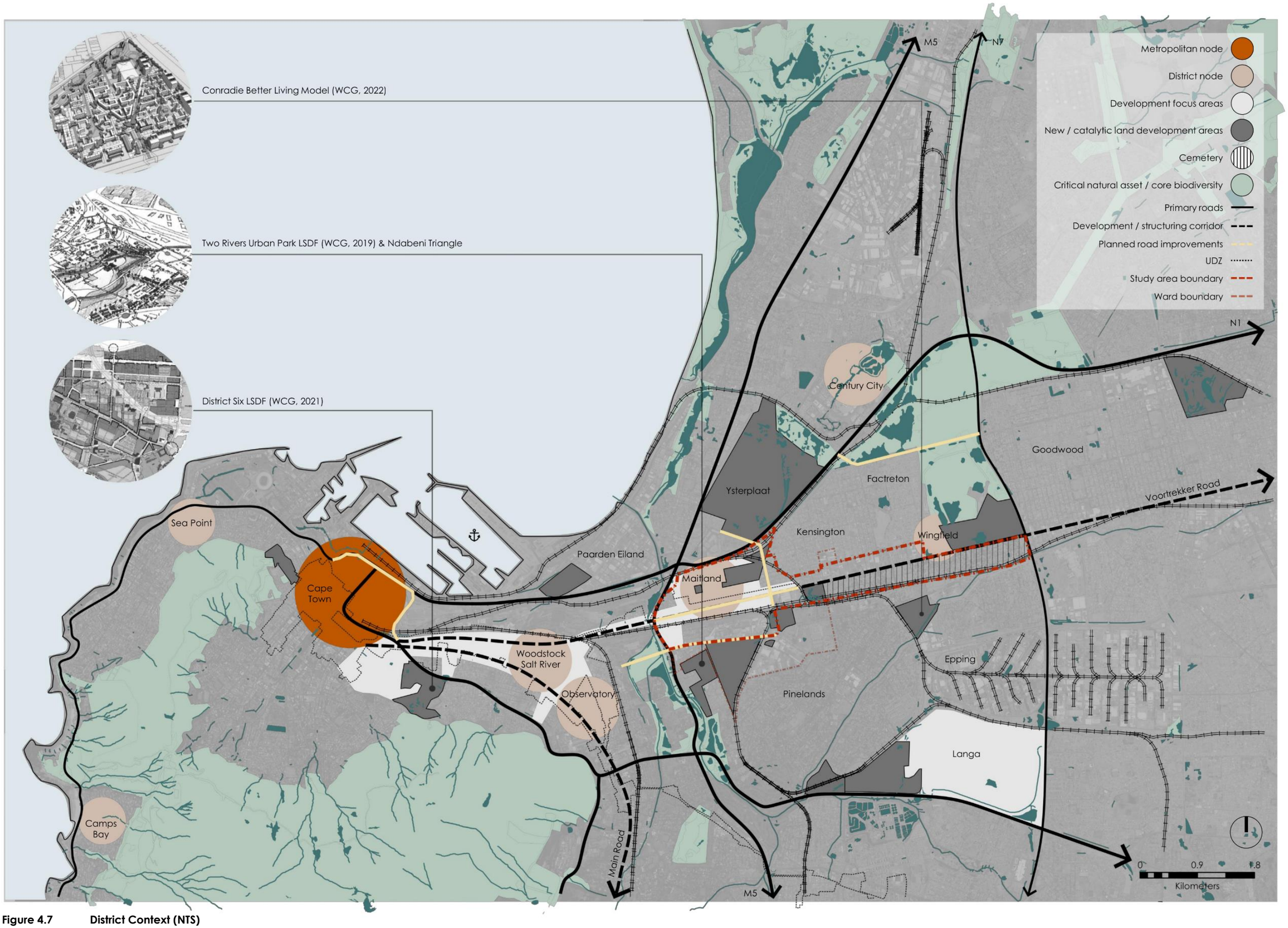


Figure 4.7 **District Context (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on fig. 6, 11, 12, 24, 25 [CoCT, 2022e]; fig. 5, 8, 15 [CoCT, 2022f]; CoCT Open Data, 2022)

4.6 LOCAL CONTEXT

As indicated in **Chapter 1**, the term 'local area plan' refers to the scale of inquiry or involvement in a pre-determined area that is smaller than a district but larger than a precinct (DALRRD, 2017). The problem statement – which is supported by a review of the 33 area-based policies on the City of Cape Town's database – also indicates that the meaning and form of a local area plan varies considerably (Cameron, Odendaal & Todes, 2004): whilst some are directed at urban restructuring, others are interested in, for instance, urban and land-use management, or community development. Despite the wide-ranging approach to planning at this scale, the 2022 DSDF and EMS clearly indicates the local area plan's role in the planning system is:

> *…to provide a greater level of planning direction in strategic locations and a stronger focus on implementation … to implement the vision of the DSDF.*
>
> (CoCT, 2022f: 41)

The City of Cape Town's Municipal Planning By-Law (MPBL) makes provision for a local area plan to be formalised as an LSDF (CoCT, 2015)[16]. Sections 12(1) to (4) of the MPBL allow for an LSDF to identify spatial structuring and re-structuring elements, provide land use management guidelines, and spatially depict the coordination of sectoral plans or policies of City departments (ibid). Although the perceived role of a local area plan is implementation – and this dissertation's conceptual framework insists that implementation guidelines are provided – the MPBL contains the curious qualification that an implementation plan is *discretionary* for an LSDF (ibid). As with a DSDF and EMF, an LSDF does not confer or take away land use rights (unless rights are embedded in land use instruments like overlay zones), however, the MPBL does make provision for LSDFs to be adopted by the Municipal Council, in which case all land use applications must either be consistent with the LSDF or any inconsistencies must be described and justified (ibid).

Between 1981 and 1991, Maitland experienced a 100 percent increase in the number of rezonings from residential to business / commercial use (CoCT, 1992). It was these rezoning applications that prompted the formulation of the 1992 Maitland Local Area Plan as there was a concern, firstly, that this would result in environmental degradation, secondly, that there would be 'traffic intrusion', thirdly, that the trend for commercial development would compromise the liveability of the adjacent residential areas and, lastly, that "the multifunctional, complex nature of Maitland would be replaced by a monofunctional, sterile employment area … another 'dead' and unsafe inner city area" (CoCT, 1992: 24). Thus, the motivation for the 1992 Maitland Local Area Plan was the 'protection' of the existing natural and manmade environment. In comparison, the current draft DSDF has earmarked Maitland for an LSDF initiative due to its accessibility and propensity for diversification and intensification (CoCT, 2022e). Additionally,

> *The Maitland area and surrounds is subject to significant public sector investment and the MLSDF seeks to create greater alignment and coordination from a public sector perspective and boost private sector confidence in the area.*
>
> (CoCT, 2021: 2)

In other words, the role of the anticipated Maitland LSDF is not to *preserve* Maitland but to *transform* it through coordinated state investments (the 'capital' in Crane's capital web) and private sector projects (Crane's 'City of a thousand designers'). This implies that an ability to communicate and facilitate structuring and infill opportunities is paramount. The draft DSDF and EMF proposes that the

[16] The MPBL does not use the term 'formalised' – this is the interpretation taken by this dissertation.

1992 Maitland Local Area Plan is withdrawn (CoCT, 2022e) and, as mentioned in **Chapter 1**, the City's Urban Planning and Design department is in the process of formulating a Maitland LSDF.

What the local context reveals is that local area planning is a broad construct. This dissertation suggests that local area plans should be re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability, however, as this requires the instrument to be properly situated in its context, in Cape Town a local area planning will need to assist with implementation, coordination, and private sector involvement. In Maitland specifically, a local area plan will be required to influence spatial transformation.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Through an analysis of the geographical, social, political, economic, legislative, and policy contexts, and by understanding that there are urban forces, patterns, and processes that are generated outside of the study that impact and support what happens inside of it, this chapter has achieved four objectives. Firstly, from the national to the district scale, it has confirmed the supposition put forward in **Chapter 1** and **Chapter 3** that there is indeed a need for local area plans, has understood the preconditions that allow for them to be established, and has clarified what they contribute to South Africa's planning system. Secondly, it has appreciated that there is a mutually enhancing relationship between the larger-scale (MSDF and DSDF) and smaller-scale (local area) planning approaches. Neither exists in a vacuum and each has a role to play and contributes something of value to the process of spatial transformation. Thirdly, it has determined the inefficiencies in larger-scale plans to which local area plans can respond. Lastly, this chapter has clearly understood the case study's spatial context and the *intent* of the state's conceptual approaches so that any local area planning proposals can respond to them. Through contextual analysis, **Chapter 4** has highlighted – as Barnett and Parnell (2016:91) advocate for in the multiplex city – "the relational constitution of objects of analysis and action – focusing on how the city works, not what the city is physically". In so doing, it has begun to demonstrate how planners might re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability. **Table 4.1** indicates the themes from the conceptual framework that **Chapter 4** has responded to.

Table 4.1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK THEMES ADDRESSED BY CHAPTER 4
Ecosystem limits are recognised
There is equity in process, procedure, and outcome
Balance is achieved by managing trade-offs
Space is conceived as dynamic and relational (unbounded linkages, multiple scales, and varied timescales are incorporated) [Graham & Healey's 'Processes']
Relations are prioritised (there are opportunities for social interactions with multiple perspectives, rationales, and subjectivities) [Graham & Healey's 'Relations']
There is an emphasis on how the city works
Planning is strategically selective
The legislative and policy context is accounted for
The geographical, social, political, and economic context is accounted for
The capacity of the state in achieving its aims is considered
There is an ambitious response to implementation
Natural landscapes are thriving and the depletion of natural resources is mitigated
There is equitable access to decision-making and common narratives
The plan translates broad conceptual approaches into contextual realities
The plan provides sufficient detail to guide forward planning and land-use management (and decision-making)

CHAPTER 5 – 'PLACE' ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In **Chapter 3**, du Plessis (2017) stated that sustainable urbanism must be informed not by the *vision* of a city, but rather by analysis of it as it is experienced by urban dwellers. Therefore, having understood the multidimensional context of the study area and local area planning in **Chapter 4**, the analysis moves to the object of inquiry. The enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability recognises that there should be an appreciation of the underlying structure and dynamics of 'place' in a particular context. The literature review broadly divided the theories of 'place' into three categories: those with an emphasis on the psychology, the activity, and the physicality of place. **Chapter 5** analyses the 'place' of Maitland based on these three categories, using the themes captured in the conceptual framework. Two distinctions are important. Firstly, it is necessary to re-affirm that these are *broad* categories and interconnections occur between all three. Secondly, whilst the *approach* to analysing 'place' according to the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability may be universally applicable, the *findings* are case specific. To reiterate the introduction to **Phase 3**, this is the first step in demonstrating:

> How planners might re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability.

The aim of **Chapter 5** is, therefore, to adequately depict the structure and dynamics of the study area; to determine whether these accord with the 'macro' context vision (in **Chapter 4**) or to see if there are areas of disparity between them; to ascertain what trade-offs might be appropriate; to understand what a local area plan in a complex context should capture; and to begin to appreciate how the attributes of Maitland might be leveraged to support inclusion, equity, and lasting wellbeing.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLACE

5.2.1 THE IDENTITY & MEANING OF MAITLAND

In **Chapter 3**, the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability noted that the meaning of a place (its spirit) is accrued across several timeframes and is intimately tied to the locality's natural processes, local history, and culture. Importantly, spatial sustainability acknowledges that each place is likely to have experienced many histories, cultures, and meanings. What follows is a brief history of the locality in an attempt to capture and convey the meaning of the place[17]. In this case study, "the history of this landscape is ancient and tragic … in the context of South Africa, this is an historical place" (Hart & Schietecatte, 2015: 22).

[17] Understanding the meaning of place is such a multifaceted exercise that it could easily become a separate piece of research. This short account is an attempt to convey meaning within the limitations of this dissertation.

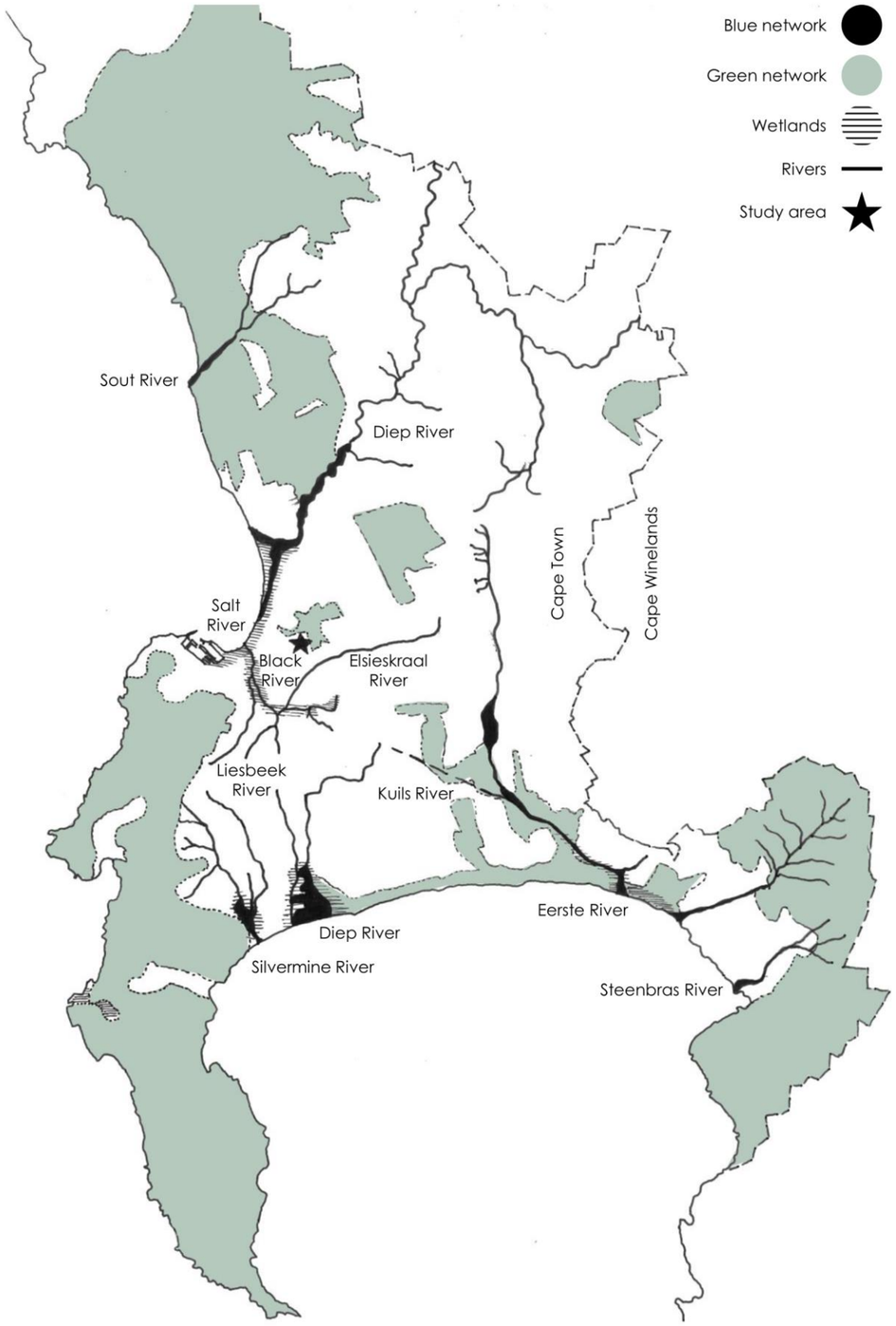


Figure 5.1 **Contemporary Blue and Green Networks in the Cape Peninsula (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on Cape Farm Mapper)

5.2.1.1 THE PRIMEVAL PERIOD

The Black and Liesbeek Rivers flow into the Salt River and, together with the Diep River from the north, form an extensive estuarine system around Paarden Eiland, which was until as recently as 1865 a true island separated from the main peninsula (Aikman Associates, 2002). Geological evidence shows that the position of the river mouths constantly changed and that the estuary was abundant with plants and animals such as fynbos, restios, riverine scrub, hippo, buffalo, and elephant (ibid). Small groups of hunter-gatherers followed the seasonal rounds of this landscape (ibid).

5.2.1.2 THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

Table Bay continued to provide resources to the small Khoikhoi groups who occupied it. Across the greater south-western Cape, the soils (and therefore the vegetation that grows in them) lacked sufficient nutrients which meant that other Khoikhoi groups were unable to stay in one place for long periods (Worden et. al., 1998). In the summer months, the powerful Gorachoqua and Goringhaiqua from the Vredenburg and Malmesbury areas moved large herds of cattle across the landscape and used the shores of Table Bay as part of an annual transhumance pattern (ibid). "In the Cape, this deep knowledge of the landscape and the seasons was the key to survival and prosperity" (Hart, 2017b: 15). The movement of these cattle created broad trails and it has been suggested that these became, in part, the basis of the road system that we use today (Aikman Associates, 2002). The estuarine system around the case study area was significant grazing land and was able to support thousands of heads of cattle. The Khoikhoi camped in the area around existing Maitland and the Two Rivers Urban Park (Hart & Schietecatte, 2015).

5.2.1.3 THE DUTCH COLONIAL PERIOD

In 1652 the Dutch East India Company (VOC) arrived in the Cape to establish a port for European ships en route towards the Eastern civilisations with whom they traded. In 1658, the VOC issued over 1,600 freehold grants allowing the Free Burghers to cultivate the fertile land around the Black and Liesbeek Rivers, which led to tensions with the Khoikhoi pastoralists (Aikman Associates, 2002; Hart & Schietecatte, 2015). "The historic land contained between the Black and Liesbeek Rivers marks one of the most tangible and earliest historical frontiers that was to eventually herald the fragmentation of the Khoikhoi nation" (Hart & Schietecatte, 2015: 2). Wild almond hedges were constructed between Salt River and Wynberg hill for cattle control and small forts and outposts were erected to keep watch over the movements of the Khoikhoi. Whilst the land around the Black and Liesbeek Rivers continued to be fully utilised, there was little development to the east of the Black River other than a series of windmills, of which the Oude and Niewe Moulen are still standing (ibid). The estuarine system almost rendered the Table Bay peninsula an island, the only point of entry and exit being at Varsche Drift which still exists at the junction between Salt River and Maitland (Hart & Schietecatte, 2015). The Ysterplaat flats around existing Maitland became part of an informal outspan where travellers and traders camped with their livestock before 'entering' into the city at Varsche Drift (Hart, 2017a).

5.2.1.4 THE BRITISH COLONIAL PERIOD

The British occupied the Cape in 1795 after the Battle of Muizenberg. This period is characterised by significant investments in infrastructure and the 'opening up' of Table Bay to the broader region. This infrastructure began to transform the identity and character of the locality.

> *Officials in Cape Town were well aware that, without proper infrastructure, little could be done to improve the local economy, but without funding there was no hope of building the roads, passes, and harbours needed to open up the country.*
>
> (Murray, 2015: 26)

In 1843 a new colonial secretary, John Montagu, arrived in the Cape. He instituted the Central Roads Board which arranged for the prioritisation, funding, and construction of major transport routes, most of which were implemented under the direction of the colonial engineer Charles Cornwallis Michell (Murray, 2015). Michell devoted himself to the mountain barriers to the east of Table Bay, however, before his proposed mountain passes could become effective there was the shifting, exposed expanse of the Cape Flats to be traversed. The route Michell determined for his new road was influenced by people's previous movements and avoided some of the occasional marshes of the flats (ibid). Michell's design was thus predicated on natural systems and processes, a theme in the conceptual framework. The route's long, slow arc began at the Salt River circle and ended near the Tygerberg Hills. It was to become what we now know as Voortrekker Road, which is a magnificent feat of civil engineering and a veritable causeway[18] (ibid). In some places, such as near the Maitland cemetery, its buildup is as much as 5m above the natural ground level (ibid), which one perceptive research participant picked up on.

> *Interesting there's a dip, like a variant in the land from Voortrekker Road [as] you go down to the lower area. Parallel to Voortrekker Road there's these different levels.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Ismael, 12 August 2022)

By 1860, the railway had been constructed, which spurred the consolidation of residential and commercial development. The oldest established neighbourhood along the rail and Voortrekker routes was Maitland, which was originally known as the 'Salt River Erven' and renamed 'Maitland' after Sir Peregrine Maitland, the former governor of the Cape (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019). Maitland's exact position was influenced by the existing Varsche Drift 'entrance' into the city and its separateness from the city meant that it was its own municipality until 1913 (Hart, 2017b). The area contained the Maitland Cemetery, which was established in 1888 when Cape Town's main cemeteries became full, and the Maitland Abattoir (ibid). Neighbouring Windermere (now known as Kensington and Factreton) was initially informally set up in the early decades of the 20th century by coloured communities either ejected from the city centre or by those who wanted to avoid the City's municipal laws and taxes (Field, 2001; Qotole, 2001). By 1945 the area housed 19,000 people of coloured, white, and black African descent and was Cape Town's largest informal settlement, comprised mainly of new arrivals to the city in search of work and wishing to be close to town (ibid).

The informal nature of Windermere offered several alternative commercial opportunities such as sub-letting and informal food and drink trade (Qotole, 2001). It also allowed for a dual identity for those wishing to move freely between rural and urban locations (ibid), and wonderful cultural hybridity, which was picked up as significant in Field's ethnographic research.

---

[18] Voortrekker Road only acquired its name in 1938 "in advance of a centennial re-enactment of the Great Trek inland" (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019: 5). It was originally known as Maitland Road (ibid).

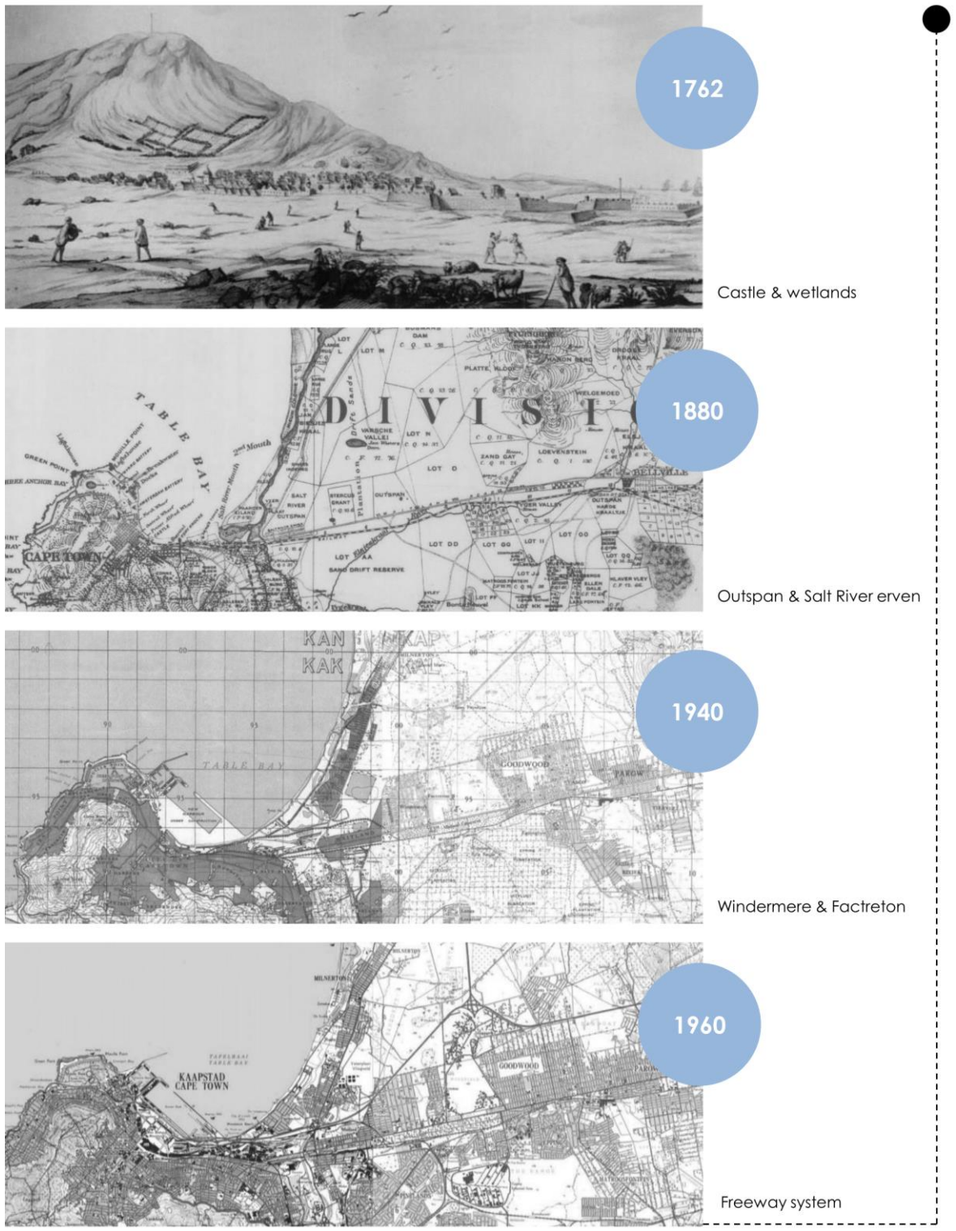


Figure 5.2 **Historical Timeline of Maitland & Surrounds**

(Author's own, based on Worden et. al., 1998; Hart, 2017b)

> *These intimate experiences of many cultures in Windermere had a direct impact on him [his research participant] and on at least two of his siblings who talked to me … for his family and many other Windermere families, their experience of cultural hybridity, and their memories of it, continue to be evocative parts of their sense of identity in the present.*
>
> (Field, 2001: 127)

In the early 20th century, most of the great estuary so significant in the previous periods was drained and destroyed to make way for the Culemborg shunting yards and railway workshop (Hart & Schietecatte, 2015). In the late 1920s, industry began to develop along Voortrekker Road due to its accessibility and proximity to the city centre. The Jungle Oats / Tiger Brand factory was established in 1930. In 1941 the Black River was straightened and canalized after significant flooding, followed by the Liesbeek River in 1943 (Aikman Associates, 2002). During the Second World War, the Wingfield Aerodome (originally constructed in 1940) took on an important military role in protecting the Cape's sea route; hangars and war-related structures sprung up over the previously unaffected Ysterplaat flats (CoCT, 2014; Hart, 2017b). The locality, whose meaning and identity was once premised on its unique natural assets, was significantly transformed by these projects.

5.2.1.5 THE APARTHEID PERIOD

In the 1948 general election, the Nationalist Party was voted into power and they implemented an institutionalised system of racial segregation called Apartheid. By 1950, the Windermere population was estimated to be over 40,000 and the informal and transient nature of the area was seen as a challenge by the local government (Qotole, 2001). Maitland was declared a 'white area' with a working-class identity and Windermere a 'coloured area' (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019). Forced evictions began in 1958 and over the next five years whites were relocated to Maitland and black Africans to either Nyanga or Nyanga West (now Gugulethu) (Field, 2001; Qotole, 2001). Windermere was renamed Kensington and Factreton and, as it was a so-called 'model coloured township', residents were re-housed in economic and sub-economic housing (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019; Field, 2001). By the late 1960s the classification and removal process of Maitland and Windermere was complete.

It was around this same time that the state embarked on an ambitious freeway development programme and constructed the N1, N2, M5, and N7 freeways and Liesbeek Parkway. Although Maitland experienced substantial growth in the post-war years, the freeway system meant that it began to slip into decline (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019). This new road system cut through old historic links and spatial relationships and all but cemented the destruction of the once prominent estuarine system (Aikman Associates, 2002). "This highly historical landscape is now a plethora of rail and road crossing points that give little credence to the role of 'place' in the past" (Hart, 2017a). Refer to **Figure 5.2** for a graphic representation of the change in this locality.

5.2.1.6 THE POST-APARTHEID & CURRENT PERIOD

From the mid-1980s, there was significant consolidation of the industrial areas and (as can be seen by the motivation for the 1992 Local Area Plan in **Chapter 4**) a changing market associated with retail, business, and commercial use along Voortrekker Road (CoCT, 2014). In the 1990s there was an explosion of decentralised commercial nodes at interchanges along the N1, such as Century City (ibid).

