

Evaluating the impacts of a state led relocation project on beneficiaries' housing satisfactions: Pelican Parkas a Case Study



by

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Abstract

The dissertation evaluates the impacts of state relocation projects on beneficiaries housing satisfaction. The government embarks on relocation projects as a means to address massive housing backlog. One of the main drawbacks with relocation projects is locational disadvantage. The broad aim of this dissertation is to evaluate the impacts of a state led relocation project on beneficiary housing satisfaction. The research method employed in the study was the case study based on a state project used for the evaluation process. In order to evaluate beneficiary housing satisfaction, I set an impact assessment criteria specifically (1) enabling mobility; (2) enabling choice; (3) meeting economic needs; (4) meeting physical needs (5) meeting social needs and enabling access to public services; (6); enabling security of tenure; and (7) environmental resilience.

The study findings revealed that beneficiaries were highly dissatisfied with their housing. The main driving factor to dissatisfaction was unfavourable location of the settlement which resulted in accessibility challenges to Cape Town central business district, socio-economic opportunities and transport. The relocation process impacted greatly on livelihood strategies of beneficiaries. Beneficiary aspirations were not met. The contribution of the study is not only to unveil the mismatch in state housing projects but also to ensure that future state assisted projects are delivered on quality approach as opposed to quantity approach.

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List of Acronyms

Breaking New Ground	BNG
Central Business District	CBD
City of Cape Town	CoCT
Comprehensive Housing Plan	CHP
Department of Human Settlements	DHS
Finance-linked Individual Subsidy Programme	FLISP
Integrated Residential Development Programme the	IRDP
Municipal Systems Act	MSA
National Home Builders Registration Council	NHBRC
Nongovernmental organisations	NGO
Power Group Construction	PGC
South African Police Service	SAPS
United Nations	UN
University of Cape Town	UCT

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Chapter 1: Background and Context

1. 1 Introduction

The provision of housing for the urban poor remains a major challenge for the South African government (RSA, *Breaking New Ground*, 2004). As such, 'housing relocation projects' are one of a number of approaches adopted by the state to deliver housing to the urban poor. This study emerges from the author's interest in housing delivery programmes in general, and from an interest in the impact of 'housing relocation projects' on occupiers in particular. This study also emerges from a review of various scholars' work in which they suggest that relocation projects have failed to transform the historical characteristics of South African human settlements (Adebayo, 2000; Verster, 2005; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Thwala & Aigbavboa, 2012). Scholars also argue that state assisted relocation projects are located on urban peripheries (far from public services and job opportunities), and that relocated housing units are often of a poor quality (Adebayo, 2000; Charlton and Kihato, 2006). For these scholars, housing relocation projects fail to adequately address the needs and aspirations of relocated beneficiaries. Yet, and in accordance with the state, the broad objective of the 'housing relocation project' is to improve access to basic services, transform communities, facilitate local economic development and improve relocated residents' lives (RSA, *Breaking New Ground*, 2004). This study aims to critically assess these conflicting standpoints by learning from beneficiaries of the Pelican Park housing relocation project. This study also seeks to understand occupiers' satisfaction of their new homes for the purpose of contributing to the literature on sustainable human settlements in South Africa.

Galster and Hesser (1987) conceptualised housing satisfaction as a variable, reflecting the gap between a household's actual and desired housing situation. Michelson (1977), in turn, maintains that residential satisfaction can be viewed from three facets, namely: Mobility and choice; needs; and

residents' behaviour within their environment. Vliet (1998) agrees with Michelson, but goes on to state that housing satisfaction needs to meet the following criteria: (i) The economic needs of beneficiaries; (ii) the physical settings (the size of the dwelling unit, building materials, location and layout of houses); (iii) access to basic services; (iv) good quality of building materials; (v) secure tenure; (vi) good location; (vii) access to educational, health and recreational facilities; and (viii) promoting and maintaining social networks and social cohesion. Collectively, these satisfaction criteria, or attributes of measurement, are grouped into four categories of sustainable human settlements: Social aspects; environmental aspects; economic aspects; and physical aspects (UN-Habitat, 2012; Galster and Hesser, 1981; Rogers and Nikkel 1979; Campbell et al. 1976; Morris and Winter 1976). While it may be argued that these criteria are, somewhat, dated, they, nevertheless, serve as useful assessment criteria for the purpose of this study. A discussion is presented in Chapter 2 on how a more nuanced and critical employment of these assessment criteria will be used for the purpose of evaluating residents' satisfactions of Pelican Park. It should also be mentioned at this juncture that some of the literature presented in Chapter 2 is based on empirical evidence from the global North.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to present the problem under investigation as well as the main research question of the study. Before doing so, the problem under investigation needs to be contextualised. This contextualisation takes place in section 1.2, which, in turn, sets up the overarching aim of my research. Thereafter the main research question is presented. I have already alluded to the case study area of this research, and I have briefly discussed the assessment criteria used to undertake this study. These criteria will be further discussed in the next chapter. Chapter 2 also entails a critical review of the relevant literature for the purpose of establishing subsidiary research questions.

1.2. The background to the study

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, (hereinafter referred to as 'the Constitution') is the founding document for the provisioning of housing in South Africa. Section 26(1) (2) of the Constitution states that "access to adequate housing" is every citizen's right. This means that the government is mandated to implement laws, programmes and other initiatives necessary to ensure the progressive realisation of this right (Nyelete, 2010). The Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy is but one such an initiative, which is aimed at providing, well-located and affordable shelter for all. This policy builds on the White Paper on Housing (1994; 1997; 2010) and adds the imperative of ensuring that human settlements are sustainable, habitable and affordable (RSA, Department of Human Settlements [DHS], 2010). According to the Breaking New Ground (BNG) policy (2004:11), sustainable human settlements are a well-managed balanced entity in which economic growth and social development can carry the capacity of the natural systems in which people can depend. This leads to job creation, wealth, sustainable development, poverty alleviation and social equity.

State relocation projects are part of an attempt by the state to address the ongoing growth of informal settlements in cities across the country. After relocated houses have been occupied, a post-beneficiary occupancy evaluation is supposed to take place in order to establish if, and how, beneficiaries' needs are met (Watson, 2003). Such an evaluation, however, does not always take place. When it does take place, criteria used to evaluate beneficiaries' satisfaction tend to focus on quantifiable outcomes alone (Charlton and Kihato, 2006). A more nuanced and qualitative assessment of relocated residents' satisfaction is thus needed. This is the purpose of my research.

Relocation is defined as a process whereby a community's housing, assets, and public infrastructure are rebuilt in another location (Jha, 2010). Relocation is sometimes perceived to be the best, or only, option after residents' current housing locations are presumed to be uninhabitable.

However, relocation is often not the best, or only, solution. Finding adequate sites for relocating affected communities can be an enormous challenge (Jha, 2010). New sites almost always destroys existing social networks and livelihood strategies. They tend to break-up and fragment communities, thereby dramatically reducing residents' earning capacities, while interrupting children's schooling activities (Charlton and Kihato, 2006; Huchzermeyer, 2011; Jha, 2010). Furthermore, new sites tend to be further from city centres, and, as such, residents' transportation costs are increased. They create more anxiety for residents, and beneficiaries tend to respond to such anxieties by migrating back to informal settlements (Charlton, 2014). In sum, Jha (2010) argues that state relocation projects serve merely to increase poverty (Jha, 2010). This claim is assessed by means of this research.

Additionally, and for the purpose of this research, 'housing' is conceptualised as more than a mere structure to live in. As such, 'housing' needs to include access to urban infrastructure, efficient public transportation networks, public services, schools, health care facilities, retail facilities, amenities, community and recreational facilities, and economic opportunities; as well as opportunities to establish social networks (Inah et al, 2014). Above all else, such a conceptualisation calls for minimal, if any, disruptions to the lives of residents who are supposed to benefit from relocation projects.

The motivation for this study is borne from the fact that since the inception of post-apartheid housing policies, there has been limited research on the post occupation evaluation (Lu, 1999; Thwala and Aigbavboa, 2012). Yet, as argued by Thwala and Aigbavboa (2012), such research is vitally important if we hope enable more just and equitable cities. Pelican Park in Cape Town was conceptualised, planned in 2007 and implemented by the City of Cape Town in 2012 as a relocation project. It therefore serves as an excellent case study to begin to understand relocated residents' housing satisfaction, since sufficient time has passed to evaluate their housing satisfaction.

Discussions presented thus far are suggestive of the identified problems under study. These will be summarised in the next section before turning to the aims of this research.

1.3. Identifying the problem under study

Ongoing inward migration to urban areas, as well as internal population growth, results in unplanned informal settlements and the rushed delivery of housing. Since 1994, low-income housing programmes have entailed, for the most part building dormitory settlements on urban peripheries, which in itself presents a myriad of environmental, social, economic and political concerns. Furthermore, as discussed in section 1.2, various problems are associated with state assisted relocation projects. In a report compiled by the National Department of Human Settlements titled 'United Nations commission for sustainable development twelfth session', the Department demonstrates a growing concern regarding the sustainability of housing programmes (Ramashamole, 2010).

Problems with relocation projects in particular include: (i) New houses and infrastructure are of a poor quality, are rapidly deteriorating and require ongoing maintenance; (ii) new housing developments continue to place the poor in segregated 'ghettos' on urban peripheries; (iii) occupants dislike the model of housing used, and would prefer larger houses; (iv) new developments include increases in vehicular traffic caused by urban sprawl (v) beneficiaries often sell or rent out their allocated houses that they acquired through the subsidy scheme; and (vi) many beneficiaries, move back to informal settlements that are closer to economic activities (Charlton and Kihato, 2006; Thwala and Aigbavboa, 2012). It is thus clear that the performance of relocation projects remains a major concern. For this reason, a deeper, and more nuanced assessment of housing satisfaction is needed.

1.4. Establishing the aim of study

The overarching aim of this study is to evaluate the impacts of a state-led relocation project on beneficiaries' housing satisfactions. Assessment criteria

used to evaluate this impact are established in Chapter 2, and are derived from an in-depth review of relevant literature. Policy recommendations, in turn, are based predominantly on the lessons learned from residents of a relocation project (see Chapter 5). To this end, this study focuses on the relocation of residents from Grassy Park and Ottery informal settlements, Lotus River and the broader Cape Flats district to Pelican Park.

1.5. Establishing the Main research question

Based on the overarching aim of this study, the main research question asks:

What are the impacts of a state-led relocation project on beneficiaries' housing satisfactions? And, what lessons might we learn from the Pelican Park case study for future planning and housing policies?

1.6. Introducing the research methods

In order to answer the main research question, a number of research methods and techniques are used. The former consists of the case study research method. The case under study is Pelican Park. The research techniques used for this study include: Semi-structured interviews with residents of Pelican Park (Babbie and Mouton, 2002); non-participant observations of the public spaces in Pelican Park (Widlock, 1999; Yin, 1994); and surveys to establish generalised insights on how resettled beneficiaries evaluate Pelican Park (Schutt, 2011). The method and each of these techniques are discussed in Chapter 3.

1.7. The Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 2 establishes the literature review for analysing the case study area and for establishing relevant policy recommendations. It takes an in-depth look at the literature related to the study. The conceptual framework of for housing satisfaction, relocation projects, sustainable human settlements and post-occupation evaluation are raised in this chapter. This review of relevant literature sets up the subsidiary research questions for this study. Finally, this chapter gives indicators of housing satisfaction and looks at the

circumstances that make housing delivery modes satisfactory or dissatisfactory.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology. This includes the research design, procedure and techniques used to collect the data and the design of the measuring instruments. The methods used in analysing the data are explained as well. This chapter also encompasses discussions on conducting ethical research in addition to discussions concerning the limitations of methods and techniques used to collect data for study.

Chapter 4 provides the historical background of Pelican Park area and the reasons for choosing the case study. Data of the case study, the results of the semi-structured interview questionnaire and observation are included in this chapter. The collected data is discussed, analysed and interpreted. This chapter also presents the findings of the study and clarifies whether satisfaction with housing has been achieved.

Chapter 5 presents the conclusions of the study as well as recommendations for further research in the evaluation of housing satisfaction. The recommendations made are based on the findings of the research and literature reviewed. The chapter also presents the study limitations.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief background to the housing situation in South Africa in order to contextualise the problem under study. Although the government has initiated a number of programmes to solve the housing crisis in South Africa, the challenge that remains is dissatisfaction amongst beneficiaries. The main aim and research question were established in this chapter, and the methods used to answer the main research question were introduced. The following chapter will focus on a review of the relevant literature for the purpose of establishing assessment criteria.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 1 introduces the problem under study as well as the main research question. Post-occupancy evaluation of housing units in Pelican Park is crucial for the determination of beneficiary satisfaction. Feedback from the beneficiaries of low-income housing is important for developers, designers and the government. This feedback can be used to ensure that future settlements meet the occupants' needs. Put differently, the research is used to inform settlement design, thus, shifting focus to inhabitant needs as opposed to the current focus on the number of houses delivered (Brand and Orfield, 2004).

The aim of this chapter is to present an overview of the literature relating to housing satisfaction. This chapter also serves to define and contextualise the key areas of focus and concepts used in the research. The first section discusses housing satisfaction and housing adequacy. In so doing, criteria for satisfaction are established. Studies on housing satisfaction highlight that the following characteristics determine the level of residential satisfaction: physical quality of housing; presence of economic opportunities; level of mobility; level of access to public services; level of access to basic services; level of environmental resilience; and security of tenure. The chapter then goes on to set up a criteria for assessing Pelican Park. It bears mentioning at this juncture that some of the literature that is presented in this chapter might be considered by some scholars as 'dated', and other literature is based on empirical evidence from the global North. While I am aware of these facts (and the potential limitations of drawing from dated or global North studies), I will demonstrate how and why this literature remains relevant to my study of a situated context. It is to a discussion on housing satisfaction that the chapter now turns.

2.2. Housing satisfaction

The perception of what constitutes satisfactory housing has been explored by various disciplines and professions (Berkoz, Turk, Kellekci and 2009). For example, urban planners tend to define satisfactory housing in relation to socio-economic issues, location, participatory processes and quality of life (Berkoz et al., 2009; Baker, 2002). Architects, in turn, view housing satisfaction in terms of a feeling of 'happiness' with regards to the actual, physical, design of a house and the outcomes of the design (Mohit et al., 2010). Environmental psychologists, on the other hand, place emphasis on environmental quality as well as human behaviour (van Kamp, Leidelmeijer, Marsmann and de Hollander, 2003).

Policymakers focus on political processes and the extent of fulfilment of individuals' housing desires versus their needs (Salleh, 2008). Different interpretations and definitions of housing satisfaction thus make it difficult to be address the issue of housing satisfaction from one standpoint alone (Lu, 1999). However majority of definitions relate to socio-economic environmental and physical wellbeing of occupants of housing within a distinctive location. From a more quantitative standpoint, the term 'housing satisfaction' might be understood as a ratio between an occupant's predicated taste and to their expectations of the (housing) product (Lu, 1999). Thus in qualitative means housing satisfaction is the extent to which housing assists inhabitants in attain their desires (Jiboye, 2012). Furthermore, the term refers to an individual's subjective evaluation of their housing environment based on their needs, expectations and achievements (Huiand Yu, 2009). Galster and Hesser (1981) in conjunction with Awotona (1991) consider satisfactions the gap between beneficiaries' actual and expected housing conditions. For Buys and Miller (2012) satisfaction is a general analysis of anticipated occupiers' aspirations with regards to physical design of dwelling counting facilities, size and the costs. The subjective and objective evaluation of the housing attributes and surrounding neighbourhoods offers important insight into which aspects of the setting have a greater impact on

occupants' housing satisfaction (Adriaanse, 2007). With respect to the neighbourhood, green spaces, environmental health upkeep and cleanliness, as well as social dynamics are equally important predictors of housing satisfaction (Rioux and Werner, 2011). Mohit et al., (2010) add neighbourhood facilities to this list. The position of the neighbourhood in relation to work places (employment opportunities) and other facilities such as schools, the police station, hospital, market, shopping centres, public library, religious buildings, bus and taxi stations are all factors that influence resident satisfaction (Hiscock et al., 2001). In their study, Hiscock et al., (2001), using housing tenure as the measure, found that housing satisfaction has to do with living in an environmentally pleasant, safe and secure area, as well as living in a larger and better quality dwelling unit. Family size, socio-economic status and participation and interaction with neighbours influences levels of satisfaction (Theodori, 2001; Varady et al., 2001 and Varady and Preiser, 1998). Community factors such as noise, crime, accidents, security and community relations are also likely to impact on housing satisfaction (Mohit et al., 2010). Physical aspects of housing such as room sizes and wall quality, also contribute to the level of satisfaction (Thatsaid, Kaitila, 1993). These factors determine, in part, the extent to which an occupant considers their house to be adequate or not. It is to a discussion of the notion of adequate housing that we now turn.

