
Abstract: Transformation of South African cities displays symptoms that are characteristic of urban transformation in peripheral economies yet they have distinct features that are unique only to post-apartheid urban societies. This creates a very complex urban transformation process that defies any single interpretation or descriptive analysis of urban transformation in peripheral economies. In recent years post-apartheid cities have experienced transformation at several layers driven by different stakeholders applying a combination of forces to effect desired changes. The common objective of city transformation is, at least at a rhetoric level to achieve sustainability and social justice. The desire to achieve social justice is expressed in programmes driven by ideological and political commitments to eliminate all spatial elements of racial segregation in cities. State regulations and Urban Governance strategies are the main instruments used to achieve Social Justice. The commitment to achieve sustainability is expressed in the commitment to accelerate the implementation of pro-poor programmes for poverty reduction through economic growth and development. The overall sustainability of Cities is the main focus of these activities. However in the context of urban transformation driven by market forces in peripheral regions a new form of social spatial segregation is emerging in South African cities. Whilst the new socio-spatial segregation reinforces racial based spatial segregation the emerging trend is driven by market economy albeit along racial lines. The purpose in this paper is to review the resulting spatial reorganisation of South African cities and reflect on the resulting new spatial patterns. New patterns of city structure are emerging reflecting inherent contradictions, competition and power positions of stakeholders operating within sustainability and social justice framework to achieve desired goals. The paper concludes by highlighting the position and dilemmas of the voiceless, marginalised poor communities in this contested urban social space.

Introduction:

The South African urban is history is a history of racial segregation, which though started much earlier achieved perfection and institutionalised during the apartheid era (1948–1994). In essence, apartheid ideology provided a framework for centralised spatial planning for spatial segregation that was legally enforceable. Apartheid urban segregation was a very complex system enforced by a wide range of complex overlapping legislation. Through Group Areas Act racial spatial separation, influx control, and a policy of 'own management for own areas', apartheid system aimed at maximum control designed amongst other things to limit the extent to which affluent white municipalities would bear the financial burden of
servicing disadvantaged black, coloured and Indian areas. The 1994 new democratic government inherited a highly segregated spatial urban arrangement. South African city provides urban geographers and urban planners with a very complex but challenging unit of analysis. Whilst in many respects South Africa city resembles third world city like in all developing countries, the distinct features which are a legacy of apartheid city planning provides a unique challenge for Urban Geographers. South African city requires a complex set of tools for analysis of spatial transformation and social change. This is partly because spatial organisation and social racial engineering under apartheid was both deep and once started self sustaining. The purpose of this paper is to unpack the processes of transformation at two levels. The first part considers the impact of institutional and legislative transformative instruments, the extent to which these efforts have transformed the South African city to achieve the ideals of post-apartheid and democratic government. Unintended consequences in the implementing these legislative instrument are outlined. The second part of this paper identifies new emerging trends in the last fifteen years of post-apartheid transformation of South African city. This paper also highlights new challenges in the quest to achieve social equity and commitment to remove all forms of racial social and economic inequality through sustainable economic growth and by opening access services, resources. The argument presented in this paper is that the combined effects of a number of legislative instruments together with new powerful post-apartheid urban land market have tended to not only to preserve the spatial segregation of apartheid systems but reinforced and introduced a new forms of urban segregation in South African cities.

**Perspectives on Transformation of South African Cities:**

The transformation of South Africa cities is a very complex process taking place at multiple levels and driven by wide range of factors championed by different interest groups. At one level the dismantling of institutionalised official racial segregation was achieved through scrapping of Group Areas Act and all its variants (influx control etc). This was a major transformation foundation as it removed all legal and legislative provisions for racial segregation in South African cities (Swilling, M, Humphries, R. & Shubane, K. 1991). This was a major achievement in many different ways it removed a form of centralised planning based on political and ideological definition of social space. The removal of official spatial racial segregation was intended to give South African cities a new identity, a new image, and an opportunity was created for new processes to emerge in the creation of social space in the integrated cities.
The restructuring of the apartheid city, through the spatial integration of segregated areas, is a key urban development goal for a variety of reasons. The goals of urban transformation were expressed in Urban development strategy as: `The spatial integration of our settlements... will enhance economic efficiency, facilitate the provision of affordable services, reduce the costs households incur through commuting, and enable social development. Spatial integration is also central to nation building, to addressing the locational disadvantages which apartheid imposed on the black population, and to building an integrated society and nation '(RSA, 1998: 24).