> *So if you look at where we are in Maitland, as an example, 50 years ago the appropriate development response might have been industrialisation to create jobs, factories, industry, etc. Right now, socially there's probably a different demand. But*

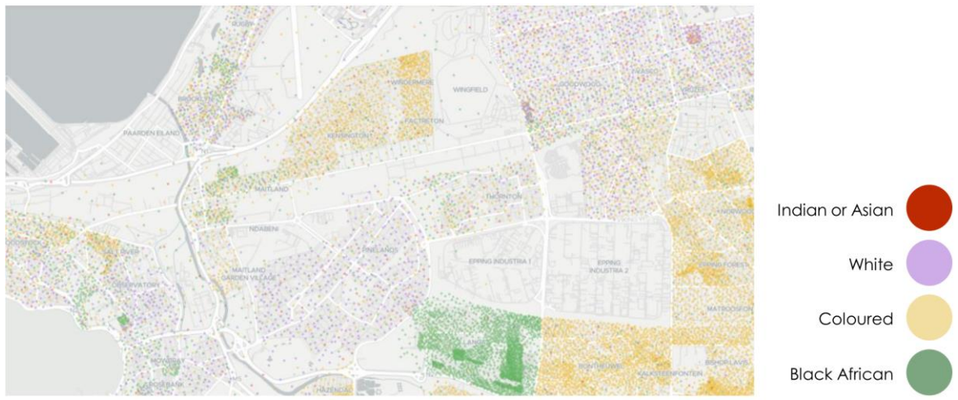


Figure 5.3 **Self-Identification in 2011 SA Census (NTS)**

(dotmap.adrianfrith.com [2022, October 1])

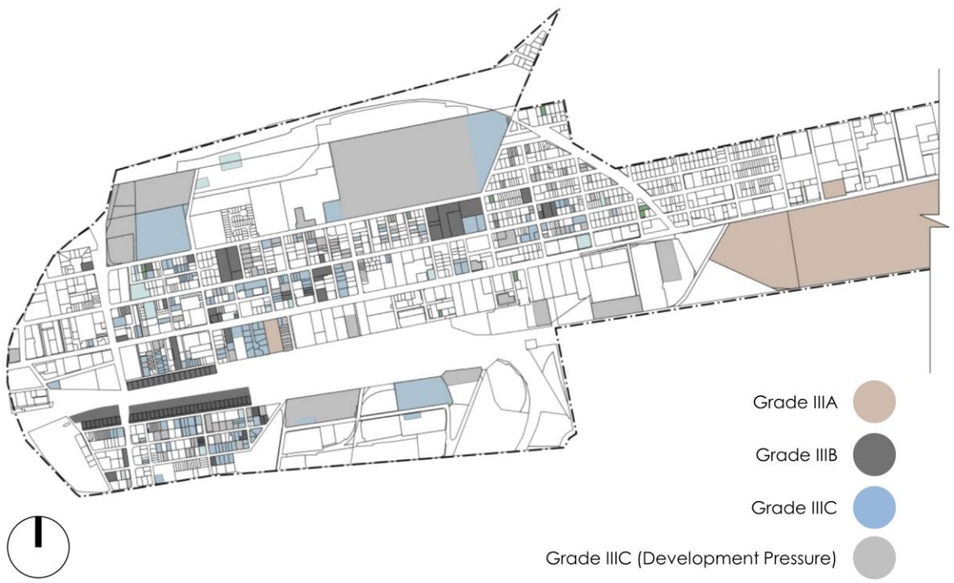


Figure 5.4 **Maitland's Heritage Resources (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on CoCT, 2021)

> *beyond that, I think government's efforts in other areas have probably attracted that kind of investment elsewhere. There's Richmond Park, there's all sorts of industrial parks popping up elsewhere and big business is likely to move there. So, the question then becomes what is the appropriate response now for Maitland 50 years later?*
>
> (Focus group, Mr. Mthi, 2 September 2022)

Although the appropriate (commercial) development response may no longer necessarily be industrial, research participants indicate that retaining Maitland's industrial character is "vital" (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022) as it still holds value and meaning.

> *What Maitland was synonymous with was this Jungle Oats smell, of those silos. You can still smell it.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Ismael, 12 August 2022)

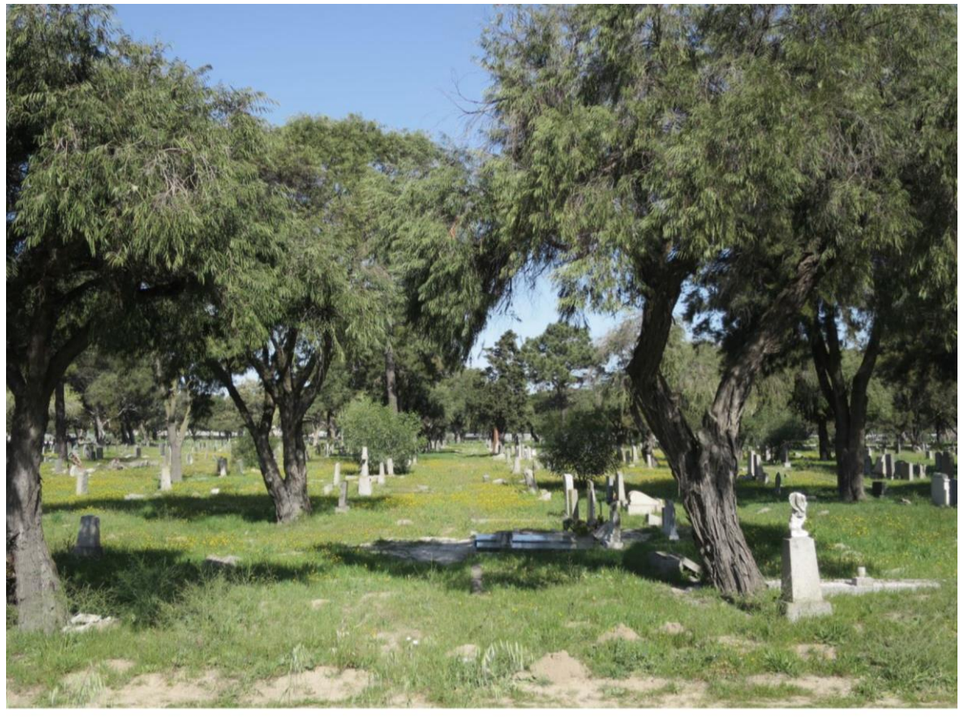
Chapter 4's global analysis introduced the fact that South Africa (and Cape Town in particular) experienced positive nett migration between 2010 and 2015. The analysis document prepared for the anticipated Maitland LSDF notes that only 75% of Maitland residents are from the Western Cape, with the remainder originating outside of the province and 17.9% from outside of South Africa (CoCT, 2021). Adrian Frith's Dot Map demonstrates that, while neighbouring areas are largely homogenous, Maitland contains a heterogenous mix of self-identified racial groups (see **Figure 5.3**). The high percentage of people from outside of South Africa was raised, without prompt, by nearly every research participant and appears to be a recurring theme in recent community engagement processes (ASF-UK & DAG, 2017; Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019). Berens' (2011) research indicates that there may be a correlation between industrial land use, affordability, and dynamic populations. She states that neighbourhoods adjacent to industrial sites are often the last refuge of affordable housing and are unofficially homesteaded by particular groups, such as newly arrived immigrants (ibid). Winkler identifies these kinds of areas as port-of-entry neighbourhoods.

> *Port-of-entry neighbourhoods typically facilitate some degree of readjustment in a new place. They allow diverse cultural customs to be practised, and they are at times perceived by their residents as a temporary place of abode: a place to 'land', find your feet, strengthen your networks and, ultimately, move from. While some residents might have settled in such neighbourhoods for many years, others might constantly be on the move. The present population diversity found in port-of-entry neighbourhoods then represents a cross-section of temporal succession, with newer groups overlaying earlier ones … Of particular significance, such urban realms are continually evolving.*
>
> (Winkler, 2013: 316)

For some participants, the high number of 'foreign nationals' (the term used by participants) was seen to contribute to perceived over-population / over-crowding, a dwindling sense of local community, and an increase in crime and grime (Interviews, Ms. Tembo, Mr. Lewis & Mr. Anderson, Mr. Ismael, all 12 August 2022). As with Abu-Lughod's (1994: 189) analysis of the East Village in Manhattan,

> *… the close quarters and the conflicting (and often mutually exclusive) goals of the different groups have led to cross-cutting and shifting networks of cooperation and conflict.*

Although conducted in Europe, Permentier et. al.'s (2009) analysis of the correlation between neighbourhood perception and attachment is interesting in this regard. They demonstrate that those who perceive their neighbourhood to be 'good' (or – more importantly – think *other people* perceive their neighbourhood as 'good') are more likely to be attached to it and thus more likely to participate in decisions around it. The inverse is also true: if there is the perception that the neighbourhood is 'less-than-good' then people are less likely to be attached to it and participate in decisions around it (ibid). Their research demonstrates the unfortunate finding that people perceive neighbourhoods with high numbers of non-Western immigrants to be 'less-than-good' (ibid). What is pertinent is that high numbers of people from outside of South Africa (or *perceived* high numbers) add to the complexity of place and, one can infer, makes achieving inclusion and equitable processes and outcomes more complex. The City's spatial planning



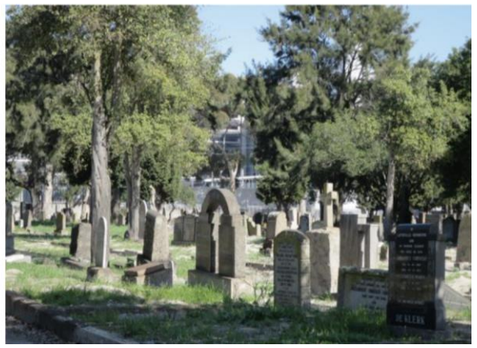


Figure 5.5 **Scenes from the Maitland Cemetery**

(Author's own)

documents in **Chapter 4** identify this dynamic of Maitland as population data only. They do not elaborate on what this could *mean* for planning in the area: what different mechanisms are required to alleviate this challenge? Nor do these documents appreciate that Maitland has *always* been a port-of-entry into the city and an area accommodating dual identities and cultural hybridity, as the preceding periods in history can attest to. The port-of-entry dynamic is surely an *opportunity* for Maitland, rather than something that should be overlooked by city policy. This dynamic will continue to be elaborated on throughout the chapter.

As Maitland was the oldest area east of Varsche Drift, it retains the highest – albeit sporadic – built heritage character (see **Figure 5.4**) (CoCT, 2014). Unfortunately almost nothing remains of the area's natural heritage (see **Figure 5.1** and **Figure 5.6**). The few natural systems that are visible are either highly altered and polluted (such as the rivers) or inhospitable and insecure (such as the edge of Wingfield). The cemetery, which is one of the few areas where people can actively engage with a large expanse of nature, is neglected and unsafe (although on a field visit the flowers were in bloom and it looked serene and beautiful) (see **Figure 5.5**).

> *My Mum and Dad are buried there, and my grandmother is buried there … before, the graveyards were well-kept and there was an aspect of good management and looking after the place. And somehow that has become, that has deteriorated as well. People actually sleep there. They create informal dwellings in those spaces and it becomes an unsafe area as well.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Ismael, 12 August 2022)

Instead of being seen as an area of respite in an increasingly densified city, as a significant heritage resource, as a location in which nature and inhabitants can connect, and as a spiritually rich asset, the cemetery is perceived negatively by the City and as an obstruction to its vision, which may account for the way it is maintained.

> *Cemetery land has sterilised a substantial portion of strategic land in the District along the Voortrekker Road Corridor and represents a constraint.*
>
> (CoCT, 2022d: 136)

The brief account of the history of the locality demonstrates that the once rich and significant natural landscape has been all but eradicated by generations of state policy intent on economic growth and expansion. **Chapter 4** indicated that economic growth is the City of Cape Town's main priority in its current IDP (CoCT, 2022a), however, this should not come at the expense of an already slighted natural landscape. If environmental and spatial sustainability is indeed a goal (as is referred to consistently amongst all scales of policy document in **Chapter 4**), the needs of current and future human and non-human inhabitants must be considered in relation to a thriving natural landscape, which humans are fundamentally a part of. Regarding trade-offs, nothing should come at the expense of these marginalised natural systems. The analysis also demonstrates that Maitland is a complex mix of histories, cultures, meanings, and experiences. It was and continues to be a port-of-entry into the city, something that existing policy fails to capture or address.

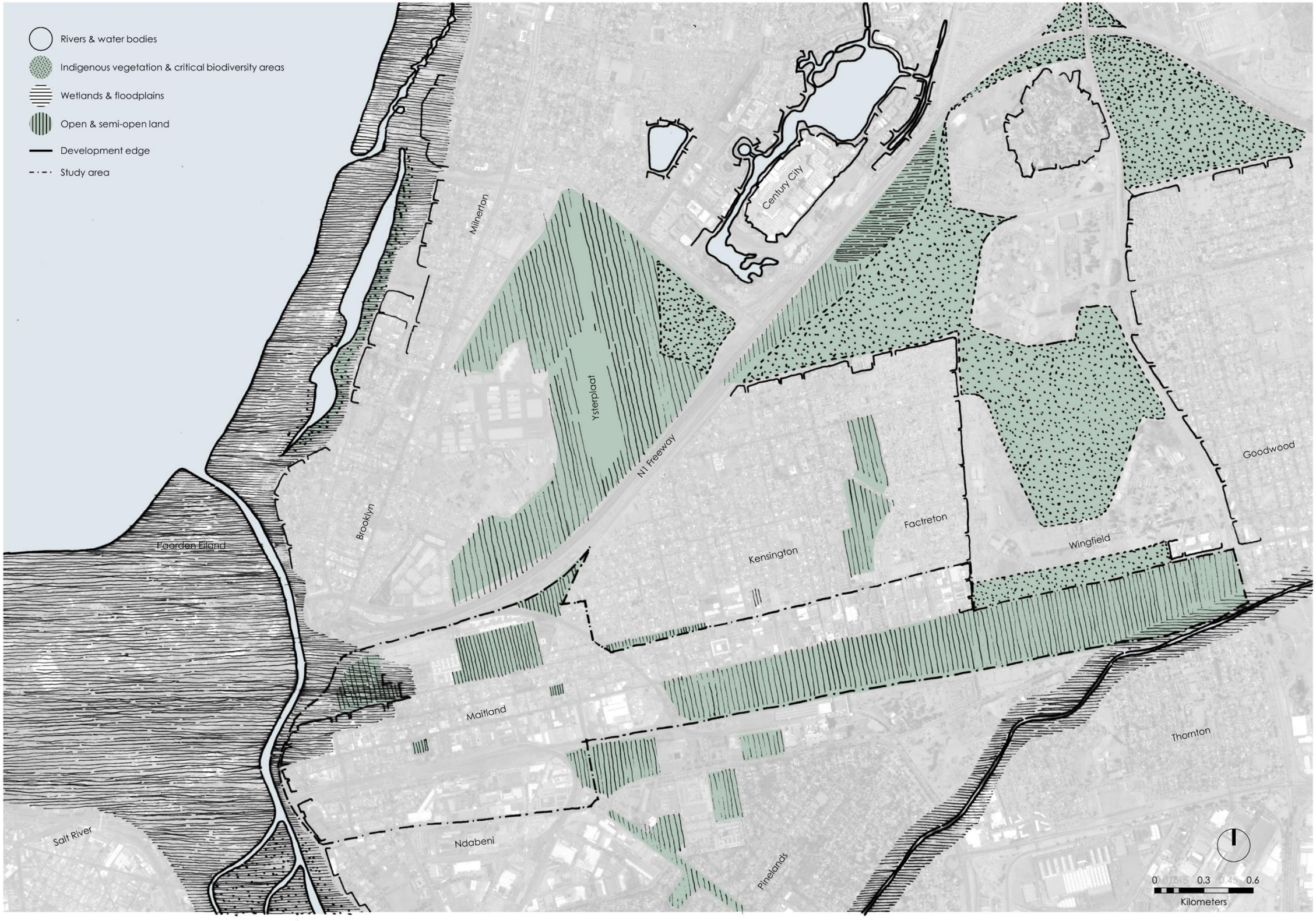


Figure 5.6 **Maitland's Natural Systems (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on Cape Farm Mapper, 2022)

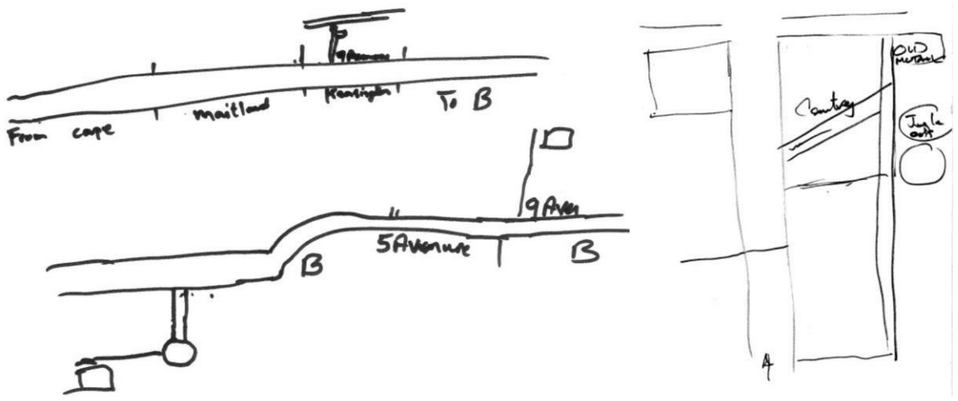


Figure 5.7 **Examples of Participant Mapping**

(Interview, Mr. Gideon, 11 August 2022; Interview, Mr. Ismael, 12 August 2022)

Figure 5.8 **Landmarks in Maitland**

(Author's own)

5.2.2 THE IMAGE & LEGIBILITY OF MAITLAND

As explained in **Chapter 3**, Lynch described legibility as the coherent and comprehensible interrelation between the different elements of the city into something legible or 'imageable'. He stated that imageability or legibility was mere pathfinding unless there was an appreciation of meaning. Therefore, having understood the identity and meaning of the place, it is possible to analyse Maitland's legibility, which was achieved through field observations, personal mapping, participant mapping, and participant interviews.

Voortrekker Road remains the primary identifiable 'spine' of Maitland. It was most often referred to by participants as 'Main Road' and, when asked to draw the area, was the element that was first placed on paper (see **Figure 5.7**). Whether approaching from the east or west along this road, Maitland (and Kensington and Factreton) remain separated from the city and neighbouring Parow by over one kilometer of inhospitable 'dead' space, Wingfield to the east and Culemborg to the west. Indeed, even approaching by car from the north and south is challenging, with only two points of access at Cannon Road or Prestige Drive. This is a significant constraint considering the area's strategic location and its supposed accessibility presented in **Chapter 4**. As will be shown in the analysis of the activity of place, Voortrekker Road is the most characterful between these north-south intersections. Therefore, despite Voortrekker Road being the thread that connects areas and allows for optimum accessibility to the city, Maitland feels like it is being 'entered into' and certainly feels like it is a separate entity from the city of Cape Town. This is exacerbated by the road infrastructure where the western entrance is definitively marked by the overarching M5 and each north-south approach is heralded by a bridge over the railway lines (see **Figure 5.8** and **Figure 5.10**). This combination of railway lines and freeway infrastructure ensures that Maitland has a defined edge and could account for the fact that Maitland cemetery is not often seen as being part of Maitland, despite it being included in the municipal (administrative) boundaries. What is interesting is that the developers of Maitland Metro cite the 'contained' feeling of their precinct (and broader Maitland) as an incentive for investing in the area meaning, firstly, that its lack of integration with the neighbouring context is both an asset and liability and, secondly, that image and legibility have a financial value.

> *It's [the Maitland Metro precinct] bookended or bordered by roads, the M5, Cannon and Keoberg, the railway. So it's quite contained, which is quite powerful.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

Along these paths (which usually correlate with intersection points) there are certain identifiable nodes and districts. This will be elaborated on in the activity of place, however, it is worth mentioning that the 'school' district to the north and 'cemetery' district to the south were the areas where participants most often identify feeling unsafe or vulnerable (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022; Interviews, Ms. Tembo & Mr. Ismael, both 12 August 2022). Indeed, the gang markings on the walls and observations of drug-taking in the school district "makes walking through Maitland a nervous exercise. This fact is essential to register. Big ideas, whether they have to do with nation building or retooling a city's urban fabric and mix are tempered – as much as tested – by walking" (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019: 9).

Although there are not many landmarks in Maitland, those that exist are identifiable and were consistently referred to by research participants. The new Maitland Metro development at the western 'entrance' was the only contemporary landmark, whilst the remaining ones spoke of a connection with the area's past. These include the Maitland cemetery, town hall, Jungle Oats / Tiger Brand factory, and the now-defunct Maitland swimming pool (which requires further explanation). As far back as the 1930s, Maitland's open-air freshwater pool was "singled out as a marker of Maitland's urbanity" (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019: 17). Aerial photos around this time show it occupying a legible and well-demarcated position. The pool is now derelict, its structure almost entirely destroyed, and it is occupied by "local youths and drifters … using it as a place to pause, sleep, and perform other illicit forms of community"

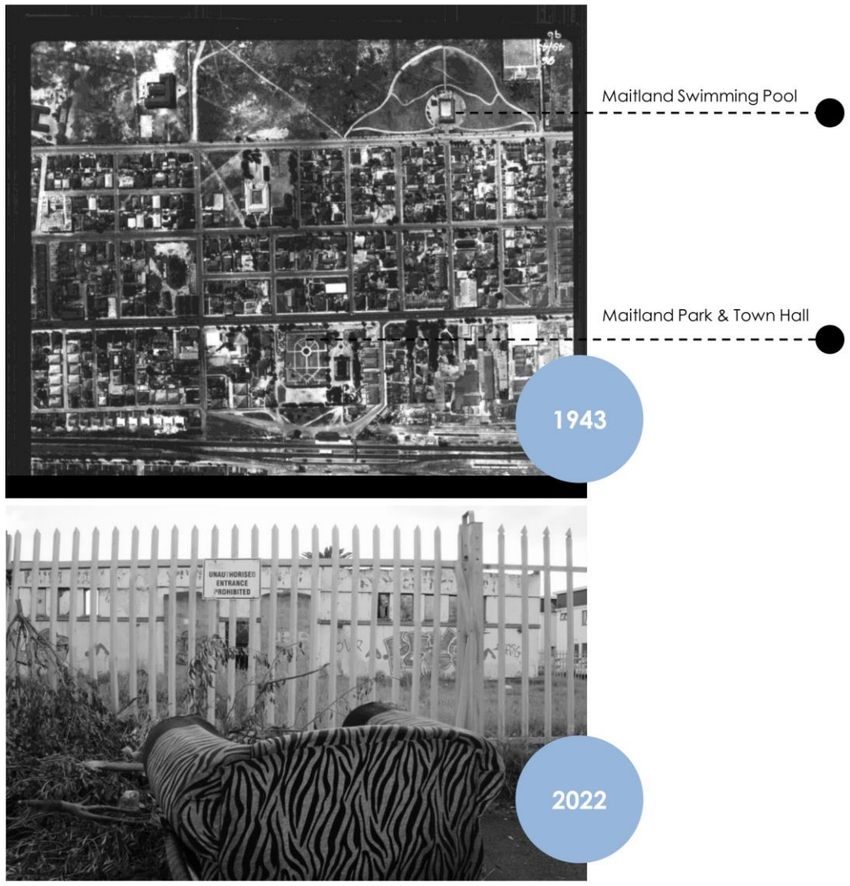


Figure 5.9 **Maitland Swimming Pool**

(Author's own, adapted from National Geo-Spatial Information, 2022)

Table 5.1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK THEMES ADDRESSED BY THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLACE
The needs of present and future human and non-human inhabitants are fulfilled
Complexity and adaptability are accommodated
Balance is achieved by managing trade-offs
Relations are prioritised (there are opportunities for social interactions with multiple perspectives, rationales, and subjectivities) [Graham & Healey's 'Relations']
Places are vital with a sense of place and place-making qualities
Natural landscapes are thriving and the depletion of natural resources is mitigated
Non-human inhabitants are recognised
There is recognition of many histories, cultures, meanings, and experiences (across multiple timeframes)
The inter-connections between nature and people reveal the place's *genius loci*
The place is arranged in a coherent and comprehensible pattern
The structuring elements are predicated on natural processes and natural systems

(Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019: 12) (see **Figure 5.9**). In the crime thriller 'Daddy's Girl' by the author Margie Orford (2012), the Maitland pool was the sinister location of the book's denouement.

> *But in Maitland, you know, we have an informal settlement in Royal Road and near the swimming pool. That is currently, in Maitland, the big problem areas. The swimming pool is on for demolition. It was on the cards years ago, 2016 I think, but then heritage came and says that was a heritage building. But now you look at the building there and there is no heritage anymore!*
>
> (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022)

When asked if the landmark area should be repurposed for housing – as the City's spatial plans suggest – Maitland's Councillor is adamant that the land should be retained for the community. Therefore, although the structure is obsolete, the land itself still holds meaning to residents. It reaffirms what was communicated in the DSDF and EMF participation process (from **Chapter 4**): that not *all* land should be identified for housing and that the community's desires often lean towards public facilities. Landmarks were also identified that spoke of the interface between humans and the natural environment.

> *If I'm upstairs, I can see Lagoon Beach, I can see Paarden Eiland, so I just love the place. And when I stand in the Main Road [Voortrekker Road] I see Table Mountain.*
>
> (Interview, Ms. Tembo, 12 August 2022)

Although upsetting to consider that these are the remains of a once-significant natural system, it is pertinent that not all human-nature interactions need be ambitious. The simple act of viewing a mountain or the sea marks as meaningful a connection with nature as any grand gesture.

Finally, there is the legibility of Maitland, which is best communicated through the words of others.

> *It's just a weird interface between residential, commercial, industrial that I find [unusual]. That's why I say it's kind of an area with a lot of potential but without that proper [legibility]: I don't know if it's a spatial vision for the area, of what it could become. You have this weird mixture of factories on the one side of the road and residential on the other side, and City buildings behind the residential. It's like, what is this place actually? It's that identity that's missing. You don't really know what it is at the end of the day.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Fester, 11 August 2022)

> *Our perception tends to be moulded around the area that we frequently drive through, and that is the Main Road [Voortrekker Road] … It's [Maitland] is neither here nor there, because it's not quite defined as a residential area because of the huge business dynamic that's attached to it. There's industries that are built in between that main Oats thing … it's clearly not designed or laid out with housing in mind, somehow … And what makes it more confusing is that there's industry all around it. It's not, like, zoned industry there and then defined by, okay, there's the residence and there's the [business and industry]. It's all inter-mingled, which can also be quite confusing.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Ismael, 12 August 2022)

Thus despite having the components of a legible environment (the paths, districts, nodes, edges, landmarks) and despite these components being consistently identified amongst participants, the local area still appears to lack the final ingredient that makes it legible, or imageable.

Table 5.1 indicates the conceptual framework themes that the psychology of place has responded to.