2.2.1. Adequate housing

The right to adequate housing is one of the most important basic human rights that is recognised in various international human rights treaties (see, for example, United Nations, 2009). It is a right that is enshrined in section 26(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. A house offers shelter from the elements, a place to eat, sleep, relax and raise a family are some of the basic things people need for survival. Chenwi (2013) and Evans (2013) argue that housing is not adequate if it does not guarantee physical safety or provide adequate space, as well as protection against threats to one's health and structural hazards. But this hides the fact that a house is more than

just bricks and mortar and more than a roof over one's head. Rather, a house is a home (Hulchanski and Leckie, 2000). For a house to satisfy occupants it must be 'adequate' (United Nations, 2009). Spatial planning contributes to this determination through the manner in which it distributes facilities (Waziri et al., 2013). These definitions are found in the various housing policy documents, including the Housing White paper and the 1997 Housing Act. However, it is important to note that the Constitution does not go as far as to specify what 'adequate housing' should encompass.

This is because the provincial and local tiers government are tasked with determining what 'adequate' might mean in their specific areas of jurisdiction. Yet, without a nuanced definition for 'adequacy' in the South African context, it remains challenging to evaluate housing satisfaction from beneficiaries' standpoints. Furthermore, this lack of clarity has, arguably, resulted in prioritising quantity over quality approaches to housing delivery in the South African context.

2.2.2. Assessing Housing Satisfaction

Due to the lack of clarity found within South African housing policy frameworks, this research draws on various literature for the purpose of evaluating housing satisfaction from beneficiaries' standpoints. Accordingly, assessment criteria that is employed in this study are: (1) enabling mobility; (2) enabling choice; (3) meeting economic needs; (4) meeting physical needs (5) meeting social needs and enabling access to public services; (6); enabling security of tenure; and (7) environmental resilience. These criteria, derived from Ilesanmi (2010), Oladapo (2006) and other scholars' empirical research, will be used to assess the quality of the Pelican Park case study (see Chapter 4). Each of these is discussed below.

2.3. Enabling mobility

Residential mobility is identified as one measure of resident satisfaction. (Galster and Hesser, 1981). The ideal location for housing allows access to employment opportunities, healthcare services, schools, childcare centres

and other social facilities. This idea is discussed at length in section 2.9. For now, the section continues with a discussion on enabling mobility. Urban sprawl has resulted in increased dependence on individual transportation. Consequently, the poorest and most vulnerable population groups such as children and the elderly, with functional limitations are isolated (Cohen et al., 2003; Latkin and Curry 2003). Scholars, therefore, argue that where possible new housing should be located near to public transport in order to offer people a choice of how to travel (Bentley et al., 1985; Dewar and Uytendogaardt, 1995; South Norfolk Council, 2012). Access to public transport will help to reduce reliance on the private car and so reduce the environmental impact of new development (Dewar and Uytendogaardt, 1995; Bailey and Manzi, 2008)). Reducing the number of car journeys also has the potential to enhance the experience of pedestrians and cyclists, both in new developments and in existing places.

2.3.1. Enabling choice via accessibility, legibility and permeability

Oloefse (1999) argues that housing should be understood not only in terms of its physical structure, but also in terms of what it represents, namely: a home at the level of the individual, and a community at the level of a group. It should also represent a viable settlement with accessible and legible links to the broader urban and natural environment. It is important that residents are able to move easily and cheaply into and out of their neighbourhood using different modes of transport. The greater the accessibility of residential location, the greater the area's comparative advantage and the greater the demand for housing in that location (Balchin, Kieve and Bull, 1988). Accessibility of housing plays a big role in satisfying its users (Lu, 1999). Closely related to this is the legibility of the area. The term legibility refers to how easy it is for people to understand the layout of the area. According to Lynch (1960), legibility can be described as the ease with which parts of the area can be reorganised into a coherent pattern.

New streets and footpaths should connect into existing networks of streets and footpaths to ensure that new housing is well linked into the surrounding area (Jacobs, 1993). Settlement development that is well connected into the wider network of routes serving existing development will help to create a place without barriers to movement, as well as a place that is accessible to all (Bentley et al., 1985; Jacobs, 1993). Settlement that is designed to become a seamless part of the wider place rather than as somewhere separate and different will help to promote a shared community identity (Dewar and Uytendogaardt, 1995; South Norfolk Council, 2012).

Visual and physical permeability is another element to consider in relation to mobility. This refers to the level of accessibility of the area (Bentley et al., 1978). A good quality urban environment will have a number of alternative ways for residents to move through their environment (Bentley et al, 1978). Successful places are based on a clear distinction between public and private spaces (Jacobs, 1961; Bentley et al., 1985). This helps to make a place feel secure, both for the occupier of a building, and the person in the street (Jacobs, 1993). The relationships between public and private space are particularly important for housing development. This principle of permeability is so critical that it has to be one of the first considerations in the early stages of spatial layouts. If this is not done, chances are high that residents will be dissatisfied with their residential environment (Bentley et. al, 1985). This is difficult to alter once the development has been completed.

A clear hierarchy of streets helps people to find their way around a place (Jacobs, 1961). Settlements should be designed around connected networks of streets in a clear street hierarchy (Bentley et al., 1985; Dewar and & Uytendogaardt, 1995; South Norfolk Council, 2012). Such designs accommodate vehicular movement and car parking, whilst ensuring that this does not dominate the layout of buildings and spaces. Settlements that are designed around car movement, do not create a sense of place (South Norfolk Council, 2012).

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- How accessible are socio-economic resources for the Pelican Park residents?
- How accessible is Pelican Park to the Cape Town central business district?
- How do beneficiaries feel about the location of their housing?

2.4. Diversity

Within the vocabulary of urban planning, the term diversity refers to the quality that Jane Jacobs (1961) argue should characterize city life. Diversity ranges from mixed income, racial and ethnic integration coupled with accessible public space (Feinstein, 2005). Thriving settlements have mixed uses whereas a separation of uses leads to settlements not to function well (Jacobs, 1961). Thus a mixture of uses to sustain a city needs a variety of ingredients (Jacobs, 1961). Lack of diversity is destructive to city life, but in itself this does not get us far (Jacobs, 1961). Diversity settlements encourage new enterprises and different ideas that cater for all groups and cultures and bringing all of them together.

Thus in order for vibrant diversity to take place the following conditions are crucial: (i) the settlements must serve more than one function; (ii) blocks within the neighbourhood must be short, that is streets and opportunities to turn corners must be frequent;(iii) districts must mingle buildings that vary in age and condition;(iv) and there must be sufficient dense concentration of people (Jacobs, 1961). Given the development of these four conditions a city should be able to realize its best potential.

2.4.1. Diversity of land uses

In a given location people have different drives that push them to reside in that area. Ideal settlements offer opportunities for people to settle on their own but not be alone. People also desire private places that help

differentiate locals and strangers (Govender, 2011). Thus satisfaction can be enabled by diversity of choices and this is influenced by degree of privacy (Govender, 2011). Thus a hierarchy of uses movement systems and spaces facilitates this. Socio-economic capital is strengthened by commercial diverse uses. According to Jacobs (1961) variety and plenty commercial activity within a city contains other forms of diversity, rich culture, great visual characteristics and variety of population.

Fainstein (2010) suggests that cities require housing in any area to encompass a broad income range and forbidding discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, or disability constitute standards conducive to justice. The embodiment of diversity ranges from mixed use to mixed income, racial and ethnic integration to widely accessible public space (Fainstein, 2005).

2.4.2. Diversity of Population

It is simply unethical to practice discrimination based on inscriptive characteristics like skin colour or nationality on the other (Fainstein, 2010). Interracial contacts will reduce racial conflict or discrimination. This contact is needed undeniably and addresses the deep divisions in society. Harvey (1978) adds that diversity as adding to the appeal of locales and contributing to social inclusion, they simultaneously seek to promote stronger community ties. Jacobs (1961) acknowledge the importance of population diversity in developing vibrant neighbourhoods, and advancing ideas across the world. Thus there is a close relationship between population diversity and skills and knowledge experienced in a city's labour market (Fainstein, 2010). In terms of stabilizing the population mix, is the role of the public sector in maintaining the stock of public housing, keeping units within the rent regulation programs, and retaining structures whose occupants receive housing subsidies (Fainstein, 2000).

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- Did beneficiaries have a housing choice?
- How does Pelican Park enable cultural diversity?

2. 5. Meeting economic needs

Planners need to ensure that the housing development enables the beneficiary to have access to and be engaged in local economic development initiatives. Adequate housing must provide variety of opportunities for local economic development (BESG, 1999). This point has been discussed further by Baumann (2003) who argues that there is a relationship between housing and poverty. He argues that low-income housing should contribute, both directly and indirectly, to the gainful employment of housing beneficiaries through the use of emerging local small building contractors and labour intensive building methods. UN-Habitat (2005) regulations, for new housing developments, mandate that economically sustainable housing should allow and encourage the development of small-scale manufacturing and service activities in the home. BESG (1999) also states that there is a need to train small builders to participate in the small scale material manufacturer, in order to create jobs and curb the massive unemployment rate. Single use zoning has been one setback for potential mixed activities in settlements. If within a residential area there are vast opportunities for individuals to be employed, their level of satisfaction increases as they become more financially secure. This has the additional benefit of decreasing residential mobility occurring as people do not leave the residential area to seek employment (Diaz-Serrano & Stoyanova, 2010). This then creates the opportunity for residents to become more attached to the community (Grillo et al., 2010).

According to the United Nations (2012) access to well-located land by the landless needs to be considered as a central policy goal. Access to land increases the possibility of the poor accessing housing, which is a financial asset (Narayan et al., 2000). Thus, it is one of the few safety nets that the poor can possess. It can be sold in the event of financial difficulties and desperation. Housing may contribute to the redistribution of wealth as it can

serve as collateral for credit for home improvements or the development of small businesses for example (Charlton, 2009).

Beneficiaries are motivated to invest their time and money in consolidation if they are permitted to retain their land (Tissington 2010). They beneficiaries can use their title deeds as security or collateral to access loans for housing improvement. The United Nations (2009) notes that people voluntarily improve their dwellings to the fullest extent they are capable of when they have secure tenure. However, if people feel insecure, they will refrain from making home improvements even if they have the means (Mahanga, 2002). This is because they are unsure of their future living circumstances. The government or land owner can demolish their structures should they decide to evict them from those areas. Dewar and Uytendogaart (1995) argue that the capacity of sustainable human settlements must be enhanced so that economic opportunities can be generated. This is important because, as they argue, in future many people will have no option in future except to generate their own economic capacities. Therefore, the creation of vibrant local economies and promotion of trade is, and will be, crucial for local beneficiaries' satisfaction. Dewar and Uytendogaart (1995) further note that effective planning could create conditions favouring decentralisation, which would provide jobs closer to home. This is important particularly in South Africa where apartheid planning situated townships on the urban fringe. Opportunities, particularly economic opportunities, and services within the CBD are difficult to access from these locations (Khan, 2003). Location is a crucial element for sustainable human settlements. This idea is discussed at length in section 2.7.1. For now, the section continues with a discussion on housing affordability.

2.5.1. Housing affordability

The housing market should be available and accessible to individuals from all levels of income (Amnesty International, 2010). High housing costs often have the 'knock-on' effect of diminishing the poor's ability to pay for other basic essentials including food and the opposite is true for high income groups.

Adriaanes (2007) and Lu (1999) found that higher income households are generally satisfied with their housing. This is because higher income earners can improve their housing through alterations and renovations to suit their lifestyles. Frank and Enkwa (2009) further argue that higher incomes enable housing consumers to move to a better location or neighbourhood of their choice. This possibly accounts for the greater levels of satisfaction exhibited by wealthier groups. United Nations (2009) notes that housing related costs should not compromise basic needs of beneficiaries. For those in rental tenure measure should be set up to protect them from steep rent prices so as to increase housing satisfaction (Chenwi, 2013). Thus the government must support in forms of housing subsidies and other forms of finance to support the underprivileged (Evans, 2013). United Nations (2009) concludes that housing satisfaction cannot be attained if such costs hinder beneficiaries' enjoyment of other human rights.

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- How are Pelican Park residents using their houses for income generation purposes?
- If they are not using their home for these purposes, what prevents them from doing so?

2.6. Physical Attributes of the Housing

Housing satisfaction is dependent, in part, on the physical dimensions of houses. Such dimensions encompass typology, size, aesthetics and location amongst others. For Toscano and Amestoy (2008) physical aspects of the house such as common areas, ventilation, lighting and orientation of windows within the house also contribute towards overall housing satisfaction. Typology affects the quality of life of beneficiaries as alluded to earlier. The house type which provides privacy might give rise to high(er) satisfaction for some beneficiaries (Baiden et al., 2011). The common usage of some areas and amenities outside the house might increase housing satisfaction in some cases (Konadu, 2001).

Overall, the house should be well constructed using high quality (as opposed to substandard) building materials. Beamish et al. (2001: 24) note housing quality as an accepted cultural standards and norms and standards for the physical conditions and the amenities required. According to Lindamood and Hanna (1979:85), the measurement of the quality of a dwelling unit involves the subjective reactions of people to attributes of a dwelling unit. These attributes include equipped kitchens, central heat and complete indoor plumbing as well as the soundness of the structure to mention a few. However, objective attributes can be used to define and measure the physical quality of a house. One of these attributes is living space. Larger living space per capita not only meets basic physical but also psychological needs (Harris et al., 1996). Kinsey and Lane (1983) contend that the amount of space in a dwelling unit directly relates to residential satisfaction. They further argue that the number of rooms, size of the home, inside and outside appearance, amount of storage and utilities costs are directly related to residential satisfaction. Higher quality of dwelling unit correlates high satisfaction levels (Elsinga and Hoekstra, 2005). Housing unity quality is both assessed from the structural elements and general cleanliness of surrounding area (Westaway, 2006).

The occupiers' health status is affected by the housing conditions (Bonney, 2007). The house does impact on the psychological and mental wellbeing of beneficiaries. This is due to the fact that at the end of our daily endeavours it is the last refuge (Bonney, 2007). Various health complications are directly related to the housing unit itself. The use of substandard materials triggers health effects on beneficiaries (Bonney, 2007). For example mould growth serves as relevant occurrence of infestations, thus it shows deficiencies in hygiene and sanitation services.

There is a visual element to housing quality assessment. This assessment encompasses the identification of indicators of potential structural problems. These indicators include open cracks, peeling paint, water leaks, crumbling in the foundation and sagging or uneven roofing.

2.6.1. Location

Good location is a complex concept to define, but access to employment, transport and urban opportunities and facilities are useful indicators (Tonkin, 2008). Appropriate well-located sites are in close proximity to transport, economic activities and services. For the poor, location is often more important than housing quality (Tonkin, 2008). It directly impacts on the accessibility of urban opportunities and underpins social networks and livelihood strategies critical for survival (Tonkin, 2008). Greater social integration may also result from the location of low-income households on well-located land. Baiden et al., (2011) argue that preference on the location of the house varies according to age, income level and family size. Current location of low income housing developments in South Africa has is evident to perpetuate apartheid settlements. Furthermore location of public and economic services is also important. Rich public spaces have locational advantage and are easily acceptable to the public (Govender, 2011). Such facilities with location advantage attract unique informal activities enhancing trade and business satisfaction.

2. 6.2. House Size

Adequate housing is housing that provides suitable space for eating, sleeping and family life (BESG, 1999). Not only is the size of the house measured but the age of the house is also taken into consideration. In particular, housing capacity is measured to capture the condition of the housing unit. Housing capacity is calculated as number of persons in the household divided by the number of bedrooms (BESG, 1999). This measure is meant to show whether or not the housing unit is large enough for the size of the family living in it. The amount of private, indoor space accessible to household members overall is also measured. In addition to housing capacity, BESG (1999) notes that the number of rooms, the number of bathrooms as well as the floor area should also be considered. Goux and Maurin (2005) argue that the space characteristic that is of primary concern to families is the number of rooms. Overcrowding and lack of space can affect people's health and overall

quality of life. Research has shown that there is a strong link between overcrowding and respiratory infections such as bronchitis and tonsillitis in children. A strong link has also been established between overcrowding and psychological distress, especially amongst women. Gove, Hughes and Galle (1979, cited in Goux and Maurin, 2005) note there is a very clear correlation between the number of persons per room and individual's mental and physical health. They also find that children in small families perform much better than children in large families. This, they argue, is due to the fact that they live in less crowded homes. The size of the dwelling unit currently produced for low income groups is 40 m². This is marginally bigger than the 30 m² Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) units which were rolled out before 2004.

2.6.3. Architectural quality

Resilient settlements are ones that are attractive to live in now and will be into the future, when lifestyles and other circumstances may have changed (Bentley et al., 1985; Dewar and Uytendogaardt, 1995; Bailey & Manzi, 2008; South Norfolk, 2012). To achieve this, they need to function well, to be built to last, to be attractive initially and to remain so over time (Bentley et al., 1985). Good architecture should be fit for purpose; durable and well-built; and pleasing to the mind and the eye (South Norfolk, 2012).

2.6.4. Distinctive character

Giving new housing development a character and quality helps community pride and ownership, which increases the likelihood that local people will look after and maintain it well (Jacobs, 1961). For neighbourhoods, a variety of distinctive character makes it possible for people to recognise different parts and to know where they are (South Norfolk, 2012). Balance and coherence with different parts in the city to create unique place is needed (Jacobs, 1961). Housing development should be designed to have a positive character that is appropriate for the place where it is located, the type of development to be provided and also the likely lifestyle of occupiers (South Norfolk, 2012). Dwelling size is used in this study as an indicator of housing

satisfaction in order to assess the level of congruence between policy prescriptions and the expectations of the beneficiaries.