In this context processes were established to achieve spatial social justice through building social inclusive and equitable cities that provide for greater access, especially the poor to well located residential land. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP, 1994) provided an important strategic framework for the creation of non-racial democratic society in South Africa. The Reconstruction and Development Programme provided the basis for transformative policies and programmes to emerge. In the context of spatial reconstruction of urban landscape the RDP strategy commits government to: “... land for housing must be suitably located geologically, environmentally and with respect to economic opportunities and social amenities. The democratic government must intervene to facilitate access to such land. Land speculation must be prevented and land monopolies broken up. Land planning must involve the communities affected. Land taxes and zoning should seek to promote urban development patterns consistent with RDP objectives” (RDP 1994).

Institutional and Regulatory Transformative Frameworks

The dismantling of legal official racial segregation generated a wide range of activities and responses to the new political landscape. The new democratic government adopted a two-pronged approach to drive the transformation and desegregation of South African cities. The first approach was expressed through a series of transformative instruments including a series of legislative instruments, policy frameworks and strategic documents. The second approach focused on creating a suitable but transformative environment for the market economy to operate unrestrained by legal barriers of apartheid system in the post-apartheid city. This marked the end of a period of uneasy relationship between apartheid system of social control and a form of capital accumulation (Swilling, M. Humphries, R. & Shubane, K. 1991). The new market economy and the implementation of the new vision of integrated sustainable post-apartheid cities became key drivers of transformative forces.
As a commitment to the transformation of segregated apartheid city the new democratic government promulgated a series of transformative legislations including the Housing White Paper of 1994; Water and Sanitation White Paper of 1994; Urban Development Strategy 1995; The Development Facilitation Act 1995, Municipal Systems Act, 2000, Municipal Infrastructure Investment Framework 2001; Local Government White Paper 1998; Urban Regeneration Strategy 2002. These and other post-apartheid regulatory frameworks provided were designed to be key drivers for the spatial desegregation and towards integration of South African cities. The legal frameworks provided not only for removal of official and legal racial segregation but redefined the conditions for urban planning, urban land use and urban land development. The legislative frameworks required not only a complete overhaul of the mode service delivery but also required restructuring the State’s service delivery system so that services are delivered equally to all residents.

The Urban Development Strategy (1995) defined the role the state and civil society, the expected contributions and roles of the market. The intention was to transform South African cities into spatially and economically integrated centres of social and economic opportunities with vibrant urban governance and environmental. The Urban Development Strategy was based on the vision Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP 1994) of urban redesign and development as:

“… ensuring the quality of life, sustainability and efficiency in the urban areas will prove critical for renewing growth and promoting equity. The design of a comprehensive national urban strategy will help serve the cities’ rapidly growing populations and address the inequities and structural imbalances caused by the Apartheid system.

The urban development strategy must also be aimed at fostering the long-term development and sustainability of urban areas while alleviating poverty and encouraging economic expansion.

The urban programme must therefore … create a functionally integrated, efficient and equitable urban economy, as well as effective and democratic structures of urban governance and management; enhance the position of women in the cities, and initiate a social environment which contributes to a better quality of life.

Sustainable economic expansion must redress the imbalances in infrastructure, transportation and basic services in our cities. Housing, transport, electrification and other infrastructure and service programmes should promote access to employment opportunities
and urban resources, and the consequent densification and unification of the urban fabric. In particular, sites for industries and services that will not harm the environment should be located near existing townships. New low-income housing should be situated near employment opportunities wherever possible.