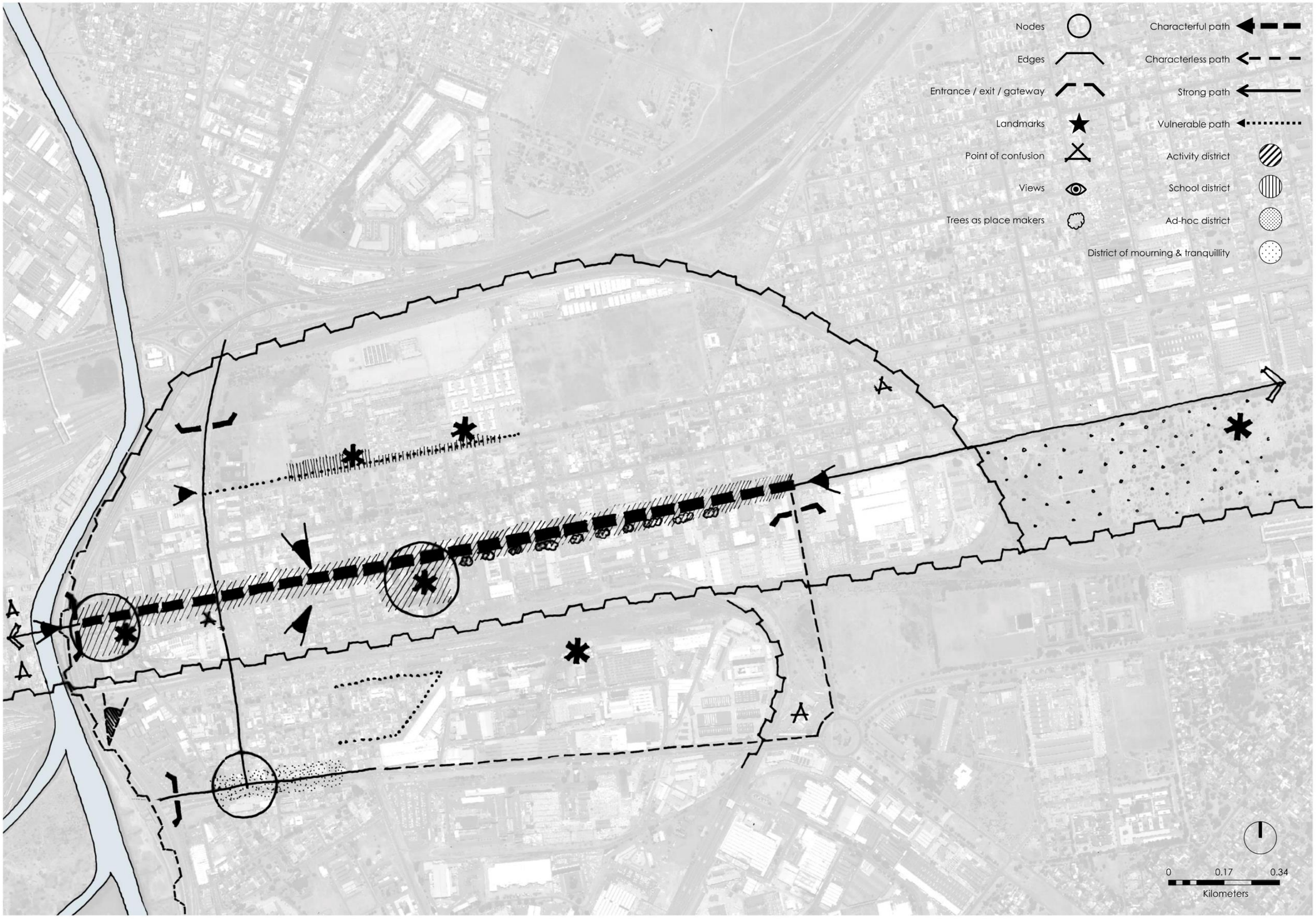


Figure 5.10 **Maitland's Lynch Diagram (NTS)**

(Author's own)

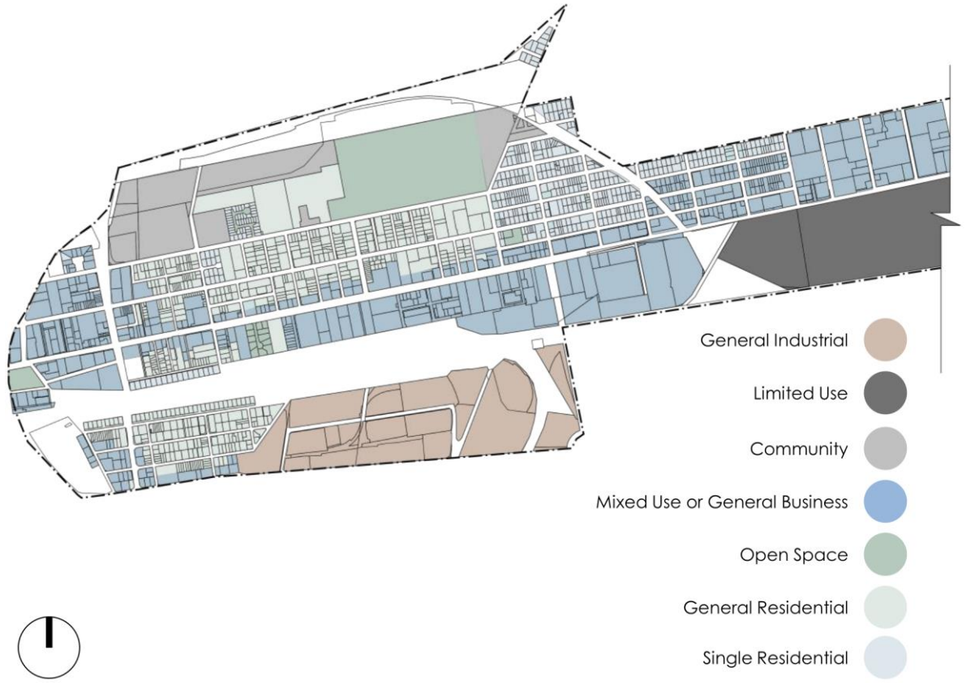


Figure 5.11 **Maitland Zoning (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on City of Cape Town Map Viewer, 2022)

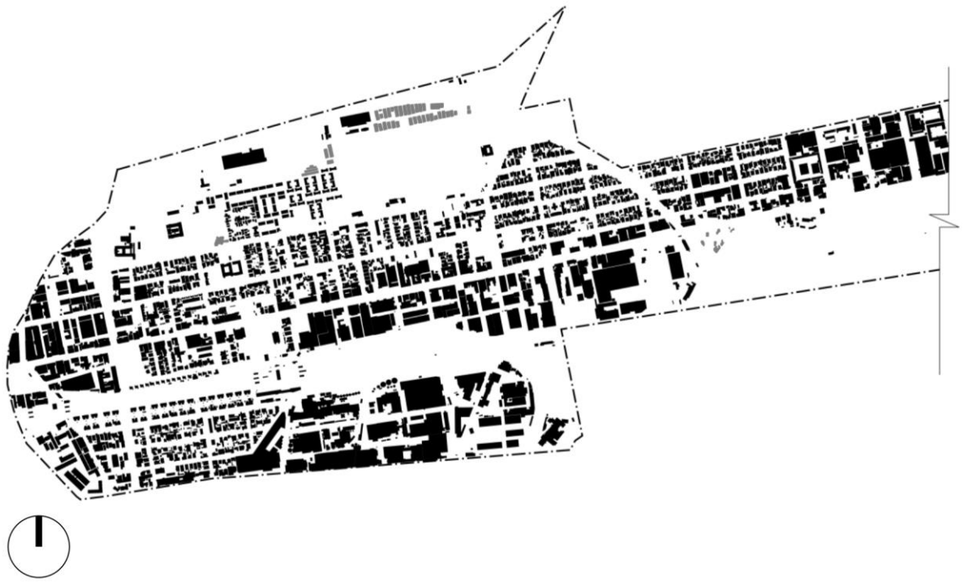


Figure 5.12 **Maitland Building Grain (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on City of Cape Town Map Viewer, 2022)

5.3 ANALYSIS OF THE ACTIVITY OF PLACE

The literature review indicated that the activity of place is comprised of an area's social and economic transaction base and is the result of vitality, diversity, sufficient density, and a 'good' quality public realm during the day and night. It also suggested that South Africa requires a complex transaction base, including informal livelihoods. Based on the themes in the conceptual framework, the following section briefly outlines the spatial pre-conditions for the activity of place; describes Maitland's formal, micro and informal transaction base; and reviews the quality of the public realm.

5.3.1 MAITLAND'S PRE-CONDITIONS FOR ACTIVITY

Jacobs (1961) asserts that the pre-conditions for 'good' quality public and urban spaces are avoiding arbitrary use separations, the integration of different building types and uses in a fine urban grain, having walkable blocks, and buildings orientated towards the street. Along Voortrekker Road, Maitland is primarily zoned general business or mixed use, which means that the DMS (which confers land use rights on an erf) accommodates a mix of businesses, appropriate industrial, and residential development (CoCT, 2015) (**Figure 5.11**). Currently, most buildings along this route are between two and four storeys, however, the rights afforded to these properties allow the corridor to be developed to about eight storeys. Although this supports densification, the east-west orientation of the street means that tall buildings on the north side of Voortrekker Road would cast large shadows, which may change the activities that occur on the street. A local area plan should consider this. The areas behind Voortrekker Road are typically zoned general residential which accommodates urban living at higher densities (ibid). 'For sale' signs on the few vacant erven show asking prices of around R 15 million with plan approval for over 65 flats. Blocks are anything between 50 – 80m wide and 100 – 160m long, which accords with walkable block sizes recommended by the UN (UN, 2014). Nelson's (2022) quantitative analysis indicates that Maitland has a high street network accessibility meaning the street layout is conducive to high levels of movement. Building footprints are conservative, although the grain is noticeably more coarse in the industrial areas (see **Figure 5.12**). Other than in the industrial areas, nearly all buildings are orientated towards the street. In other words, Maitland's existing land use and spatial conditions are ripe for an active public realm.

5.3.2 MAITLAND'S FORMAL TRANSACTION BASE

> *I think one critical factor that we always neglect to talk about in local area planning is the economy. Where is the economy actually moving spatially? To me, the money wins at the end of the day when it comes to local area planning.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Fester, 11 August 2022)

What follows is an attempt to convey what is occurring in the economy and to understand what it means spatially (from a non-economist perspective). **Figure 5.13** indicates the City's analysis of interdependent areas of economic agglomeration and spillovers, providing a glimpse into the 'deep structure' of the municipality's larger economic network (CoCT,2014). The VRC correlates with the most intense linkages in the regional economy, where the constituent nodes exhibit high levels of interdependency (ibid).

> *It is clear that these tiers differ: two nodes may mutually reinforce each other, or compete … This in turn suggests that the corridor is not merely a design object, but indeed representative of a functional economic sub-system. The implication for*

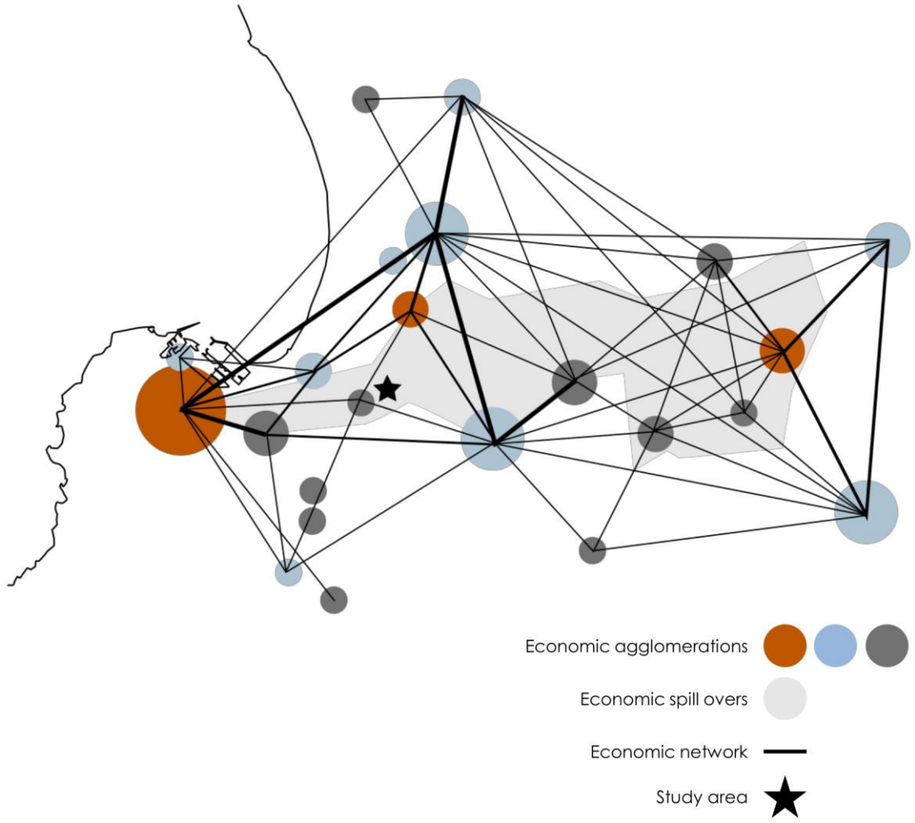


Figure 5.13 **Network Analysis of the City's Economic Interdependencies (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on fig. 31 [CoCT, 2014])

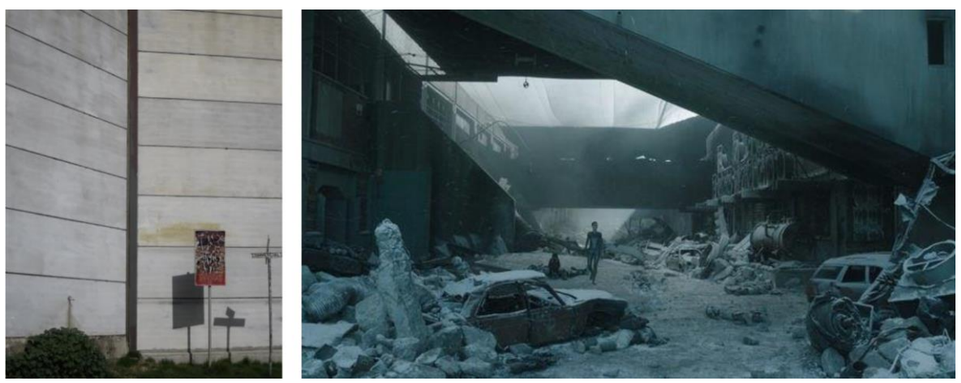


Figure 5.14 **Blank Frontage of Industrial Sites & Re-Purposed Maitland Abattoir**

(Author's own; Raised By Wolves [2022, October 1])

> *strategy? It may be anticipated that intervention (or lack thereof) in one part of the corridor is likely to have consequences (intended or otherwise) in the rest of the corridor.*
>
> (CoCT, 2014: 141)

Again, this reinforces the notion introduced in **Chapter 4** that the local area is part of an economic network that extends beyond the bounds of the study area and that positive or negative changes in the local area can have implications on that which happens outside of it. What is significant for Maitland is that, although theoretically accessible, the preceding analysis demonstrated that it is in fact spatially disconnected from the surrounding economic hubs, Century City being the most obvious example (a point corroborated by the Councillor) (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022). As initially identified in **Chapter 4** the act of physically interlinking Maitland with these dissociated areas – the design object – is important from an economic perspective.

Within the local area itself, The City's 'area profile' demonstrates that Maitland is in a growth phase, predicated on manufacturing, industry, and street retail activity (see **Figure 5.16**). This reinforces the retention of the industrial character of Maitland, despite it not being identified as a key economic focus area in the City's plans. Although economically advantageous and clearly meaningful to people in the area, industrial land use is a challenge for the vibrancy (or the social transaction base) of place, where inactive frontages and time-specific usage makes the area 'dead' and 'scary', particularly at night (Interview, Participant X, 22 August 2022) (**Figure 5.14**).

The 'area profile' also highlights that Maitland has the preconditions for economic growth (such as infrastructure, security, and accessibility), but is constrained by the extent of vacant industrial land, which may be why most building applications are for re-developments. Further investigation is clearly required by the City into what *type* of industry is suitable in Maitland (and its concomitant land use / zoning requirements) and what multi-functional purpose it could have. One opportunity may be Cape Town's burgeoning film industry. Evidence of small companies affiliated with this industry (such as costume studios) is apparent – mostly on the southern side of the railway line – and the Maitland Abattoir was recently used for filming an international Ridley Scott series (see **Figure 5.14**).

Along Voortrekker Road, private investment appears to be directed into manufacturing or processing companies with front-of-house retail. Smaller private investment is often related to vehicle repairs, scrap metal, and food retail (see **Figure 5.15**). Visible private development investment is occurring mostly on the western edge of Maitland, such as the Capita building (a UK-based consulting and digital solution firm) (Capita, 2022) and the Maitland Metro precinct. Maitland Metro is "a R 1.2 billion inner-city rejuvenation project" aimed at achieving at least seven new buildings, 50,000m² of mixed-use development bulk, and 1,200 residential opportunities focused on inclusionary housing" (Maitland Metro, 2022). As well as the reasonable land prices and favourable zoning cited in **Chapter 4**, the developer BlueBuck Project's motivations for purchasing in Maitland were the area's central location and accessibility; public transport zoning (which means less parking provision by the developer); and the "hustle and bustle" of Voortrekker Road (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022). Just like meaning, the activity of place appears to have a financial value. He also notes that the existing Capita building was an incentive, in other words economically successful buildings are mutually reinforcing – this is not just a dynamic at the corridor scale. Mr. Reznick notes a very specific rental and ownership market in the area:

> *If we came and tried to sell the units for R 2 million here no one would buy them. So there is only a certain number of things we could do with this land. We can only develop housing for inclusionary housing because the rest of the market won't pay R 10,000 [monthly] for a studio here like they might in Sea Point.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

Brown-Luthango and O'Toole (2019: 8) write that the western node "caters to a new class in Maitland: phone jockeys. Easily identified by their lanyards bearing access-control cards". The gentrification in this area may be real but it is the one area in Maitland that feels genuinely safe to walk around and the only one in which the formal public space was consistently utilised, regardless of the day and

Figure 5.15 **Voortrekker Road's 'Formal' Transaction Base with the Maitland Metro Precinct**

(Author's own; https://maitlandmetro.co.za/ [2022, October 1])

time of the field visit (more on this later). This may be because Voortrekker Road and the western node have "top up public safety and urban cleaning services" provided by MaitCID, a City Improvement District initiative that incurs additional rates for property owners (MaitCID, 2020: 3). The necessity for MaitCID is an example of basic needs not being met by the state (a sustainability theme): despite already paying taxes and rates on their income and properties, only those who can afford it have the benefit of *feeling* secure in the public realm.

Despite having ample land in the area, state-led development projects have been minimal. On the northern side of Maitland, Royal Maitland One was completed in 2005 as a sectional title development by the Cape Town Community Housing Company. It has gated access, privatised social spaces, and does little to contribute to the public environment. In 2022, construction began on Maitland Mews at the corner of Voortrekker Road and Cannon Street, in which the City partnered with the Madulammoho Housing Association to provide 204 social housing flats (Madulammoho Housing, 2022). This land was identified for development in the 1992 Local Area Plan, meaning that it has taken the state over 30 years to achieve this project. These examples may demonstrate why the state is perhaps best suited to creating the *enabling* environment for development as opposed to *being* the developer (Interview, Mr. Fester, 11 August 2022).

Although there is relatively robust daytime activity along Voortrekker Road, night-time activity is limited and, when it occurs, often problematic:

> *Maitland at night was historically not lekker, not that safe … But what we would want it to be is a bit more vibrant and active. Especially if we're bringing in over a thousand apartments. That could be like two or three thousand people. They have to be able to do something at night, so there needs to be restaurants or shops or markets or bars of whatever these places are. Just like there needs to be a park or an open space for recreation.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

> *But the problem area [at night] is normally Voortrekker. We have what we call a Tiffany's, which is a liquor outlet and a bar and a dance and whatever. Where we have all the things happening in Maitland! We sort of have that block where Tiffany's is which is quite, at night, hectic!*
>
> (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022)

A local area plan will need to be mindful of what could induce vitality beyond the daytime and be similarly aware of what would make this activity safe and compatible with the local area, especially if more people are moving into it as City policy recommends. Roberts and Elridge (2009) recommend a firmer stance in planning to support night-time activity including: ensuring easily accessible car and public transport (to incentivise visits); grouping activities according to compatible use (to ease management); avoiding over-concentration of similar activities, particularly those associated with drinking establishments (to mitigate problems); and additional management taxes to those businesses who operate into the night (to be directed into safety and security) (ibid). This can be achieved through a combination of planning and licensing working in tandem with one another (ibid). Similarly, City efforts could be put into promoting and supporting family-friendly night-time activity as opposed to simply policing and enforcing problematic activity (ibid).

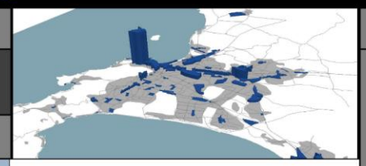
Business Location Intelligence

CITY OF CAPE TOWN
ISIXEKO SASEKAPA
STAD KAAPSTAD

Maitland

please visit our interactive map viewer at http://web1.capetown.gov.za/web1/ecamp

Character	Phase
MIXED USE	GROWTH



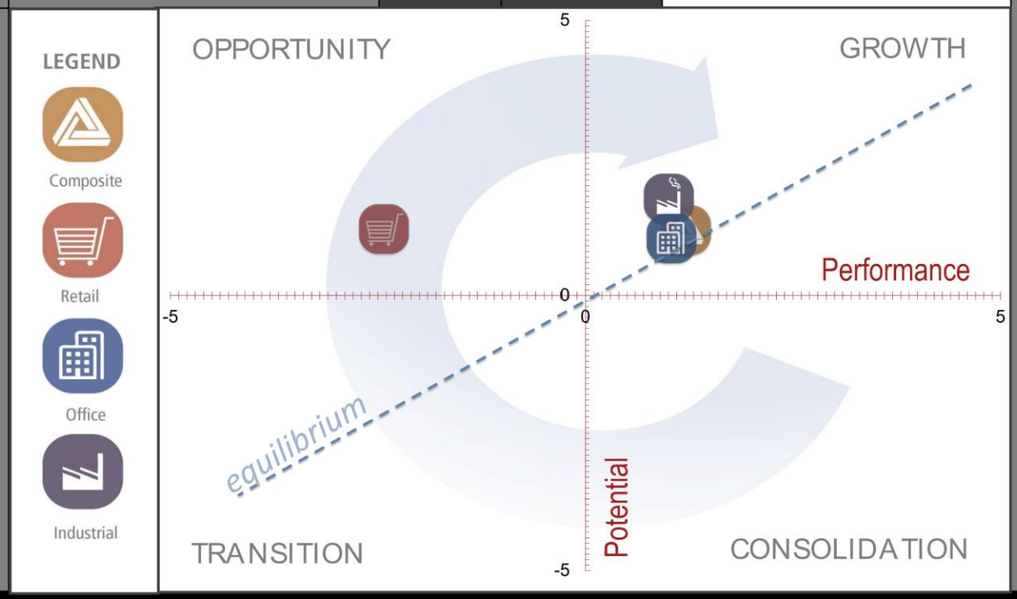
MARKET PERFORMANCE

DECEMBER 2015	SUB-INDICATORS	VALUE	+/-
RENTALS	Industrial rentals (1000 m2)	Third party data only available to City users.	HIGH
	Industrial rental growth since 2009 (nominal)		VERY HIGH
	Industrial rental growth since 2005 (nominal)		VERY HIGH
	Office rentals (Grade A)		VERY LOW
	Office rental growth since 2005 (nominal)		
	Office rental growth since 2009 (nominal)		VERY HIGH
	Street-front retail rental (100m2) MEAN		LOW
	Street-front retail rental (100m2) MAX		LOW
	Shopping centre retail rental (R/m2)		
	Flat rentals (std. bachelor w/o parking)		MODERATE
	Flat rentals (upmarket 2-bed w/ parking)		VERY LOW
VACANCY	Industrial vacancy (index)	2.5	MODERATE
	Office vacancy (All Grades, %)		
BUILDING	New industries completed since 2005, m2	5 453	LOW
	New offices completed since 2005, m2	9 898	HIGH
	New shopping completed since 2005, m2	4 144	MODERATE
	Subm. for new industries since 2014, m2	8 716	MODERATE
	Subm. for new offices since 2014, m2	2 170	VERY HIGH
	Subm. for new shopping since 2014, m2	821	HIGH
	Redevelopment completed since 2005, m2	28 592	HIGH
	Subm. for redevelopment since 2014, m2	2 489	HIGH
	New flats completed since 2005 (1km radius)	390	
SALES	Property churn, annual average between 2005 and 2012	3%	MODERATE
	Property churn, annual average since 2013	3%	MODERATE
	Industrial vacant land sales since 2005, R value	R 40 664 787	MODERATE
	Industrial vacant land sales since 2005, count	8	MODERATE
COMPOSITE PERFORMANCE (-5 to +5)		1.2	TENTATIVE

PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

COMPOSITE PERFORMANCE

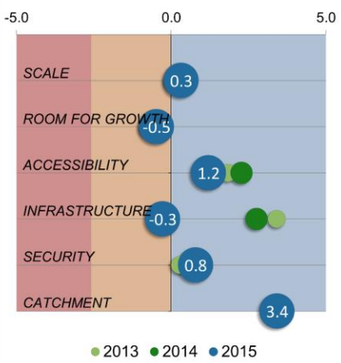
DIAGNOSTIC



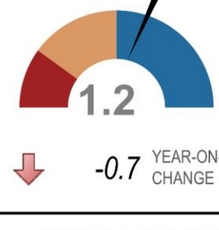
LOCATION POTENTIAL

	SUB-INDICATORS	VALUE	+/-
SCALE	**Office : TOTAL**	**42 431**	**MODERATE**
	Street front retail, hospitality and services	121 226	VERY LARGE
	Shopping centre retail and ancillary services	7 109	MODERATE
	Industrial: TOTAL	**511 172**	**LARGE**
	Industrial : warehousing	112 781	LARGE
	Industrial : admin and services	96 740	VERY LARGE
	Industrial : manufacturing	301 651	LARGE
	Industrial property value density, R/m2	R 2 176	HIGH
	Commercial property value density, R/m2	R 2 061	LOW
	Value of industrial properties	R 1 507 711 552	HIGH
	Value of commercial properties	R 360 520 248	LOW
	Average industrial property value	R 5 866 582	MODERATE
	Average commercial property value	R 2 435 948	VERY LOW
	Count of improved commercial parcels	148	MULTIPLICITY
	Count of improved industrial parcels	257	MANY
	Office work places (incl. admin blocks)	6 959	MANY
	Retail work places (est.)	6 203	MULTIPLICITY
	Industrial work places (est.)	10 230	MANY
ROOM FOR GROWTH	Mean size of improved industrial property	2 696	SMALL
	Mean size of improved commercial property	1 182	SMALL
	Future industrial bulk until 2032, in m2	230 202	ABOVE AVERAGE
	Future office bulk until 2032, in m2	136 260	HIGH
	Vacant industrial land, R/m2	R 1 433	MODERATE
	Vacant industrial land as % of total	4%	MODERATELY CONSTRAINED
	Extent of vacant industrial land, m2	28 261	CONSTRAINED
ACCESS IBILITY	Distance to markets and services (weighted)	0.05	CENTRALLY LOCATED
	Distance to industry & gateways (weighted)	0.06	CENTRALLY LOCATED
	Congestion as an origin during AM peak	125%	FAST MOVING
	Congestion as destination during AM peak	164%	GRIDLOCK
	Public Transport Index (Rail + MyCiti, CBD=1)	0.5	VERY WELL SERVICED
INFRA STRUCTURE	Electricity	2	ADEQUATE CAPACITY
	Water	1	SPARE CAPACITY
	Sewer	4	SEVERE LACK OF CAPACITY
	Stormwater (incl.flood risk/sea rise)	2	ADEQUATE CAPACITY
	Local road congestion (volume / capacity)	4	SLOW MOVING
SECURITY	Business burglaries / no. of business properties	17%	VERY SAFE
	Business robberies / no. of business properties	3%	SAFE
5KM CATCH-MENT	Workers with tertiary education, 2011	84 315	VERY HIGH
	Postgraduates, 2011	24 253	VERY HIGH
	Morning commuter arrivals (all modes)	96 261	VERY HIGH
	Future demand for retail until 2032, m2	11 912	VERY HIGH
	Per capita monthly disposable income, 2011	R 6 427	MODERATE
	Aggregate annual disposable income, 2011	R 20 795 289 489	HIGH
COMPOSITE POTENTIAL (-5 to +5)		1.2	TENTATIVE

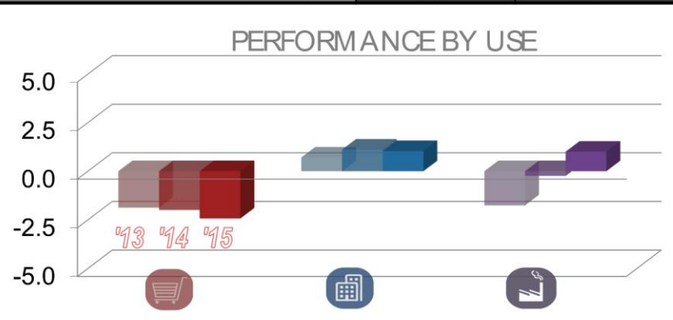
POTENTIAL INDICATORS



COMPOSITE POTENTIAL



PERFORMANCE BY USE



WORK SPACE

Figure 5.16 **Maitland ECAMP Business Location Intelligence Report**

(https://web1.capetown.gov.za/web1/ECAMP/ [2022, August 15])




Figure 5.17 **Maitland's Micro & 'Informal' Transaction Base**

(Author's own)

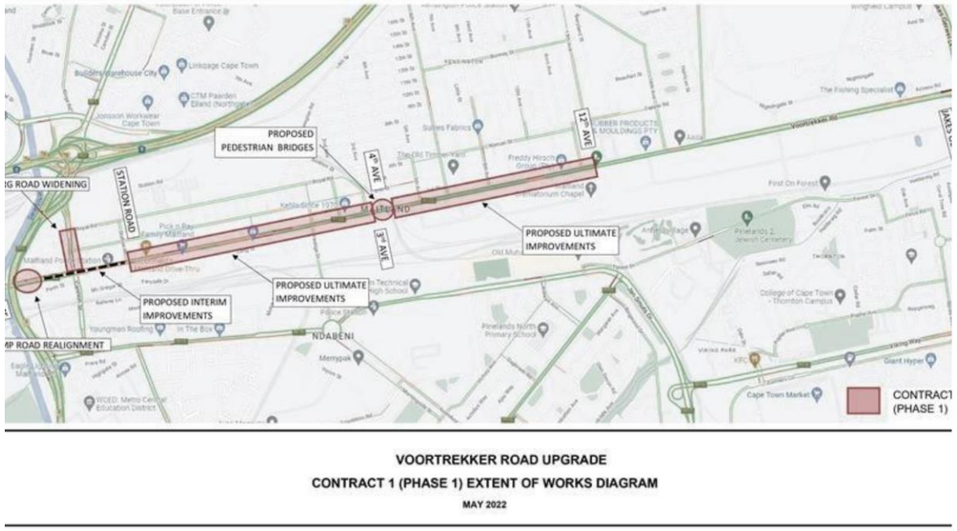
5.3.3 MAITLAND'S MICRO & INFORMAL TRANSACTION BASE

> *Voortrekker Road has long possessed an impolite streak: it is what makes it distinct from middle-class suburbs that flourish around Table Mountain.*
>
> (Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019: 5)

This impolite streak may mean that it lacks the sophistication and polish of some areas in the southern suburbs, but it is this propensity for impertinence that makes it far more interesting and vibrant. Signs of small, micro, and informal enterprises abound along Voortrekker Road, although it is perceptibly more active from the western 'entrance' of Maitland to the Prestige Drive intersection. It is at this point that the size of erven increases and the buildings lose their active street frontage. The change in street character is noticeable. Informal activity picks up again around Crematorium Road near the cemetery – which the taxis use – but this is more restrained. On the southern side of Voortrekker Road facing the sun, people sit beneath the eucalyptus trees and use the wide pavement in front of the formal businesses or public spaces to set up money transfer tents, shoe repair businesses, fruit and vegetable stalls, and braais (see **Figure 5.17**). This is done both informally and in combination with more formal enterprise (thus informal livelihoods are positively incorporated, a theme in the conceptual framework). This is a relationship and opportunity not portrayed in the MSDF and DSDF.