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- How satisfied are residents with the size, quality and physical construction of their home?
- What, if any, concerns do residents have in relation to the structure of their houses?
- Are there any visible indications of potential structural defects?

2.7. Meeting social needs and enabling access to public services

Various researchers have studied different aspects of community satisfaction. Erdogan et al. (2007) indicate that social living conditions positively influence housing satisfaction. With presence of strong social ties one values social capital more than economic aspirations (Erdogan et al., 2007). Parkes et al. (2002) argue that there is a relationship between housing satisfaction and one's feelings toward their neighbours. Similarly, Westaway (2006) uses neighbour camaraderie in their neighbourhood satisfaction model. Zanuzdana et al. (2012) note the positive effects of establishing strong social relations through membership in a community or Non-Governmental

Organisation on housing satisfaction. The social environment consists of the social interactions, relationships and social activities in which a person participates (Sirgy and Cornwell, 2002). The presence of strong social networks in the neighbourhood, which provide baby-sitters, social support and food share arrangements, have been identified as fundamental to housing satisfaction in shantytowns in Puerto Rico (Caldieron, 2011). Hourihan (1984) argues that belonging to a social class and local social attachments influence residents' housing satisfaction levels. It was also found that residential satisfaction levels increase in direct proportion to the proximity of relatives and friends to the new housing (Galster and Hesser, 1981; Hourihan, 1984). Grzeskowiak et al., (2003) developed a model that linked social, family, work and financial satisfaction to satisfaction with community services. Their

findings suggest social life as the most proximate antecedent to housing satisfaction (ibid.). A home perceived as safe and intimate provides major psychosocial benefits (Bonney, 2007). It represents a refuge from the outside world, enables the development of a sense of identity and attachment as an individual and provides a space to be oneself (Bonney, 2007). Any stressors limit this feeling of safety, intimacy and control, thereby reducing the social function of the home (Kearns et al., 2000). As for Potter and Cantarero (2006) social relationships are more crucial in satisfying residents than physical environment.

2.7.1. Sense of belonging

For this study a community is a group of people living in the same defined area sharing the same basic values, organization and interests (Rifkin et al, 1988. Excessive and repetitive noise due to overcrowding in high density housing complexes and a lack of parks and ovals for example, reduces one's attachment to their community. Consequently it decreases residential satisfaction (Braubach, 2007; da Luz Reis and Lay, 2010; James et al., 2009). As a result, the level of attachment one has to their residential community influences their level of housing satisfaction. The greater the sense of belonging a person is to a community, the higher their level of satisfaction (Grillo et al., 2010; Young et al., 2004). The level of attachment one feels for their community influences, in turn, their level of housing satisfaction (Aiello et al., 2010). This attachment is described as a bond between a person and their social and physical environment (Grillo et al., 2010). An individual develops an attachment to their house through their social relationships, economic homeownership, length of residence and investments made within the community (Aiello et al., 2010; Bonauto et al., 1999; Grillo et al., 2010; James et al., 2009).

Strong social networks within a community increase a person's satisfaction levels. Through these networks they gain support and opportunities for social

interaction. These networks also compensate for poor environmental conditions (Aiello et al., 2010; Grillo et al., 2010). For example, Filkins et al. (2000) examined social/spiritual satisfaction. This term refers to social ties such as local friendships and kinships that foster strong community sentiments. It was found that social/spiritual attributes strongly influenced community satisfaction. The more satisfied a resident was with this area in their life, the higher their community satisfaction (Filkins et al., 2000).

2.7.2. Safety

Another community factor that is likely to predict housing satisfaction is safety (Mohit et al., 2010). It is reasonable to suppose that crime and disorder affect residents' perceptions of their safety, which is likely to reduce satisfaction with the neighbourhood. Fear of crime and feelings of diminished personal safety are predictors of community dissatisfaction (Carro et al., 2010; Hur and Morrow-Jones, 2008). When residents perceive their community as unsafe they are less likely to be satisfied. This perception can result in high residential mobility out of the area (Diaz-Serrano and Stoyanova, 2010). In their study, Chapman and Lombard (2006) found that less than 10 % of 10,992,999 households of their sample believed crime existed in their community despite crime rate statistics showing higher occurrences of criminal activity in the community. This perception of low crime in the community resulted in high levels of residential satisfaction. It also resulted in low levels of residential mobility out of the area.

2.7.3. Sense of community

The creation of a sense of community is an important aspect of social capital because it helps to build relationships between individuals and households. A sense of community is cultivated by the active involvement of a community in the planning, decision-making and ongoing management of a housing project (Ross et al. 2010). Furthermore, community participation at local government level is a must because it is legislated through the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) of 2000. However, the MSA does not provide guidance on addressing the political struggles that often occur at the local level.

Furthermore, some analysts argue that in the post-apartheid period, social capital within communities has been eroded as many community leaders took positions in government that placed them outside of their communities (Pottie 2004).

2.7.4. Beneficiary involvement in project development

One way to guarantee beneficiary satisfaction is to involve future occupants in the formulation of the development. The community should be involved in the planning from the earliest possible moment (Amnesty International, 2010). The stronger the role of disadvantaged groups in formulating and implementing policy, the more redistribution will be the outcomes (Fainstein, 2010). In short, it is the means by which the have-not citizens can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society (Fainstein, 2010). Arnstein (1969) concludes that without a redistribution of decisional power, there will be no redistribution of benefits.

Laying the foundations of an equitable city requires civic authorities to adopt an inclusive mode of planning and policymaking. Indeed, Fainstein argues that any such planning must be done strictly in consultation with local communities and the population at large. Only with full public participation in the creation of public spaces can truly great places come into being. These groups must be represented in their interests (Fainstein, 2010). City development is an organic process and cannot be approached with a one size fit all recipe. Thus moving people against their will democracy and equity are forfeited (Fainstein, 2010). All these disadvantaged groups must have full access to information about the planned project. They must also be involved in decisions on housing designs and ways to protect their access to livelihoods and jobs (Amnesty International, 2010).

2.7.5. Enabling access to public services.

The level of access to public facilities or services also influence residential satisfaction in many ways. Lu (1999) argues that level of access to both public and private services and/or facilities such as shopping, banking and parking

facilities determine the degree of convenience of life. Thus, they have an influence on residential satisfaction (Grzeskowiak et al., 2003; Potter and Cantarero, 2006). Filkins et al. (2000) found that the more satisfied a resident was with public services, community or residential satisfaction was positively influenced. The availability of social services is an important indicator to be used in the identification of high quality housing environments. The level of access to social infrastructure contributes to the wellbeing of the beneficiary community. Thus poor infrastructure delivery means poor quality of the housing environment (Sowman and Urquhart, 1998). This in turn diminishes the quality of life of the residents. Sowman and Urquhart (1998) also contend that the provision of appropriate social services increases quality of life, reduces health risks and maintains or improves the natural environment and residential satisfaction.

Bonnefoy (2007) claims that the housing environment has an impact on health through the design. Poorly planned or run down residential areas often lack public services, green open spaces and walking areas. Increased prevalence of obesity, cognitive problems in children, a loss of the ability to socialise and high levels of occupier residential dissatisfaction have been found in these areas (Bonnefoy, 2007). Residential decline affects residents through both visual and social mechanisms. Examples of the former include litter and pollution, whilst examples of the latter include segregation and increased insecurity (Bonnefoy, 2007). Housing cannot be deemed adequate if it excludes residents from employment opportunities schools and other facilities (United Nations, 2009).

2.7.6. Enabling access to basic services

Basic services are critical to housing satisfaction because good service levels provide a basis on which an individual can develop a good quality of life. The term basic services refers to those engineering services that are essential to the functioning of settlements (Govender, 2011). They include water

provision, sewage removal, storm water disposal, solid waste removal and electricity supply (Govender, 2011). These services are essential to the maintenance of public health in settlements and safeguarding the dignity of residents. Govender (2011) notes, as a general principle, that utility services should be provided as efficiently and as cost-effectively as possible.

Cognisance of the human and environmentally centred approach to settlement making proposed herein. However, in terms of settlement structuring, utility services should follow and not lead. Poor service levels reduce the levels of satisfaction with the housing environment. This puts negative impacts on the environment and its occupants. For example, if people are not provided with services such as sanitation and garbage collection, they are at a risk of contracting diseases such as diarrhoea, hepatitis and typhoid (Cantarero, 2006). For health and safety purposes, beneficiaries must have access to potable water, waste disposal and adequate sanitation (Sowman and Urquhart 1998; BESSG, 1999).

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- Has the goal of providing basic services to Pelican Park households been achieved?
- If yes are the beneficiaries satisfied with the quality of services?
- To what extent, if at all, were beneficiaries involved in the formulation and implementation of the Pelican Park housing development project?
- How do Pelican Park residents feel about crime in the area?
- What influence do Pelican Park residents have on their sense of place, belonging and sense of community?
- What public services do the beneficiaries have access to within walking distance?
- What public services do beneficiaries require?
- How satisfied are residents with the social recreational and educational services provided in and around Pelican Park?

2.8. Security of tenure

If people do not have secure tenure their housing satisfaction is questionable. Baiden et al. (2011) argues that the major factor defining the economic dimension of housing satisfaction is home ownership. Hornby (2005:1526) defines tenure as: the legal right to live in a house or use a piece of land. It provides conditions under which land is held by occupier. Tenure exists in different ownership forms that is; rental (public and private) accommodation, lease ownership, owner-occupation and informal settlements (United Nations, 2009). Thus housing becomes inadequate when its occupants do not have a degree of tenure security as this guarantees protection against various threats (Chenwi, 2013; Evans, 2013). Secure tenure is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for enabling housing satisfaction and creating sustainable urban livelihoods (Payne, 2002). However, security of tenure alone is not enough to significantly increase levels of investment in house improvement (Mbonane, 1999). We do, however, need to note the role of tenure in housing improvement. Security of tenure is crucial for occupation protection (2010, Amnesty International). People have security of tenure when they are protected, by law and in practice, against being unjustly or arbitrarily thrown out of their homes (2010, Amnesty International). Lack of security of tenure undermines family life, health and economic welfare. It increases people feelings of insecurity, vulnerability and poverty (Amnesty International, 2010). Security of tenure provides stability and encourages people to improve their houses and environment (Amnesty International, 2010).

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- What type of tenure is offered to Pelican Park residents?
- And how does it impact on their lives?

2.9. Environmental resilience

Green spaces, environmental health, upkeep and cleanliness and pace of life are the environmental predictors of residential satisfaction (Rioux and Werner, 2011). Polluted sites are not favourable for housing development as well as areas in close proximity to threats of occupants (UN-Habitat, 2012). Poor hygiene and sanitation as well as crowding are typical problems of growing settlements and cities of the global South. Most of this growth is occurring in low income housing areas (Bonneyoy, 2007). The more aesthetically pleasing an area is, the higher the level of residential satisfaction. Bonneyoy, 2007, found that residents in all income classes pay more attention to cleanliness and neatness. With different incomes varying levels of waste and sewerage removal services are experienced. As a result, residents experience varying levels of residential (dis)satisfaction.

The subsidiary research questions raised in this section are:

- What are the environmental challenges faced in Pelican Park?
- Which environmental factors lead to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housing?

2.10. Conclusion

Housing satisfaction cannot be achieved if the above issues are not taken into account during the conceptualisation and implementation of low income housing projects. The only way to obtain housing satisfaction is by ensuring that housing provided produces a pleasant, safe and convenient environment in which to live. Residential quality is a critical factor in housing satisfaction. It is important to consider the beneficiaries' preferences with respect to their preferred residential environment. Housing provided should not only meet their shelter requirements. It should also offer residents and occupants a wide array of choices. In the discussion above, a number of indicators – mobility; diversity; economic opportunities; housing typology; social needs; access to basic and public services, and; security of tenure – are identified. These indicators, which are presented in table 2.1 below, will

be used to examine the varying levels of housing satisfaction in state assisted relocation projects in Pelican Park, Cape Town. Table 2.1 also contains the subsidiary research questions, which were derived from the assessment criteria. It is a discussion of the research methods and techniques used to collect the data that the dissertation not turns, in Chapter 3. This will be followed by an analysis of the research findings in accordance with the assessment criteria is undertaken in Chapter 4.

Table 2.1 summary of the criteria for assessing the Pelican Park case

	Assessment criteria derived from the literature review	Subsidiary research questions derived from the assessment criteria
Criteria for satisfaction/dissatisfaction		
enabling mobility	-legibility and permeability, accessibility to community (Low transportation costs, convenience and variety of modes of transport)	-How accessible are socio-economic resources for the Pelican Park residents? -How accessible is Pelican Park to the Cape Town central business district? -How do beneficiaries feel about the location of their housing?
Diversity	-diversity of land uses, diversity of population, catering for the disadvantaged group and variety of housing choice.	-Did beneficiaries have a housing choice? -How does Pelican Park enable cultural diversity? -And how is integration enabled in Pelican Park?
meeting economic needs	-Housing enabling economic opportunities, housing affordability and market accessibility, housing subsidies and meeting other economic needs	-How are Pelican Park residents using their houses for income generation purposes? -If they are not using their home for these purposes, what prevents them from doing so? -What housing-related costs did beneficiaries experience or are still experiencing? Are these costs manageable or not?
Meeting physical needs.	-adequate size, suitable location, housing quality, distinctive character and other physical aspects	-How satisfied are residents with the size, quality and physical construction of their home? -What, if any, concerns do residents have in relation to the structure of their houses? -Are there any visible indications of potential structural defects?

<p>Meeting social needs and enabling access to public services</p>	<p>-Beneficiary involvement in project development, safety, sense of community, sense of belonging and meeting other social needs, adequate and accessible public services and provision of adequate and affordable basic services -provision of adequate and affordable basic services</p>	<p>-To what extent, if at all, were beneficiaries involved in the formulation and implementation of the Pelican Park housing development project? -How do Pelican Park residents feel about crime in the area? -What influence do Pelican Park residents have on their sense of place, belonging and sense of community? -What public services do the beneficiaries have access to within walking distance? -What public services do beneficiaries require? -How satisfied are residents with the social recreational and educational services provided in and around Pelican Park? -Has the goal of providing basic services to Pelican Park households been achieved? -If yes are the beneficiaries satisfied with the quality of services?</p>
<p>security of tenure,</p>	<p>- Secure tenure</p>	<p>-What type of tenure is offered to Pelican Park residents? -Are there any challenges to securing tenure?</p>
<p>Environmental resilience</p>	<p>-Neatness, aesthetic pleasantness, hygiene and environmental resilience</p>	<p>-What are the environmental challenges faced in Pelican Park? -Which environmental factors lead to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housing?</p>

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 presented the main and subsidiary research questions. It also contains a review of the relevant literature. This chapter outlines how the study was conducted. That is, it outlines the research procedure in detail. In order to answer the main research question, a number of research methods and techniques are used (Schutt, 2011). The former consists of the case study research method.

The following research techniques were used: non-participant observations and participant observation and individual semi-structured, in-depth interviews.

Research involves collecting data that helps the researcher answer questions regarding various aspects of society (Bailey, 1984). Patterson and Shannon (1993) describe research as an inquiry; an attempt to understand actions, policies and events that shape society. The main goal of the study is to assess housing satisfaction levels amongst beneficiaries of government housing programme in the Cape Town Metropolitan Municipality. In particular, this study aims to assess the housing satisfaction levels of the beneficiaries of the Pelican Park Housing project. The first section of this chapter outlines the research methods utilised in this study.

3.2. Research methods

The main research question from the beneficiaries influenced, to a large extent, the choice of research methods and techniques to be used in this study. This study is a qualitative research endeavour.

3.2.1. The case study method

The case study method is, according to De Vaus (2002), an important cornerstone of any research project that aims to examine social issues. Case studies are:

a type of qualitative research in which the researcher explores a single entity phenomenon (the case), which is bounded by time and activity (a program, event, process, institution or social group) and collects detailed information by using a variety of data collection procedures during a sustained period of time.

(Leedy, 1997:25)

Cohen and Manion (2002:99) argue that:

the purpose of a case study is to probe deeply and to analyse the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life of the unit with a view to establishing generalisations about a wider population to which that unit belongs.

In this research, the case is the Pelican Park housing project. The case was evaluated and understood with respect to the criteria identified in Chapter 2. As Yin (1997) notes, conducting evaluations. It also favours the collection of data in natural settings as opposed to the reliance of data that is derived from secondary sources (Bromley, 1986).

Fryberg (2001; 2006) argues that case studies produce practical knowledge to inform practical action. This is important for the research because it encourages enables acquisition of concrete practical knowledge. According to Yin (2012) the case study method has not achieved widespread recognition as a method of choice. Failure of this recognition has been due to myths associated with the method. According to Flyvbjerg (2006) five misunderstanding on case studies exists:

(i) Misunderstanding 1: General theoretical knowledge is more valuable than practical knowledge. With regards to this myth Flyvbjerg (2006) found that the study on human affairs have no anticipating theories and universals in them. Thus concrete practical knowledge is more valuable than arrogant search for anticipating theories and universals.