The environmental impact of urban reconstruction and development must form an integral part of an urban development strategy. This includes the encroachment of urban development on viable agricultural land, air pollution, water pollution and waste management”.

The Urban Development Strategy (1995) identified four transformative strategic focus programmes: (a) Desegregated and integrating the city; (b) Improving housing and infrastructure, (c) Promoting urban economic development and (d) Creating institutions for delivery. These were further refined in the Urban Development Framework (1997). The Urban Development Framework (1997) identified three programmes for the transformation of apartheid city:

a) **Spatial Restructuring with emphasis on integrating the city with the purpose of reversing** apartheid-inspired spatial fragmentation and segregation;

b) **Social and Economic Development**: global ‘competitive city’, the ‘prosperous city’, the safe city’ and the ‘equitable city’. This second aspect involved the improvement of housing and infrastructure, ‘social development, building habitable and safe communities, maintaining safety and security and designing habitable urban communities’. The third key programme was to ‘to enhance the capacity of urban areas to build on local strengths to generate greater local economic activity, to achieve sustainability, to alleviate urban poverty, to increase access to informal economic opportunities and to maximize the direct employment opportunities and the multiplier effects from implementing development programmes.

c). **Institutional Restructuring**: Key discourses, largely based on experiences of developed countries, included the ‘efficient city’, the ‘smart city’ and the ‘inclusive city’. The fourth key programme of the UDF was ‘significant transformation and capacity building of government at all levels and clarity on the roles and responsibilities of the different government spheres’ (Department of Housing, 1997:

The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) 1995 provided a legal implementation framework whilst the White Paper on Urban Development 1997 provided a directive mandate for the
implementation of Urban Development Strategy. The primary objective of DFA 1995 was to guide the process of transformation of urban land use towards more sustainable integrated city development. The act provided a framework for land use applications and land tenure definition, local government planning; land development and conflict resolution. The purpose of DFA was to not only to facilitate access to urban land for low cost housing but also harmonise and provide a uniform system of urban land development in cities.

However, a number of unintended consequences of the application of the DFA have been experienced. The DFA has created conditions favouring urban property developers and especially large scale developers. Development tribunals established within the DFA framework have powers to set aside other municipality legislations and priorities taken by municipalities in terms of the town planning scheme. A detailed evaluation of DFA revealed a number of inconsistencies including the was uneven implemented throughout the country.

However large scale private property developers have realised the enormous value of utilising the Development Facilitation Act as opposed to Land Use Management Act (2006). The DFA is a faster and more efficient tool by which private developers are able to quickly access land and rezone it, as the Act defines specific timeframes for government officials to work to. The profusion of legislation and regulation makes planning and land use management fertile ground for experts, consultants and professionals who are able to understand the system and exploit it to their best advantage.

A number of private urban land use applications have been fast-tracked through the DFA to bypass the executive powers of veto of local government hence creating the crisis that undermines the executive authority of municipalities to govern in their own right. The consequences of the Development Facilitation Act, Land Use Management Act 2006, and Municipality Systems Act are many and are often in direct conflict with the intentions of the system. Development Facilitation Act and Land Use Management and other spatial polities were designed to reorganise the shape and segregated morphology of SA cities (Tomlinson, &J .du Toit 2005). The major purpose of the transformation project was to change the existing structure of power relations so that the poor and marginalised communities under the Groups Areas Act and other apartheid property laws could gain access to urban land within the framework of the new constitution of the democratic state.

On the other side, local government officials who are responsible for the development of low income housing are faced with land use and housing policy that is long, drawn out and highly complex processes, whilst facing numerous expectations and obligations. The unintended
consequences of this are that the implementation DFA has worked to the benefit of the higher-income, privately developed housing. The original purpose of DFA of facilitating release of suitably located land for low income housing for urban poor has not been realised. The urban poor in low-income housing have not benefitted (Napier M 2007). On the contrary property developers representing large property companies have been able to dominate urban land markets in major South African cities. The local authorities with far less capacity have benefited little from the DFA.