> *So a lot of those [informal enterprise]are part of the businesses. You'll always see the pavement (the sidewalk) is wide, so a small piece belongs to the City and the rest belongs to the business. So they allow people to have informal stands outside, which is good.*
>
> (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022)

Although heightened on Voortrekker Road, small and micro activity – and concomitant social activity – is evident throughout Maitland and is what makes the area "vibey" (Interview, Ms. Tembo, 12 August 2022). Small shops / superettes / mini markets with names like 'Busy Corner', 'Twin Palms', and 'The Cheap Cheap Shop' occur throughout Maitland, all adorned with the vivid Coca-Cola logo. Typically, the sites that house this activity are zoned General Residential, where a shop is a consent use only, which suggests that the DMS does not adequately capture the dynamic of small and micro activity occurring in parts of Maitland. Along Voortrekker Road, small shops cater to anything from hairdressing to phone repairs, laundry, internet access, and printing / photocopying. Many small establishments, such as 'African Legacy Studio' and 'Unique African Raw Food and Spices', are clearly aimed at the wider African market. Ms. Tembo, who trades pre-cooked food from a small stand outside one of the superettes, confirms that she rents her trading area and storage space from the Somalian superette owners (Interview, Ms. Tembo, 12 August 2022), thus confirming a "prodigious mix of both formal and informal socioeconomic activities" which is a characteristic of a port-of-entry neighbourhood (Winkler, 2013: 316). Winkler argues that such areas defy linear free-market rationalities, contemporary conceptualisations of land markets, and simplistic urban regeneration schemes (ibid). This means that policy cannot assume the effectiveness of supportive public-private partnerships, the implementation of public management strategies and control measures, and "carefully crafted physical interventions that pre-suppose a multiplier effect" (Winkler, 2013: 315). They may not be effective if they do not address the "complex, multiple and, at times, unpredictable processes" (Winkler, 2013: 310) that are occurring in the area. **Chapter 3** echoed this when it said that interventions should not try to impose order and regulation onto an environment. As previously stated, the MSDF and DSDF fail to acknowledge the port-of-entry aspect of Maitland. A local area plan conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability has the double challenge of addressing the specificities of place and aligning with policy documents. But this is exactly what makes the scale of engagement – if conducted properly – so necessary and useful. A local area plan conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability has the advantage of being able to feed more sensitive and contextually appropriate information back into the higher-order policy documents (Interview, Participant X, August 2022).



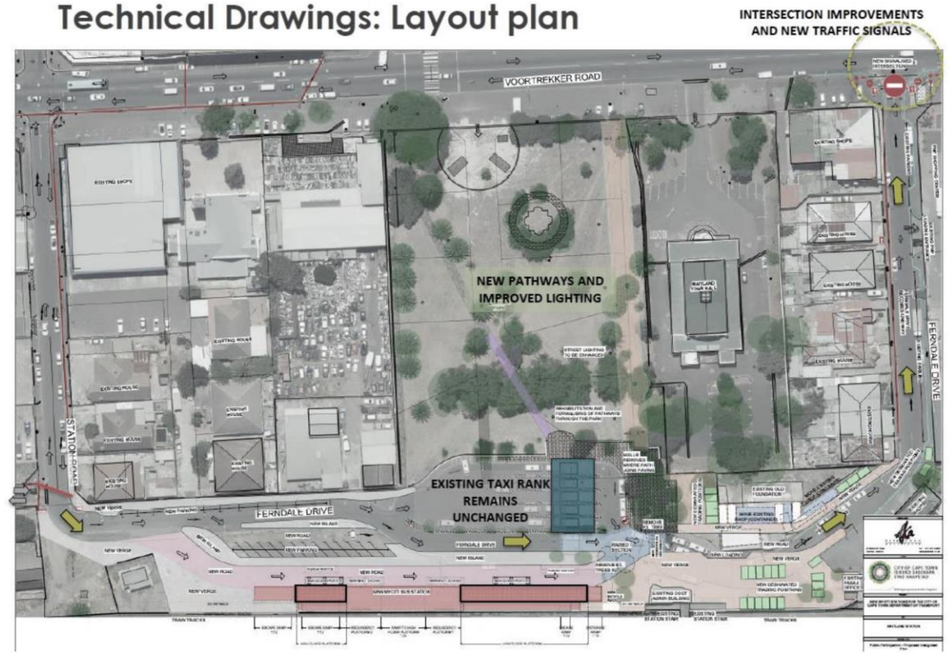


Figure 5.18 **Proposed Voortrekker Road Improvement (Top) & MyCiTi Project (Bottom)**

(Voortrekker Road Upgrade [2022, August 25]; MyCiTi Station & Road Conversion from Subcouncil 15 Briefing Session)

Various scales of social and economic activity are evident everywhere but the quiet residential 'pocket' in the north-eastern portion of Maitland. Whilst protecting the residential areas from encroachment was a theme in the 1992 Local Area Plan (CoCT, 1992), the current DSDF and EMF – in particular the portion on sub-district 3 – fails to acknowledge that the character of this 'pocket' is different from the others and instead simply calls for generic increased residential density, presumably leaving it to the DMS to be precise about where exactly this intensification is appropriate (this 'pocket' is zoned Single Residential). Despite the conceptual framework stating that there must be clear communication on what structural intensification entails, the interface between two different densities is not elaborated on in any policy documents. This oversight should be addressed by a local area plan.

The concentration of both formal and informal activity along Voortrekker Road coincides with a proposed road widening scheme as part of the City's congestion relief programme. An additional MyCiTi station and road conversion are planned for the taxi rank near Maitland station (see **Figure 5.18**). Despite being in their initial phases[19], the impression that the Councillor gets is that the two engineering projects are not talking to each other or considering the impact on the activity of place:

> *Because we did the Voortrekker Corridor [road improvement] and I mentioned the MyCiTi, no one could say to me how that's working with one another … Because they're not really speaking to each other in terms of how they're dealing with the bigger picture. Each one has their own picture.*
>
> (Focus group, Councillor Jacobs, 2 September 2022)

Mr. Reznick states that the road widening proposes a centre island (not evident in the City's plans), which he finds "annoying":

> *Because this oke [small business owner] who's operated here for 40 years, he's not going to have people who can just come along Voortrekker and turn into his road. Yes, traffic is a real thing, but in the middle of the day when people visit here, Voortrekker Road is quiet enough for people to do that [turn right across the road]. And also it takes up space, the island.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

In general, the Western Cape Government (WCG) acknowledges that there has been a disconnect between spatial development frameworks and infrastructure projects, however, "it's difficult to articulate specificities [required by engineering departments] when you're hovering at the settlement scale" (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022).

> *The frustration has always been, you know, we're putting all this effort into spatial planning and plans that try to bring about spatial transformation and be progressive and enabling but business-goes-on as usual … so there's this, sort of, disconnect between the engineering departments and the service departments and what the town planners are wanting to achieve. So it's really important that we understand what is the value that town planners or spatial planners bring to the table…*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022)

Chapter 4 indicated that the state views the local area plan as a critical tool in the *implementation* of large-scale objectives, such as the IDP's priorities[20]. What the above analysis demonstrates is that the local area plan is also ideal for *co-ordination* to achieve the

[19] Public comment for phase 1 of the road widening scheme closed on the 15th September 2022. Public participation for the MyCiTi only began in mid-September 2022.

[20] It is worth repeating these. They are: 1) plan for employment and improve accessibility and access to economic opportunities; 2) build an inclusive, integrated, and vibrant city; and 3) manage urban growth and create a balance between urban development and environmental protection (CoCT, 2022a).

City's objectives: "when you're in the LSDF scale you can become quite specific" (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022). It is futile to widen a road and improve traffic congestion at the expense of the economic and social transaction base / the activity of place, which is a precondition for spatial sustainability and a goal of the IDP. The Maitland road widening / My Citi case demonstrates why there is a need for a common document that holds the miscellaneous threads together, considers trade-offs, and ensures the qualitative aspects of place-making are incorporated into built environment projects (all themes in the conceptual framework). The local area plan is thus the architect in the exercise of city building: the only entity aligning a set of parts with the full picture in mind.

> *It's a really good example of systems thinking and systems building. A system will only be optimal if components of that system make trade-offs to ensure that the system as a whole works optimally. And if you have one component of that system, such as the road network, trying to optimise itself for mobility (for example), you're undermining the system as a whole.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022)

The co-ordination aspect of local area planning holds two challenges that any local area plan would need to acknowledge and address. Firstly, "it's not like everything starts from day one with the same intention" (Focus group, Ms. Bergoff, 2 September 2022). Secondly, there is the siloed approach to government administration, which is frequently raised as a hurdle for local area planning (Interview, Participant X, 22 August 2022).

5.3.4 THE QUALITY OF THE PUBLIC REALM IN MAITLAND

There is a visible difference between the quality of Maitland's public realms. Whilst the streets are full of Gehl's necessary, optional, and resultant activities during the day, the 'formal' public spaces feel unloved, unmaintained, and unsafe (see **Figure 5.19**). This is exacerbated by the high number of public land holdings in Maitland, which are often unmaintained and illegally occupied; attributes that sterilise the quality of place and affect investment in the area (Interview, Participant X, 22 August 2022). This includes PRASA land, where under-utilised rail infrastructure is "becoming the dumping site and hang out spot for opportunistic criminals" (Bantom, 2021).

> *Our rail system is not that good and I have three railway stations in my ward, which is quite a mission … The trains aren't working but remember the stations are there and now what happens is that they're [citizen] breaking apart the stations stone by stone … The only active station we really have is Century City, because of the Century City complex on the other side … We have Century City officers manning the station from that side and our local neighbourhood watch groups patrolling from our side. So we're working together now … Now some of the directors and businesses in Century City, they contributed towards it.*
>
> (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022)

Although a commendable example of active citizenry, the above illustrates yet another case in Maitland of private funds being used to address public realm challenges. Ironically, it seems as if any efforts to enhance publicness on the part of the City have been directed into 'formal' public areas – such as the previously mentioned square at Maitland's western node – whereas (possibly due to their existing vibrancy) there has been little effort to enhance the street as public space. There is also the curious observation that, while the streets are active and vibrant, this does not necessarily equate with a feeling of safety.

> *When we take out the skollies, because there's a lot of skollies here, then it's good … Maitland is a very fantastic place, I love to live here my whole life, but the skollies if they go away, I'll be free. That's what I need.*
>
> (Interview, Ms. Tembo, 12 August 2022)

Figure 5.19 **Quality of Maitland's Public Open Space**

(Author's own)

This is an interesting discrepancy with The City's Urban Design Policy (2013), which states that visual connections and passive surveillance create the conditions for increased safety and security. Maitland has these attributes (even in the 'formal' public areas), meaning that Maitland's public realm is indicative of a multifaceted port-of-entry neighbourhood whose complexity defies linear suppositions about the multiplier effect of physical interventions (Winkler, 2013). Furthermore, the quality of Maitland's public realm may be representative of the performance of the area as a whole, particularly with regards to resident's perceptions of inclusion:

> *Public spaces are shaped not only by claims, but also by the absence of claims, by the withdrawal from the public sphere. Withdrawal from public space may be due to fear of crime, mistrust of other social groups, and intensified social polarization. This withdrawal is reflected in neglect and decline, poor maintenance, accumulation of waste and refuse, or lack of care and attention … Public spaces provide linkages between private spheres, and represent the character and quality of the city as a whole. The decline of public space reflects a breakdown in social and spatial linkages and the deterioration of the city as a whole.*
>
> (Madanipour, 2010: 238)

Developers raise the provisioning of public space as a difficulty:

> *We would love to do that [partner with local government to provide public space] and that is something that we hope to do. But it's been very difficult … to actually track down and do the process. Finding out the person who is actually going to ring-fence that money [for the public space] and go there has been difficult and not possible … [we need to provide public space] because, again, you know there's a 3 or 4m² [communal space] requirement in a building which we don't have here [on The Prime in the Maitland Metro precinct]. So we need to do it [provide communal space] in public areas.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

A local area plan conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability (which is ultimately concerned with equity and inclusion) should, therefore, prioritise the public realm and provide precise guidance on how it might be provisioned and maintained.

The activity of place has demonstrated that Maitland has a complex, multi-level social and economic transaction base and the spatial pre-conditions for a 'good' public realm. However, there are nuances and dynamics that are currently not being captured and addressed by existing City policy and (un-coordinated) projects. Additionally, while the street as public realm is performing relatively well, 'formal' public spaces are performing poorly. The performance of the public realm can be attributed to interventions on the part of citizens as opposed to efforts by the state. Mr. Gideon sums up the activity in Maitland:

> *It's busy [vibrant]. It's a busy area, like Cape Town. It's an industrial area and also a living area.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Gideon, 11 August 2022)

Table 5.2 indicates the conceptual framework themes that the activity of place has responded to.

Table 5.2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK THEMES ADDRESSED BY THE ACTIVITY OF PLACE
Basic needs are met
Balance is achieved by managing trade-offs
Interventions are not trying to impose 'order' and 'regulation' onto an environment
There is a logic to where structural intensification is required and what it entails
The intensification makes the following viable: • Economic inclusion (particularly for small and informal enterprises), • Social inclusion (which includes viable social facilities), • Accessible, quality public space
Informality is creatively and positively incorporated
Places are vital with a sense of place and place-making qualities
A place incorporates 'good-quality' public space, which includes: • Arbitrary use separations are avoided • Blocks are fine-grained with co-existent uses • Streets are permeable with buildings orientated towards them • There are frequent opportunities for people to rest and linger
Opportunities exist for necessary, optional, and resultant activities
There is an active street life at different times of day and night
There is a complex, multi-level social transaction base
There is a complex, multi-level economic transaction base
Informal livelihoods are creatively and positively incorporated
The accessibility surface has a predictable spatial logic and caters to people on foot
The plan provides the necessary detail to guide place-making
The plan captures the interconnections within and between areas

Figure 5.20 **Maitland's Institutions & Utilities**

(Author's own, based on City of Cape Town Map Viewer, 2022; CoCT, 2021)

5.4 ANALYSIS OF THE PHYSICALITY OF PLACE

The following analysis of Maitland's structuring elements (items with long lifespans) and infill elements (items with short lifespans) is based on **Chapter 3**'s conceptual framework. The aim is to determine the 'fit' of the settlement, or whether the form of Maitland – and the processes to achieve that form – aligns with the needs and actions of its inhabitants (Lynch, 1981).

5.4.1 MAITLAND'S STRUCTURING ELEMENTS

As Maitland's structuring elements are not premised on the region's natural systems, analysis is consigned to the area's movement systems, the logic for structural intensification, infrastructure / utilities, and public institutions. **Figure 5.24** demonstrates that Maitland is surrounded by an intensity and diversity of movement systems, including various modes of public and paratransit. As described in the preceding analysis, the road and rail infrastructure does as much to separate Maitland from its surroundings as to integrate it, however, in theory, the movement systems have the spatial characteristics to catalyse Dewar and Uytenbogaardt's 'accessibility web'.

> *It's just easy for transportation and I'm around the shops, so that's what I like [about Maitland].*
>
> (Interview, Ms. Tembo, 12 August 2022)

Figure 5.25 indicates the hierarchy of the movement channels and categorises them into either roads or streets: "The essential difference is that roads are channels of movement; streets are social spaces within which movement is one (and often not even the primary) activity" (Dewar & Todeschini, 2017: 138). Streets are scaled to the pedestrian, have a sense of enclosure and spatial definition, and while they "may not accommodate any demand made upon them optimally … overall they can accommodate all activities" (Dewar & Todeschini, 2017: 138). Voortrekker Road is an obvious example, but most of Maitland is comprised of streets for people and not roads for cars. This is a rare quality in Cape Town and one that a local area plan should nurture. The one mode of transit conspicuously lacking in Maitland is cycling, which is apparently being incorporated into the new Voortrekker Road improvement scheme (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022). As safe cycling requires specific infrastructure that is space intensive, a local area plan should address whether Voortrekker Road is the best route to accommodate this mode of transit.

Figure 5.26 is an aggregated analysis of the type of infill and shows that the movement network and land use characteristics promote and support structural intensification in key areas, which **Chapter 3** notes as a key requirement for spatial integration. Furthermore, the individual erf sizes mean that land can be developed in "manageable chunks" as opposed to overly large sites whose size dissuades smaller developers and makes for buildings that are "operationally challenging" (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022). It is worth commenting on the City's 'formal' intensification and densification proposals presented in **Chapter 4**. While one small business owner saw intensification as an opportunity for his business to expand (Interview, Mr. Gideon, 11 August 2022), most others saw it as a problem, particularly for Maitland's persistent sewage and stormwater issues (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022; Interview Mr. Lewis & Mr. Anderson, 12 August 2022) (see utility capacity constraints in **Figure 5.20**). Therefore, whilst intensification and densification are undoubtedly necessary to achieve spatial transformation in South African cities (a theme across all of **Chapter 4's** policies), City planners tasked with *any scale* of plan have the challenge of making the concept palatable. This may be where the local plan is useful, not only because its scale is suitable for meaningful engagement (as demonstrated in **Chapter 4**) but because the aims of intensification and densification can be translated into acts of place-making most suitable to the area's public realm and trade-offs can be more clearly identified and communicated to stakeholders. The concept of densification "gets abused in the void of specific policy" (Focus group, Ms. Bergoff, 2 September 2022), which makes 'marketing' the concept all the more difficult.

Finally, **Figure 5.20** depicts the location of Maitland's institutions. The original aerial photographs demonstrate that the area's public institutions were located so as to respond to the movement networks and areas of intensification (see **Figure 5.9**). Although this relationship still exists it is becoming increasingly tenuous, particularly along the north-south axis. Any physical acts of public realm intervention should focus on the north-south link (within and beyond the local area) and should highlight the intersection points and logic of the accessibility web.

In summary, Maitland's structuring elements and accessibility web conform with the themes in the conceptual framework. As can be seen by the analysis of the legibility of place and the quality of the public realm, the constraint on the structuring elements and accessibility web is not so much a spatial problem as one driven by failing state infrastructure in the public realm which should be, according to the theories in **Chapter 3**, the primary tool of state planning.

5.4.2 MAITLAND'S INFILL ELEMENTS

Based on **Chapter 3**, this section will focus on the types of infill and informality that are thriving (with an emphasis on housing), the way this is perceived, and the manner in which informal infill and incrementality are obstructed or facilitated by the governing 'codes'.

The census reflects the tenure status in Maitland as 64% rented and 29% owned (the remaining occupied as rent-free or 'other'), with 93% of the local area living in formal dwellings (Census, 2011). Rental arrangements are more common along the perimeter of Voortrekker Road (CoCT, 2014). Mr. Reznick confirms that the biggest demand in The Prime (the first building in the Maitland Metro precinct) has been for one-bedroom units[21].

> *So there's huge flexibility to go to a one-bed … A child can stay in a lounge. Instead of paying for a two-bed, you can just pay for one. Or you and me can rent a flat together and someone else is in the lounge. Again, there's that functionality.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

This flexibility and functionality are also reflected in their semi-furnished shared units as "we believe that the informal house-share model is huge in South Africa" (ibid). In this model, individual rooms are rented out for about R4,000 per month in a shared flat on separate leases[22]. This model allows the developer to "target someone who's getting their first job and [or] they're earning R12,000 R13,000 [per month]" (ibid). Nearly 23% of Cape Town's population falls within this affordability bracket (Census, 2011). Thus, versions of informality and considerations of affordability are occurring and being accommodated within 'formal' infill.

Participants also spoke of a letting and sub-letting dynamic that is more 'informal' and is difficult for a researcher to sensitively articulate. The narrative is that owners in Maitland pay off their houses or flats and move to 'better' areas like Goodwood. Their Maitland house is then let for additional income (often to foreign nationals) without due consideration to the number of people who are moving in. This arrangement has apparently been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the perception is that it contributes to the urban decline of the shared spaces in the area (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022) (see **Figure 5.21**).

Figure 5.21 **Signs of Possible Urban Decline in Shared Spaces in Maitland**

(Author's own)

[21] The Prime is rental only and one-bedroom flats are rented for between R5,500 and R6,000 per month (Maitland Metro, 2022). Future buildings in the Maitland Metro precinct will be a combination of rental and for sale, preferably to the FLISP market (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022).

[22] Two to three bedrooms share a bathroom, living area, and kitchen. Security and internet are provided (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022).

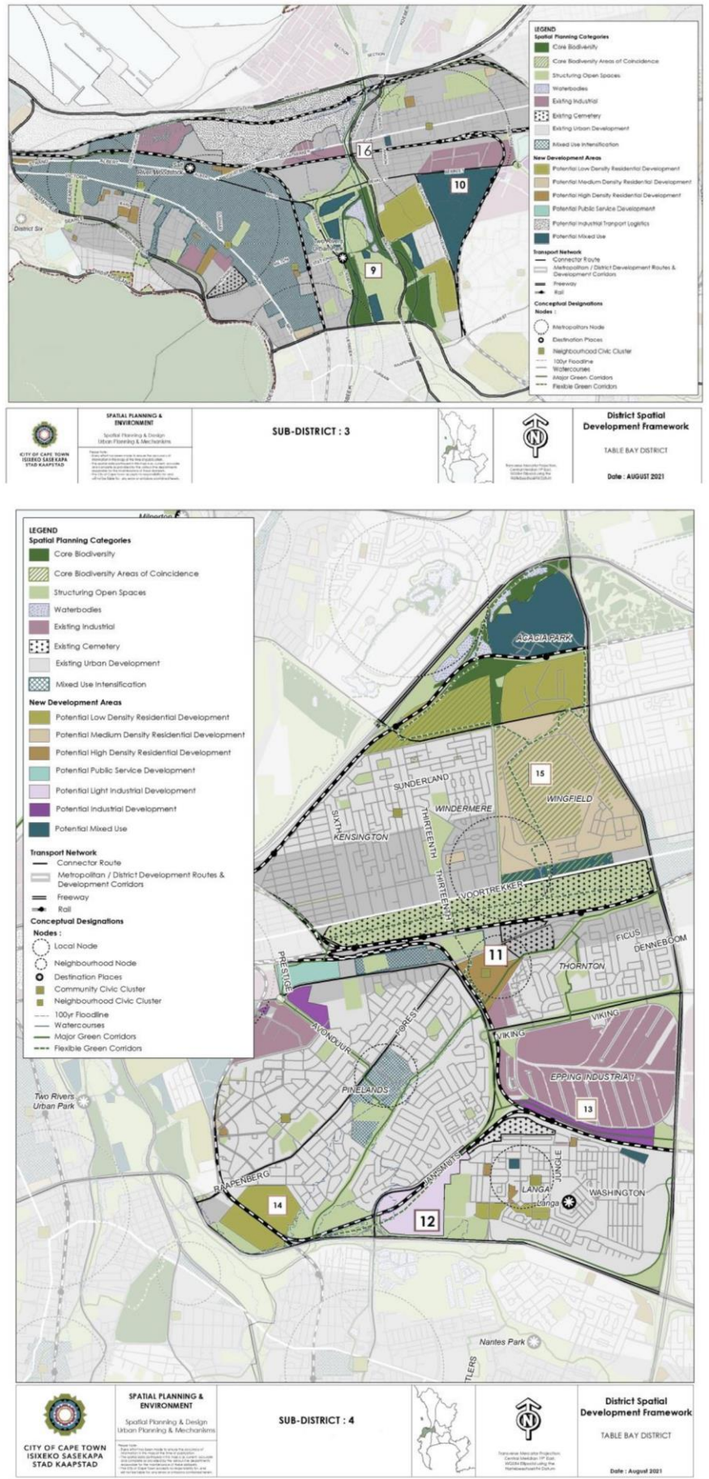


Figure 5.22 **DSDF and EMF Sub-District 3 (Top) and 4 (Bottom) Maps**

(CoCT, 2022e)

> *They [owners] rent it [houses or flats] to the foreign people. Then what they do, instead of having one family, they have ten people in that one structure. Then they don't have enough bins for all of the people.*
>
> (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022)

> *It's [Maitland] actually gone into a bit of disrepair because a lot of foreign nationals have moved in and a lot of people have moved out to better areas. So the quality of life has deteriorated because there is no ownership, and that is somehow a sad reflection … because the tenants don't have ownership, they are constantly moving in and out and transiting from wherever, there's no pride in their living environment.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Ismael, 12 August 2022)

This tenure arrangement again highlights that Maitland is a port-of-entry neighbourhood with associated complexity, challenges, and opportunities. To return to the literature review, Roy (2005) notes that the state can determine which forms of informality thrive and which disappear. The City reflects this tenure dynamic statistically without stating how the dynamism and transience (and its affiliated problems – litter *is* a problem) might change the policy and design approaches in this specific area. Density is occurring, just not in the manner presumed and advocated for in the policy documents. Sandercock (1998: 88) calls this approach to planning the rational comprehensive model in which "the planner is indisputably 'the knower', relying strictly on his professional expertise and objectivity to do what is best for the undifferentiated public". Because of this approach, this version of density and informality is perceived as a problem that residents direct at foreign nationals. The rational planning approach does little to contribute to interventions that include space and people that / who are difficult to measure, make social inclusion viable, or creatively and positively incorporate informality (all themes in the conceptual framework). This problematically echoes the apartheid era, where the informal and transient nature of the locality was viewed as a challenge instead of an opportunity.

> *By ignoring the important function port-of-entry neighbourhoods perform in cities … ongoing and longstanding regeneration efforts – whether implemented by public or private sector actors – will continue to yield only scant and asymmetrical results.*
>
> (Winkler, 2013: 311)

There are two informal settlements within Maitland and one on Wingfield bordering the study area (see **Figure 5.23**). Although the sub-district 3 map in the DSDF does not reflect them (see **Figure 5.22**), the Royal Road informal settlement is in the process of being re-blocked and has been positively incorporated into the design proposal for a new clinic on the erf (Focus group, Ms. Bergoff & Councillor Jacobs, 2 September 2022). The Wingfield site is more challenging. The western portion of Wingfield bordering Voortrekker Road is state-owned. During the COVID-19 pandemic, a marquee was erected on it to accommodate 650 homeless refugees (Watkins, 2020). The eastern portion of Wingfield bordering Voortrekker Road is owned by the Ndabeni Communal Property Trust[23]. Their portion of land has been illegally occupied by over 50 shacks and has come to be called Olympic Park (Washinyira, 2022). The Ndabeni Trust state they have not been able to benefit from the restitution and have been unwilling to give approval for the provision of services on this site (ibid). According to Olympic Park residents, they are subject to regular raids and demolitions by the City's Law Enforcement officers (ibid). Despite this complexity, the DSDF's sub-district 4 map continues to identify the land as having potential for mixed-use development (see **Figure 5.22**).

[23] "The Trust has owned the land since 2004, after a successful claim through the Land Claims Commission in terms of the Restitution Act of 1997" (Washinyira, 2022). The Ndabeni Trust consists of 249 households.

Figure 5.23 **Informal Conditions In & Around Maitland & Wingfield**

(Author's own; Brown-Luthango & O'Toole, 2019)

> *They [the Ndabeni Trust] don't have the money to do anything with the land. They used to have a developer that wanted to buy the land, but then they fought amongst each other (there's 400 people that need to benefit from that) and the developer withdrew and said no. And now we have squatters. So no developer wants it because what are they going to do with the squatters? … So I don't know how they [the City] can say that this is going to be developed. Into what?*
>
> (Interview, Councillor Jacobs, 11 August 2022)

Based on the Maitland Metro precinct it is possible to speculate on how the state's 'codes' respond to informality and incrementality. Mr. Reznick and his partner Mr. Mthi describe their process for the precinct (which is predicated on inclusionary housing) as follows: BlueBuck Projects are not a large development company thus they plan to purchase and develop properties in the precinct individually (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022; Focus group, Mr. Mthi, 2 September 2022). In other words, they aim to construct the precinct incrementally and with an at-present informal ownership structure. Despite this, they have the buy-in of the existing precinct property owners and an urban design framework indicating how they envision the separate erven performing together (ibid). When they approached the City to discuss the Package of Plans approach:

> *The response was 'that's not a formal structure' [the erven being owned by separate entities] … it's interesting that the City didn't really engage with that [urban design] plan to say 'okay, how does it respond to what is actually in the [spatial development] framework already?' … So we're left tackling individual buildings. But what that means is that we're just responding to our needs.*
>
> (Focus group, Mr. Mthi, 2 September 2022)

This implies 1) that the City's application structures cater to large-scale developers at the expense of smaller ones who can contribute more incrementally and informally to city building, 2) that the 'codes' of the city are prescriptive, and 3) that these structures amplify the exclusionary dimension of the project-focused approach to development (introduced in **Chapter 3**). Additionally, as the 'vision' of the Maitland Metro precinct is not being reflected in either a Package of Plans or any other forward planning document, other developments and projects cannot respond to or plan for it. How can, for instance, the engineering department adequately plan for, for instance, sewage plan upgrades if a private entity's large-scale projects are not captured by the spatial-planning system? The role best suited to an instrument such as a local area plan then devolves to the DMS and individual land use or building plan applications, which respond in a piecemeal fashion.

The Maitland Metro precinct also provides a good example of the 'usefulness' of a planner being actively engaged in a local area and understanding the objectives and challenges of developers (of all scales) within it. Because the City is involved in the revised Maitland LSDF, they have had many opportunities to engage with BlueBuck Projects (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022). Through the design of The Prime (and cross-checking the findings with similar schemes in Cape Town), the City's planners realised that there were inefficiencies in the land use system which were curtailing the provision of inclusionary housing (Interview, Participant X, 22 August 2022). Based on these findings, they were able to motivate changes to the mixed-use zoning in the DMS.