(ii) Misunderstanding 2: One cannot generalise on the basis of one case leading to failure of case study to contribute to scientific knowledge. Flyvbjerg (2006) argues that on the basis of a single case one can generalise

their findings and the case may be a key to scientific development through generalisation with or without other methods.

(iii) Misunderstanding 3: Case studies are most useful for generating hypothesis thus during the first stages of research, however other methods are more helpful in hypothesis testing and theory building. Flyvbjerg (2006) notes that the case study is both good for achieving and testing hypothesis. The case study is not only limited to these research activities alone.

(iv) Misunderstanding 4: There is bias towards verification is evident with the case study as the researchers preconceived notions tend to be confirmed. Flyvbjerg (2006) claims the case study has no greater bias towards the researchers preconceived notions compared to other methods. On the other hand experience has shown that the case study has less bias towards verification and huge bias against falsification of preconceived notions.

(v) Misunderstanding 5: A case study makes it difficult to summarise and develop general propositions and theories as the basis of the distinct case study. Flyvbjerg (2006) asserts that indeed summarizing case studies is challenging this is true for the case process. However for the case outcome it is less correct. Challenges of summarising case studies are due to the nature of reality studies as opposed to the case as a research method. Furthermore Flyvbjerg (2006) suggests that it is commendable to summarise and generalise case studies rather they should be utilised as narratives in their entirety.

This research has been carefully designed to overcome such biases and misunderstandings. These concerns are addressed further in section 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.2. One distinctive feature of the case study is that it contributed to the knowledge of experience of the researcher. The aim of this research was to generalise from my findings of a low income housing project and how it impacts satisfaction amongst residents living in these settlements across South Africa and the Global South.

3.3. Research Techniques

This section discusses the research techniques that are utilised in my study. These techniques are: non-participant observations and participant observation and individual semi-structured, in-depth interviews.

3.3.1. Observation

According to Cohen and Manion (2002 cited in Rashe, 2006), an important aspect of a case study is observations. There are two broad types of observations, namely non-participant and participant observation. Data was collected conventionally using my five senses, taking field notes, transcribing and ultimately creating a narrative based on what had been seen, heard or sensed. Mechanical devices such as video cameras, recoding, and photographs helped in depicting the observations in the field.

3.3.1.1. Non-participant Observation

Cohen and Manion (1980) state that in undertaking non-participant observation a researcher sets him- or her-self completely apart from that observed. The researcher is somewhat like a spectator at an interested, but not part of it. As a non-participant observer I had to observe settlement setup as well as how the municipality is working aiding information to phrasing questions. Observation provided ways to understand users. Using non-participant observations three questions arose. These are:

How do beneficiaries feel about the location of their housing?

How does Pelican Park enable cultural diversity?

How are Pelican Park residents using their houses for income generation purposes?

One of the benefits of non-participant observation is its informality. It occurs without any formal structures unlike surveys and interviews (Yin, 1994). Formal structures involve notifying residents in advance that the researcher will carry out a study. Non-participant observations decrease the opportunities available for participants to customise their routines just for me. That being said, however,

observers do have some impact on those they are observing. The observed can be tense and feel the need to change their behaviour. That is, they suit their attitude for the observer or vice-versa knowing that they are being watched. This is known as reactivity. It can be reduced if the purpose of observation and how the data will be used are made known to the research participants in advance. It is worth mentioning that the non-participant observations were not solely on the residents but observations of the broader socio-economic processes within the Pelican Park setting not just one individual.

3.3.1.2. Participant observation

Researchers embark in participant behaviour and activities of those they observe because they participate in their activities (Bless and Higgson-Smith, 1995). Furthermore, they get absorbed into the culture of the groups (Yin, 2012). As an insider, I gained deeper insight into the research problem. The researcher enjoys the confidence of participants and shares their experiences without disturbing their behaviour (Bless and Higgson-Smith, 1995). However, end up being distracted from their research purpose by tasks given to them by the group. For example, note making becomes much more have to be done after and not during the event ideally the same evening (Yin, 2012). It is necessary, therefore, to guard against becoming too group's culture and activities as one can lose sight of the research goals be blinded to alternative perspectives (Yin, 2012). Being directly involved with people and their daily concerns for time made me emotionally attached with people and events.

Somekh and Jones (2011) suggest that if the clothing worn by the observer merges into context and signals equality for status with those who are being observed then much attraction is given to the observer impacting largely on group behaviour. When a researcher goes into role and imitate the general behaviour of the group he/she surprisingly attracts little attention and has relatively little impact on group behaviour (Somekh and Jones, 2011). It is still

problematic though when the researcher gets people performing even more on the basis of what they perceive to be your residents.

3.3.2. Individual Semi-structured, in-depth interviews

The semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection strategy in which the researcher asks research participants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions (Given, 2008). This approach allows the researcher to have more control over the topics of the interview than in unstructured interviews. In contrast to questionnaires that use closed questions, there is no fixed range of responses to each question (Given, 2008). The open-ended nature of the questions to be asked enables the interviewee to define the topic under investigation (Hancock, 2002). Semi-structured interviews make use of probing to gain in-depth information. To this end, the interviews are in-depth interviews. Probing allowed the researcher to follow up on responses given by research participants. Participants were encouraged and prompted to talk in depth about issues under investigation.

Preparation for semi-structured interviews includes drafting a list of topics the interviewer intends to discuss (Hancock, Ockleford and Windridge, 2009). The nature of the research, the concepts and relationships between concepts lend themselves to the use of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews provided subjective information on housing satisfaction in Pelican Park. These interviews allowed different expression of thoughts on the housing project. Thus semi-structured interviews are a form of interaction between interviewer and respondent (Babbie and Mouton, 2002). Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006) believe that interviews create a more natural platform for interaction and connecting with respondents. This is more productive than asking research participants to complete questionnaires. It also fits within an interpretative approach to gather in-depth information to understand deeply the phenomenon under study.

Both the semi-structured and unstructured interviews offer rich and more extensive material than surveys do. On the surface, the open-ended sections

of questionnaire surveys may resemble open-ended interviews but the latter are generally less structured and can assume a lengthy conversational mode not usually found in surveys (Yin, 2012). For example, open ended interviews can be two or more hours in length each (Yin, 2012). Such conversations can also take place over the course of an entire day with a researcher and one or more participants accompanying one another to view or participate in different events. Thus, in-depth individual interviews give the researcher an opportunity to get to know people quite intimately. In this manner, the researcher can really understand how the participants feel about their housing.

3.3. Triangulation

One needs to constantly check and recheck the consistency of their findings (Duneier, 1999). This can be done through *triangulation* and several data collection methods (Kennedy, 2009). In doing so, I can determine where certain lines of data are biased. It helps to improve the reliability and validity of the research. With regards to triangulation various data collection methods were used that is observations, semi-structured in depth interviews and follow up interviews. This aided in validating the claims that arose from the study. Triangulation helped to acquire variety of viewpoints upon the study.

3.3.1. Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to the truth contained in proposition, presumptions and conclusions made in the research (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995). External validity is about whether the conclusions made in the research can be applied or generalised and hold true for other people or places at other times (Trochim, 2006). There are three threats to external validity. Internal validity is about the accuracy of conclusions with respect to cause- or causal relationships (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995).

Time constraints prevented me from being out in the field for too long that is why I had follow up interviews to confirm what residence were saying. I further interviewed different stakeholders to acquire broad valid information.

The use of different methods and perspectives helped me acquire comprehensive set of findings. Furthermore I ensured that I implemented a meticulous record keeping procedure and ensured clear interpretations of data that are consistent and transparent.

The key issue is whether observed housing (dis)satisfaction in the Pelican Park relocation project is caused by the level of presence or absence of the criterion outlined in Chapter 2.

3.3.2. Reflexivity

Haynes (2012:72) notes that

An awareness of the researcher's role in the practice of research and the way this is influenced by the object of research, enabling the researcher to acknowledge the way in which he or she affects both the research processes and outcome.

I constantly reflected on my actions, my position as a community member and as a University of Cape Town, Masters of City and Regional Planning student conducting research in Pelican Park.

Another important consideration pertains to the narrator's story. The participants were carefully selected for the purpose of answering the research questions. Furthermore, the arguments presented in this report are informed by my understanding and interpretation of the participants'. To avoid any misinterpretation i went back to participants to get clarification and find out if it is indeed what they meant.

3.4. Sampling Procedures

The selection of subjects to participate in the study is one of the key tasks for any researcher. Researchers can rarely study (observe) every population of interest to the researcher (Leary, 1991). Leary (1991) argue that some populations are so large that it would be difficult to investigate their characteristics. When an attempt is made to measure them, it would be difficult to complete it before the population changes. Furthermore, time

constraints make it unfeasible to interview each and every Park. As such, it is necessary to elect a sample that is entire population.

According to Ray (1993) the basic idea behind sampling is to learn about the characteristics of a large group of individuals by studying a smaller group. If all people were identical in every way then it would not matter which individuals the researcher chooses to study out of a large group. The researcher could use any procedure he wishes to select a sample. Further, no matter how individuals are grouped, the results would always be the same. However, this is not the case. Individuals differ across many characteristics and these differences need to be taken into consideration during the sampling process. In this research, I used purposive sampling.

Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method which allows the researcher to use the research aims to select the sample (Silverman, 2005). It is also referred to as judgemental sampling. Silverman, (2005) notes that purposive sampling allows the investigator to choose a sample on the basis of the participants' knowledge of some feature interested in. Therefore, I selected (n = 18) people on the basis of the fact that they live in Pelican Park and were the beneficiaries of the project, these were originate from nine households. They were selected through purposive sampling. An additional (n=8) people were interviewed. These included (n=2) city officials' (n=2) architects, (n=1) town planner and (n=3) visitors to Pelican Park. These were also selected through purposive sampling on the basis of their knowledge and expertise on the settlement, low income housing development and resilient cities. Altogether (n=26) respondents, were interviewed.

3.4.1. Socio-economic Profile of Pelican Park respondents

All the interviewed respondents from Pelican Park have lived in Pelican Park for less than five years. In terms of gender, half the respondents female (n = 9). All the respondents are all working age. Majority (77 %; n = 14) of the respondents have children with a small remainder (33%; n =4) having no

children. Some of the respondents (n = 4) are self-employed whilst the (n =14) are unemployed.

3.5. Ethical Considerations

Mason and Bramble (1989: 353) argue the following:

Subjects must provide informed consent – subjects should be willing to take part in the study after being informed of all aspects of the research that might influence their decision. Subjects should have all the information about the study that they need to make a decision about participating. They should not be misled.

2. Subjects must not be coerced – subjects must not be coerced to participate in the research. This principle was violated consistently before ethical codes for research were formalized

3. Anonymity and confidentiality – subjects have the right to insist that their anonymity as participants in the research be observed. They should be assured that they will not be identified by their performance or the nature of their participation.

Approval for the research was obtained prior to commencement of this research from the UCT Engineering and Built Research Projects Committee. Prior to data collection, participants were provided with an information letter, which outlined the nature of the study and provided contact details for further clarification of the study if needed¹. It was stressed to participants that their involvement was voluntary and they could withdraw from the research at any time with no repercussions. Responses were confidential and no identifying information was collected. Consent from the respondents was also sought in the form of a written letter to the researcher.² The findings are reported in a complete and honest fashion without misrepresentation of the information gathered from the respondents (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

¹ The information letter provided to participants is in the appendix.

² . Consent from the respondents is in the form of a written letter is also in the appendix.

3.6 Data Analysis

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2001), the researcher begins with a large body of information but has to sort and categorize it according to themes through inductive reasoning. The objective of data analysis is to extract and summarise the useful information and draw conclusions. It involves assembling, coding, sorting and sifting through the data and then narrating the findings (Yin, 2012). The process involved comparing and contrasting information so as to discover similarities and differences. The analysis utilised themes in Chapter 2 and found sequences and patterns. This procedure was critically reviewed with the research participants in follow-up interviews to detect errors interpretation and bias. Furthermore, it was an iterative and, therefore, labour intensive process (Grbich, 2007).

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter provided a clear framework regarding the procedure employed for data gathering, processing and analysis. The chapter also addresses ethical considerations related to my research. The research findings and a detailed discussion of results are next chapter.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the data collected using the methods outlined in Chapter 3. Research findings are also analysed and categorised in accordance with the themes established in Chapter 2.

Before presenting these findings, I will discuss the historical background of the case – the Pelican Park housing project – in the first section of this chapter. This will lead to the presentation and analysis of the findings in the second section. The chapter concludes with a summary of the chapter. It is to a discussion of the background of the case under study that the chapter now turns.

4.2. Background: Pelican Park Housing Project



Figure 4.1: Adjacent neighbourhoods (Source: UCT library GIS, 2016)

This study focuses on Pelican Park, which has a number of new housing projects being developed in it. Pelican Park is located 28 kilometres to the south-west of Cape Town Central Business District (CBD), within the jurisdiction of the City of Cape Town (see figures 4.1 and 4.2). Adjacent neighbourhoods include Grassy Park, Zeekovlei, Philippi, Lotus River, Strandfontein and Ottery, and it forms part of sub-council 23.



Figure 4.3: Sub council 19 (Source: City of Cape Town, 2013)

In fact, the settlement is made up of 60 percent of the old settlement of sub-council 19 (Rushdi, Interview, August 2016)³. This means that 60 percent of the beneficiaries of Pelican Park were backyard dwellers and residents of informal settlements in surrounding areas. Sub-council 19 consists of Mitchell's Plain, Ottery, Retreat, Kalk Bay, Fish Hoek, Noordhoek, Ocean View, Simons Town and Cape Point (CoCT, nd). The remaining 40 percent of the Pelican Park

³ Rushdi is a City of Cape Town housing project manager directly involved with Pelican Park project. He has been involved since its conceptualisation.

population originate from outside the sub-council 19 and 23 areas (Rushdi, Interview, August 2016).

Beneficiaries were selected from the housing waiting list on the basis of when they had applied. Those who had the earliest housing application dates within sub-council 19 were selected for relocation to Pelican Park (Rushdi, 2016).

4.2.1 The Pelican Park Housing Project: Conceptualised as a Mixed-use, Mixed-Income Neighbourhood

The Pelican Park housing project, is one of several projects which seek to address the ever increasing housing demand and to aid the eradication of informal settlements. However, a number of barriers have impeded the completion of the Pelican Park project, which was first conceptualised in 2007. Prolonged environmental impact assessments and land use application processes have resulted in the project only being implemented in 2012. The first two phases of the project have been completed. Developers are currently working on the third and final phase of the project.

The Pelican Park project was conceptualised as a mixed-income and a mixed-use development. The City of Cape Town (CoCT), as the owner s of the land, opted to create a development that held a variety of uses and housing typologies, including: BNG housing (2009 units), gap housing (700 units) and open market housing (315 units).

To deliver the houses, the City entered into an agreement with Power Group Construction (PGC). The agreement, known as the "Land Availability and Development Agreement in respect of a portion of erf 829 Pelican Park", Facilitated the sale of open market and gap housing sites to the developer, that is PGC, at a lower than market price. PGC was required to install civil infrastructure worth a portion of the total BNG subsidy paid to them by the CoCT.

The state's housing Programme employed to enable the implementation of the Pelican Park project was, and continues to be the Integrated Residential

Development Programme (the IRDP, as stipulated in the National Housing Code, 2009). The IRDP enables the purchase of serviced sites for housing and socio-economic facilities in phases (Government Communications, 2015). This Programme also targets low, middle and high income groups. For these reasons, urban development professionals and developers claim that the Pelican Park project is the most integrated settlement project in the Western Cape, despite the fact that it has yet to be completed (PGC, 2015).

These claims also corroborate the City's intention which is to create an integrated and sustainable housing project with many socio-economic opportunities within Pelican Park. All of these claims and intentions, in turn, serve to reiterate my justification of Pelican Park as an appropriate case study for this research (see Chapters 1 and 3). Accordingly, let us turn our attention to the different housing typologies implemented and envisaged for the Pelican Park project before engaging with a critical analyses of these planning interventions from beneficiaries' standpoints.

4.2.2. BNG housing

The BNG unit is a 40m² housing unit with two bedrooms, a combined bathroom, a tap with sink and toilet, and a shared living and a kitchen area (Figure 4.4). The BNG housing units remain in the ownership of the CoCT until title is transferred to the beneficiary. They accommodate people who are on the City's housing database. This type of housing replaces the RDP housing of 1994 and it is delivered in single storey and double storey units. To access this housing the beneficiary has to meet the following criteria established by the state:

- Earn less than R3, 500;
- Must have never acquired a housing opportunity before;
- Must be older than 40 years;⁴

⁴ Human settlements minister Lindiwe Sisulu in 2014 declared that as from 2014, people under the age of 40 years will no longer benefit from BNG housing but rather take advantage of the Government finance linked subsidy scheme.

- Must be a South African citizen; and
- Must have some dependents.