The added difficulty in the implementation of the DFA is the continued existence a number apartheid provincial legislation including the:

a) The Cape Land Use Planning Ordinance, 15 of 1985 (LUPO);

b). The Orange Free State Townships Ordinance, 9 of 1969

c). The Transvaal Town Planning and Townships Ordinance, 15 of 1986

d). The Natal Town Planning Ordinance, 27 of 1949 In the former black townships,

e). the Black Communities Development Act of 1984 (BCDA) was used and after the last attempt at land reform by the National Party in 1990.

f). The Less Formal Township Establishment Act, Act 113 of 1991 (LFTEA), was introduced to deal with low income housing development.

The Ordinances, on the other hand, are as a hangover from the apartheid era, which only served former white areas, should have been abolished long ago and replaced with comprehensive post-apartheid legislation that covered all of South Africa. Although the Ordinances had no racial references, using Ordinances results in a feeling that apartheid legislation is being maintained. The DFA-route involves the application being submitted with the provincial government, and the municipality “being relegated” to merely another role-player in the process. While one of the reasons for introducing the DFA was to fast-track low income development in the country, this has not always proven to be the case. At the same time the DFA has sometimes not been used to fast-track development, but rather to sidestep municipal decision-makers.

The Municipality Systems Act of 2000 and the White Paper on Spatial Planning Land Use Management 0f 2001 were promulgated to provide a framework for the New Integrated Development Plans. The city planning approach shifted from city structural plans approach to integrated comprehensive holistic approach guided by `Integrated Development Plans adapted from Germany, Netherland and to some extent from Brazil. The Municipal Systems Act 2000 and the Spatial Planning Land Use Management Act as key transformative
instruments which were designed to give expression to the principles of social justice through creation of inclusive urban citizenship, provide an integrated pro-poor system of urban land management, to streamline urban land use that creates opportunities for the urban poor and addresses poverty issues. The principles of Reconstruction and Development Programme were somehow embedded in the New Urbanism.

The Municipality Systems Act OF 2000 required all municipality and metropolitan municipalities to develop Integrated Development Plans as key transformative instruments in shaping urban growth and development of post-apartheid cities. The New Urbanism’ perspective, expressed in the Municipal IDPs replaced the apartheid political driven racial segregated planning of cities. Thus the local government is required to do planning within the framework of IPD. IDP a planning tool that requires that long-term planning be reflected in the municipality’s 5 year IDP. The New Urban planning approach expressed in the IDP emphasises integration and aims to address MDG of reducing poverty and inequalities, creating an environmental friendly cities, promoting local and global citizenship and reducing vulnerability to the natural disasters.

As far as urban income inequality is concerned, although interracial inequality is being eroded, inequality generally has actually increased since 1994 (Beall, J., Crankshaw, O. & Parnell, S. 2002). The challenges of transforming required a new type of urban planning, an approach which recognise the imperatives of urbanisation of poverty, and poverty alleviation, hazards of climate change, and the challenges to meet MDG especially environmental sustainability community empowerment and to create opportunities for women in development. The new urban planning emphasise good governance as means to deliver more equal access to benefits cities have to offer (Harrison, P. 2006. This marked a shift from specific expressions of desegregation racial-desegregation and from commitments to eradication apartheid legacy to a more generalised commitments for urban innovation led by a developmental state. There was now a stronger emphasis on the three main elements of urban transformation of environmental sustainability, shared economic growth and social inclusion, as well as a stress on ‘good urban governance.

South Africa’s new IDP approach was largely influenced by Global Planners’ Network and the Commonwealth of Planners Association ‘New Urbanism’ (.Healey,P.2006). The Global Planners Network document covered a wide range of planning principles including: Pro-poor Comprehensive inclusive planning taking into consideration diversity; Recognition of informal settlements and slums; Understanding market economy development trends, supported by credible plans backed by public sector investment; focus on sustainability participatory
inclusive planning involving different stakeholders; Integrated Budget planning of all sectors Development of contextually appropriate affordable strategic and effective forms of planning and land use management(Healey,P.2006). Local Spatial Development Framework is an essential requirement. The intention of these Integrated Development Plans is to guide urban land development. The land and physical planning are central in this new approach (Harrison, P. Todes ,A.,&Watson,V.2008). The Municipality Systems Act provides for efficient, integrated, environmentally sustainable land development, discourages illegal occupation and urban sprawl, and encourages participation. It provides for establishment of national Development and Planning Commission to advise on issues related to planning, land development and tenure matters.