> *I think, fundamentally, the process [the local area planners] are trying to go on is very positive because the DMS is based on old building forms and structures and envelopes and all that. And if we want to densify [to achieve inclusionary housing], we need to completely change that whole segment. Change MU2 [Mixed Use 2] and GB4 [General Business 4] from floor factor four to five. There would be so much more development.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Reznick, 23 August 2022)

Although amending the DMS is beyond the scope of this dissertation, the above example demonstrates, firstly, that the city's 'codes' (in this case the land use scheme) are prescriptive and not generative and, secondly, that engaging in the scale of the local area

reveals the shortcoming and opportunities for change in this prescriptive system and identifies opportunities that can release more affordable housing. It thus can encourage both this and other planning instruments to cater towards inclusive and multi-faceted development (a theme in the conceptual framework).

Overall, the analysis of Maitland's structure and infill has revealed that the 'fit' of the settlement only partially aligns with the needs and actions of its inhabitants. Generally, the structuring elements and accessibility web are suitably laid out to facilitate movement and guide structural intensification. However, seen in combination with the preceding analysis, there has been little emphasis on the role of the public realm as the primary structuring element tool. Additionally, Maitland's port-of-entry infill character portrays a different version of density and ownership that is overlooked by the state (but is being addressed by the private market). Furthermore, the governing 'codes' do little to support incrementality, informality, affordability, and coordinated forward planning, although engagement in the scale of the local area may pave the way for this to be addressed.

Table 5.3 indicates the conceptual framework themes that the physicality of place has responded to.

Table 5.3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK THEMES ADDRESSED BY THE PHYSICALITY OF PLACE
Balance is achieved by managing trade-offs
Planning is cognisant of power imbalances, tensions, and exclusions
Interventions are not trying to impose 'order' and 'regulation' onto an environment
Interventions include space and people that / who are difficult to measure
Interventions promote and support spatial integration
Interventions promote structural intensification in key areas
There is a logic to where structural intensification is required and what it entails
The intensification makes the following viable: • An efficient public transport system, • Comfortable NMT movement, • Spatial inclusion (which includes well-located affordable housing)
Informality is creatively and positively incorporated
The structuring elements are the primary tools of planning
The accessibility surface has a predictable spatial logic and caters to people on foot
The accessibility surface determines areas of intensification and public institutions
'Codes' are proscriptive or generative
The regulatory and spatial frameworks support incrementality and are not cumbersome
The plan provides sufficient detail to guide forward planning and land-use management (and decision-making)
The plan connects state policies with private-sector or state-driven projects
The plan facilitates inclusive and multi-faceted development

5.5 CONCLUSION

The enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability encouraged an integrative appreciation of the three components of place: psychology, activity, and physicality. This approach to the analysis of place revealed dynamics that are not captured in higher-order policy documents. Reflecting on these dynamics reveals the crucial aspects of place that local area planning should address, what trade-offs are appropriate, and how the attributes of place might be leveraged to support inclusion, equity, and lasting wellbeing for all human and non-human inhabitants.

Maitland is a port-of-entry neighbourhood premised on a well-performing accessibility structure and with a rich vitality. Although the area is not 'typical' in this sense "by its very extremity it does reveal conflicts and tensions which may simply be better hidden elsewhere" (Abu-Lughod, 1994: 189). Despite Maitland's positive attributes, its unique natural assets have been marginalised, it lacks the final 'ingredient' of legibility and accessibility, its use is skewed towards daytime activity, its public realm requires specific attention, and it has a complex and transient population. Generally, project and policy efforts neglect the dual identity and cultural hybridity of the area, rely on prescriptive codes, and underestimate the complex socio-economic transaction base of the area. These are all aspects that a local area plan should address. **Figure 5.27** and **Figure 5.28** represent the spatial constraints and opportunities in Maitland.

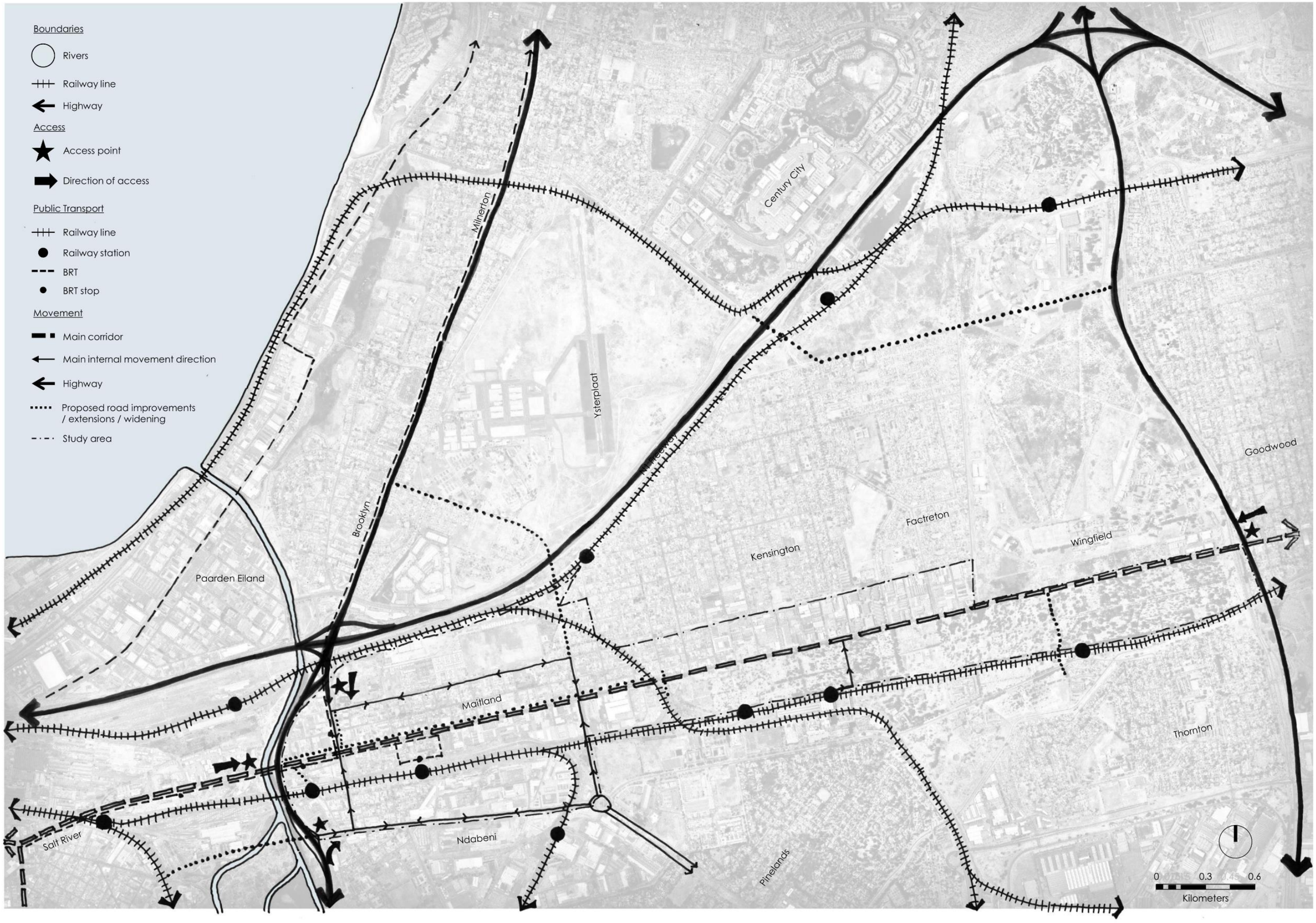


Figure 5.24 **Maitland's Movement Analysis (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on City of Cape Town Map Viewer, 2022)

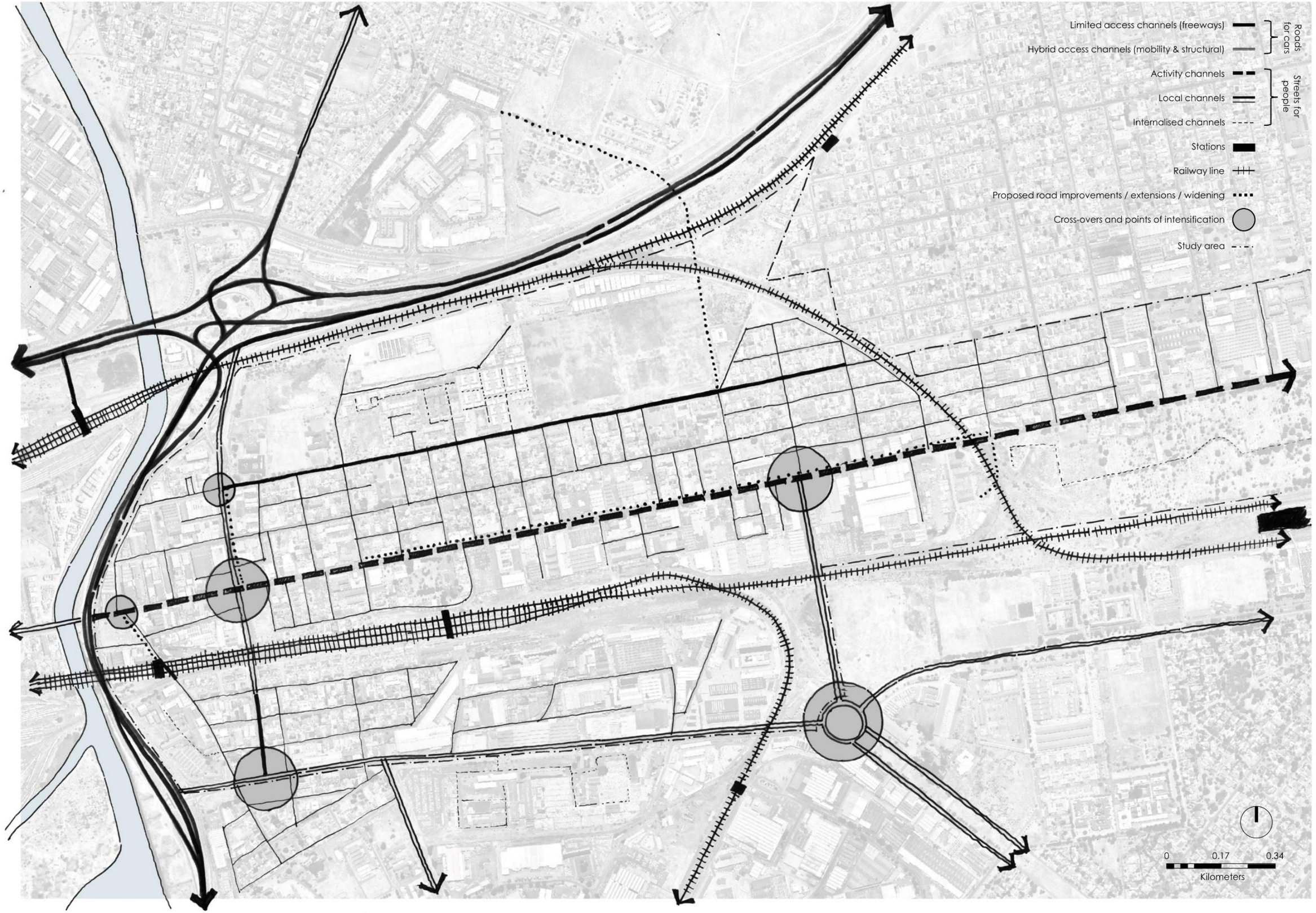


Figure 5.25 **Maitland's Movement Hierarchy Analysis (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on City of Cape Town Map Viewer, 2022; Dewar & Todeschini, 2017)

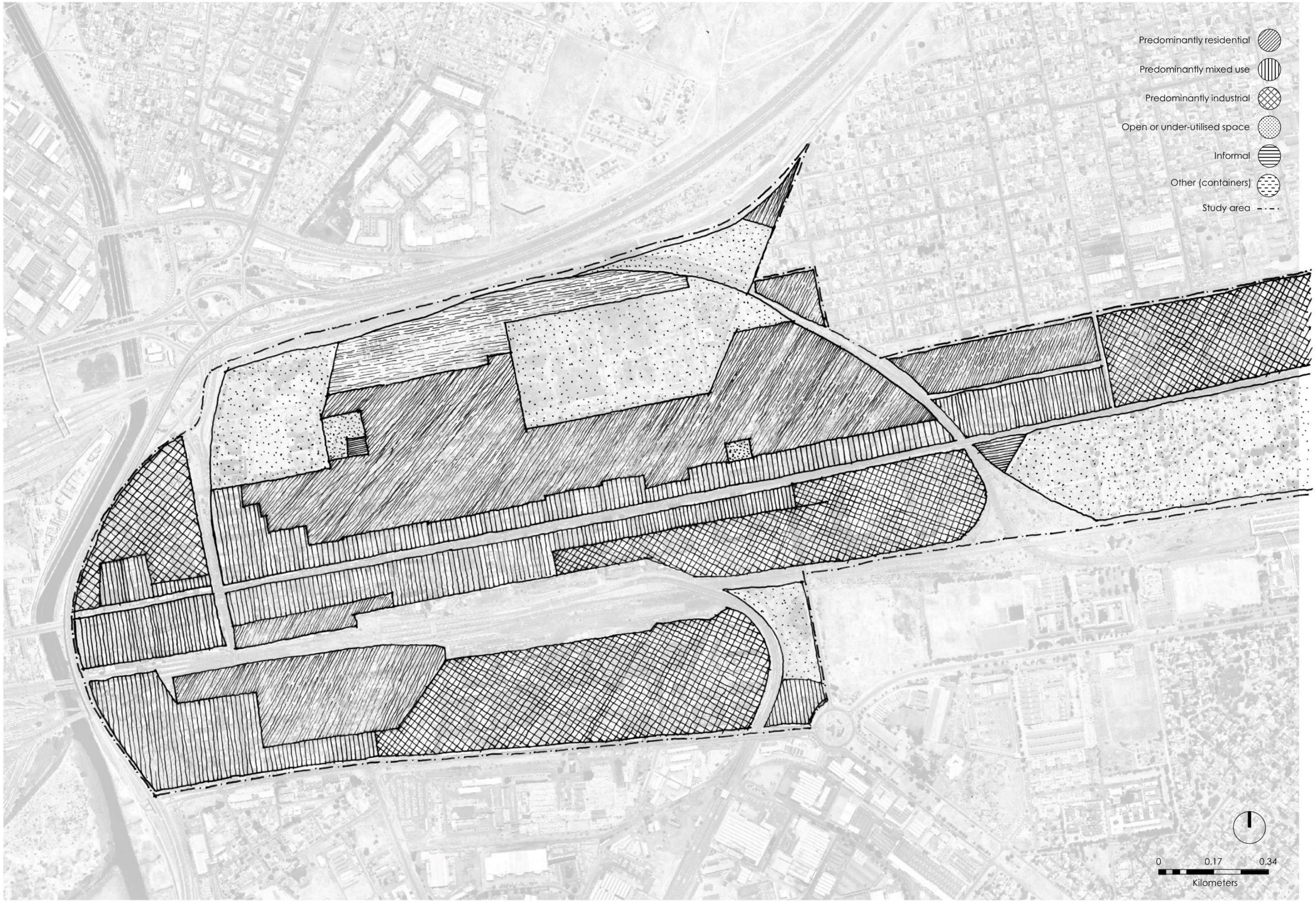


Figure 5.26 **Maitland's Infill Analysis (NTS)**

(Author's own, based on City of Cape Town Map Viewer, 2022)

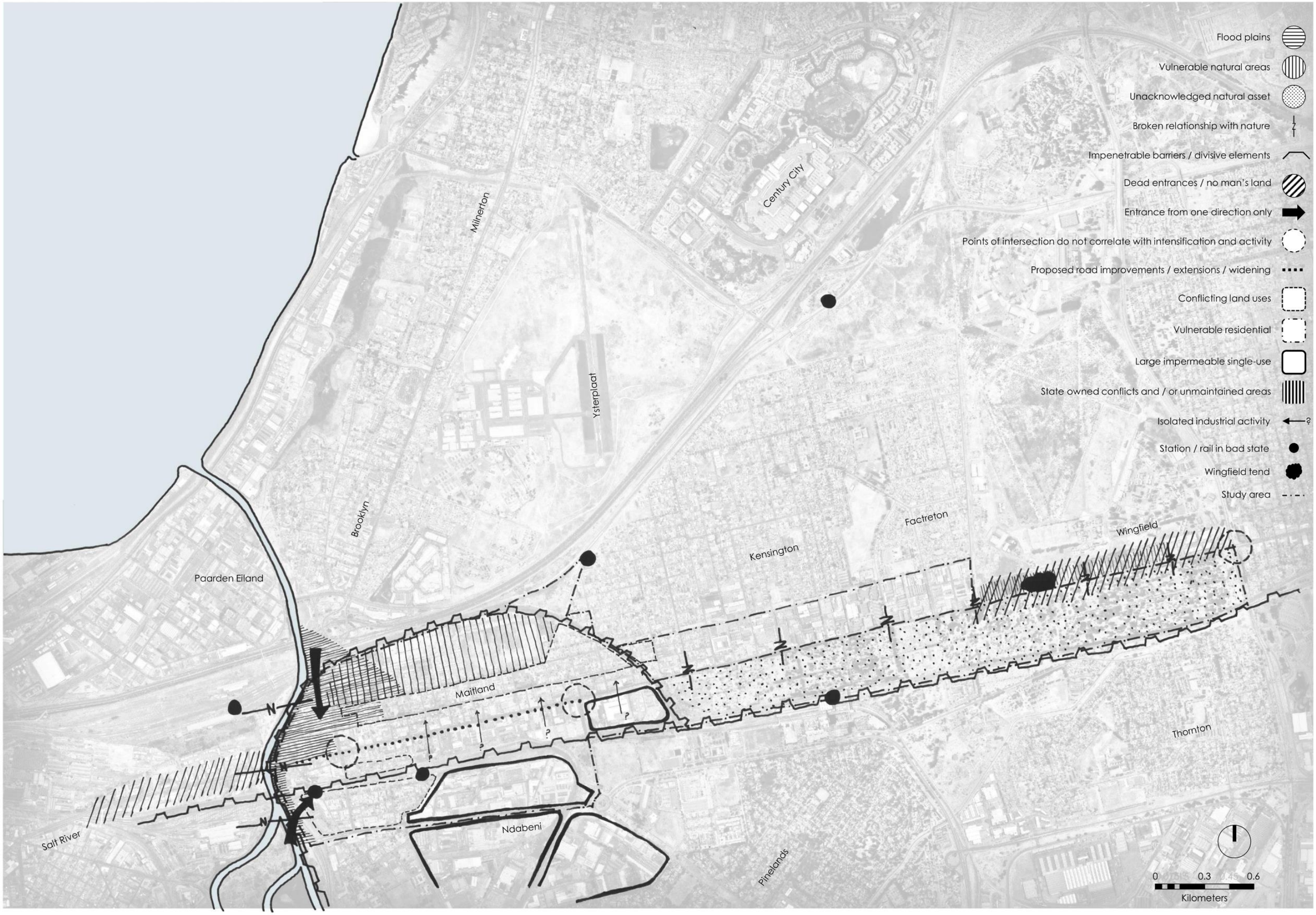


Figure 5.27 **Maitland's Spatial Constraints (NTS)**

(Author's own)

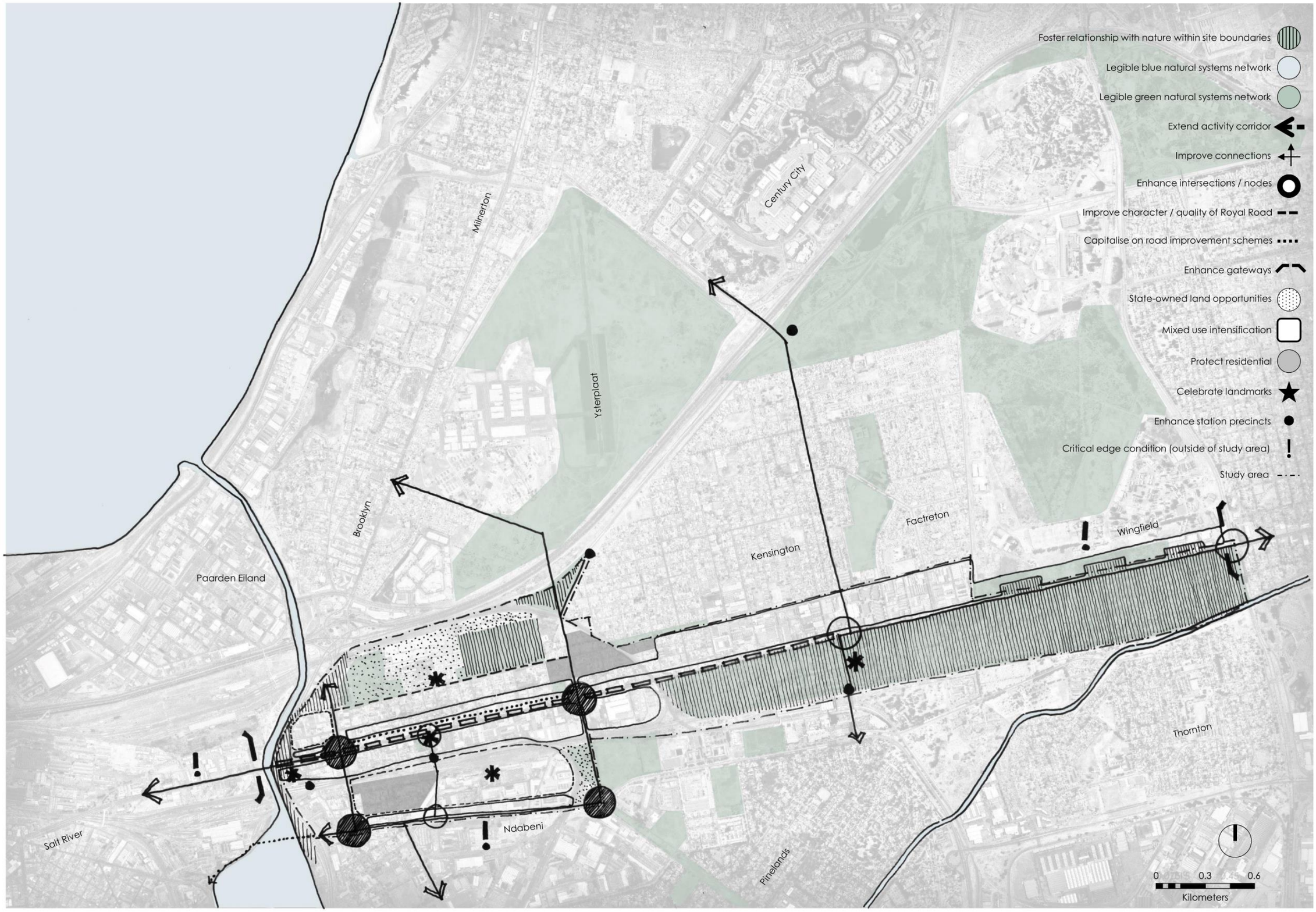


Figure 5.28 **Maitland's Spatial Opportunities (NTS)**

(Author's own)

CHAPTER 6 – RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 2 recognised that the purpose of research is to acquire knowledge through a methodological process of in-depth investigation and apply it in such a way that it leads to new insights. This research project began with the term 'spatial sustainability' – recently coined by the UN and introduced in their *New Urban Agenda Illustrated* handbook (UN-Habitat, 2020a) – and the UN's promotion of the local area plan as the appropriate planning instrument to guide urban development towards spatial sustainability. The UN suggests that sustained social, economic, and ecological value and wellbeing can be enhanced by guiding the physical form of urban environments towards specific spatial conditions (ibid). They propose that this process of guiding spatial structure will arrive at equity (ibid). However, as argued in **Chapter 3**, universal frameworks (such as the *New Urban Agenda Illustrated)* and the concepts they promote should not be approached as a box-ticking exercise in one-version sustainability and urban form, nor should they be expected to impart concrete strategies to the multitude of urban experiences. Instead, concepts like spatial sustainability should be considered as a basis for challenging conventional thinking and an occasion to inspire and legitimise alternative planning approaches. This perspective presented an opportunity to further explore both spatial sustainability and local area plans in complex contexts and from a South African perspective. Thus, with the aim of achieving new and contextually appropriate insights, the research questions asked:

What is the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability?

How might planners re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability?

The UN's assertion that the local area plan[24] is an important instrument (for spatial sustainability or otherwise) also required further examination. As demonstrated in **Chapter 1**, South Africa has a glut of research on large-scale strategic spatial plans and spatial development frameworks, including many critiques directed at them. Yet there is scant planning research and practical rigour afforded to the finer, more immediate scale of the local area. Therefore, it was no less important to ask the question:

Does South Africa's planning system require local area plans and, if so, what do they contribute?

The purpose of **Chapter 6** is to present the final answers to these questions and to provide recommendations based on the preceding chapters. It marks the final synthesis phase (**Phase 4**) of the research process. The chapter will introduce the significant research findings and, thereafter, make recommendations based on the 'stage' of the local area plan. Although many of the suggestions

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[24] As detailed in **Chapter 1**, the UN uses the term 'neighbourhood-based plan' as opposed to 'local area plan'. However, this dissertation has demonstrated that the scale of inquiry or extent of urban involvement is the same regardless of the nomenclature and it has provided justification for why the term 'local area plan' is preferred.

relate to local area planning in general, others are specific to the Maitland case study area. The Maitland study has confirmed Flyvbjerg's (2006) assertion that, although case study research may not necessarily lead to predictive theories and universals, it does provide a valuable learning process and concrete, context-dependent experience. The findings and recommendations below demonstrate that this is perhaps more appropriate than universals when engaging in a local area.

6.2 SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

Based on an appreciation of the non-reductionist, dynamic, relational, and multi-scalar contemporary urban context with broader sustainability objectives, **Chapter 3** was able to unpack and critically evaluate the UN's interpretation of spatial sustainability. What this exercise revealed is that the UN's 'starting point' of equity (which is viewed as both a process and an outcome) was substantively useful. However, the UN's conceptualisation of spatial sustainability became less pertinent the more it reverted to the 'correct' physical form of urban environments. This is not to suggest that the qualitative aspects of place are unimportant or that spatial planning should not contain a design focus. Both are essential and **Chapter 2** and **Chapter 3** were clear that spatial planning involves *both* policy *and* design (Ellis, 2005). What the critique means is that any approach to spatial planning should recognise that space is comprised of complex relations and processes as much as the substantive features of physical form.

In light of this, it is perhaps beneficial to perceive of spatial sustainability as an interactive environment in which many actors care for a place to deliver richer and better outcomes; where the planning and design systems have a built-in capacity for complexity and inter-connectedness; and where the objectives are to guide access, inclusion, equity and, indeed, 'good' city form. From this perspective, a more nuanced and sensitive appreciation of the context, structure, and dynamics of place is important as, without this, place will be a mere artefact in which interventions are unable to achieve their objectives. This appreciation is unlikely to be attained through the standard social, economic, and environmental analysis of place and **Chapter 3** develops a conceptual framework based on the psychology, activity, and physicality of place that is hopefully useful beyond the bounds of this research project.

As inclusion is "orientated towards connections among people, across issues, and over time" (Quick and Feldman in Christiansen, 2015: 456), it seems reasonable to suggest that – like equity – a local area plan that is re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability is viewed as both a process and a product. In other words, it requires two responses: it needs to produce a material local area plan (the plan as a noun), and the method of achieving that plan needs to foster the conditions for diverse current and future involvement in the planning process (planning as a verb). **Chapter 4**'s analysis provides a number of important pre-conditions for this to be successful, including addressing the approach to public participation, the format of the plan, and ensuring that the plan results in tangible and discernable outcomes. As McHarg (1969: 93) wisely stated over five decades ago:

> *A proposed land-use [spatial] map is not a plan. It is an expression of physical, social and economic goals. It is the combination of these goals and the public and private powers to realize them that justifies the term 'plan'. Powers must be accumulated as part of a continuous process of guidance, control and implementation.*

Re-conceptualising a local area plan as both a process and a product, with the context and dynamics of place analysed against **Chapter 3**'s conceptual framework, is more likely to be able to respond to the question prompts generated in the enriched interpretation of spatial sustainability, which are 'what are the elements well-performing environments possess?', 'for whom?', 'through what means?' and 'how can these aspects be leveraged to achieve equality and sustainability?'. This became apparent in **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5**'s analysis of the case study area where, only through immersive engagement in the context, activity, psychology, and physicality of place could Maitland be identified as a port-of-entry neighbourhood. Winkler (2013: 318) asks:

What, exactly, is a 'normal' port-of-entry neighbourhood? Is it not precisely a place of ongoing change, complexity, diversity, mobility; a place where some residents might choose to be anonymous, while others become active 'citizens'; a place where some establish themselves for longer periods of time, while others do not; a place that can facilitate some degree of 'normalness' and informality, as well as more conventional and formal activities?

In this sense, does a port-of-entry neighbourhood not best resemble a component of the unbounded, non-Euclidean multiplex city where "apparently stable objects such as locations or neighbourhoods appear, on closer inspection, to be constituted of practices and relationships that extend beyond and stretch across any identifiable boundary" (Barnett & Parnell, 2016: 91)? Maitland's identity as a port-of-entry neighbourhood with its multifaceted activity, psychology, and physicality ensures its relevance and legitimacy in complex contemporary urban environments. With considered intervention, it can stand as a valuable example of what a well-performing local area might look like in a multiplex city.