Figure 4.4: BNG housing (Source: author's photographs)

4.2.3. Gap Housing

For gap housing the beneficiary has to qualify for a Finance-linked Individual Subsidy Programme (FLISP) subsidy (Figure 4.5). This subsidy scheme was implemented in 2012 through an agreement between the Department of Human Settlements and banks. The beneficiary must earn an income of between R3, 501 and R15, 000 a month (Jeffery, 2015). Beneficiaries acquire mortgage bonds through qualifying for FLISP subsidies such subsidies can be used to purchase housing or serviced stands. The subsidy provides a once-off subsidy payment offer of R87, 000 or less depending on the beneficiaries' monthly income (Jeffery, 2015). Beneficiaries then pay the outstanding amount to the bank over the specified period. Gap housing has better finishes and is equipped with a solar powered geyser. FLISP aims to provide a lower mortgage repayment amount for the total repayment period, making housing more affordable.

To qualify for a Gap FLISP subsidy one has to:

- Be 18 years old or older;

- Be a South African citizen or permanent resident;
- Must not have benefited before in any State-assisted housing programme;
- Provide proof of monthly income; and
- Provide a purchase agreement of the house (Jeffery, 2015).



Figure 4.5: Gap Housing (Source: author's photographs)

4.2.4. Market housing

The developer has to fill the market housing and the open market rate housing with occupants (Figure 4.6). These sites are sold on the open market to those who do not qualify for a housing subsidy and for the provision of Gap and BNG housing. For this housing opportunity the key requirement is that one has to be able to afford the house either through cash or through a home loan provided by the bank. The open market housing is open to any interested stakeholder. Generally these housing units have bigger plots and cost more to acquire. The properties can be sold as vacant plots or as finished houses. These serviced properties in Pelican Park sell for more than R400, 000 per house. To date, 150 of these units have been delivered in

Pelican Park. The houses are however not that popular as they stay long on the market without buyers.



Figure 4.6: Market housing (Source: author's photographs)

4.3. Evaluating Pelican Park based on criteria for beneficiary satisfaction

Assessment criteria for this study are established in Chapter 2, and they include: enabling mobility; diversity; meeting economic needs; meeting physical needs; meeting social needs; enabling access to basic services; enabling access to public services; security of tenure; and environmental resilience. This section will now go on to assess beneficiaries' housing satisfaction in accordance with established criteria. Beneficiaries' housing satisfaction, in turn, is derived from in-depth interviews, field observations and other research techniques discussed in Chapter 3.

4.3.1. Enabling mobility

Oloefse (1999) highlights the importance of housing not being understood in terms of its physical structures but rather how the individual perceives housing at a community level. Thus it must link to the broader urban and natural

environment. In addition, residents must be able to commute easily and cheaply into and out of their neighbourhood. The Pelican Park's location along Strandfontein Road, which is earmarked as a development corridor by the municipality, is believed by CoCT project managers... to offer various economic opportunities to the area's current and future residents. Transport facilities are easily accessible along Strandfontein Road. Buses and taxis utilise the route frequently. However, opportunities and services within the area itself are very limited. Pelican Park residents depend on a small commercial centre that has Shoprite, KFC and other small commercial services such as bakery, hardware and saloon. It has very few social facilities and economic opportunities which pushes residents to commute to access these facilities and opportunities elsewhere in the city.

Pelican Park residents have difficulty moving into and out of the neighbourhood because, firstly, transport facilities are inadequate. The lack of public transport facilities limits residents' access to different parts of the settlement and the city. City officials also acknowledge that transport is an issue in the area. Rushdi (interview, 18 August 2016) suggested that the plan is to implement CoCT Integrated Rapid Transport (IRT) systems through Oystercatcher, which is a route that cuts through Pelican Park. The route is parallel to Strandfontein Road. The route does connect to Strandfontein Road, creating future development opportunities.

Overall, satisfaction with the level of access to other parts of the settlement and the city permeability and legibility and access to commuting facilities is low. In particular, respondents note that the existing transport networks do not allow or make it easier for them to access services they need daily (Theresa, Interview, 2016) As Rushdi notes, the City's main priority is to deliver housing. That is, the priority is to roll out the housing units and densify the settlement since land is limited in Cape Town. The accompanying elements such as transport facilities for example, are to follow (Rushdi, interview, 2016). They are yet to be implemented in Pelican Park

Second, the hierarchy of road networks in the area is not well developed. Jacobs (1993) notes the importance of having a variety of road networks that help link an area to the surrounding areas. Great places are also created by clear hierarchy of streets that help people find their way. It is evident that Pelican Park has movement systems designed around car movement and this does not create a sense of place. Having well-developed road networks eliminates barriers to access. Put differently, having a well-developed road network increases an area's permeability. This is lacking in Pelican Park as residents have to use the road for walking purposes, which they exclaimed is dangerous due to speeding cars. There are no streets and footpaths in Pelican Park. These elements are important and serve to enhance neighbourhood accessibility (Jacobs, 1993). Generally, in Pelican Park residents were dissatisfied by poor permeability on foot which resulted in housing dissatisfaction.

Third, and related to the preceding points, there are far too few modes of (public) transport available in Pelican Park. Respondents lack of adequate public transport facilities in Pelican Park. They also highlighted that the lack of transport poses a challenge for them as they had to travel once a week to obtain groceries in Claremont. The majority of residents have to walk at least 4 kilometres or more to reach Strandfontein Road, irrespective of their final destination. This is made worse by the fact that the Golden Arrow bus travels once a day to Cape Town CBD (Candice, Interview, 2016). There are also very few taxis operating in the area. The limited number of taxis has led to facilities such as schools being inaccessible to children. Beneficiaries note that they face challenges with sending their children to school, since schools are located 10 to 15 minutes away from the majority of the houses. Taxis, therefore, are an important element to add to the settlement since they increase the permeability and accessibility of an area.

The absence of a well-developed road network as well as the lack of variety of modes of transport has resulted in high levels of dependence on individual transportation by Pelican Park residents. As Galster and Hesser (1981) note,

high dependence on individual transportation is a result of a lack of adequate mobility infrastructure within a settlement. Such conditions are associated with urban sprawl. Whilst the Pelican Park housing project fills a great need for housing, it contributes to continued sprawling of Cape Town through the establishment of a new housing project outside the CBD. It also contributes to the degradation of the environment as its low densities may not be able to support adequate transport infrastructure. For this research, adequate transport infrastructure refers to the modes of transport for example rail, bus whereas variety of mobility options is the number of routes per given time for the given mode of transport. This then raises the question of whether or not Pelican Park will ever satisfy residents since, as Galster and Hesser (1981) argue, residential mobility is a crucial element of residential satisfaction.

Respondents strongly noted how the new environment inhibits them from visiting and seeing relatives and friends as compared to their previous settlements. The closeness and immediateness of family and friends has an impact on the production and maintenance of social capital. When households are closely settled it is easier to foster social ties. With relocation, relationships were broken due to separation effects. Those who originated from informal settlements highlighted that, although there had been an improvement in their living conditions they had lost their social ties. Erdeogan et al. (2007) argues that social living conditions impact on satisfaction. Positive conditions lead to higher levels of satisfaction. They further argue that strong social ties are important and can hold more value than economic aspirations. Thus feelings towards the neighbours have influence on satisfaction. This is true with Pelican Park where respondents feel their social needs are unmet. Respondents feel they do not have less access to the support offered in their previous neighbourhoods and opportunities for social interaction in Pelican Park. Aiello et al. (2010) argue that strong social networks do compensate for the poor housing environmental conditions. Thus the lack of this social/spiritual attribute contributes to housing dissatisfaction in

Pelican Park. Caldeieron (2011) notes that the presence of strong social ties and networks, particularly in shanty towns and informal settlements of Puerto Rico, provided platforms for people to support one another. He further argues that with displacement of people by the state, social ties were broken leading to residential dissatisfaction. With lack of safety for beneficiaries in Pelican Park, residents feel local social detachment. According to Hourihan (1984), such detachment leads to residential dissatisfaction since proximity of relatives and friends to the new housing development is reduced. Balchin, Keive and Bull (1998) agree that when a neighbourhood has a variety of modes of transport, comparative advantage and housing demand in that location increases. Lu (1999) further adds that the greater the accessibility, the higher the satisfaction, and this means that accessibility is crucial for settlements to satisfy occupants).The more legibility of the roads, the higher the accessibility and vice versa. Residents in Pelican Park face challenges with understanding their layout of their area.

4.3.2. Diversity

Economic segregation has been part of the South African housing discourse(s) for the past two decades. It has been difficult to implement IRDP in South Africa due to economic segregation. The idea of IRDP is 'a pie in the sky' since the elite do not want to associate themselves with low income settlements. Harvey (1978) notes that failure of integration efforts can be attributed to the attitude of the elites. This encourages social divisions and lack of integration, thus IRDP has faced challenges from these prevailing conditions. Economic elites thus tend to withdraw themselves from such neighbourhoods, thereby perpetuating the marginalisation of the poor. Furthermore, spatial and socioeconomic segregation fails to contribute to the compaction, integration and restructuring of the apartheid city, which is the ultimate aim of the IRPD (Zhang, 2008).

The developers' responses to the attitudes of the elite also account for the lack of integration efforts. In responses to the desires and attitudes of the elite, they fail to finely mix the different housing typologies. This has resulted in

further segregation of groups within Pelican Park according to income. As Harvey (1978) adds, such practices create neighbourhood and city social divisions. Although the Pelican Park project incorporates housing for different income groups as stipulated in the Comprehensive Housing Plan (CHP), problems are on the rise. There is tension and discontent amongst beneficiaries within the area. First, beneficiaries' dissatisfaction with their housing results from comparisons by the beneficiaries of each other's housing. Beneficiaries' compare and contrast the BNG and Gap housing units. From the respondents' perspective, Gap housing occupants acquired better units. In accordance with the CHP, Pelican Park combines different housing densities and types from single-storey units to double-storey units as well as row and terraced housing. The Pelican Park project, however, has failed to change, or challenge, the monotonous and predictable approach to settlement layouts found across South Africa.

Population diversity leads to vibrant urban neighbourhoods. Fainstein (2005) notes that diversity has different attributes that enable vibrant neighbourhoods such range from mixed race and ethnic integration and mixed use. With regards to diversity, the Pelican Park population is not very diverse. The settlement is largely coloured dominated in terms of race. Findings reveal a lack of interracial contact in Pelican Park and residents acknowledge this. This has contributed to residents' dissatisfaction.

Second, dissatisfaction has increased for those residents living in the Gap and market housing, because they pay more for services than BNG housing beneficiaries, even though the various income groups have equal access to the neighbourhood's facilities and services. Cross-subsidisation is, therefore, one of the main drivers of dissatisfaction in the Pelican Park housing project, and it further serves to render the IRDP as an unattainable planning intervention (Oxley and Smith, 1996). Nevertheless, it is important to note that this dissatisfaction is not necessarily a consequence of the IRDP's prescription for a purposeful mix of different income groups. 50% of respondents are satisfied with the diversity of income bands. However, the other 50% is are not

satisfied, because there is very little racial integration within Pelican Park. Pelican Park is predominantly a Coloured area.

One of the residents, Maissy Interview 21 August, 2016) notes:

Our neighbourhood could have been better and would make us feel like a true South African citizen if there was a mixture of races and classes.

She feels that the manner in which houses are delivered fuels racial stereotypes. White people continue to be seen as "the elite" who reside in upmarket suburbs. Blacks and Coloureds, in turn, continue to be stereotyped as "the lower classes" who occupy townships, and who have very few socio-economic opportunities. This is related to the third issue, the lack of a truly diverse mix of land uses. Pelican Park is predominantly a residential neighbourhood. Jacobs (1963) highlights that neighbourhood's function to their optimum when they incorporate a variety of uses. She further posits that mixed uses are the ingredients required for neighbourhood sustenance. It is important to note that a neighbourhood incorporates residents with different tastes needs skills and these people are brought close(r) together by diverse uses. Lack of diversity is a contributor to low satisfaction levels in Pelican Park.

Govender (2011) acknowledges that diverse land uses enable satisfaction. In Pelican Park limited land uses not only lead to dissatisfaction but also to limited variety of cultures and skills (Jacobs, 1961). This leads us to the next assessment criterion: meeting economic needs.

4.3.3. Meeting economic needs

Meeting beneficiaries' economic needs is a challenge in Pelican Park. This challenge has been identified in the BNG policy (2004) and the National Housing Code (2009). Both acknowledge the failure of housing projects to address poverty and basic economic needs. A CoCT housing manager notes that the Pelican Park housing project, in itself, cannot address the economic needs of the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries, in turn, maintain that the informal settlements they lived in previously offered them to better economic

opportunities. Such research findings then suggest that the state's desire to address economic needs by means of social housing projects is ambitious, at best, and fictitious, at worst. Claims found in policy documents of addressing residents economic needs through the delivery of housing (whether public or subsidized housing) thus serve only to raise expectations that cannot be met by the state. BESE (1999) highlights the importance of new housing developments incorporating opportunities for local economic development and economic initiatives. Thus housing must allow for small-scale service activities (UN-Habitat, 2005). My research corroborates BESE's (1999) findings that the South African National Housing Policy fails to enhance economic activities as it advocates for economic policy initiatives it cannot uphold. In Pelican Park this has been a challenge due to the design of the structures which does not enable small economic activities. Furthermore, 80% of the respondents depend on their spouses or extended family members for economic sustenance. Those employed engage in unskilled and semi-skilled artisanal jobs.

South Africans, first, put immense pressure on Government to house those who have been on the waiting list for decades. Second, the housing issue and, inter-alia the land issue, is very complex. The ability to provide housing is influenced to a large part by the availability of land (Project Manager, interview, August 2016). A shortage of space and the unavailability of inexpensive yet well-located land, places Government between a rock and a hard place where housing delivery is concerned. Government is then forced to undertake relocation projects on poorly located, but readily available land as was the case in Pelican Park (Mabasa, Interview, August 2016). This occurs despite the Department of Human Settlements (cited in Government Communications, 2015), stating that the idea of 'a sustainable human settlement' state-funded housing projects must be implemented in well located areas that are close to socio-economic facilities and opportunities. Research findings demonstrate that Pelican Park fails to address these 'location 'and 'access' policy directives.

Generally the location of Pelican Park does not align with the requirements of the National Housing Policy which stipulates that new housing projects must be developed in well-located areas in order to address inequalities and apartheid spatial planning patterns. Areas such as Pelican Park have been termed poverty incubators as they are far away from opportunities. Relocation to faraway areas perpetuates the marginalisation and impoverishment of beneficiaries (UN-habitat, 2011). Residents express their dissatisfaction by noting that the relocation to Pelican Park has had a negative impact on their livelihood strategies. This is due to the fact that Pelican Park is located far away from major economic activities and job centres. Pelican Park is also characterised by limited economic activities such as retail, business and mixed-use facilities, thereby nullifying, once again, the policy intentions outlined in the IRDP. Beneficiaries, therefore, argue that the Department of Human Settlements at the City Council could have done a "better job" in ensuring the socio-economic sustainability of the project through the provision of economic and employment opportunities before relocating beneficiaries. As things stand, the beneficiaries' economic aspirations are unmet.

Munya (interview, August 2016) highlights that the housing problem is an expensive problem to eradicate, and that the National Department of Human Settlements is doing little to promote small local economic development initiatives in housing projects. The City's housing project manager (Interview, 17 August 2016) noted that they did not create an economic hub for employment in Pelican Park. The development of employment opportunities was a priority. Rather, the provision of decent housing was the City's priority. Developers corroborate this standpoint by adding access to decent transport infrastructure is one way to facilitate residents 'access to work opportunities. This has been confirmed through the field survey, which highlighted that the only commercial activities present in Pelican Park are a shopping centre with Shoprite and KFC as anchor tenants. These small economic facilities are not adequate and residents have

expressed their dissatisfaction with the conditions of these facilities. Even those who are employed travel long distances to get to work. Their transport costs have gone up since they moved to the area. On average, residents spend R700 - R1,500 per month on transport (Theresa and Candice, Interview, 2016). This has led some beneficiaries to consider quitting their jobs or relocating to settlements that are closer to economic opportunities, which are found in Lotus River, Philippi and Cape Town CBD, even if it means returning to an informal settlement. The fact that some respondents are considering a return to informal settlements just to be close to economic opportunities, highlights the importance of economic opportunities when implementing public housing projects (Govender, 2011). According to Tonkin (2008) location impacts on accessibility of urban opportunities and underpins social network and critical survival strategies.

Although well-located land can be expensive for low income housing, the cost is outweighed by its future benefits and potential beneficiary satisfaction. Such well-located housing provides beneficiaries access to socio- economic opportunities. Well-located housing projects have the potential to increase housing satisfaction as they alleviate poverty, which is closely linked with housing satisfaction. Dewar and Uytendogaart (1995) advocate the importance of empowering the low income groups to generate their own economic capacities. Creation of local economic opportunities and trade are important for local beneficiary satisfaction. Pelican Park conforms to the apartheid planning system where townships are situated on the urban fringe. Khan (2003) argues that in such instances economic opportunities within the CBD are inaccessible from such locations. Furthermore, (formal) economic opportunities for self-employment remain inaccessible to beneficiaries even within Pelican Park. This point is elaborated on in section 4.3.3.1 below. However, for now it suffices to note that these opportunities remain elusive in part because zoning regulations and departure applications are believed to be, by some Pelican Park beneficiaries, expensive. Financial security is closely linked to housing

satisfaction. It is attained through meeting residents' economic needs. Failure to meet these needs in Pelican Park has further contributed to increased residential mobility as people seek economic means elsewhere (Diaz-Serrano and Stoyanova, 2010).