The major problem is not so much about the lack of clarity regarding the processes as stipulated in legislation and practice with regards to land development, as these are legally governed and administered accordingly, but rather that the existing gap between what is envisaged in transformative legislation and the practice of urban land market is not fully understood and a lack of integration between different pieces of legislation and policy and also the fact that the apartheid designed Provincial Ordinances continued to remain active. So for instance the notion of developmental local government is being frustrated by the option of sidestepping the municipality, as provided for in the DFA.

**Marginalisation of the Poor and New Type of Spatial Segregation .**

While there has been significant political, economic and social transformation, the urban residential spatial segregation continues to dominate contemporary experiences in terms of both the physical legacies of divided group areas, and also the exclusionary approach to urban planning and urban land development continued in the post-apartheid period. The social behaviour of many South African urban residents, conditioned by the apartheid system continued to exist (Durington M 2006). Though there is an increasing black middle class, apartheid's socio-spatial structures remains dominant. The black urban middle-class are now moving from former `black only' segregated areas in the urban periphery to former `white only areas' in central cities and suburban areas, through purchasing and renting. However this transition is restricted by a powerful private property market in well-located suburban, often in the former `white only', areas of the city(Lamanski C, Landman K and Durington M 2008). The effect of urban land market is that the state housing for low-income groups, predominantly black, has almost exclusively been situated on the margins of urban areas, where affordable land is available, thus perpetuating the apartheid social spatial segregation. Urban land market is making has effectively for ever deprived the urban poor suitably located urban land.
The urban land market has now emerged as a powerful player in determining the spatial reorganisation of South Africa’s post-apartheid cities. This is the case especially in the context of weak and sometimes conflicting legislative instruments intended to facilitate transformation of cities. In the post-apartheid city urban land market has become very strong and attracted powerful investors in the urban property market. The urban land investors through the urban land market have to a large extent determined the content and direction of spatial urban development (Napier M 2007). Current trends in urban land market are associated with growth and development of a vibrant active urban property market. The ‘new ’ role players in the urban land economy modified the fundamental principles of Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994. The pro-poor policies of Reconstruction and Development Programme have been pushed aside and the pro-poor policies have been marginalised. The most suitably located urban land attracted high values and only large scale property developers could afford. The property price appreciation of 1990s through to 2000 has meant that urban housing and urban land has become less and less accessible to urban poor population. The ongoing institutional exclusion of the poor from suitable located urban land in South African cities is a result of both, this institutional exclusion and a result of apartheid land use management and the unintended consequences of the introduction of new land use management practices.

When analysing the strategic approaches, it appears that municipality planning officials and large scale property developers have not sufficiently engaged constructively with one another to development a single common strategic plan for urban development that addresses both the issues of social justices and integrated development and growth for a competitive global city. The private sector requires predictability and certainty on the returns of property invest and on the other hand municipality planning have a mandate to implement pro-poor development officials feel that their spatial plans provide adequate parameters, but they have not captured the imagination of property developers, as developers are driven purely by return on investment and financial interests. (Wallace J and Williamson I 2006)

Communication between these two parties appears hampered because professional/property interests generally fail to express a strategic or unified view on municipal land issues.