This prompts a response as to whether South Africa's planning system requires local area plans. Although the argument in favour of local area plans (and their various contributions) has been presented throughout the dissertation, it is necessary to qualify it. The suggestion is this: if positioned in a non-strategic area, or if divorced from their context, or if focused on the material plan only, or if neglecting to provide implementation guidelines, then there is no need for a local area plan. They are unlikely to achieve their objectives and, frankly, are an additional burden in an already overly prescriptive spatial planning system[25]. However, if situated in an area of strategic importance and conceptualised to achieve the requirements presented in this dissertation, then a local area plan is a crucial and as-yet unappreciated component of South Africa's spatial planning system. It can assist with meaningful stakeholder cooperation and coordination, the contextually appropriate implementation of spatial objectives, and the alignment between large-scale policies and smaller-scale projects, land use management, and decision-making.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are formulated to be responsive to these significant findings, including that a local area plan re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability is both a process and a product; that re-discovering the local area plan means appreciating where and why a local area plan is required; Maitland's port-of-entry identity; and spatial sustainability's question prompts (with the disclaimer that the answers to these questions span over multiple recommendations). Because of this, the recommendations cover the full spectrum of themes in the conceptual framework. The sequence of the recommendations follows the typical process of preparing for, producing, and sustaining a local area plan.

Chapter 2 depicted how the research was designed to produce both theoretical outcomes and to have practical implications on the means and ends of government actions through design-orientated inquiry. Consequently, many recommendations have been tailored around an initial conceptual local area plan that formed part of a focus group discussion (see **Appendix E**). The material plan has since been revised based on this discussion and is presented in the sections below.

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[25] Refer to the property development process model produced by the University of Cape Town's Urban Real Estate Research Unit (URERU) and Western Cape Property Development Forum (WCPDF) which demonstrates the long, complex, and uncertain regulatory approval process curtailing property development (WCPDF, 2022). Refer, also, to classmate Simon Webster's 2022 University of Cape Town dissertation on how these processes and timeframes impact the affordability of development (shared with permission).

6.3.1 PREPARING FOR A LOCAL AREA PLAN

As indicated in both **Chapter 4** and the significant findings, local area plans are not required everywhere and local government (the City) should:

> *… opt for a more focused approach, to undertake more detailed planning in areas of strategic importance, development pressure, expected change, and as and where significant interventions are anticipated.*

(Todes et. al., 2010: 419)

As local area plans are the key ingredient that makes the institutional approach tangible, higher-order policy documents will need to establish and demonstrate the pre-conditions for local area plans, including their location, extent, funding, when the plans should be triggered, and details of their objectives. The City's MSDF must clearly identify Integration Zones (IZs) and, in coordination with the Department of Human Settlements, additional Priority Human Settlement and Housing Development Areas (PHSHDAs) can be declared if necessary. The City's DSDFs must articulate Development Focus Areas (DFAs). These mechanisms release national government grants and direct the City's budgets respectively, both of which capacitate the City to embark on a local area planning process. The City's MSDF should contain a programme of local area plans (similar to a construction programme) to provide clarity and certainty on their duration and to ensure sufficient ongoing funding for the lifespan of the plan (see **Figure 6.1**). The timeline for the local area plan will be elaborated on later in this chapter. In times of financial and skills resource scarcity, the process of managing trade-offs (in that some areas are prioritised for local area plans over others) is an attribute of a sustainable system. It may be beneficial for the provincial government to run Continuous Professional Development workshops (particularly in smaller municipalities) to advise on the national government mechanisms available to local governments. For Maitland in particular, it is recommended that the City motivates to the South African Revenue Service (SARS) for the Cape Town Urban Development Zone (UDZ) to be extended past its current 2023 expiration date.

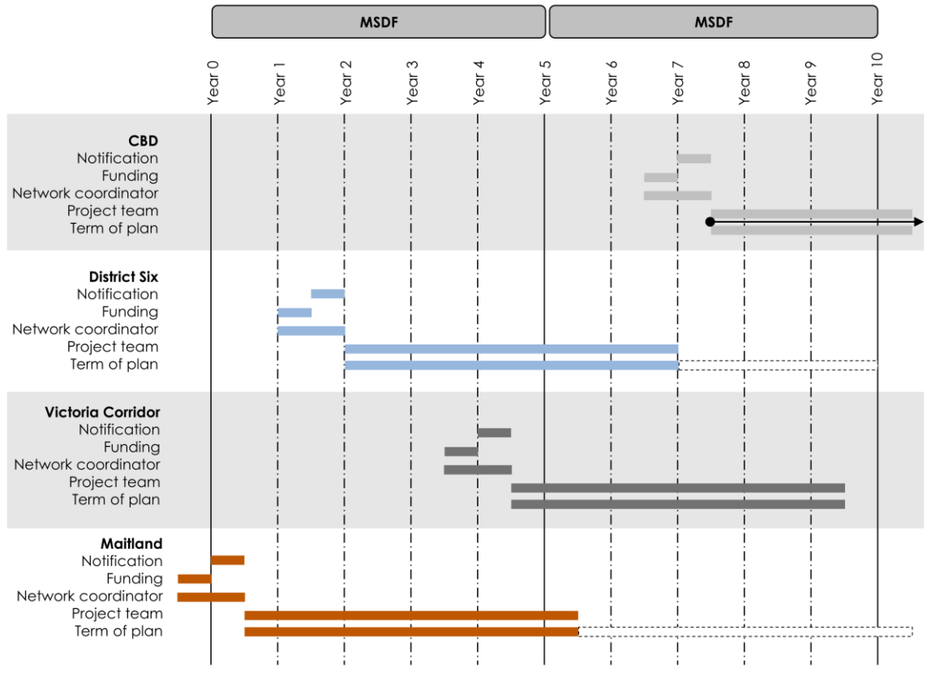


Figure 6.1 **Indicative Local Area Planning Programme in the MSDF**

(Author's own)

Although improving the institutional approach is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is worth stating that it is crucial for the right scale of plan to be used for the correct purposes. An MSDF (and possibly a DSDF) should not be providing concrete guidance on physical form. This belies the value of the institutional approach, whose role is best suited to identifying and leveraging opportunities. Guiding decision-making on physical form is befitting to a local area plan, urban design framework, or even the DMS. Any shortcomings in this process speak less to the inadequacies in an MSDF and DSDF, and more to the fact that these complementary instruments are either under-valued or require improvement.

The grants or targeted budgets referred to above should be directed towards a dedicated local area project team whose term of service should be no less than five years. As a local area plan that is re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability is both a process and a product, relationships and the 'longevity' of the planning process are crucial to its success. This means that the City's scheduled local area plans should not be sub-contracted to private professionals but should remain in-house with the project team. There is nuance to this recommendation and Cameron et. al.'s (2004) research on area-based initiatives provides helpful suggestions. Firstly, the project team should comprise a strong team leader and highly motivated, well-integrated individuals who are tasked with *only* the local area plan (ibid). The team should have a level of autonomy, decision-making powers, and control to collect and allocate funding to projects that align with the local area plan; this allows them to act quickly and in a coordinated way to initiatives (ibid). It is preferable for the project team to have a project office located in the local area that can also serve as a venue for meetings and functions associated with the local area plan (ibid). In sum, a dedicated project team with an institutional presence 1) signals to all stakeholders the importance of the initiative, 2) provides the space and resources for the project team to comprehend and work with

the structure and dynamics of the local area, and 3) establishes the foundation for different kinds of on-going relationships, which will be elaborated on throughout this chapter.

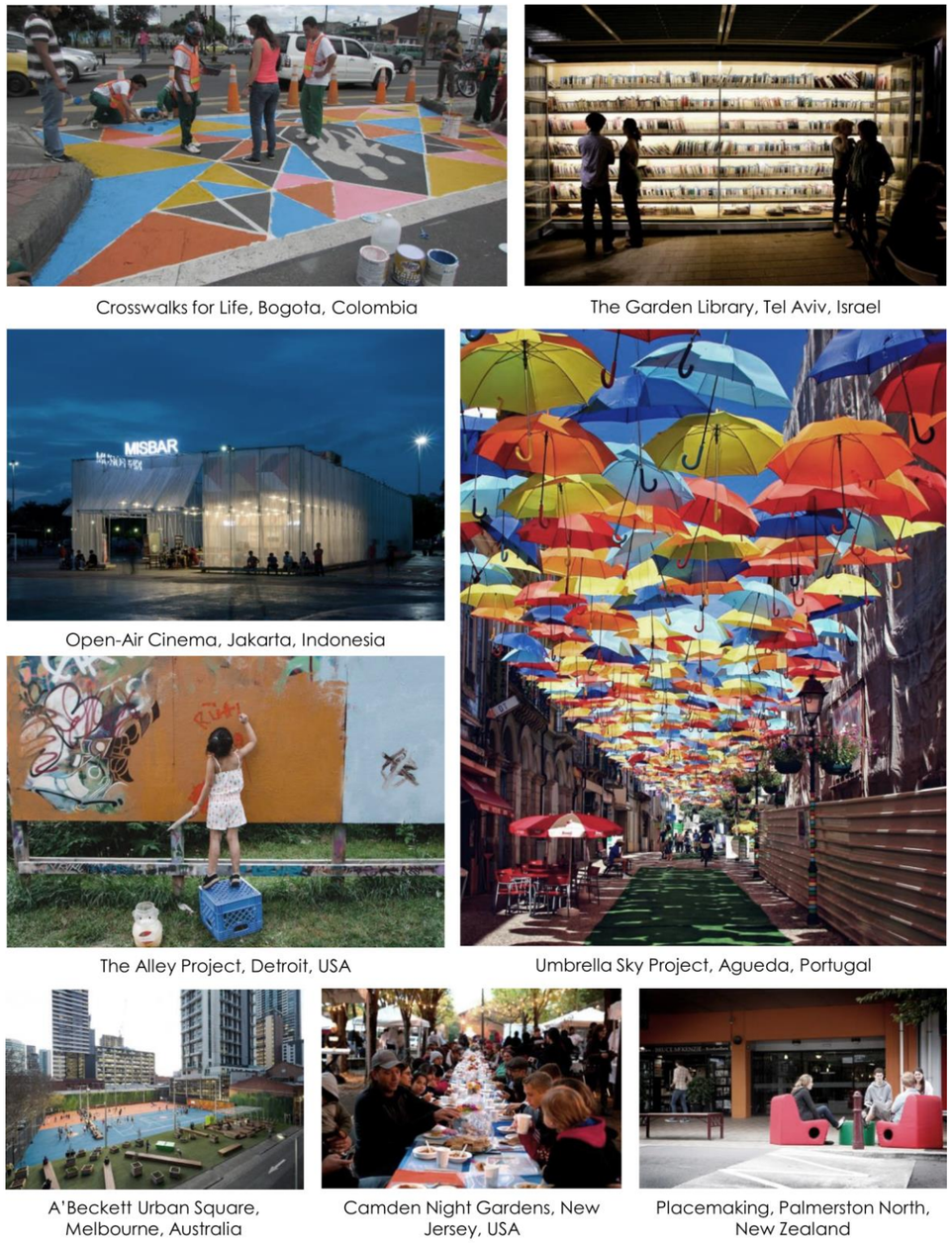
Chapter 4 and **Chapter 5** depict how traditional public participation forums may not be conducive to today's multicultural and diverse societies, in which case Christiansen (2015) argues that the emphasis should be on inclusion, not participation, and that this is best achieved by focusing on the timing and aesthetics of public engagement. This can create and stabilise the conditions for future community involvement (ibid), which is particularly important in complex areas like Maitland in which populations are more hybrid and transient, and communities are involved in ongoing processes of "cooperation and conflict" (Abu-Lughod, 1994: 189). Additionally, there is the important process of capacitating the local community to drive forward and contribute to their area's transformation, which will hopefully sustain any initiatives beyond the timeframes and bounds of the 'formal' local area plan and build common understanding amongst stakeholders (Interview, Mr. Fester, DAG, 11 August 2022).

> *Sometimes the small things you do at grassroots level actually creates bigger changes later on. And the nice thing about it is that I as a practitioner or as a professional, I don't need to drive the community. The community can drive that [transformation] forward themselves by just being equipped with knowledge.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Fester, DAG, 11 August 2022)

Based on this, the recommendation is that a 'local area network coordinator' is appointed who, in advance of and independent from any formal local area planning processes, can broker genuine, informal relationships with and between the ward councillor, (business, informal trade, ratepayer, religious, foreign national, environmental, etc.) communities, and local NGOs. These are suitable network partners as they are not governed by the City's rigid participation codes and timeframes and, in the case of the NGOs, have the skills to nurture relationships in more multifaceted environments. Incorporating children into early public engagement may allow for "relatively minimal potential for divisive and negative expression that might alienate people … but also underscores the importance and meaning of children in … political processes" (Christiansen, 2015: 467). It is unlikely that formal public participation will achieve inclusive and equitable outcomes without this founding process, whose appropriate initiation point should be based on the programme of local area plans in the MSDF.

6.3.2 PRODUCING A LOCAL AREA PLAN

Chapter 5 demonstrated, through the Maitland case study, how a 'place' might be analysed to determine what a local area plan should capture and prioritise so as to leverage the area towards inclusion, equity, and lasting wellbeing (i.e., spatial sustainability). As the findings in **Chapter 5** were case specific so too are many of the recommendations, although the dissertation prioritises findings that have broader application and address key issues (as opposed to a comprehensive approach in the manner of modernist planning and the rational comprehensive planning model). The recommendations respond to the fact that "a strategy requires governments to focus on the processes involved in developing and implementing the plan, rather than just the content itself" (UN-Habitat, 2020b: 12). It is necessary to reiterate that the objective of this chapter is not to *produce* a material local area plan but to provide *recommendations* for a local area plan's production, using Maitland as a point of reference.



Crosswalks for Life, Bogota, Colombia

The Garden Library, Tel Aviv, Israel

Open-Air Cinema, Jakarta, Indonesia

The Alley Project, Detroit, USA

Umbrella Sky Project, Agueda, Portugal

A'Beckett Urban Square, Melbourne, Australia

Camden Night Gardens, New Jersey, USA

Placemaking, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Figure 6.2 **Examples of Lighter, Cheaper, Quicker Public Space Interventions**

(https://www.pps.org/gps/lqc [2022, October 5])

6.3.2.1 STRATEGY NO. 1: FOSTER RELATIONSHIPS AND INTEGRATED GOVERNANCE

Chapter 4 and **Chapter 5** detailed how the architecture of government (at all scales) can impede the provision, coordination, and maintenance of public space and public facilities, which has social, economic, environmental, and spatial implications on the local area and diminishes people's faith in the state. The dedicated project team has the important role of fostering multi-scale relationships to alleviate this obstacle. Their existence and their focus on one area can assist with overcoming the 'siloed' approach to government. The IZ, PHSHDA, and STA, all insist on intergovernmental coordination, cooperation, and focused government interventions. This capacitates the project team who can use the 'status' of the local area plan afforded by the MSDF as a negotiating tactic with provincial and national government and various line departments (coordination, cooperation, and focus are not optional, they are obligatory). The Capital Expenditure Framework (CEF) elaborated on under Strategy Number 2 will further assist with integrated governance.

> *I've now been in planning for ten years and this is the first tool that I've come across that actually catches the attention of the engineers and the financial planners. Because when we come with our SDFs, the engineers and financial planners are in the room but they're kind of disengaged in some way. Whereas the Capital Expenditure Framework is the first tool that I've come across where you can actually explain to them what they need to bring to the table and what they can get out of the process, and so they're really bought into this. I've built networks in the engineering and financial planning space that I never had when I talked about SDFs.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022)

Finally, the preceding informal, diverse, inclusionary participation process should continue throughout the existence of the local area plan but should transition into formal government participation processes when the dedicated project team deems it appropriate. When this is should be reflected in the plan. The interplay between informal / formal participation processes is mutually enhancing.

> *At a minimum, formality and official City involvement symbolizes and signals the potential for the abstract to become real, for plans to be objectified. Hearings are scheduled and deadlines are announced, thereby providing publics a structured process that gives the quality of public discourse a sense of urgency. Such formalities are useful so long as diverse inclusion is present and sustained throughout.*
>
> (Christiansen, 2015: 468)

6.3.2.2 STRATEGY NO. 2: EMPHASISE PLACE-PROVISIONING AND PLACE-MAKING OF THE STRUCTURING ELEMENTS

Winkler (2013) argues that, in the process of supporting and celebrating port-of-entry neighbourhoods, the state should consider directing its efforts to the provision and maintenance of public infrastructure and services as focusing on the public realm allows a place to continually evolve and supports inclusion. This sentiment was supported, not just for port-of-entry neighbourhoods but for *all* areas, by Crane (1960), Dewar and Uytenbogaardt (1995), Madanipour (2010), and Montgomery (1998) in **Chapter 3**.

> *Of all potential public excursions into the art of building cities, the most promising is a pace-setting capital design of government's own stones and steel. Here lies the clearest obligation and the most visible opportunity. It is through capital design that beauty and symbol can most easily be woven into the common necessities of all people.*
>
> (Crane, 1964: 92)

In Maitland, the project team's efforts and focus should be directed at 1) the areas spurned natural systems (including the cemetery), 2) maintaining the day and night-time activity and vitality in the streets (particularly Voortrekker Road), 3) implementing links to neighbouring areas, and 4) the provisioning, place-making, and accessibility of public space and facilities (which often coincide with the area's landmarks). The benefits accrued from this emphasis on the structuring elements for Maitland include re-establishing the role of 'place' and improving the ecological interface; providing the final 'ingredient' for the area's legibility; using the public realm to facilitate inclusion; using place-making to highlight Maitland's role as the entrance to the city; achieving the necessary economic links to key areas, and; responsiveness to the community's desire for public space and facilities (as presented in **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5**). The local area's proposed main structuring elements / capital web is indicated in **Figure 6.9**. The mechanisms and actions that should be incorporated into the local area plan to achieve this strategy are as follows:

The Local Area Plan Should Include a Local Area Public Space and Facility Strategy (PSFS)

The Local Area Public Space and Facility Strategy (PSFS) should be a key component of the local area plan. To ensure that the public realm remains accessible and inclusionary, the state "has to be more efficient and effective in enforcing a development vision of its own and ensuring that public space is integrated into the master plan [the local area plan]" (UN-Habitat, 2020b). The establishment of the local area network coordinator and local area project team are important pre-conditions for an effective PSFS so that clear, contextually appropriate choices can be made, political support can be leveraged, and realistic objectives are set through partnerships with stakeholders (the local community being key) (ibid). The local area plan's PSFS must include:

- A baseline report of the area's public spaces and facilities (similar to **Chapter 5**'s 'place' analysis).
- While the existing public spaces and facilities are in use, appropriate design and action interventions should be creatively developed with stakeholders and incorporated – even conceptually – into the local area plan (Trudeau, 2016; UN-Habitat, 2020b). "Everything is hypothetical until it is spatialised" (UN-Habitat, 2020b: 52) (see **Figure 6.10** as an example). To ensure that the proposals are financially and socially realistic, all designs should focus on a minimalist approach that doesn't presuppose the multiplier effect of physical interventions (Winkler, 2013). Trudeau (2016) refers to the lighter, cheaper, quicker model which may include simple interventions such as lighting, colourful façade and signage painting, robust street furniture, water, waste and ablution points, or partnerships for once-off / annual 'pop-up' events (see **Figure 6.2** for examples). Specific regard should be given to family-friendly events in the evening (see **Figure 6.3**). In Maitland, an exception to the lighter, quicker, cheaper approach is the area around the former swimming pool, where it is recommended that a more formal design intervention is considered.
- Based on these proposals, the local area plan can prescribe capital support, operational support, and actionable dates for the public spaces and facilities (Trudeau, 2016; UN-Habitat, 2020b). Operational support will be detailed under Strategy Number 4. Reliance on one means of capital support is unlikely and the PSFS should consider and document the appropriate combination of grants, loans, public-private partnerships, taxation, and philanthropic endowments. The guiding principles should be:
    - That private investment should only be sought after the character and quality of places and facilities have been established to avoid exclusivity and exclusion (Madanipour, 2010).
    - That any capital support that has financial implications on developers is spatialised to provide clarity and certainty (such as value capture zones) (see **Figure 6.11** as an example).
- Based on the proposed design and action interventions, capital support, and actionable dates, it is likely that changes can be recommended by the project team to the City's urban design and land use management departments wherein public open space provision can fall outside of the bounds of individual erven or instead be 'shared' amongst many different

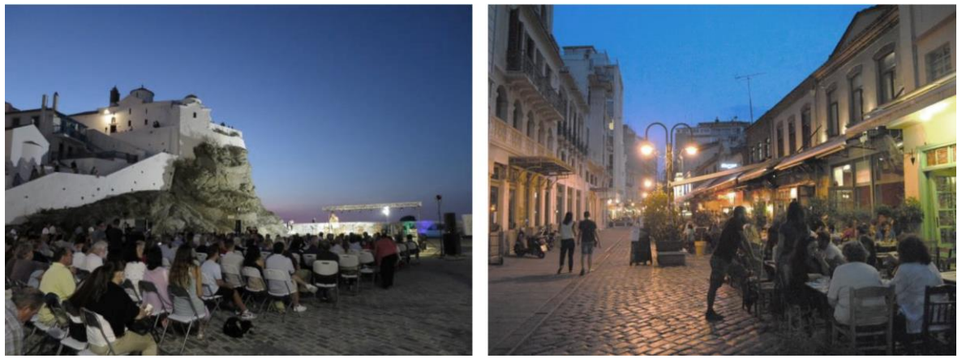


Figure 6.3 **Examples of Family-Friendly Evening Events in Skopelos & Thessaloniki, Greece**

(Author's own)

schemes. Perhaps a developer can make an accessible public space or facility contribution to the local government of a portion of their property in lieu of development contributions (say 4.5% of land), or a financial contribution to existing state-owned public open space in lieu of on-site public open space provision. If so, minimum 'rules for use' should be drawn up 1) to ensure the absence of physical and financial barriers that might limit access to the space, and 2) minimum rules help avoid unnecessary conflict later on (UN-Habitat, 2020b).

The Local Area Plan Should Include Design and Development Overlays in Key Areas

> *The key to successful local spatial planning, land use management and land development is the establishment of an effective link between forward planning and development control functions. Traditionally the development control function is seen as a means for implementing forward planning. In practice though, the two functions have generally been exercised quite separately from each other.*
>
> (RSA Government, 2022)

To integrate spatial planning and land use management as well as spatial planning and urban design; to improve the quality of and coordination in the public realm; to facilitate contextually appropriate infill; to establish the role of street as public space; and to positively incorporate industrial heritage and night-time activity, the local area plan should demarcate Design and Development Overlays (DDOs). This is a complementary planning instrument that is applied to areas that are experiencing built-form change (City of Yarra, 2022a). **Figure 6.4** indicates the type of built form and design requirements that can be included in the DDO, although specificities will depend on the local area. Importantly the DDOs should be guided by the local area plan's public space strategy, and the DDO's requirements relate to architecture, urban design, *and engineering* works. DDOs have the additional benefits of 1) clearly communicating what kind of structural intensification and density is appropriate, which can help local government 'market' the concept of densification and assist with areas with different density dynamics such as Maitland, and 2) being able to propose broader, less prescriptive regulatory responses that are more suitable to informality and incrementality than standard zoning.

Like other overlay zones, a DDO provides additional development management rules that are taken into account when determining a planning permit application (either a land use or a building plan application) (City of Yarra, 2022a). It would be ideal if, in local areas of strategic importance, the local area plan using the DDO mechanism could *replace* zoning, which would facilitate proscriptive or generative governing codes (as opposed to prescriptive codes). "If subject to frequent reviews and prepared through a process of community participation, [detailed] spatial plans can be a transparent land use management tool that promoted investor and community confidence" (Nel, 2016: 261). Understanding that this is unlikely, at the least the local area project team should meet annually with the land use management department to review and motivate for updates to the DMS based on the contextually appropriate findings of the local area. **Chapter 5** demonstrated how 1) this is necessary and 2) how the LSDF process made this possible in Maitland. In general, DDOs will assist with land use decision-making, which means that human resources can be reallocated from this department towards areas requiring local area plans. Importantly, a DDO cannot stipulate the size of blocks and erven, both of which impact the psychology, activity, and physicality of place. Thus, if greenfield development is required (such as in the areas of DDO6 and DDO7), the local area plan will still need to provide more precise and contextually appropriate guidance on block and cadastral layouts (to assist with walkable block sizes and a fine-grain building fabric as required by **Chapter 3** and **Chapter 5**).

Eight DDOs are proposed in Maitland that aim to respond to the specificities of the local area based on **Chapter 5**'s analysis. The below table sets out initial / outline recommended design objectives and requirements (based on CoCT, 2015; City of Yarra, 2022b; Grabalov & Nordh, 2022; Roberts & Elridge, 2009; Peinhardt, 2019; WCG, 2021). The DDO's extent is depicted in **Figure 6.11**.

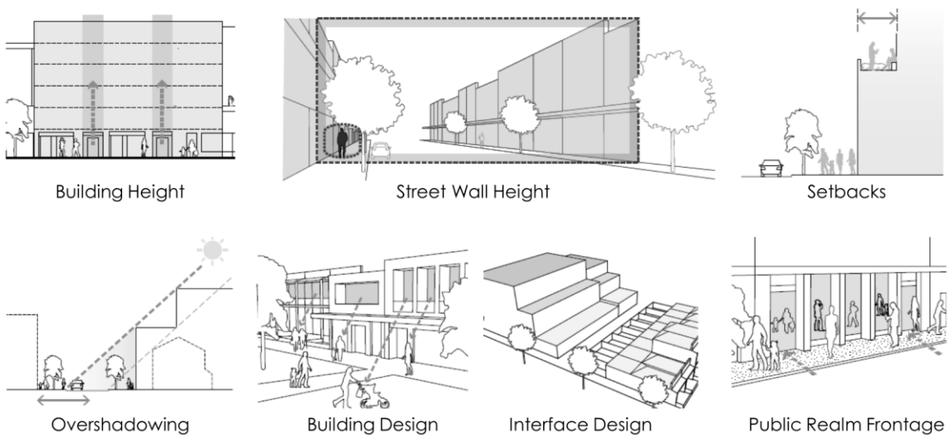


Figure 6.4 **Examples of Built Form & Design Requirements Contained in DDOs**

(City of Yarra, 2022a)

DDO 1 VOORTREKKER ROAD ACTIVITY SPINE

Design objectives:

- To recognise the importance of Voortrekker Road as an activity spine and image to the city.
- To encourage high-quality urban, architectural, and engineering design responses.
- To retain and enhance the area's existing natural landscaping features.
- To ensure all road improvements – particularly at intersection points – incorporate creative resurfacing, pedestrian crossovers, and traffic control measures.
- To ensure all road improvements consider pavement and related 'soft' infrastructure improvements.

Requirements:

- All road improvement projects shall be accompanied by a site analysis, design response, and expenditure framework that explains how the development achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.

DDO 2 ROYAL ROAD ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY SPINE

Design objectives:

- To encourage high-quality urban, architectural, and engineering design responses.
- To encourage energy efficient and nature-based urban, architectural, and engineering design responses, including minimising impervious surfaces.
- To retain and enhance the area's existing natural landscaping features.
- To ensure all road improvements – particularly at intersection points – incorporate creative resurfacing, pedestrian crossovers, and traffic control measures.
- To ensure all road improvements consider pavement and related 'soft' infrastructure improvements.
- To positively incorporate safe and accessible cycling infrastructure.

Requirements:

- All road improvement projects shall be accompanied by a site analysis, design response, and expenditure framework that explains how the development achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.

DDO 3 LINKAGE ROADS

Design objectives:

- To encourage high-quality urban, architectural, and engineering design responses.
- To use 'soft' infrastructure improvements to enhance urban linkages.

Requirements:

- All road improvement projects shall be accompanied by a site analysis, design response, and expenditure framework that explains how the development achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.

DDO 4 VOOTREKKER & BERKLEY ROAD NORTH

Design objectives:

- To recognise the importance of Voortrekker Road as an activity spine and image to the city.
- To use scale, built form, edge definition, site permeability, building frontage, ground plane, and occupancy to develop a fine-grained infill pattern and make a positive contribution to the street as public space.
- To nurture a relationship between formal and informal socio-economic activity along the street.
- To positively incorporate a diversity of affordable housing and various housing density options along corridors.
- To retain or enhance the existing heritage character and cultural heritage significance of the area.
- To encourage high-quality urban, architectural, and engineering design responses.
- To incorporate positive night-time activity into the area.
- To ensure, where necessary, an appropriate transition in building scales to residential land use.
- To retain the view corridors towards the area's distinctive natural landscapes.
- To minimize overshadowing of the street.

Requirements:

- Building heights and setbacks:
    - The building height along Voortrekker Road shall not exceed 15m (4 storeys).
    - The rear height of buildings along Amstel Road, Kensington Road, and Coronation Road shall not exceed 11.5m (3 storeys). Above this height, a 45-degree rear setback is required.
- Building design:
    - Building should be built to the street frontage along Voortrekker Road.
    - Development shall be designed to have active frontages, address all frontages, be well articulated and modulated, and incorporate through the design or occupancy informal socio-economic activity.
    - Canopy projections over the street boundary are encouraged. Canopies shall not project nearer than 500mm to a vertical plane through the kerb line or proposed kerb line.
    - Parking spaces should either be recessed behind an active frontage or placed above ground floor.
    - Occupancies which require licensing, such as restaurants and bars, shall have a substantial food focus and a high proportion of seating to lower the risk of adverse amenity impacts.
    - The architecture and ground floor landscaping must consider illumination to enhance the night-time experience on the street.
- Landscaping:
    - The interface with the public realm shall be appropriately landscaped.
- Waste management:
    - Development to provide sufficient refuse provision for 1.5 times the SANS 10400 population requirements.
- Application requirements:
    - For residential development, a housing diversity and adaptability report which provides information on the range of dwelling types to cater for a variety of housing needs, including up to 10% of dwellings for inclusionary housing as defined by the Western Cape Inclusionary Housing Policy Framework. In support of this, additional development rights will be applied and confirmed by the municipality.