Lu (1999) argues that there is a link between income and housing satisfaction; high income groups can afford to make housing alterations to suit their lifestyle. In the case of Pelican Park housing dissatisfaction is attributable to having little to no income. The formally and informally employed residents in the market and Gap housing projects in Pelican Park generally earn higher incomes. The housing qualification criteria require some form of employment. Their main complaint about the location is its distance from work opportunities is the impact on their finances as a result of the longer commutes. Those within the State assisted BNG houses struggle even more to make ends meet. The majority of them earn R1, 800 or less per month monthly. This is, according to Statistics SA ([StatsSA], 2011) and Tonkin (2009), the basic income of informally employed groups. The respondents' note that they depend mainly on the child and disability grants. The child and disability grant amounts to R1,500 per month. This is not enough to meet basic daily needs. However, they are not the only ones having trouble meeting their basic needs. Gap housing beneficiaries in Pelican Park exclaimed the impacts of repaying mortgage loans is affecting their ability to pay for electricity and water. This is contrary to the United Nations (2009) assertion that related costs should not threaten or compromise other basic needs.

My research findings also corroborate studies by Tonkin and Muthambi (2012) and Huchzermeyer (2011) that speak of the correlation between relocation and high unemployment rates. The inability to meet basic needs, namely food and clothing, in their new location has resulted in many beneficiaries not being satisfied with the housing itself. Such high dissatisfaction levels are common in low income housing relocation projects (Tshikotshi, 2009). Such findings serve to set-up the next assessment criterion of my study.

4.3.3.1. Opportunities to establish small enterprises

Despite the fact that Pelican Park is located within the urban edge of the metropolitan area, or precisely because of this fact, it has the potential to host a number of economic activities, particularly for residents who reside in the BNG houses. The field survey and observations reveal that beneficiaries are undertaking small informal economic initiatives in the open public space surrounding these house. Some beneficiaries have established Spaza shops. Other beneficiaries have embarked on joint ventures with their neighbours to open up a small shops, which sell home baked food and fresh produce. Beneficiaries have expressed their dreams to expand their businesses in future.

Generally, BNG houses have more space around them, which enables the establishment of small economic activities (see figure 4.7). Some of the BNG housing, as I note above, have used the housing opportunity granted to them to generate an income. Challenges have arisen though as some beneficiaries rent their houses to Somalians, who have, in turn, established small house shops. This in itself has increased the population in the area, as the Somalians often end up renting rooms to new tenants (Miguel, Interview, 2016). Reports by residents suggest that beneficiaries earn an estimated R500 per month from renting space to Somalis. Some homeowners return to the informal settlements they lived in previously, once they find tenants. Tonkin (2008) highlights that most BNG houses become income generating opportunities for beneficiaries, because most beneficiaries choose to rent their homes and move back to informal settlements or other housing closer to work. Interviews with residents confirm that a significant number of beneficiaries are going back to their old houses. Moreover, cases in Pelican Park have been reported of people moving out of their houses and selling them for as little as R20, 000.



Figure 4.7 Home Enterprises (Source: author's photographs)

Opportunities to establish small economic activities exist for some Pelican Park residents, particularly those who reside in the BNG housing. Very few apply for land-use departures since it is expensive for them. Those who reside in Gap housing have raised a number of concerns with regards to private (and public) space. The outdoor private space is small and the general design of the housing units limits the types of business activities that can take place there (respondent A, resident, interview, August 2016). They have no space for small local economic development projects. 100% of the Gap housing respondents I interviewed maintain that it is inadequate to have to pay for the house and get less space whilst others get housing with larger outdoor space for free. This shows that that the design of the housing units has a role to play in enabling local economic development. The BESG (1999) and UN-Habitat (2005) acknowledge that the designs and regulations for housing developments can either encourage or stifle the development of small-scale manufacturing activities at home. The BESG (1999) further argues

that settlement layouts can either be a setback to or provide opportunities for the emergence of mixed economic activities organically within a settlement. The layout of the BNG housing in Pelican Park, by contrast, has boosted beneficiaries' perceptions of the ability of their housing to help them meet their economic needs. Thus, and to corroborate residents' perceptions, 80% the Gap housing respondents I interviewed note that they do not use their housing for income generation purposes. Reasons for this include a lack of outdoor space, as well as the inappropriateness of the house design, since double storey typologies, in particular, do not lend themselves to spatial reconfiguration.

4.3.4. Meeting physical needs

The CoCT Human Settlements department appoints consultants and various quality management specialists to assess housing unit quality at various stages of the construction process and upon completion. Developers must adhere to the National Home Builders Registration Council (NHBRC) housing standards. However, it appears that the PCG sought only to meet the most basic standards required by the NHBRC. The quality of housing units has been questioned by all the beneficiaries who have also expressed differing levels of dissatisfaction with their structures. Cracked walls and water leaking into the house are the norm for BNG and gap houses. Respondents believe that the structural defects in the BNG and gap houses are due to the use of inferior materials in comparison to the market housing (Saidi, 2013). The open market houses have bigger sites and structures, followed by the Gap Housing and the BNG respectively. The BNG houses also have different finishes compared to the Gap and market housing. These differences can be noticed in roof coverings, flooring, geyser, wall finishes and so on. The developer's intention is to make profit at all costs (Tonkin, 2008).

According to Turner (1978):

The importance of housing is seen through what it means as an activity as well as an end product in what it does for everyone concerned, and above all for the users.

If the structure does not meet the beneficiary's aspirations, problems arise. Structures in Pelican Park do not meet residents' aspirations. Residents have firstly raised concerns with non-plastered internal inside walls and cracks within the house, which allow water to seep through creating damp (Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7). This damp has the potential to incubate dangerous pathogens and diseases. In some houses, the ceilings are falling which raises additional safety concerns. Beneficiaries have no idea how long their structures will last. They also do not know if their houses can withstand storms and heavy rains. They feel their lives are at risk and thus, their dissatisfaction is heightened. The National Housing Code advocates for the delivery of resilient structures, poor workmanship still prevail in state housing programmes. According to Pacione (2002) in ideal situations relocation leads to the betterment of beneficiaries lives. However, this is not the case for some pelican Park residents. Their past and present living conditions are somewhat similar.



Figure 4.8: Damp Walls (Source: author's photographs)



Figure 4.9: Cracked Walls (Source: author's photographs)

Lindamood and Hanna (1979) highlight that housing quality can be determined by the subjective reactions of people. Bonnefoy (2007) argues that housing quality assessment involves identifying structural problems such as cracks and water leaks. These structural faults are visibly noticeable in Pelican Park housing units. As a result, the beneficiaries are reacting negatively to their structures and rating the quality of their houses negatively. This is troubling since house plays a psychological role and can influence the mental wellbeing of residents (Bonnefoy, 2007). Bonnefoy (2007) suggests that it provides the last refuge from daily life. However, some of BNG housing in Pelican Park housing has failed to provide refuge for the beneficiaries. Poor building practices impact beneficiary health negatively. In Park, moulding and damp are triggers to health hazards and complications such as asthma and necrosis.

The housing finishes and, consequently, the houses do not meet the beneficiaries' expectations. The developer is yet to attend to the problems, some of which were immediately evident when beneficiaries first occupied the BNG houses. The contract between the developer and the beneficiary states that the developer is to fix the defects within the first 30 days of

occupancy. It has become common for the developers to excuse themselves from their duties. Beneficiaries also note that they cannot afford to fix these defects themselves.

In the protection of occupiers' interests or customers' interests the NHBRC protects beneficiaries from defects available in the housing unit (Government Communications, 2015). Beneficiaries have not contacted the NHBRC and have no clue on how such a council could help them. The NHBRC was formulated in terms of the Consumers Protection 1998 (Act 95 of 1998,), to address the housing consumer dissatisfaction (Government Communications, 2015). Their role needs to be utilised considering what beneficiaries are experiencing.

Furthermore, respondents raised their concerns with the fact that no one under the age of 40 (since 2014) can receive a new subsidised house anymore. This is worsened by the fact that the rooms are small. The constitution mandates that citizens have the right to adequate housing but the government has to deliver this within the limits of the available resources. However residents have interpreted it as the right to free housing. Hence, the exclusion of the young from benefitting from BNG policies has caused some controversy. This has resulted in increased overcrowding in beneficiaries' households as older children are unable to obtain their own subsidised housing from Government. Parents and children are forced to use the kitchen and sitting room for sleeping purposes when they have visitors. All beneficiaries had large families consisting of 6 or 7 members and more in some households. The larger the households the more dissatisfied beneficiaries were with room sizes and vice versa. Therefore, the one-size-fits-all approach to housing design and provision needs to be questioned. This is particularly true for Pelican Park, where there is a relationship between housing satisfaction and housing population density particularly the availability of personal space. 80% of the households interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with room size. There is also a strong link between household size and room size.

Overcrowding has an impact on people's health and satisfaction (Goux and Maurin, 2005). There is a strong relation between number of room occupancy and an individual's health. In Pelican Park, residents have reported fast spreading of respiratory infections such as flu. Furthermore, Braubach (2007) note that high density developments are characterised by overcrowding that leads to noise. This combined with the lack of parks and green open space leads to a reduction of one's attachment to their community. The availability, or lack thereof in this case, of adequate open spaces determines perceptions of the quality of the environment. Sowman and Urquhart (1998) argue that poor (social) infrastructure delivery leads to poor quality of the environment. Lack of public space has been accountable for limited social connections amongst residents (Bonefoy, 2007). This is a common phenomenon in Pelican Park. Respondents expressed low levels of attachment to their community and this, in turn, has influenced the low housing satisfaction levels expressed in the area as argued by Young et al., (2004) and Grillo et al., (2010). Additionally, children who live in smaller families perform better in school than children in larger families (Goux and Maurin, 2005).

4.3.4.1. Privacy

All the beneficiaries were not satisfied with the level of privacy in and outside their housing. The respondents note that the nature of housing did not allow for privacy. Lack of privacy within human settlements often causes irritation to the beneficiary. This in turn, can impact how people perceive their houses visually and emotionally (Cooper, 1972). Pelican Park residents' dissatisfaction stems from the fact that the housing is semi-detached. The beneficiaries want their own plots and, consequently, free standing houses with bigger yard space for children to play in. The lack of space has pushed children to play on roads putting their lives at risks. Beneficiaries were dissatisfied with lack of social places for children to play. Children are forced to stay indoors to prevent them from playing on roads, in the way of speeding traffic and bad influences. Drivers always speed and roads lack speed humps and robots,

which puts pressure on parents to watch their children at every moment. Toscano and Amestoy (2008) note that physical aspects of the house contribute to satisfaction. Baiden et al (2011) also raise the importance of house privacy which gives rise to higher satisfaction. This is true with Pelican Park, with beneficiaries not satisfied with their privacy. Also adequate housing space is crucial in meeting beneficiaries' needs. Dissatisfaction with space in Pelican Park corroborates with (Harris et al.1996) who suggests that adequate space not only meets basic physical needs but also psychological needs. With respondents not satisfied with the general quality of the units, Elsinga and Hoektstra (2005) argue that the higher the quality, the higher the satisfaction.

4.3.5. Meeting social needs and enabling access to public services

A sense of community is an important aspect of social capital and strengthens relationships amongst households. Ross et al. (2010) argue that sense of community can be attained through the involvement of beneficiaries in planning and decision-making phases of a housing project. Beneficiaries in Pelican Park have not been involved in the formulation of their neighbourhood. According to Ross et al. (2010) lack of such involvement is contributes to residential dissatisfaction. Although the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 legislates community participation at a local level it is common for low-income housing developments to exclude beneficiaries as is the case in Pelican Park.

In Pelican Park, the local state and the developer had (and still have) total control of the housing delivery process. Beneficiaries aspired to be involved in the conceptualisation, implementation and project review phases, but forms of participatory planning didn't take place (interview, Miguel, August 2016). All the respondents expressed complete dissatisfaction with not being involved whatsoever in the housing process. Residents argued that they would rather have the subsidy and construct the houses for themselves.

Generally, beneficiary involvement in housing delivery processes improves beneficiary satisfaction (Tissington, 2010). Amnesty International (2010) notes that one way to guarantee beneficiary satisfaction is to involve the future occupants. Excluding beneficiaries from such involvement leads to dissatisfaction. Fainstein (2010) acknowledges that by involving the have-not citizens in formulation and implementation of housing projects social reform that enables them to share benefits is created. To help understand the core reason behind housing dissatisfaction in Pelican Park, Arnstein (1969) concludes that with decision-making power not being granted to beneficiaries there is no redistribution of benefits. According to Fainstein (2010) inclusive modes of planning and policy making must be done in consultation with local community. Only with full public participation truly great places come into being. Pelican Park residents are not satisfied with levels of participation in project development. Amnesty International (2010) notes further that it is essential to involve beneficiaries in decisions on house designs and ways to protect their livelihood strategies.

With regards to resident consultation processes, local government was responsible for the formulation of beneficiary participation measures. CoCT project managers appointed a steering committee which was responsible for obtaining a certain degree of input from future beneficiaries (Interview, 17 August 2016). The main role of the steering committee was to advertise and notify residents of road networks and future road names. This was the only form of input beneficiaries gave in the project.

A sense of neighbourhood ownership is acquired through beneficiary involvement. Such beneficiary involvement is key to satisfying residents. However, housing developments generally offer little to no room for the affected community to include their own views. Instead a top down delivery approach is followed. Such developer- or government-driven approaches to housing delivery are not ideal in meeting beneficiary aspirations. In such instances, representation of beneficiaries is necessary in order for various social challenges to be adequately addressed. A sense of neighbourhood by

the Department of Human Settlements could give their input, but they were not met. This is in Department of Human Settlement goals that advocate participation in housing development. Beneficiary exclusion from involvement is one of the main drivers of the poor location for quality in Pelican Park.

4.3.5.1. Safety

Neighbourhood safety creates great places and fosters sense of place. A sense of safety improves quality of the environment. This is important in evaluating the quality of the environment and how security impacts on beneficiary satisfaction. Pelican Park is faced with high crime rates and gang violence. Robberies during the day are a common phenomenon. The lack of police presence in Pelican Park creates opportunities for crime syndicates to mushroom in this young settlement. I even encountered a gang leader who advised me to be careful as the neighbourhood is unsafe. However, beneficiaries who had come from informal settlements are satisfied with the level of security from hazardous weather events and uncontrolled fire outbreaks. Aside from this, they aspire to return to areas which are safer and closer to (economic) opportunities. Safety is a key factor that influences housing satisfaction (Mohit et al., 2010). The perception of a neighbourhood not being safe results in community dissatisfaction (Hur and Morrow-Jones, 2008). In Pelican Park residents fear crime and these feelings have negatively affected their perceptions of their levels of personal safety. Crime rates are high in Pelican Park. Residents are dissatisfied with the level of safety in Pelican Park. The streets have cameras but these are of no use. The main drawback is that one has to get a case number to apply to have access to street footages in the event of a robbery. This is a tiresome process for an application to be approved. Beneficiaries have to pay to see the video which further worsens their financial situations. One of the respondents (Interview, August 15 2016) claims that they moved out of their house for the weekend and bought tiles and cement to renovate. However, in his absence somebody broke into his house and changed the locks. They moved in and are now staying there. Furthermore, there is a syndicate that lives in Pelican

Park. As soon as they see an empty house they break in and change the locks on the door and they move people in. The new tenants pay rent. No safe public space is available for parking for those living in the gap housing (Miguel, interview, 2016). Their cars are parked in the road and being stolen. There is a high car theft rate in Pelican Park.

There is a close link between crime, unemployment and housing. Stats SA (2011) highlights that high housing unemployment increasing the housing backlog. Combating crime through settlement development has been a challenge and low cost has influenced crime rates upwards (Tonkin, 2008 and Saidi, 2013). This is due to inadequate policing and security measures. With no employment and the general settlements, crime is prone to increase. Stats SA (2011) notes low cost housing settlements are prone to crime; that is where the highest crime rates are found in the country (Tonkin, 2008).

Residents note that it is common for children and youths to venture into drug abuse since there are no recreational facilities and career boosting initiatives for them to get involved in the area. Such facilities and initiatives are crucial for any child's development.

4.3.5.2. Enabling access to social services

Lu (1999) notes that access to public facilities such as schools and clinics determines the degree of convenience in life and influences residential satisfaction. Thus the more satisfied with public services the more influence on residential satisfaction (Filkins et al., 2000). Thus, as the research findings show, housing becomes inadequate if it lacks employment opportunities, schools and other social facilities (United Nations, 2009). In Pelican Park one of the key causes of beneficiary dissatisfaction, where social services are concerned, is the lack of adequate educational facilities.

The primary school cannot cater for the increasing population in Pelican Park. As development continues, more people are moving into the area. This puts more pressure on the limited facilities. Respondents note that before relocating to Pelican Park they were told schools were present (Candice,

interview, August 2016). It was only after relocation that they found out that the school is already full. The school only takes 52 students in total. Schools for children are needed for future projects as the absence of schools has a direct impact on literacy rates, Unemployment and, consequently, beneficiary housing satisfaction. These facilities need to be within close proximity to the houses. At present, these facilities are located faraway. Pelican Park is a crime and gang inflicted area, walking to school compromises their safety.