**Transformation and Emerging Trends in Post-Apartheid Cities: The Greater Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality**

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The South African city transformation project for social justice and equitable development has been and is continuously constrained by interplay of different factors including the power relations between the private sector interests in maximising investment returns in space and the public sector as democratic representative of the urban poor. The power relations are expressed in the competition for allocation and utilisation of urban space. In the context of city transformation the urban land market is the key platform in which the struggle for allocation and utilisation of best suitable land takes place. The manner in which the urban land market is configured favours large scale private property investors and this group emerges as the dominant group in the urban land market. To a large extent the spatial restructuring and reorganisation of post-apartheid Greater Tshwane Metropolitan is constrained by urban land market forces. The state especially at a local level, with its commitment to Reconstruction and Development principles plays only a secondary role. The issues of poverty eradication, social justice and equitable development and growth are important only in so far as they serve the interests of the dominant group.

The pace and direction of the transformation process and racial integration within Greater Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality is largely determined by the urban land market and large scale property developers. Greater Tshwane Municipality comprises of former black townships: Garankwa, Soshanguve, Mabopane, Mamelodi and Atteridgeville) and former `white only areas' Centurion and Pretoria.

From 1994 Tshwane Metropolitan municipality like all major city centres in South, experienced a dramatic increase of migrants, and specifically black rural migrants from the rural areas spurred by the perceived better employment opportunities Africa (in some instances this much happened much earlier from 1988 as apartheid social control system began to collapse). The deepening levels of poverty in rural areas, led to increased migration into cities and especially in the newly found freedom of movement. The development of rental residential accommodation has always been limited and restrained by legal urban apartheid legislations. Rental accommodation in apartheid cities was developed to provide accommodation primarily for `white population'. The increased volume of migrants in city centres put pressure on the existing limited stock of rental residential properties. The consequence of this is the rapid deterioration residential environment and livings conditions in most city centres. The character and volume of rural-urban migrants changed the racial composition of city centres.

The increased number of unemployed migrants and lower class workers led to deterioration of environmental and physical conditions of the city centre. The real conditions exist for
increasing concentration and acceleration deepening levels of urban poverty. The deterioration of physical conditions included also the deterioration of business quality and level of investment by private sector. This in-migration was paralleled by a flight of ‘white urban residents’ from city centre to suburban parts of the city. The movement of ‘white residents’ from city centres was accompanied by a flight of large scale capital investment in properties to suburban areas. The out-migration of ‘white middle-upper class residents’ is was followed by out-migration of large commercial businesses and chain stores into suburban areas. New nodal business areas and business commercial centres are emerging very close to ‘gated communities’.

There are several factors that contribute to the out-migration of the middle- upper class end mainly white flight including commercial relocation, real estate development and perceptions of different social trends. Similar to trends in other major global cities, this movement to suburbs in South Africa has been bolstered by a perception of increasing crime that has justified the development of gated communities by property developers and rationalised the move to fortified suburban enclaves for new suburban residents. It could be said that crime and the avoidance of its consequences is one of the most important issues of concern among residents of gated communities, if not all residents in South Africa. A fear of crime has provided a basis for redefinition of ‘Fear’ and rationale for continued existence and creation of ‘neighbourhood closer’. Under apartheid the source of ‘Fear’ was ideological and politically defined as ‘Fear of black majority rule’ and this also justified the creation of ‘white only’ enclaves.

Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality gated communities are to a large extent characterized by specific racial groups. Though this would be expected in the context South Africa's urban history these trends are now reinforcing historical race and class inequalities in the quality of services, housing and the urban environment.


The Tshwane CDS can be characterized as an action plan for equitable growth in cities; developed and sustained through participation; to improve the quality of life for all citizens.
Its goals include a collective city vision and action plan aimed at improving urban governance and management; increasing investment to expand employment and services; and; systematic and sustained reductions in urban poverty (City Development Strategy 2006). However the large scale property developers have dominated urban land market and used the existing institutional instruments including the Urban Development Act and Provincial Ordinances. The power of the dominant large scale private property developers is nowhere clearly demonstrated than in the development spread-out of suburban middle-upper class residential areas. Large scale property developers have been quick to identify new opportunities, a new development niche in urban land development. The Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality has experienced a dramatic rise and development of gated residential areas.