DDO 5 VOORTREKKER ROAD SOUTH

Design objectives:

- To recognise the importance of Voortrekker Road as an activity spine and image to the city.
- To use scale, built form, edge definition, site permeability, building frontage, ground plane, and occupancy to develop a fine-grained infill pattern and make a positive contribution to the street as public space.
- To nurture a relationship between formal and informal socio-economic activity along the street.
- To positively incorporate a diversity of affordable housing and various housing density options along corridors.
- To retain or enhance the existing heritage character and cultural heritage significance of the area.
- To encourage high-quality urban, architectural, and engineering design responses.
- To incorporate positive night-time activity into the area.
- To creatively re-develop industrial sites in a way that recognises their industrial character and socio-economic contribution to the area.

Requirements:

- Building heights and setbacks:
    - The building height along Voortrekker Road shall not exceed 36m (10 storeys), with any heights above 29m (8 storeys) requiring a 45-degree setback along all site perimeter boundaries.
    - The rear height of buildings along McGregor Street shall not exceed 11.5m (3 storeys). Above this height, a 45-degree rear setback is required.
- Building design:
    - Building should be built to the street frontage along Voortrekker Road.
    - Development shall be designed to have active frontages, address all frontages, be well articulated and modulated, and incorporate through the design or occupancy informal socio-economic activity.
    - Canopy projections over the street boundary are encouraged. Canopies shall not project nearer than 500mm to a vertical plane through the kerb line or proposed kerb line.

- Parking spaces should either be recessed behind an active frontage or placed above ground floor.
- Occupancies which require licensing, such as restaurants and bars, shall have a substantial food focus and a high proportion of seating to lower the risk of adverse amenity impacts.
- The architecture and ground floor landscaping must consider illumination to enhance the night-time experience on the street.

- Landscaping:
  - The interface with the public realm shall be appropriately landscaped.
- Waste management:
  - Development to provide sufficient refuse provision for 1.5 times the SANS 10400 population requirements.
- Application requirements:
  - For residential development, a housing diversity and adaptability report which provides information on the range of dwelling types to cater for a variety of housing needs, including up to 10% of dwellings for inclusionary housing as defined by the Western Cape Inclusionary Housing Policy Framework. In support of this, additional development rights will be applied and confirmed by the municipality.
  - All applications that make use of former or current industrial properties shall be accompanied by a site analysis, design, and socio-economic response that explains how the development achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.

DDO 6 SENSITIVE ECOLOGICAL INFILL AREA (NORTH)

Design objectives:

- To create a thriving ecologically sensitive precinct with complementary land uses and a narrow street network.
- To ensure new buildings and infrastructure respond appropriately to the flood line.
- To reduce consumption and assist with resource security by encouraging energy efficient and nature-based urban, architectural, and engineering design responses, including minimising impervious surfaces.
- To encourage high-quality urban, architectural, and engineering design responses.
- To ensure buildings are presented with a variety of heights and setbacks to avoid visual bulk.
- To incorporate opportunities for small-scale urban agriculture.

Requirements:

- All applications shall be accompanied by a site analysis and design response framework that explains how the development achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.

DDO 7 SENSITIVE INDUSTRIAL INFILL AREA (SOUTH)

Design objectives:

- To create a vibrant industrial precinct with complementary day- and night-time land uses that recognises and architecturally responds to the industrial heritage of the area.
- To use scale, built form, edge definition, site permeability, building frontage, ground plane, and occupancy to develop a fine-grained infill pattern and make a positive contribution to the street as public space.
- To ensure that new development does not prejudice the ongoing operation of nearby commercial, industrial, and warehouse activity.

Requirements:

- Building heights and setbacks:
  - The building heights shall not exceed 22m (6 storeys), with any heights above 15m (4 storeys) requiring a 45-degree setback along all site perimeter boundaries.
- Building design:
  - Development shall be designed to have active frontages, address all frontages, be well articulated and modulated, incorporate appropriate acoustic measures to attenuate audible noise levels within indoor and outdoor areas. Through-block connections for pedestrians should be provided wherever possible.
  - The architecture and ground floor landscaping must consider illumination to enhance the night-time experience on the street.
- Application requirements:
  - All applications shall be accompanied by a site analysis and design response framework that explains how the development achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.

DDO 8 MAITLAND CEMETERY

Design objectives:

- To create a restorative, ecologically sensitive, tranquil, dignified, and safe multi-use public environment.
- To ensure that all public facilities and activities incorporate the sense of place and respect the cemetery's primary function as a burial ground and place of memorialisation, commemoration, and spirituality.
- To retain and enhance the existing heritage character, cultural heritage significance, and intangible heritage of the cemetery.
- To recognise the cemetery as a significant ecological resource and as a part of the city's green infrastructure.
- To reduce consumption and assist with resource security by encouraging energy efficient and nature-based urban, architectural, and engineering design responses, including minimising impervious surfaces.

Requirements:

- Building heights and setbacks:
  - Building heights within the cemetery may not exceed a wall plate height of 4.5m (1 storey).
- Building and infrastructure design:
  - All architecture, engineering, and landscaping must consider illumination.
  - All architecture, engineering, and landscaping must consider signage and way-finding.
- Application requirements:
  - All applications shall be accompanied by a site analysis and design response framework that explains how the development achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.
- Activity permit requirements:
  - All permits for activities shall be accompanied by a written motivation that explains how the activity achieves the 'design objectives' in this schedule.

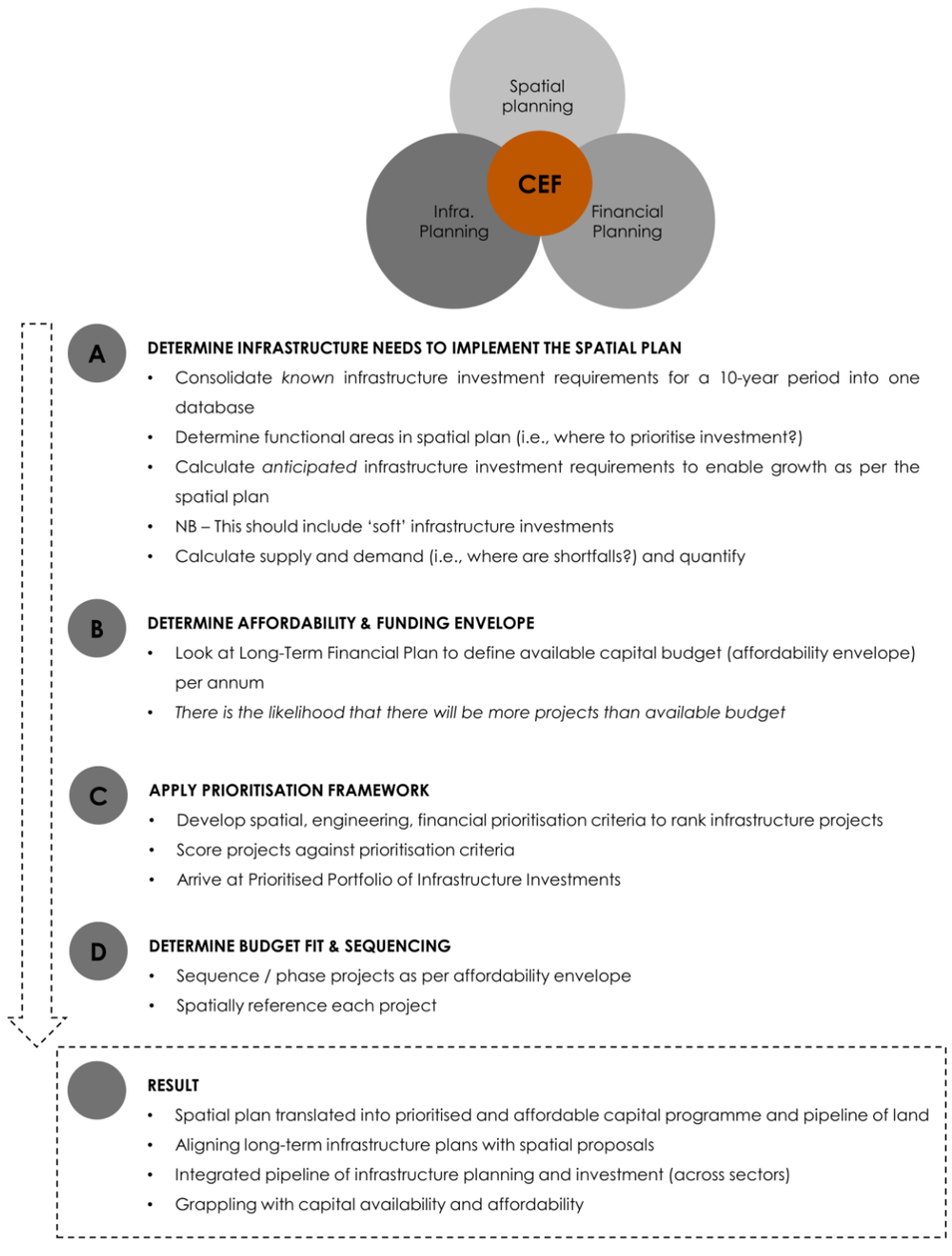


Figure 6.5 **The Capital Expenditure Framework Process**

(Author's own, based on presentation and interview with Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022)

The Local Area Plan Should Include a Capital Expenditure Framework (CEF)

Crane advocated for alignment between the design, provisioning, and budgeting of the structuring elements as early as the 1960s.

> *A strong time-space schedule of capital development, reinforced by a high quality of physical achievement, could go a long way toward restoring to streets, public buildings, and open spaces the aspect of precious and well-loved utilities they once had.*
>
> (Crane, 1960: 285)

> *Capital design should be amalgamated with existing capital improvements budgeting, thus defining public building standards and providing land and building integration of municipal services.*
>
> (Crane, 1964: 92)

As previously indicated, a local area plan must include a CEF, which is a crucial tool for coordination between state departments and is integral to implementation (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022). If, as **Chapter 5** suggests, the local area plan is the architect in the exercise of city building, the CEF is the quantity surveyor. It uses spatial plans to inform infrastructure plans, which in turn guides capital planning, infrastructure projects, and budgets (ibid). A summary of the CEF process is included in **Figure 6.5**. Essentially, it provides a sequential development and phasing programme that links ideas and budgets to achieve objectives. Using the CEF

> *… the municipality at least has an opportunity to engage very meaningfully in a portfolio of projects that will help implement the SDF.*
>
> (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022)

A typical CEF excludes the capital expenditure that doesn't fit neatly into engineering service planning, such as open space systems, street furniture, lighting, and other forms of 'soft' interventions (ibid). Thus, the local area plan's CEF should follow on from and be guided by the PSFS and DDOs[26]. It is crucial that the project team decide on, spatialise, *quantify* and *assign budgets* to all 'soft' interventions in the local area plan as only through this process can they be captured as a line item in the CEF and incorporated into the projects of other line departments (ibid). The architecture and engineering professions have documents such as *Aecom's Property and Construction Africa Cost Guide* (Aecom, 2021) to direct ball-park project costing and it would be helpful for planners to develop a similar guide for capital works projects.

There is a tension between the plan needing to be loose enough to accommodate adaptability, incrementality, and change, and precise enough to guide infrastructure planning. This is the inevitable trade-off in planning and this dissertation suggests that the state's efforts in precision should be directed at the public realm where the honest limitation of affordability can be grappled with. As demonstrated in both **Chapter 4** and **Chapter 5**, a local area plan that can financially achieve its objectives and results in tangible and discernable outcomes will signify to all stakeholders its relevance and garner their support. Finally, although the project team may only be assigned for a minimum five-year period, the CEF should document a 10-year period of capital expenditure, as most infrastructure projects require longer timeframes (Interview, Mr. Rhodes, 22 September 2022).

[26] However, this process is also recursive in that dealings with the financial and engineering departments can be substantively informative to the provisions in the DDOs (for instance, the spatial planners may have promoted densities that are unrealistic / unaffordable). This iterative process between planners, economists, designers, and engineers ensures that any plans are achievable.

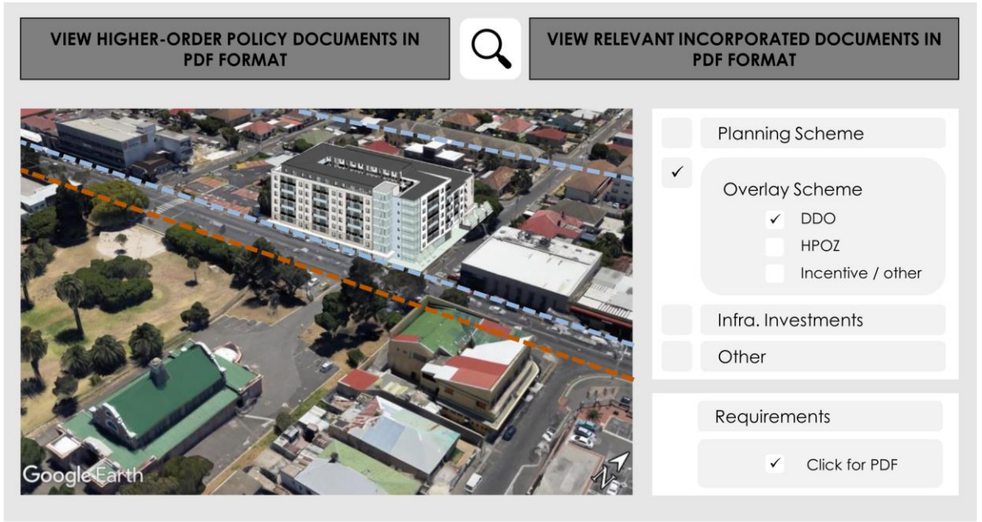


Figure 6.6 **Recommended Digital Platform Interface Including Suggestion for a New Development Application in Maitland**

(Author's own, using Google Earth & an Autodesk Revit model of ongoing scheme provided courtesy of MWP Architects)

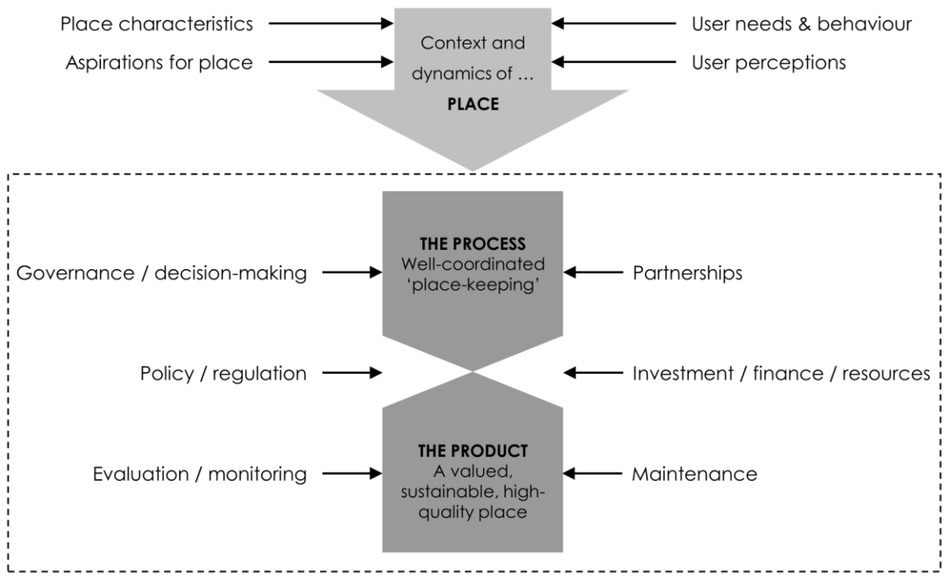


Figure 6.7 **Conceptualisation of Place-Keeping**

(Author's own, based on Dempsey & Burton, 2012)

6.3.2.3 STRATEGY NO. 3: AMEND THE APPROACH TO 'THE PLAN'

Thus far the local area plan should contain details of when formal participation is required; a PSFS and affiliated map; schedules of the DDOs and an affiliated map; and a detailed CEF. Additionally, over the five-year period, these components require constant refinements based on ongoing involvement from stakeholders. Add to this the finding from **Chapter 4** that communities struggle to engage with lengthy documents. Based on these conditions and a focus group discussion, it is recommended that the local area plan is not a 'final' material product but rather a 'living document' (the term preferred by the focus group) that is hosted on a digital platform more conducive to ongoing revision.

Perhaps the local area plan could be in a format similar to the current *City of Cape Town Map Viewer*[27] (or could feed into this existing platform), where information is embedded and available in an interactive layer list. This is not to suggest that digitally available PDF plans are unimportant, it to simply to state that all components do not necessarily have to be bound into one final document but should be hosted on a platform that can be accessed and updated as and when the need arises. If a final material document is produced, it should be no longer than 20 pages (Focus group, 2 September 2022). The digital platform might also include a layer for possible envisioned precincts / projects (such as the Maitland Metro precinct), to ensure they are captured in the planning system. A digital platform is obviously the 'gold standard' and will require significant resources, which is why the MSDF must be precise on where, why, when, and how LSDFs are provisioned. **Figure 6.6** depicts the recommended interface for this digital local area plan platform.

The City of Yarra is currently trialling a 3D model of the city where active planning applications are incorporated into the plan[28]. Sharing of 3D models for individual projects assists with land use decision-making and most architecture firms (for larger-scale projects) use drawing software that makes this viable. However, a balance should be struck between assisting decision-making and not making development applications more expensive, as these costs will either devolve to the end-user or the project team professionals.

6.3.3 SUSTAINING A LOCAL AREA PLAN

6.3.3.1 STRATEGY NO. 4: EMPHASISE PLACE-KEEPING OF THE STRUCTURING ELEMENTS

Chapter 5 described how Maitland's public spaces are performing poorly in relation to maintenance and safety. Dempsey and Burton (2012: 13) define place-keeping as the long-term management (maintenance, partnerships, community engagement, governance, funding, and evaluation) of public spaces and facilities that happens after a place has been created that ensures "the social, economic, and environmental benefits the place brings can be enjoyed for generations". Place-keeping is less well-understood than place-making, yet it requires no less attention and operational support (ibid). Funds for place-keeping should be allocated at three times the cost as for place-making (Trudeau, 2016). As indicated in **Figure 6.7**, place-making and place-keeping are comprised of ongoing physical and non-physical dimensions (Dempsey & Burton, 2012). In partnership with the community, the project team might explore revenue-making streams in some public spaces to subsidise or support others. For instance, the cemetery may incorporate classical music concerts, include temporary beehive installations on reserved land, or allow respectful wellness workshops, etc.: "Spiritual and restorative experiences are somewhat related, as they include components of reflection and contemplation" (Grabalov

[27] See https://citymaps.capetown.gov.za/EGISViewer/ [2022, October 1]

[28] See https://www.yarracity.vic.gov.au/the-area/planning-for-yarras-future/3d-city-model-of-yarra [2022, October 1]

& Nordh, 2022: 89). What is pertinent is that the local area plan should contain a place-keeping management plan and operational budget that covers a longer timeframe than the local area plan itself. The requirements for a CEF, management plan, and operational budget mean that clause 12(4) of the DMS should be updated to reflect that an LSDF *must* include an implementation plan.

6.3.3.2 STRATEGY NO. 5: LEGITIMISE THE LOCAL AREA PLAN

Chapter 4 indicated that a local area plan is only 'legitimate' once it has been formalised as an LSDF and adopted by the Municipal Council, which ensures that it is considered in all decision-making processes. Even after adoption, an LSDF is still only a non-statutory instrument. This structure also implies that there is an 'end-point' in which one final document can encompass all of the complexity and flexibility involved in planning, whereas this dissertation suggests that a local area plan re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability is an ongoing process and product (over a minimum five-year period). This is an anomaly that cannot be addressed by the current planning system. Within the current spatial planning structure, the best approach is 1) where the material local area plan is adopted by the Municipal Council during or at the end of the five-year period (in which case the MSDF should also make provision for the review of the LSDF after, say, another five-year period), and 2) where the local area project team is able to continually influence and improve on land use management and infrastructure planning through mechanisms such as the DDOs and CEF during their term of appointment. The issue of the 'status' of spatial forward planning versus land use management, and the current over-emphasis on land use management, is clearly a topic for further study. As an example, this dissertation suggests that classmate Sofia Briel's 2022 University of Cape Town dissertation is referred to (shared with permission).

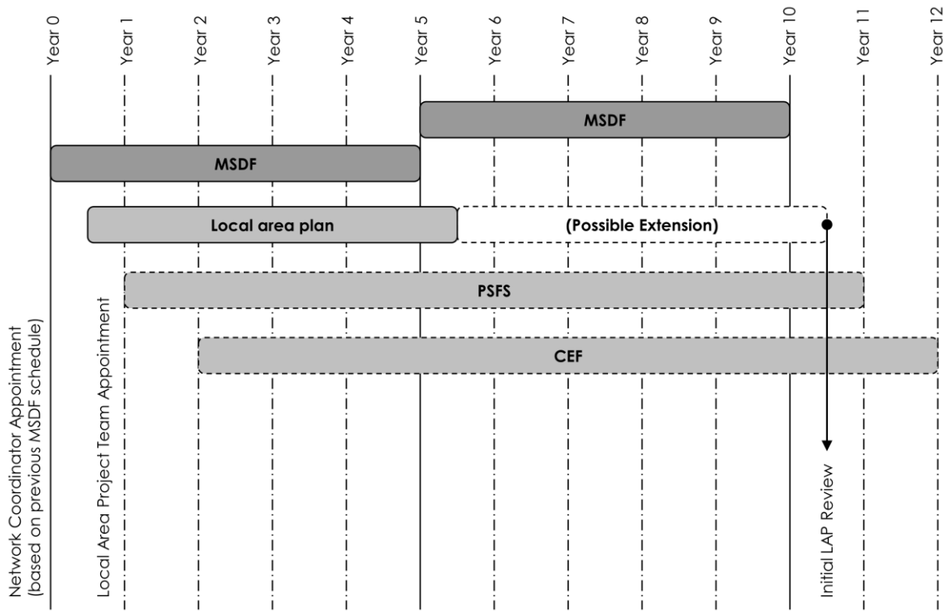


Figure 6.8 **Indicative Local Area Planning Timeline**

(Author's own)

6.3.4 SYNTHESIS OF ACTORS, ACTIONS & TIMEFRAMES

The below table synthesises the above recommendations and **Figure 6.8** details their indicative timeline.

ACTORS	ACTIONS
Provincial government	• Runs CPD workshops
Local government (the City)	• MSDF incorporates a programme of local area plans • MSDF identifies the location, extent, and means of funding local area plans • The City motivates to SARS for an extension to the UDZ in Maitland • The City amends clause 12(4) of the DMS • The City appoints a local area network coordinator • The City appoints a local area project team
Local area network coordinator	• Brokers relationships with the ward councillor, community, and NGOs
Local area project team	• Fosters relationships and brokers negotiations with the national and provincial government, various line departments, and land use management • In cooperation with the community, develops a PSFS (including baseline report, design and action interventions, capital support, operational support, and a place-keeping management plan) • Develops DDOs • In cooperation with the financial and engineering departments, develops a CEF (including a list of infrastructure projects, costing, demand vs. affordability, assessment matrix, and prioritised portfolio of infrastructure projects)
Municipal Council	• Adopts LSDF

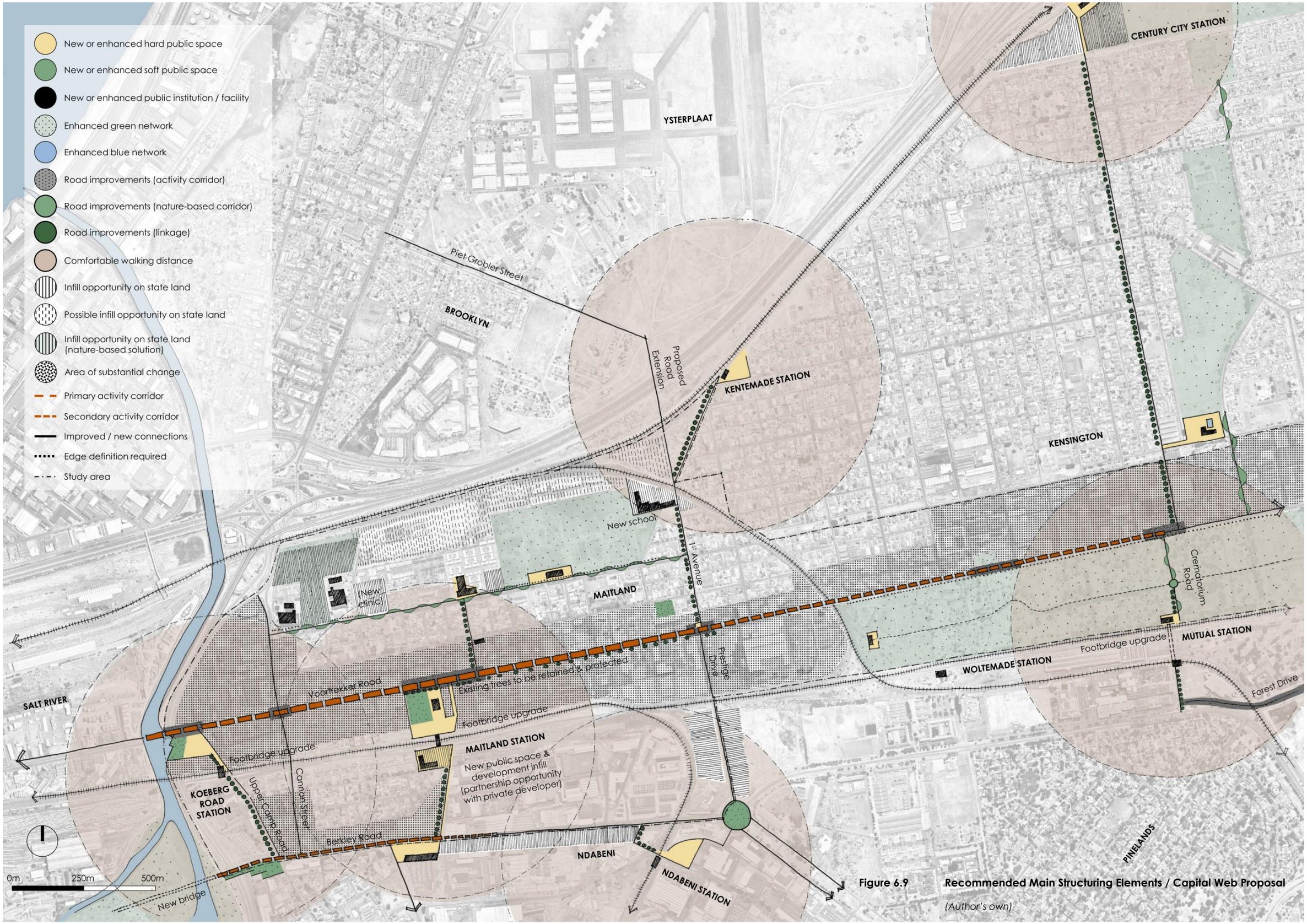


Figure 6.9 **Recommended Main Structuring Elements / Capital Web Proposal**

(Author's own)