In addition to employment opportunities being far, other services are also located further away. These include health services, shopping malls, places of worship and recreational facilities. Beneficiaries have to plan journeys in advance to access these services. Even though there is a primary school in Pelican Park it is inaccessible for many and this places additional economic burdens on beneficiaries with school going children. They face additional strains on their finances when they need to go to religious or healthcare facilities (Govender, 2011). There are no religious facilities and health centre. Residents have to travel to other centres when they are ill and this in itself is expensive. Considering that the area has a poor transport network.

City of Cape Town project managers note that none of these facilities have yet to be implemented in Pelican Park. However, sites have been zoned for the future development for churches, schools, clinic, community halls, a petrol station and other facilities. The clinic is to be developed in the next three years (Rushdi, interview, 2016). However residents have no clue about this revealing poor communication between residents and the city.

4.3.5.3. Enabling access to basic services

Access to basic Services play an important role in a human beings life. These services are crucial for people's day-to-day activities, particularly those who rely on for safe heating and lighting purposes and for their home enterprises. Half of the respondents are satisfied with their level of access to services. On the other hand, half the respondents are not satisfied they cannot afford the

monthly services fees. This is due, to unemployment. This relationship shows how employment and income have both direct and indirect impacts on housing satisfaction. Beneficiaries in the gap housing units have the same services BNG beneficiaries have. Unlike them, BNG beneficiaries enjoy benefits of services such as water for free. BNG beneficiaries get 300units free, which those in gap housing have to pay for. Their rates increased by the observation that water leakages increase monthly water bills. Leaking water pipes are an issue, particularly in BNG housing units. Such problems expose the poor workmanship in the development as a whole. However, with the supply of water there has not been an interruption in water supply even with leakages.

Half of the respondents, namely those residents who originated from informal settlements, have expressed their satisfaction with sanitation services in the area. Their lives have changed positively as their units have an indoor toilet and sinks. However, the other half of respondents were dissatisfied with their sanitation services. This is attributed to the lack of geysers, which forces beneficiaries to use cold water. These respondents envy those with geysers especially in winter when the weather is not favourable.

On the other hand, project managers involved in Pelican Park give a different view to concerns raised by beneficiaries. The process of preparing beneficiaries to own housing is lacking in human settlement development (Project Manager, interview, August 2016). Beneficiaries do not develop an appreciation of the opportunity they have through their access to housing (Rushdi Interview, August 2016). This, according to CoCT project managers (Interview, August 2016), is because the beneficiaries are not mentally prepared and have no conscience about the opportunity that they are being provided. They lack consumer education, and this is needed for at least 6 months before or after acquiring a house. It is the lack of consumer education that leads to high dissatisfaction with housing. According to Rushdi (Interview, 19 August 2016):

Beneficial education should include that you are being moved to a house now and there are certain opportunities you will be provided with, this is how you must look after the house, it is a different environment. You not living in a shack anymore. Hence such a degree of psychological empowerment is important.

4.3.7. Security of tenure

Satisfaction is closely linked to having secure tenure and knowing you are the owner outright. 50% of respondents expressed satisfaction with their tenure and 50% expressed dissatisfaction. Gap housing occupants, suggest that they had no form of tenure security to repay the bank loan. However those in the BNG housing have expressed their satisfaction with their tenure. The government provides title deeds for those receiving BNG housing. BNG houses can only be resold after 5 years of occupation. Although the gap housing mortgage is tied to the person and not the house, the house still owned by the bank. This has hindered them from making improvements on their houses, fixing defects and /or extending their houses. The respondents concerns have been heightened further because some of them have not received their BNG title deeds yet. They do not have ownership and therefore cannot acquire capital to establish Furthermore, extent to which beneficiaries can use their housing as insurance or. Although national housing policies advocates ensuring security of tenure to beneficiaries on paper in reality problems still exist with failure to satisfy and deliver tenure security to beneficiaries. The BNG policy stipulates that access to secure tenure is a key aim of National Housing Policies. Therefore the Department of Human Settlements will implement various programmes to transfer housing stock to the entitled beneficiaries.

Charlton (2009) argues that housing acts as collateral for home improvement loans. In Pelican Park this has been limited lack of security of tenure as some residents feel like they do not have secure tenure. In such situations beneficiaries fail to use their houses as collateral. Perceptions of tenure insecurity are common in Pelican Park and have kept home improvements in the area to a minimum. Mahanga (2002) notes that it is common for residents

not to make home improvements even if they have the means due to perceptions of insecurity. Home ownership plays an important role in housing satisfaction (Baiden et al., 2011). Thus housing is inadequate since it fails to guarantee the occupants' legal protection against eviction (Chenwi, 2013; Evans, 2013). Amnesty International (2010) notes that when people are protected by the law against being unjustly thrown out of their homes, they have secure tenure. Perceptions of a lack of security of tenure increases people's feelings of insecurity vulnerability and poverty (Amnesty International, 2010). When residents feel they have secure tenure it encourages them to improve their houses and environment (Amnesty International, 2010).

4.3.8. Environmental resilience

The question of low income housing aesthetics has prevailed for many years. The governments' failure to address this indicates how housing is viewed. Housing is still perceived from the developer's point of view. Thus there is need to bring housing specialists with vast experience and notable design and development experience in the delivery process. This can help to create sociable environments that enable quality of life for beneficiaries. According to Adebayo (2000) low-cost housing in South Africa is organized along straight lines. Hence it is monotonous and lacks both aesthetic and visual appeal. Pelican Park is arranged in such a monotonous manner. The housing lacks vibrant place making design concepts (Miguel, interview, 2016). However, 50% of the respondents are satisfied with the aesthetic nature of the housing. A visitor to Pelican Park mentioned that he enjoys the beauty of Oystercatcher at night. This is one of the major routes in the area. He notes how the street lights create a beautiful scene and he enjoys driving down that road at night.

In terms of waste collection residents were 100% satisfied. They do raise concerns though about their bins being stolen. This results in challenges related to waste disposal. Environmental health, upkeep and cleanliness contribute to housing satisfaction (Rioux and Werner, 2011). Furthermore

aesthetically pleasing areas contribute to satisfaction (da Luz Reis and Lay, 2010). Residents of all incomes do pay attention to cleanliness and neatness of a neighbourhood. As for Pelican Park the neighbourhood is not aesthetically pleasing and unveils the need for low income housing projects to incorporate aesthetics rigorously.

4.4. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to analyse research findings against the criteria established in Chapter 2. There are high levels of beneficiary dissatisfaction in Pelican Park, like in a number of other State-assisted relocation developments. The location is the main reason for such high levels of dissatisfaction. It contributes to the high levels of unemployment opportunities.

Planning resilient settlements requires that relocation projects be undertaken in participatory ways. Failure to gain and incorporate the beneficiary input into the initiative leads to beneficiary dissatisfaction as is the case in Pelican Park. Various housing scholars argue that it is important to involve people in the construction process of the housing unit. This adds sentimental value to the house (Tonkin, 2008). Higher satisfaction levels with the housing units can be achieved if the developer and the beneficiaries work together to deliver houses. Unfortunately, the State and developers still drive housing development.

Table 4.1 summary of the criteria for assessing the Pelican Park case

	Assessment criteria derived from the literature review	Subsidiary research questions derived from the assessment criteria	Summary of research findings
Criteria for satisfaction/dissatisfaction			
enabling mobility	-legibility and permeability, accessibility to community (Low transportation costs, convenience and variety of modes of transport)	-How accessible are socio-economic resources for the Pelican Park residents? -How accessible is Pelican Park to the Cape Town central business district? -How do beneficiaries feel about the location of their housing?	-residents faced challenges in accessing socio-economic resources -Accessibility is a challenge to Cape Town is a challenge - Beneficiaries' are not happy with the location of their housing,
Diversity	-diversity of land uses, diversity of population, catering for the disadvantaged group and variety of housing choice.	-Did beneficiaries have a housing choice? -How does Pelican Park enable cultural diversity? -And how is integration enabled in Pelican Park?	- Although choice of housing is present beneficiaries had no free will to select the choice they desired. -The area is predominantly one race. This raises culture mixture concerns. Diversity remains a concern
meeting economic needs	-Housing enabling economic opportunities, housing affordability and market accessibility, housing subsidies and meeting other economic needs	-How are Pelican Park residents using their houses for income generation purposes? -If they are not using their home for these purposes, what prevents them from doing so? -What housing-related costs did beneficiaries experience or are still experiencing? Are these costs manageable or not?	- A few beneficiaries own spaza shops. -house design precludes this opportunity. Furthermore, applications for land-use departures are costly for many beneficiaries. - Much of the expenses experienced by beneficiaries are transport related due to the locational disadvantage of area.
Meeting physical needs.	-adequate size, suitable location, housing quality, distinctive character and other physical aspects	-How satisfied are residents with the size, quality and physical construction of their home? -What, if any, concerns do residents have in relation to the structure of their houses? -Are there any visible indications of potential structural defects?	-100% of research participants interviewed were dissatisfied with the quality and physical construction for their home - Beneficiaries are not happy with house finishes and quality of their structures. There were notable structural defects on housing units.

<p>Meeting social needs and enabling access to public services</p>	<p>-Beneficiary involvement in project development, safety, sense of community, sense of belonging and meeting other social needs, adequate and accessible public services and provision of adequate and affordable basic services -provision of adequate and affordable basic services</p>	<p>-To what extent, if at all, were beneficiaries involved in the formulation and implementation of the Pelican Park housing development project? -How do Pelican Park residents feel about crime in the area? -What influence do Pelican Park residents have on their sense of place, belonging and sense of community? -What public services do the beneficiaries have access to within walking distance? -What public services do beneficiaries require? -How satisfied are residents with the social recreational and educational services provided in and around Pelican Park? -Has the goal of providing basic services to Pelican Park households been achieved? -If yes are the beneficiaries satisfied with the quality of services?</p>	<p>- Beneficiaries were not involved in the formulation of their neighbourhood. - Crime is very high in the area and residents feared for their personal safety - residents felt detached with their neighbourhood. - Beneficiaries had access to a shopping centre and primary school within walking distance. - Beneficiaries are 100% dissatisfied with service provision in Pelican Park. - the goal of providing such services had been achieved in the area. - Satisfaction concerns were around pipe leakages which increased monthly water bills.</p>
<p>security of tenure,</p>	<p>- Secure tenure</p>	<p>-What type of tenure is offered to Pelican Park residents? -Are there any challenges to securing tenure?</p>	<p>-For BNG and open market houses the tenure is free hold ownership and Gap housing is sold as sectional title units. - Beneficiaries in Gap housing faced monetary challenges to secure their tenure.</p>
<p>Environmental resilience</p>	<p>-Neatness, aesthetic pleasantness, hygiene and environmental resilience</p>	<p>-What are the environmental challenges faced in Pelican Park? -Which environmental factors lead to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housing?</p>	<p>-Housing is organised in straight lines which beneficiaries found monotonous lacking both visual and aesthetic appeal. -Waste collecting and pollution were factors that led housing satisfaction.</p>

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

The overarching aim of this study was to evaluate the impacts of state-led relocation projects on beneficiaries' housing satisfaction. The National Housing Policy stipulates that it is the mandate of the state to provide beneficiaries with well-located land and housing, with provisions of basic services (DHS, 2004). Relocation, as a housing strategy, has its impacts on beneficiaries' livelihoods. The investigation was undertaken by employing the theoretical framework established in Chapter 2. This framework is founded on housing satisfaction attributes from various scholars and scholars' arguments became the criteria to evaluate the case study area.

The main research question asked: What are the impacts of a state-led relocation project on beneficiaries' housing satisfactions? And, what lessons might we learn from the Pelican Park case study for future planning and housing policies? In response, research findings demonstrated that beneficiaries were not satisfied with their neighbourhood mobility. Despite the efforts of the housing intervention to ensure that mobility is considered, needs of occupants were not met. The study proves that housing satisfaction and beneficiary aspirations are areas that still need to be attended by the state and developers. The state's housing delivery efforts in Pelican Park deserve applauding, since findings suggest that this delivery is adequate. However, beneficiaries' needs are assumed from the outset, and these assumptions are not questioned or challenged. Findings also show that the majority of households had no means of income and depended mostly on social grants. Home businesses helped improve beneficiary economic status. Some beneficiaries had no business knowledge which is one of the reason they had no home business enterprises. When housing policy fails to facilitate the development of resilient human settlements the purpose of sustainable human settlements is defeated. In sum, various central issues are affecting low income housing. Housing satisfaction is an important indicator of meeting

beneficiary aspirations and improving their livelihood. Thus, feedback from occupants and determinants of satisfaction are important to assess the success of housing policies.

The aim of this chapter is to present answers to the research questions, to suggest policy recommendations, and to conclude this study. Answers to the main research question serve to introduce this chapter. The next section will focus on revisiting the subsidiary research questions and providing answers to these based on research findings. Research questions and answers are grouped in accordance with the eight 'satisfaction' themes established in Chapter 2. This will be followed by a section on proposed recommendations based on lessons learned from in-depth case study methods. Finally, this chapter will conclude with a reflection section.

5.2. Answers to the research questions according to their themes

5.2.1. Enabling mobility

How accessible are socio-economic resources for the Pelican Park residents? In terms of mobility, transport opportunities are limited and residents faced challenges in accessing socio-economic resources.

How accessible is Pelican Park to the Cape Town central business district? Only one bus operates on weekdays; providing merely one trip per day from Pelican Park to Cape Town CBD. Accessibility is a challenge. More public transport routes and trips are required to enhance accessibility in the area.

How do beneficiaries feel about the location of their housing? Beneficiaries' are not happy with the location of their housing, as they are located far away from job and socio-economic opportunities. This increases their transports costs and worsens their livelihood strategies.

Such challenges faced by beneficiaries result in beneficiary dissatisfaction with mobility in Pelican Park. It is evident that mobility is still an issue that needs to be attended to rigorously in state assisted relocation projects.

5.2.2. Diversity

Did beneficiaries have a housing choice? Three housing opportunities are present in the area. Although choice of housing is present beneficiaries had no free will to select the choice they desired. Lack of income and housing affordability played a significant role in housing selection process. Had they been granted a choice to select from their own will, their needs could have been met. A lack of choice resulted in beneficiaries comparing their different housing opportunities leading to tension and discontent amongst themselves.

How does Pelican Park enable cultural diversity? And how is integration enabled in Pelican Park? Beneficiaries are both dissatisfied and satisfied by the mixture of income groups the area. The area is predominantly one race. This raises culture mixture concerns. Diversity remains a concern in low income housing and requires attention.

5.2.3. Meeting economic needs

How are Pelican Park residents using their houses for income generation purposes? If they are not using their home for these purposes, what prevents them from doing so? A few beneficiaries own spaza shops. Most research participants, however, have failed to utilize their homes for income generation, because the house design precludes this opportunity. Furthermore, applications for land-use departures are costly for many beneficiaries.

What housing-related costs did beneficiaries experience or are still experiencing? Are these costs manageable or not? Much of the expenses experienced by beneficiaries are transport related due to the locational disadvantage of area. Residents spent up to R1500 on transport forcing beneficiaries to quit their jobs and return to informal settlements that are

close to socio-economic opportunities. Economic needs of beneficiaries need to be addressed to uplift and enhance their livelihoods.

5.2.4. Meeting physical needs

How satisfied are residents with the size, quality and physical construction of their home? 100% of research participants interviewed were dissatisfied with the quality and physical construction for their home, while 80% were satisfied with the size of their home.

What, if any, concerns do residents have in relation to the structure of their houses? Beneficiaries are not happy with house finishes and quality of their structures. Beneficiaries had doubts on the potential of their units to withstand weather hazards. Furthermore the houses do not meet their needs leading to dissatisfaction.

Are there any visible indications of potential structural defects? There were notable structural defects on housing units. Evidently the structures had water leaking into the house and cracked walls.

The housing units are characterised by structural defects raising poor workmanship concerns. Generally, occupants had high expectations of their physical structures particularly the quality of the house. Thus it can be concluded that improvements to housing quality can enhance housing satisfaction.

5.2.5. Meeting social needs and enabling access to public services

To what extent, if at all, were beneficiaries involved in the formulation and implementation of the Pelican Park housing development project? Beneficiaries were not involved in the formulation of their neighbourhood. As a result dissatisfaction emanated from not participating in the project development.

How do Pelican Park residents feel about crime in the area? Crime is very high in the area and residents feared for their personal safety.

What influence do Pelican Park residents have on their sense of place, belonging and sense of community? Breaking up of social ties with friends and relatives through relocation and lack of community ownership achieved through participation in project development led residents to feel detached with their neighbourhood. This was further exacerbated by safety concerns and other social issues.

What public services do the beneficiaries have access to within walking distance? Beneficiaries had access to a shopping centre and primary school within walking distance. Although the school was located far away from houses, children still managed to reach school after a straining journey.

What public services do beneficiaries require? The area lacks health services, shopping malls, places of worship and recreational facilities. Furthermore, increasing population puts pressure on the existing schools, raising the need for more schools.

How satisfied are residents with the social recreational and educational services provided in and around Pelican Park? Employment opportunities are located far, and other public services are also situated further away from the area. Beneficiaries are 100% dissatisfied with service provision in Pelican Park.