The City of Tshwane `gated communities are residential homes are built within the broader plan of fortified development and security wall or security fence provides the main sources of sense of security. Entry points are controlled and manned by private security personnel provided by private security companies. Gated communities include a wide range of housing provision arrangements including security townhouse complexes, larger security estates, enclosed neighbourhoods. The commodification of urban land and urban housing has led the emergence of a new type of residence, the housing estates. These are pure commodity housing estates developed by large scale real estate developers and managed by property management companies ( Lamanski C and Olified S 2008). These tend to promote an image of high-quality life, the entrances to these estates are often marked by magnificent gates, sometimes in the style of elaborate baroque facades. Some estates adopt so-called ‘enclosed property management’ which is becoming very popular. Residents have been filtered through housing affordability, the estate is created as an ‘enclave’ of those with similar socioeconomic status. These are commercially developed gated communities that select residents based exclusively on income and lifestyle. Although there are currently no official statistics on the number of gated communities in Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality South Africa the appealing ‘lifestyle’ has attracted an emerging black urban middle class. These new commercial housing estates built by private property companies are developed along the lines of exclusive lifestyle enclaves with condominium facilities such as swimming pools, with some of the larger gated estates containing schools and on-site medical facilities. Private gated communities are, however, segregated from the surrounding areas as developers are allowed to define the physical boundaries of their respective housing projects and separate them from the rest of the city.
The emergence of Gated Communities embodies a new conceptualisation of race-class division of urban space, a new form of controlling the urban space. This has numerous parallels with urban apartheid planning where absolute control of urban space was very central to the implementation of urban apartheid. Gated Communities in Pretoria are residential homes built within the broader plan of fortified urban development, security wall with and or electronic security fence provides the main sources of sense of security. A typology of gated communities in Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality

(1) The typical fortified apartment block within or immediately adjacent to the city centre.
(2) Security neighbourhoods these are mainly in old or recently built residential houses In which residents would apply to the to the local authority for permission to erect boom gates and other security measures on public road/streets,
(3) Golf estates found in the suburbs and made up of a number of homes built around a Golf course with a common and unified theme in architecture construction and appearance and
(4) The eco-estate which usually has the same lifestyle amenities as the golf estate, but as a branding and marketing strategy emphasizing the environment as opposed to security measures as its principal selling point.

The eco-estate is seem as part of a larger trend in tourism industries that seeks to highlight environmental awareness and/or practices that work in unison with the environment with the goal of limiting harm to nature. In co-estate property developers and residents, have substituted and displaced notions of security and separateness that might be seen as divisive into unifying and safe concepts (Lamanski C and Olifield S 2008). These concepts are now wrapped around notions of ecology and the environment which are seen as safer issues to deal with rather than aspects of crime, fear or racial exclusion. This linking allows eco-estate residents to feel that in this new sustainable human settlement environment they are closer to nature and environment.

The development of Gated Communities, `closed neighbourhood’ and Eco-Estates has been followed by rapid development of nodal patterns of commercial and retail investment. Commercial retail and `closed commercial centres’ have spread out following the spatial patterns gated communities. This has reinforced race-class segregation and strengthen rich-poor polarisation. These developments, Gated communities, `closed neighbourhood and eco-estates not only represent a new way of privatising public space but also taking over and privatising public administrative and delivery of services .
Public expenditure in the form of road and street infrastructure has also followed private sector investment in high-middle income residential areas. The migration of the rich from the inner city to suburban areas has altered the property market and property values in the new nodal areas. The high property values in these places have increased social and spatial inequalities. Certain suburban areas seem racially and socially dominated by some groups. It would seem that the social fragmentation in these areas has become so marked that it has manifested through a series of spatial expressions, in which ....locals have divided themselves up. In Pretoria East the sense of fortification is even stronger as the gated communities are very much in evidence and much has been written on the fortification of these higher income communities.