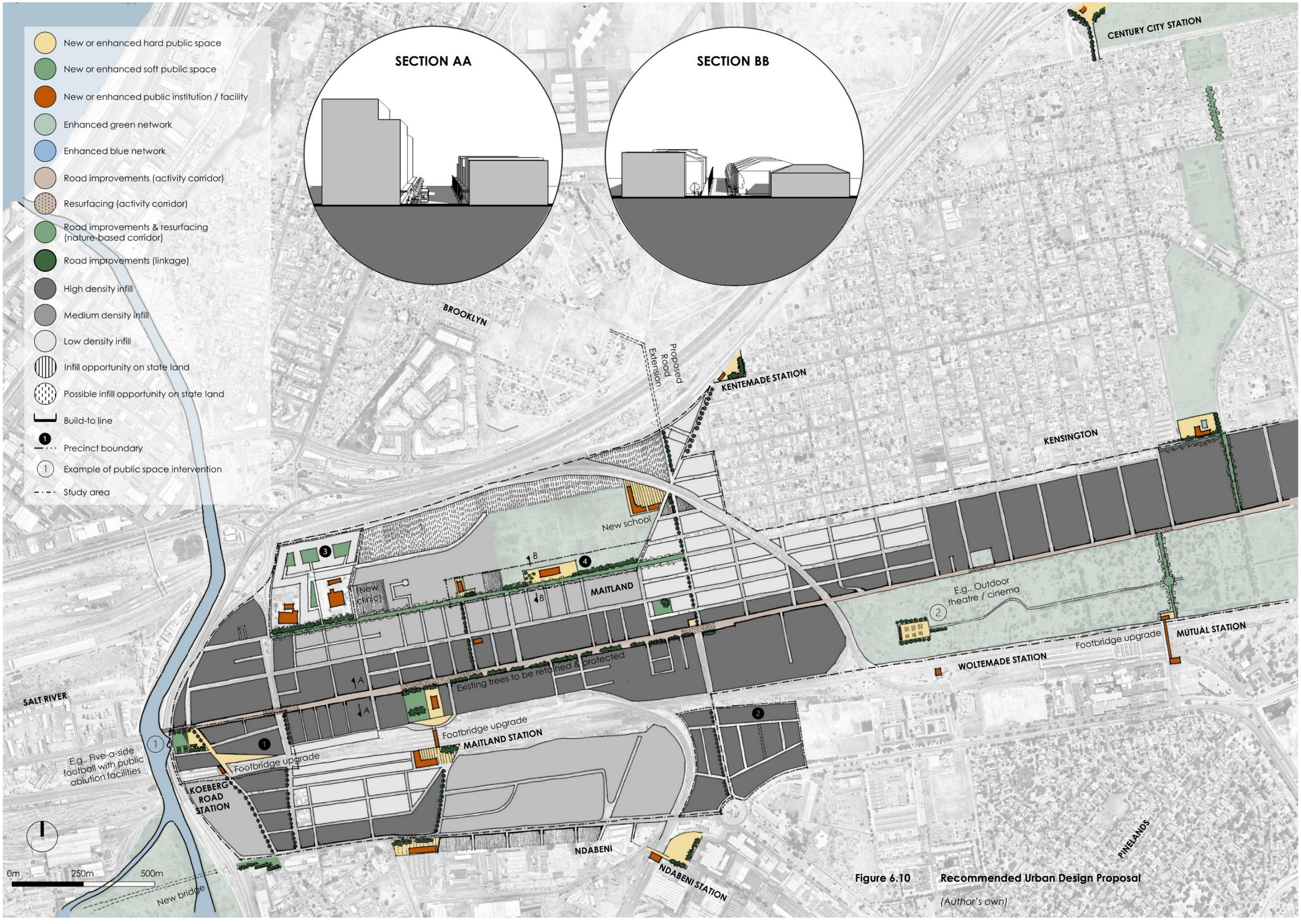


Figure 6.10 **Recommended Urban Design Proposal**

(Author's own)

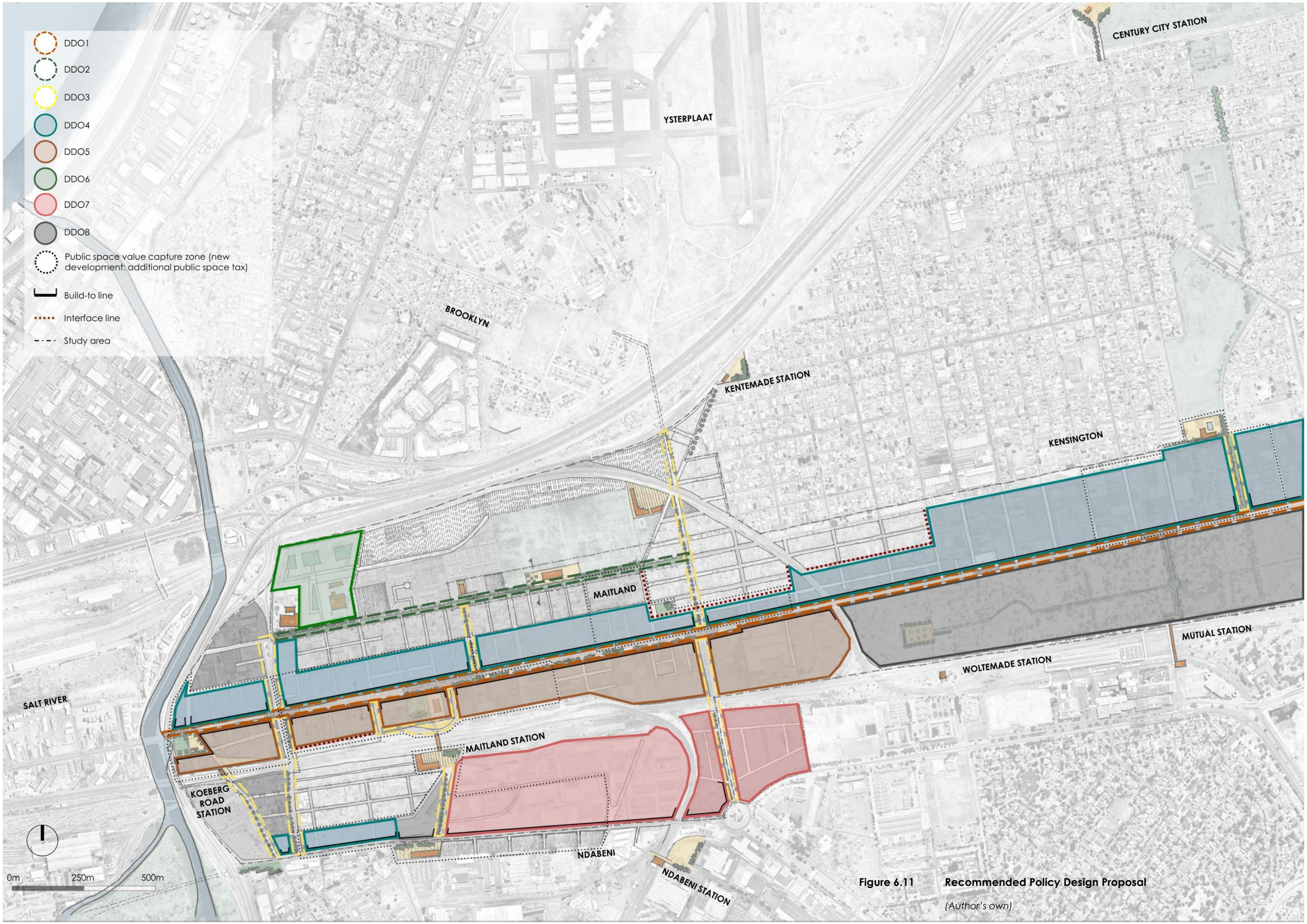


Figure 6.11 **Recommended Policy Design Proposal**

(Author's own)

6.4 REFLECTIONS & CONCLUDING REMARKS

Whilst Maitland is representative of a diverse and complex population, this does not necessarily translate into institutional or political complexity as it falls within the bounds of only one ward and municipal sub-council. It would be interesting to conduct comparative research on a local area that *straddles* ward or municipal sub-council boundaries as this may reveal different pressures on the role of place and the project team. Similarly, as local area plans that are re-conceptualised to guide spatial sustainability require an ongoing process of community involvement, it would be beneficial to understand whether there is a maximum population threshold for local area planning after which meaningful engagement becomes impossible (which would, ironically, require re-engagement with Perry's neighbourhood-unit concept which was, as demonstrated in **Chapter 3**, predicated on precise sizes that suggested social cohesion).

The recommendations have spent much time focusing on the benefits of relationship building across institutions and disciplines. Despite this, South African tertiary institutions continue to train professionals in departmental silos. Just as with a local area plan, surely it is important to develop genuine and meaningful relationships *before* embarking on a vocation. What would happen if, at university, students from the planning, urban design, architecture, engineering, property development, environmental management, and economics departments all focused on project areas in integrated teams? Could this translate into institutional cooperation later in their career?

Although **Chapter 3** incorporated contemporary literature, an astute reader will note that much of it originates from the mid to late 20th Century. The principles of good place-making are fairly consistent (with the exception of high modernism) and do not change so readily that a few decades render them meaningless. But the *context* within which these principles are achieved is constantly in flux and is becoming increasingly complex (as seen by the multiplex city in **Chapter 3** and in the global analysis in **Chapter 4**). What does this imply? We humans seem to have worked ourselves into a knot, where our efforts and desires appear to take us continuously further from where we need to be. Perhaps it is worth reflecting on this in the local area planning process to ensure that endeavours are directed into that which matters most.

This research project began with the intuition that local area planning (which in the early stages of the research was still being referred to as neighbourhood planning) was a useful tool in the planning canon. Yet preliminary discussions on neighbourhood planning were met with incredulity and apprehension by participants: 'Why on earth would *that* be relevant?'. As Mark Twain wisely reflected, "the difference between the *almost right* word and the *right* word is really a large matter". Once the nomenclature had been resolved, the research process revealed the benefit of trusting one's instincts. This was particularly pertinent to the case study area, which was initially identified based on its location within the city. Only later in the research did it become clear that this dissertation was being conducted simultaneously with the drafting of a new Maitland LSDF, which means 1) that continued research in this area could contribute to a robust case study on local area planning, and 2) that intuition is an important technique in the research process.

> *I have found that it has been my instincts that have directed my paths and that my reason is employed after the fact, to explain where I find myself. Hindsight discerns a common theme, astonishingly consistent.*
>
> (McHarg, 1969: 2)

Having introduced the research topic and study area in **Chapter 1**, this dissertation embarked on a four-phase process of responding to the research aim and questions. In **Phase 1** (**Chapter 2**), the research was designed so as to be logical, robust, and systematic. In **Phase 2** (**Chapter 3**), literature was reviewed to arrive at a conceptual framework that formed the basis of the critique of the UN's version of spatial sustainability. Based on this critique and using literature as a guide, the dissertation enriched the interpretation of spatial sustainability, which resulted in further themes being incorporated into the conceptual framework. In **Phase 3** (**Chapter 4** and

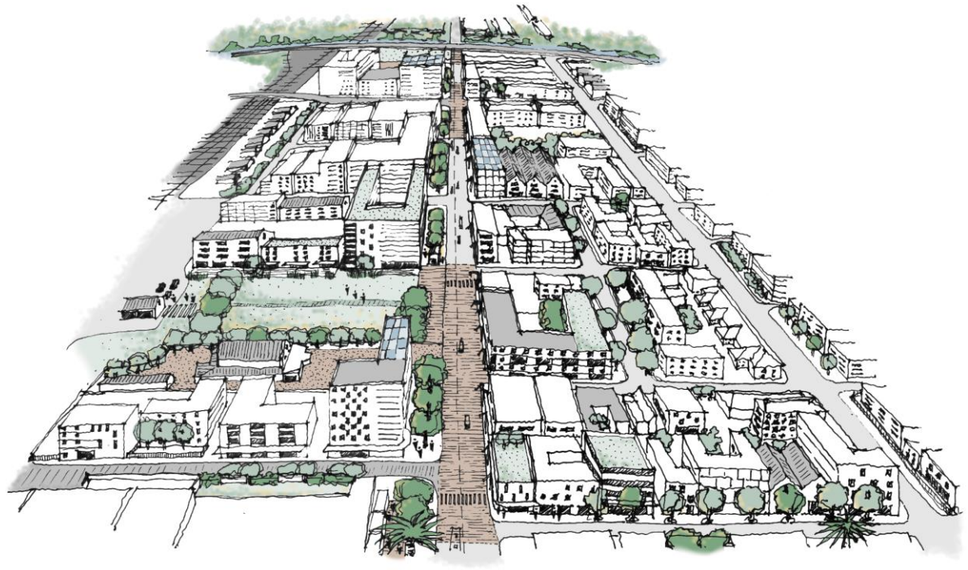


Figure 6.12 **Artist's Impression of the Local Area, Looking West Along Voortrekker Road**

(Author's own)

Chapter 5), data on the context, structure, and dynamics of 'place' was collected and analysed using the conceptual framework and design-orientated inquiry as a frame of reference. Reflecting on these findings at the beginning of **Phase 4** (**Chapter 6**) revealed that, if re-discovered and applied appropriately in areas of strategic importance, local area planning is a crucial tool in South Africa's planning system. Re-conceptualising local area plans means they should be perceived as both a process and a product, particularly in multifaceted port-of-entry neighbourhoods like Maitland where relations and practices extend beyond the area's boundaries. Given this, **Chapter 6** presented a series of recommendations following the sequence of a standard local area planning process, before offering reflections and areas for further research.

Re-discovering and explicitly re-conceptualising local area plans to guide spatial sustainability will support achieving ongoing access, inclusion, equity, and wellbeing for all human and non-human inhabitants in complex contemporary contexts, which is an act of sustainability. Furthermore, to do so will ensure that the aims and normative agendas of higher-order policies are achieved in a sensitive and contextually appropriate manner. Using a global policy concept as a point of departure, this dissertation strove to produce research with both theoretical and practical outcomes by responding to the below research aims as unambiguously as possible:

1. To establish whether South Africa's planning system requires local area plans and, if so, to clarify their contribution.
   And
2. To enrich the interpretation of spatial sustainability.
   With the view to
3. Exploring how planners might re-discover and re-conceptualise local area plans to guide spatial sustainability.

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APPENDIX A

CITY OF CAPE TOWN'S AREA BASED POLICIES

TABLE BAY DISTRICT POLICIES		
1.	Cape Town Company's Garden Action Plan	2003
2.	Langa Spatial Development Framework	1999
3.	Maitland Local Area Plan	1992
4.	Observatory Policy Plan	1993
5.	Two Rivers Urban Park Contextual Framework and Phase 1 EMP	2003
6.	Woodstock Salt River Revitalisation Framework	2003
BLAAUWBERG DISTRICT POLICIES		
7.	Klein Dassenberg Smallholding Area Development Framework	2002
8.	Koeberg Road Management Strategy	2000
9.	Management Strategy for Blaauwberg Road	1998
10.	Milnerton-South – Paarden Eiland Local Area SDF	2015
11.	Urban Design Framework for Loxton Road	2002
NORTHERN DISTRICT POLICIES		
12.	Brighton Road Integrated Land Use Plan and Urban Design Guidelines	2015
13.	Durbanville CBD Urban Development Framework	1998
14.	Elsieskraal River Valley Development Framework	1998
TYGERBERG DISTRICT POLICIES		
15.	Boston Beleidsplan	1998
16.	Lavistown Local Area Spatial Development Framework	2013
17.	Panorama Medical Node Study	2013
18.	Vasco Boulevard Policy Plan	1999
19.	Wingfield Place Triangle Policy Plan	2002
HELDERBERG DISTRICT POLICIES		
20.	Macassar and Environs SDP	2002
21.	Macassar Dunes Management Plan	2005
KHAYELITSHA-MITCHELL'S PLAIN DISTRICT POLICIES		
22.	Weltevreden Valley Smallholding Local Area Policy	2013
CAPE FLATS DISTRICT POLICIES		
23.	Land Use Management Policy for Belgravia Road, Athlone	2005
24.	Land Use Management Policy for Kromboom Road, Athlone and Rondebosch	2005
SOUTHERN DISTRICT POLICIES		
25.	Constantia Triangle Local Structure Plan	2003
26.	Harfield Action Area Plan	1990
27.	Land Use Management Policy for Kenilworth Road	2005
28.	Main Road Growth Management Strategy	2000
29.	Management Plan for Victoria Avenue, Hout Bay	1998
30.	Peninsula Urban Edge Study	2001
31.	Scarborough – Misty Cliffs Structure Plan	2000
32.	Simon's Town Structure Plan	1996
33.	Sunnydale Local Area Structure Plan	1995

Source: City of Cape Town Area-Based Policies and Guidelines. Available: https://www.capetown.gov.za/work%20and%20business/planning-portal/policies-and-guidelines/area-based-policies-and-guidelines [2022, October 1]

APPENDIX B

DETAILS OF FOCUS GROUP

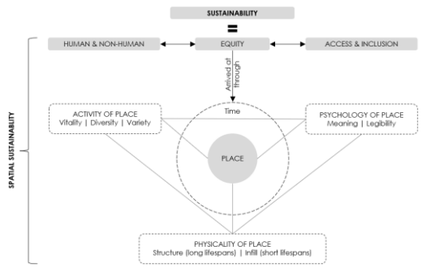
DATE:	Friday, 2nd September 2022, 11:00 – 13:00
LOCATION:	Kensington Civic Centre
PARTICIPANTS:	Anastasia Messaris (UCT City & Regional Planning Student)
	Councillor Helen Jacobs (Ward 56 Councillor)
	Simone Bergoff (Urban Designer)
	Anna du Plessis (Development Action Group)
	Shaun Reznik (Managing Director at BlueBuck Projects & Board of MaitCID)
	Vuyo Mthi (Development Manager at BlueBuck Projects & Board of MaitCID)
	Researcher (University of Sheffield PhD Student)

FOCUS GROUP WELCOME SHEET

FOCUS GROUP PURPOSE

The purpose of this focus group is to bring together various role players in a local area to jointly discuss:

1. An initial conceptual local area plan for Maitland.
2. What the local area plan should prioritise.
3. What the local area plan should incorporate to make it as substantively useful as possible.
4. What should be included in a local area plan to facilitate its implementation.
5. How any local area planning processes can be as accessible, equitable, and inclusive as possible.



Conceptual Diagram of Spatial Sustainability

FOCUS GROUP PROGRAMME

11:00 – 11:15	Welcome and introduction
	Participant introductions
11:15 – 11:25	**Discussion topic #1: the local area plan proposal**
	Presenting the conceptual local area plan
11:25 – 11:55	Feedback on the conceptual local area plan
11:55 – 12:20	**Discussion topic #2: the local area planning processes**
	Informal discussion on the participation requirements of local area planning
	Informal discussion on the implementation requirements of local area planning
12:20 – 12:25	Reflections & questions
12:25 – 12:30	Closing and thanks
12:30 – 13:00	Refreshments

Thank you for your participation and contribution towards this research and I hope that the focus group provides you with both renewed interest in your local area and insight into the local area planning instrument. Please feel free to contact me if you have any queries or additional comments.

Anastasia Messaris

072 320 0762

MSSANA002@myuct.ac.za

APPENDIX C

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EiR) Projects
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:
Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application *prior* to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/ebe/research/ethics1

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant		Anastasia Miranda Messaris
Department		Architecture, Planning & Geomatics (APG)
Preferred email address of applicant:		MSSANA002@myuct.ac.za
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	Master of City & Regional Planning (MCRP)
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc.	120
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Tanja Winkler
If this is a researchcontract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		N/A
Project Title		Local area plans to guide spatial sustainability in Cape Town

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

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

APPLICATION BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Anastasia Miranda Messaris		2022/06/02
SUPPORTED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Tanja Winkler		07/06/2022

APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).			
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the questions in Section 1.	Prof. H. von Blottnitz		7 July 2022

APPENDIX D

SDG 11 TARGETS

11.1: By 2030, ensure access for all to adequate, safe, and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums.

11.2: By 2030, provide access to safe, affordable, accessible, and sustainable transport systems for all, improving road safety, notably by expanding public transport, with special attention to the needs of those in vulnerable situations, women, children, persons with disabilities and older persons.

11.3: By 2030, enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanisation and capacity for participatory, integrated, and sustainable human settlement planning and management in all countries.

11.4: Strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage.

11.5: By 2030, significantly reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially decrease the direct economic losses relative to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water-related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations.

11.6: By 2030, reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities, including by paying special attention to air quality and municipal and other waste management.

11.7: By 2030, provide universal access to safe, inclusive, and accessible, green and public spaces, in particular for women and children, older persons and persons with disabilities.

11.A: Support positive economic, social, and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas by strengthening national and regional development planning.

11.B: By 2020, substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation, and adaptation to climate change, resilience to disasters, and develop and implement, in line with the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030, holistic disaster risk management at all levels.

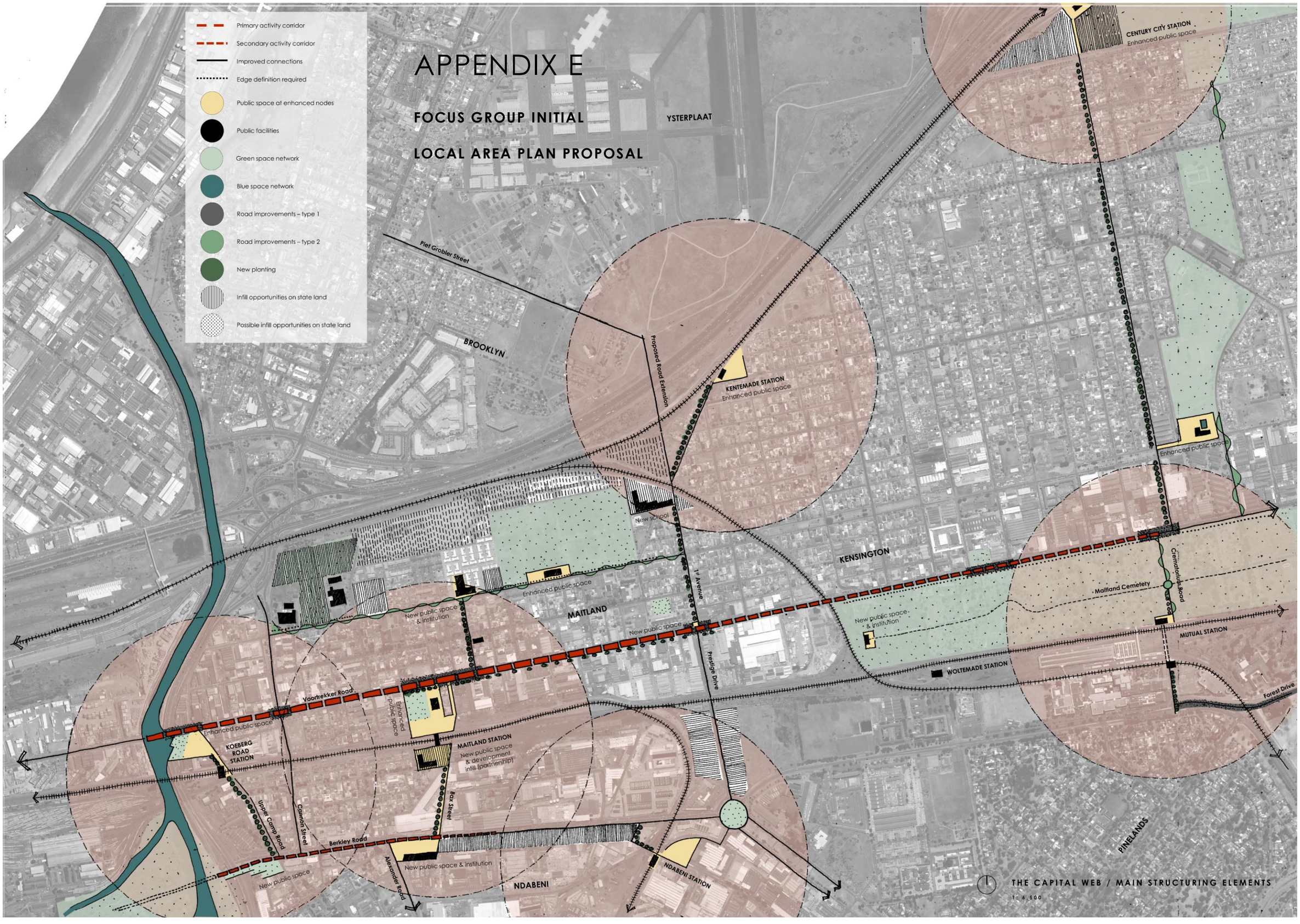
11.C: Support least developed countries, including through financial and technical assistance, in building sustainable and resilient buildings utilizing local materials.

Source: United Nations (UN). (n.d.). *Goal 11: make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable*. Available: https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/cities/ [2022, Jun

APPENDIX E

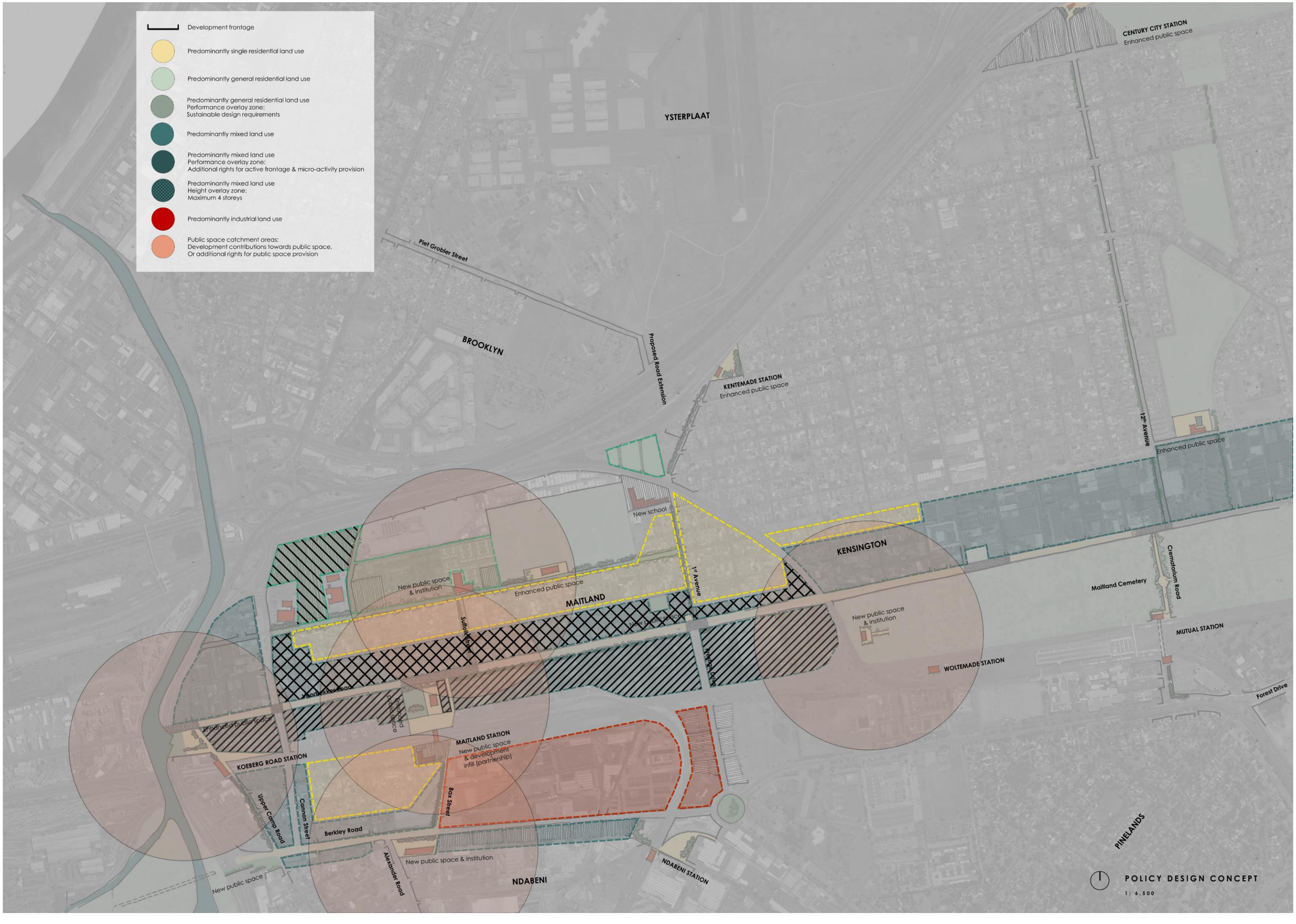
FOCUS GROUP INITIAL

LOCAL AREA PLAN PROPOSAL



Development frontage
Key hard public space investments
Key public realm investments
Key public facility investments
Key soft green public space investments
Activated green space network
Nurtured blue space network
Road improvements: resurfacing
Road improvements: sustainable drainage
New planting
Infill opportunities on state land – type 1
Infill opportunities on state land – type 2
Infill opportunities on state land – type 3

YSTERPLAAT
BROOKLYN
Piet Grobler Street
Proposed Road Extension
KENTEMADE STATION
Enhanced public space
CENTURY CITY STATION
Enhanced public space
Enhanced public space
KENSINGTON
New school
1st Avenue
New public space & institution
Enhanced public space
MAITLAND
New public space
Maitland Cemetery
Crematorium Road
New public space & institution
MUTUAL STATION
WOLTEMADE STATION
Prestige Drive
Voortrekker Road
Enhanced public space
Enhanced public space
Forest Drive
MAITLAND STATION
New public space & development infill (partnership)
KOEBERG ROAD STATION
Upper Camp Road
Cannon Street
Berkley Road
Rot Street
New public space & institution
NDABENI
NDABENI STATION
PINELANDS
New public space
URBAN DESIGN CONCEPT
1 : 6,500


Development frontage
Predominantly single residential land use
Predominantly general residential land use
Predominantly general residential land use
Performance overlay zone:
Sustainable design requirements
Predominantly mixed land use
Predominantly mixed land use
Performance overlay zone:
Additional rights for active frontage & micro-activity provision
Predominantly mixed land use
Height overlay zone:
Maximum 4 storeys
Predominantly industrial land use
Public space catchment areas:
Development contributions towards public space,
Or additional rights for public space provision
YSTERPLAAT
CENTURY CITY STATION
Enhanced public space
Piet Grobler Street
BROOKLYN
Proposed Road Extension
KENTEMADE STATION
Enhanced public space
12th Avenue
Enhanced public space
New school
KENSINGTON
1st Avenue
New public space & institution
Enhanced public space
MAITLAND
Maitland Cemetery
Crematorium Road
New public space & institution
MUTUAL STATION
WOLTEMADE STATION
Forest Drive
Voortrekker Road
Suffolk Street
Nesting Drive
Enhanced public space
Enhanced public space
MAITLAND STATION
New public space & development infill (partnership)
KOEBERG ROAD STATION
Upper Camp Road
Cannon Street
Box Street
Berkley Road
Alexander Road
New public space & institution
NDABENI
NDABENI STATION
New public space
PINELANDS
POLICY DESIGN CONCEPT
1 : 6.500