The field survey unveiled that the residential area lacks variety of land uses such as libraries, crèches and clinic and this dissatisfied residents. With only one primary school and one shopping centre with few economic facilities on offer the researcher concluded that the area does not meet the criterion of enabling access to basic services established in Chapter 2.

Has the goal of providing basic services to Pelican Park households been achieved? If yes are the beneficiaries satisfied with the quality of services? All

beneficiaries had access to basic services such as electricity, water and sewer. Therefore the goal of providing such services had been achieved in the area. Satisfaction concerns were around pipe leakages which increased monthly water bills.

5.2.6. Enabling security of tenure

What type of tenure is offered to Pelican Park residents? And how does it impact on their lives? For BNG and open market houses the tenure is free hold ownership. On the other hand, the Gap housing is sold as sectional title units, and these units are partly owned by beneficiaries and partly owned by banks. In such a tenure environment occupants cannot make improvements to their houses since they do not own the units fully. BNG occupants can only resell their units after 5 years of occupation.

Are there any challenges to securing tenure? Beneficiaries in Gap housing faced monetary challenges to secure their tenure. For BNG occupants problems were around delays in the handing over of title deeds by the state. Security of tenure still remains a challenge in low income housing.

5.2.7. Environmental resilience

What are the environmental challenges faced in Pelican Park? The area has housing constructed in straight lines, which beneficiaries found monotonous lacking both visual and aesthetic appeal.

Which environmental factors lead to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housing? Waste collecting and pollution were factors that led to housing satisfaction. Residents were happy with their clean environment.

The results of the study reveal insights on the factors that determine housing satisfaction in pelican Park. In response to these insights, recommendations are proposed in the next section.

5.3. Recommendations

The following recommendations are directed at municipalities, developers and NGOs. Recommendations are based on suggestions derived from the literature review (see Chapter 2) and research findings (see Chapter 4). Recommendations overlap across the eight satisfaction attributes.

5.3.1. Recommendations for social needs

In order to meet beneficiaries' social needs, it is important to involve residents in the project for the entire duration: from the project conceptualisation phase to the implementation and evaluation phases. By doing so, beneficiaries' needs and aspirations are channelled during the process (Fainstein, 2010). Friedmann (1987) notes that social learning can help create relational dialogs as a basis for mutual learning between planners and the people. Thus planners must engage in collaborative and communicative measures that create platforms for mutual learning (Friedmann, 1987). In this case planning becomes a tool for innovation and action and less of an instrument of control. Thus values guide planning approaches and how to improve participation by community. Thus a two way process of sharing relevant information is crucial for future public housing projects. The involvement of all stakeholders in the in development should not only be informing but involve communities in the actual construction process.

Safety and security are crucial to protect the lives and environment of residents (Carro et al., 2010). Thus, the implementation of a police station may assist in enhancing the safety and security of Pelican Park. The costs and benefits of implementing such a public service would need to be explored by the municipality in collaboration with residents and SAPS. Furthermore, it is recommended that NGOs and residents explore opportunities to implement community-based initiatives.

Research findings revealed that facilities are situated far away from residents. Planners should put up legislative measures that push for the delivery of socio-

economic opportunities first before construction of the actual houses. Also planners should ensure that crucial facilities in a neighbourhood accommodate future population growth. In the event that housing is delivered on the urban fringe planners should ensure that facilities are adequate and aim to bring the city to the people and not the people to the city. Thus housing must be safe, secure and resilient having integrated health settlements that encompass socio-economic opportunities within proximity.

5.3.2. Recommendations for physical attributes

Findings unveiled the inadequacies with National Housing Policy. Thus planners should formulate housing policy that in cooperates needs of the occupants particularly their safety, quality of housing, housing units capable of empowering occupants economically and not worsen their daily livelihood strategies. Furthermore negligence from contractors and poor workmanship, burden occupants in carrying out repairs to their houses. Such challenges are not only unique to South Africa but rather a global south issue. Thus the issue on workmanship needs to be taken seriously into account by the Department of Human Settlements. The NHBRC must put enough pressure on developers to deliver quality housing. With regards to warranties the NHBRC needs to keep constant check-ups on the housing delivered. Also beneficiaries need to be made aware of NHBRC as such an entity can protect their needs. Rigorous and thorough quality inspection and monitoring is required for the housing inspections to ensure poor work is not bypassed.

The current 40 square meter housing units need to be revised by national government in collaboration with municipalities for the purpose of catering for larger families. In the study households revealed the structures are too small to cater for their large families. The size of units failed to meet beneficiaries' aspirations. Thus, it is recommended that the National Department of Human Settlements capacitate municipalities and NGOs to undertake housing needs assessments before construction begins and after handing over for the purpose of ongoing learning.

Cheap housing and infrastructure should not be the focus rather quality is important. Adhering to minimum budget requirements in the delivery of housing results in the construction of poor quality housing made from cheaper materials. This leads to the occupiers living in units that have leaks, cracks and damp (Thwala and Aigbavboa, 2012). Developers should consider the use of alternative materials such as clay and stone (CoCT, 2011).

Location is a huge determinant of housing satisfaction in relocation projects. Thus well located land is one that is within the urban core, accompanied by access to socio-economic opportunities. Therefore it is recommended that within the project conceptualisation phase only land that is well located and that can enhance peoples livelihoods be considered for project development. In the case of existing housing projects with limited opportunities the state and developers should facilitate the delivery of these facilities and services to satisfy beneficiaries. In turn this reduces the transport costs beneficiaries incur when accessing opportunities elsewhere. It is imperative to bring the city to the people rather than bringing the people to the city.

5.3.3. Recommendation for economic needs

Findings reveal that the majority of beneficiaries are unemployed. It is important for small scale economic and informal economic activities to be supported in housing projects (Baumann, 2003). The majority of beneficiaries depend on informal economic activities. Findings reveal that house design is a key contributor to resilient home enterprises. Thus housing policy should incorporate this aspect and also provide adequate public spaces and informal market opportunities. Planners and the municipality should recognise the role of home based enterprises and the informal sector, and their importance to the broader economy. There is therefore a need for planners and government to coordinate policies and strategies that support this sector in housing developments.

There is need to move the progression of realising housing as a right in the constitution to using housing to improve lives of people. The majority of unemployed occupants fall within the working age group, but most have no tertiary qualifications. Therefore the Department of Human Settlements should progress beyond provision of housing units to the betterment of people's lives. Also the CoCT must acknowledge that there is more to housing and it has to encompass socio-economic opportunities that improve lives. Therefore the city should formulate policies for housing development that goes beyond delivery of housing. By moving towards housing provision it aids in addressing pressing issues associated with housing such as, unemployment and access to education (UN habitat, 2005).

A handful had managed to turn their houses into home enterprises. Thus it is evident that the state had done little to support income generation activities for low income groups. NGOs, the state and private sector should work closely to capacitate and train beneficiaries with business skills and other local economic concepts as ways of uplifting socio-economic survival. In this way poverty reduces enabling beneficiaries to use their houses and be self-employed in turn facilitating satisfaction. Furthermore, big commercial and industrial services can be developed concurrently with housing construction so that in completion of housing, commercial and industrial sites utilise local labour.

5.3.4. The extent to which this dissertation achieves its purpose

The aim of this dissertation has been to evaluate the impacts of state relocation projects on beneficiary housing satisfaction. A case study on Pelican Park has been used to provide actual findings in accordance with this study. The study had to assess the supposition that low income residents in state-aided relocation housing are either satisfied or dissatisfied with their housing environment.

The dissertation has managed to meet its aims. It has demonstrated that the housing delivered by the state is failing to meet much of its occupant's desires, thereby leading to beneficiary dissatisfaction with their housing. The exploration further demonstrated that a few residents were satisfied with other elements of their housing environments, but majority were dissatisfied.

The study needs further research coupled with in-depth analysis on quality control measures employed in low income housing. Also an assessment on how developers deliver such low quality housing units and the state approving the units adequate for occupation is essential. Additionally interviews and investigations with the NHBRC is desired to understand the institutions role in housing delivery process. The affordability and research on bank bonds particularly those in Gap housing requires further investigation to understand whether these bonds are actually affordable.

Lastly an analysis on place making principles used by planners need to be investigated in order to understand the measurement which they used to plan housing development for the area.

5.4. Limitations to the study

The timeframe within which the study could be covered, was limited. Timing and safety concerns hindered acquisition of issues that could be included for this research. In addition, many stakeholders could have been involved for the richness of data of this research but time was a limiting factor. It was also difficult to reach other stakeholders who did not respond to their emails. The researcher faced challenges with speaking Afrikaans and thus it limited some depth of information collected from interviews. Semi-structured questions were rather long and received a few complaints.

5.5. Reflections

I feel that the research I am conducting should have been conducted shortly after the construction of the first ten houses in Pelican Park. In doing so, this would have helped to control the quality of the environment as opposed to evaluations being conducted when people have settled in the suburb. I feel it promotes the idea of working backwards. Rather, evaluation and house delivery processes should run concurrently. Past, present and future housing projects carry similar traits. Looking at the housing delivery history of South Africa; it is amongst the top in the world in the provision of significant amounts of housing to its citizens (Tonkin, 2008). Taking into account the past 20 years, the country should have been past the research of housing but addressing other issues. At present research would have been assessing how happy the beneficiaries are, considering the fact that common happiness level had been achieved through the 20 or more years of housing provision. My study has unveiled the importance of post-occupancy evaluation and it is useful in acquiring valuable information on how various stakeholders involved in low-income housing can make changes to the current housing delivery approaches. Therefore, housing should be tailored to elevate beneficiaries' livelihoods.

The fourth and last day of data collection in Pelican Park I was walking alone during the day and the road was quiet and empty. As I was heading to my next house to conduct an interview I was stopped by a man. Immediately he got interested with my research. He invited me into his house. We sat silently in the house as I noticed guns on the table and told me he was a gangster. He asked me why I had was walking in his turf and if I had gun. I pleaded for forgiveness for committing no crime. I had to explain to him that I was simply a student and not part of the cartels. Luckily, my UCT sweater rescued me as it proved I came from UCT. He only granted me time for two questions. When I finished my questions he made it clear to me not to come back again to Pelican Park. What shocked me was that he confessed he had targeted me

thinking I was part of some syndicate. He further explained to me that the current gang war that was taking place, was ongoing for the past two months. The past three days of my surveys had been fruitful and the neighbourhood seemed safe until this encounter. The last day turned into a traumatic experience. On my way home, taxi drivers and my cab driver corroborated that Pelican Park was one of the dangerous places in Cape Town. Although I had an amazing study of my case I decided not to set foot in Pelican Park again.

5.6. Conclusion

In conclusion, Chapter 1 presented the problem under study. The chapter provided an overview of relocation and housing satisfaction. The chapter explored issues on how government has initiated a number of programmes to solve the housing crisis in South Africa, but the challenge that remains is dissatisfaction amongst beneficiaries. On the basis of this hypothesis, the main research question was established.

Chapter 2 comprised the theoretical framework that was used to analyse the case study area. The theoretical framework was based on a review of relevant literature. Through a synthesis of literature by various scholars criteria for assessing housing satisfaction were established.

Chapter 3 outlined the research method and techniques used to acquire data. In this chapter the research methods were explained. A discussion on how these methods and techniques would be put to use for the study is also explored. The chapter also explained the limitations of the method and techniques used.

Chapter 4 presented my research findings and analysed the data using the assessment criteria established in Chapter 2. Findings unveiled that the housing had only managed to provide shelter but had failed to meet the beneficiaries' needs. Unemployment was a common phenomenon in the

area and beneficiaries had resulted to subletting their houses to sustain themselves. For some residents their quality of life had even worsened. In analysing this case a conclusion by the researcher was made that housing in this area was just structures and four walls but had failed to meet the socio-economic needs of beneficiaries. With this conclusion it is evident that low cost relocation projects fail to meet the aspirations of beneficiaries. The research findings in Chapter 4 were synthesised in this chapter. Lastly recommendations were derived from the Chapter 2 and research findings. These were presented in this chapter.

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Appendix 1: application for approval ethics in research (EIR) projects

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

APPLICATION FORM

Please Note:

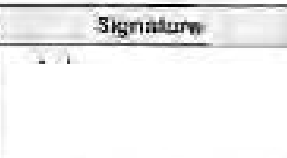

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application prior to embarking on research is to ensure that the 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/user/ebe/research/ethics.pdf>

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant	NIGEL MASHAZHU	
Department	Architecture, Planning and Geomatics	
Preferred email address of applicant	Mashmg001@myuct.ac.za	
If a Student	Your Degree e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	Master of City and Regional Planning
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised)	Associate professor Tanja Winkler
If this is a research contract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship	Personal funding	
Project Title	Evaluating the Impacts of State-led Relocation Projects on Beneficiaries' Housing Satisfaction: Polican Park as a Case Study	

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

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

SIGNED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	MASHAZHU NIGEL	MASHAZHU	16 Jun 2016

APPLICATION APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Tanja Winkler		28 Jun 2016
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)	Toma Berlanda Click here to enter text.		Click here to enter a date.
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have	Click here to enter text.		Click here to enter a date.

Appendix 2: Information sheet and consent form

Individuals will be chosen on the basis of them being adults that are not socially or physically vulnerable people, but are residents, government workers for or private developers that have worked on or are situated in the Pelican Park area. The title of this research project is:

Evaluating the impacts of State-led Relocation Projects on Beneficiaries' Housing Satisfactions: Pelican Park as a Case Study.

Good day, my name is Nigel Mashazhu and I am conducting research towards a master's degree in city and regional planning. I am researching how state relocation housing projects impact on beneficiaries' housing satisfaction.

I would like to invite you to participate in the project. I am interested in finding out about how concepts such as enabling mobility, choice, economic needs and social needs amongst others can play a role in attaining aspirations and needs of beneficiaries. I want to understand the current status quo of Pelican Park housing project in terms of these key concepts and I would like to interview people who voluntarily want to be involved in the study. Please understand that you do not have to participate, your participation is voluntary. The choice to participate is yours alone. If you choose not to participate, there will be no negative consequence. If you choose to participate, but wish to withdraw at any time, you will be free to do so without negative consequence. However, I would be grateful if you would assist me by allowing me to interview you. Will just ask you a few questions about your experience in Pelican Park that aligns with my project in order to gain insight on Woodstock and ideas to enable change which benefits formerly disadvantaged individuals. It would not take longer than 2 hours. There will not be any formal payment for your participation. You are not required to pay for anything.

If you agree to me recording the interview please

Sign here:

Your anonymity will be preserved, this recording will only be used by myself and academic staff, if access to this information is required. In any event your name will be replaced by a pseudonym to ensure your anonymity. Data will be kept and if you wish to receive the outcome of the results to this study I will provide it to you after completion.

If you agree to be a participant in the study on the basis of the above please

Sign here:

Appendix 3: Information sheet and consent form



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag #3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

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

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

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

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON.....

AS PART OF MY MASTERS PROGRAMME AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

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

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

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

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

MY SUPERVISOR IS Dr Tanja Winkler, AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE: (021) 650-2360 or Tanja.Winkler@uct.ac.za.

Signature of interviewee

Signature of student

Appendix 4: Key Informants' Semi-structured interview questions

1. How accessible are socio-economic resources for the Pelican Park residents?
2. How permeable and legible is the layout of Pelican Park?
3. How accessible is Pelican Park to the Cape Town central business district (CBD)?
4. Did the beneficiaries have a housing choice?
5. How are residents' needs and aspirations catered for in the design of the settlement and in the design of individual homes?]
6. Do the housing choices cater their needs and aspirations? If it did not cater for their needs what were the reasons for that?
7. How does the current zoning of Pelican Park enable or constrain diverse uses?
8. How does Pelican Park enable cultural diversity?
9. How is integration enabled in Pelican Park?]
10. How are Pelican Park residents using their houses for income generation purposes? If not, what prevents them from doing so?
11. What housing-related costs did beneficiaries experience, or are still experiencing? Are these costs manageable or not?
12. What housing subsidies are, or were, available for beneficiaries?
13. To what extent, if at all, does the beneficiaries' housing facilitate access to (formal) credit agreements?
14. How satisfied are residents with the size, quality and physical construction for their home?]
15. How do the beneficiaries feel about the location of their housing?
16. What do residents think about their house design?
17. What, if any, concerns do residents have in relation to the structure of their houses?
18. Are there any visible indications of potential structural defects?
19. To what extent, if at all, were the beneficiaries involved in the formulation and implementation of the Pelican Park housing development project?
20. How do Pelican Park residents feel about crime in the area?
21. What influence do Pelican Park residents have on their sense of place, belonging and sense of community?
22. How has the goal of providing basic services to Pelican park households been achieved?
23. How satisfied are the residents with the quality of services provided?
24. What public services do the beneficiaries have access to within walking distance?
25. What public services do the beneficiaries require?
26. •How satisfied are residents with the social, recreational and educational services provided in and around Pelican Park?]
27. What type of tenure is offered to Pelican Park residents? How does it impact on their lives?

28. Are there any challenges to securing of tenure to improve the occupants housing conditions?
29. What measures can be taken regarding securing tenure to induce improvement?
30. What are the environmental challenges faced in Pelican Park?
31. Which environmental factors lead to satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housing?