There is evidence suggesting that urban land ownership in the formal urban property market is changing to incorporate an African middle-class. Interviews with major property companies indicate that between 25 and 30% of all residential property sales are to “Black” households and 22,7% of the year-on-year increase in house prices are attributed to the emergence of a rapidly growing “Black” middle-class (ABSA no date). Despite the above there are a number of constraining factors that are undermining the ability of the poor to access such markets. In the last few years South Africa’s residential property market has seen significant increases in property prices. However, these increases have been confined within middle to upper-market properties. The property prices at the upper end have doubled (and in some cases trebled) in as few as five years. However, property price increases in what is often classified as the “affordable” housing market, have remained only gradual.

There is a widening gap between the affordable housing market and the middle to upper housing market. The current urban land market has contributed to the re-creation and re-enforcement of apartheid spatial race and class segregation across the city. The race-class divisions within Tshwane Metropolitan municipality have become apparent in spaces where the differentials were previously not as stark. The private sector investment has moved out of the affordable and lower income housing sector because it is currently more economical to operate in the middle-upper end other urban property market. This has not only led to a decline in the delivery of new affordable formal housing stock but also constrained access by low income households to privately provided housing. The consequences of this is the increased demand for rental accommodation, over crowding in existing accommodation, pressure for informal settlements, demand for backyard accommodation, and subletting in flats.
This complex context of race segregation in urban space and urban poverty poses difficult challenges to pro-poor and pro-black housing and service delivery policy. While all policy documents do acknowledge the importance of desegregation and allocating suitable land to poor and low income groups, both to address radicalized geography and environmental concerns, most new development of low-cost housing continues to be in the former 'black only townships' in urban periphery. Inner city land is expensive and often controlled by powerful business interests. The market-led approach to urban land development has meant that government to provide for low-cost housing has had to pay a fair market price for such land. This precludes low cost housing development in suitably located parts areas. At the same time, over 60% of Africans, totalling nearly half the population of the Tshwane city, remain in urban townships that are poorly serviced, economically disarticulated and plagued by high levels of unemployment.

Conclusion: Forever Gained and Forever Excluded

The apartheid socio-spatial legacy and the footprint of racially based planning remains visible. Though a wide range legal instruments and policy documents removed the official racial segregation, urban communities marginalised by groups Areas Act remain in the peripheral areas. Racial based inequalities and urban poverty remain very durable. The current pattern in terms of inequality, and racial and wealth polarisation, as it has been manifested spatially in the apartheid city continue and exacerbated by the emergence and rapid increased of gated communities. An exception will be accelerated growth and racial integration of the middle class. However, there will continue to be a significant number of individuals who remain poor and have limited access to urban opportunities. Access to urban amenities and wealth will therefore increase for a minority, but will remain inadequate and may even worsen for the larger mass of people.

Urban land market have continued to marginalise communities out of urban areas and confine poor communities in former township. Suitable located urban land is increasingly becoming unaffordable for state’s low housing cost programme. The high urban land costs are eroding a greater proportion of value of subsidy money for housing products in the affordable housing sector when compared to a subsidised house. This results in distorting demand and willingness to invest, as many consumers are reluctant to pay a significantly higher price for only a slightly better product than that which they can get for free. The consequences of this are the increasing polarisation of the very rich and very poor as low cost housing is pushed to the margins of the city.
The vast majority of township residents do not have the resources to leave migrate-out of what are, in effect, informal settlements. The peripheral location, most of these townships areas have few prospects of being productively integrated into the city’s future growth patterns. The persistence of these racial zoned areas is a testament to the profound footprint of apartheid planning. The footprint of spatial segregated planning under apartheid is durable and persistent. The persistence of these racialised areas is a testament to the profound footprint of apartheid planning, durable and persistent spatial inequalities inherited by the new democratic government. Thus social justice project remains a major challenge in South Africa’s increasingly fragmented cities, especially for those subscribing to egalitarian ethics (liberal or social), which underpins much of the opposition to apartheid. Despite many efforts to address the past, the spatial patterns segregation have re-emerged and are to a large extent still visible and in place today. In addition, the old patterns are reinforced by new patterns of segregation such as gated communities. The apartheid legacy has been carried into the post-apartheid city largely unchanged. The major structural reforms required to alter the trajectory of urban change initiated in the 1980s did not take place.

References


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