Opening up spaces for the poor in the urban form: trends, challenges and their implications for access to urban land

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Content of the presentation

- Introduction and context
- Urban poor access to land and housing
- Emerging SA city
- Gated communities in SA and the privatisation of public space / "land"
- Why is spatial exclusion of the poor a problem?
- Conclusions and way forward

Introduction

- Urban planning about constructing urban spaces to create synergy among:
 - long term economic needs of people,
 - requirements of housing and basic infrastructure and
 - preservation of natural environment
- In SA: new patterns of segregation raises concern about impact on poor and their access to land

Main argument

- Aim of paper: to assess how nature and urban form influences poor's ability to achieve more sustainable livelihoods, greater sense of place and improved quality of life
- Core argument: transformation of current urban form through gated communities does not integrate poor – more vulnerable
- Number of elements influence opportunities for poor – this paper only focusses on effects of "privatisation" of urban space/"land" on poor's access to land and opportunities

Context – changes after 1994

- Major urban transformation in SA postapartheid
 - Political
 - Socio-economic
 - Spatial
- Efforts to enhance quality of life of poor through access to housing and land (subsidy programme)
- Challenge: demand exceeds supply and secondary market not functioning well
- Poverty even more entrenched
- Exacerbate by decline in formal employment opportunities and high levels of crime and violence

Definitions: urban land & poor

- Approach to "land": land & housing/shelter
- Private and public land
- Also public land as public space
- Understanding of the "poor":
 - Few assets to opportunities
 - Low achievement (accessibility to livelihood assets)
 - Higher vulnerability
 - Limited political influence

Urban poor: access to land and

housing

- Close relationship between land and housing
- Location of poor in SA:
 - Some in inner cities degraded buildings
 - Many on urban peripheries in areas with inadequate access to infrastructure, services, housing and/or well developed public spaces
- Access to land hampered by:
 - Availability (increased urbanisation)
 - Functioning of land markets

Challenge

- Key objectives of BNG human settlements as asset to beneficiaries
 - contributing to their quality of life
- Contributing factors to asset value of land and housing:
 - Location (in proximity to opportunities)
 - Level of infrastructure and services
 - Nature of house
- Moser (2006): vulnerability of poor due to lack of access to asset building and context of vulnerability

Emerging SA city: 4 elements

- Spatial system:
 - organises population according to income groups based on separated neighbourhood cells
- Urban system of governance:
 - perforated sovereignty and multiple points of influence - HOAs – micro-governance
- System of service provision:
 - provides land, services transport and community facilities that often disadvantage poor and benefits those that have access to "privatised" space, services & facilities
- Housing delivery system:
 - skewed between low income housing with no secondary market value and high-income with inflated property prices

Definitions: international debate

- These four elements contribute to a segregated approach to urban planning, design and governance through privatisation of public space, services and governance
- Privatisation of public space
 - Major international debate
 - Especially on privately organised and secured housing developments or socalled gated communities
 - Privatisation of space, services and governance
 - Socio-spatial exclusion of the poor

Gated communities

- One of most obvious spatial manifestations thereof: gated communities
- Refer to physical areas that are fenced or walled off from surroundings
- Areas where access is controlled and common space inside privatised or use restricted
- Two types
 - Enclosed neighbourhoods
 - Security villages









Impact and implications

- Large demand and manifestation increase significance of the impact of these developments
- Gated / 'private' neighbourhoods significant impact
 - Spatial, social and institutional implications
- Impact in SA could be greater due to:
 - Nature (closing large areas of public space)
 - Impact on spatial fragmentation and segregation in context of move to integration
 - Symbolic interpretation: link to past

Why is spatial exclusion of the poor a problem?

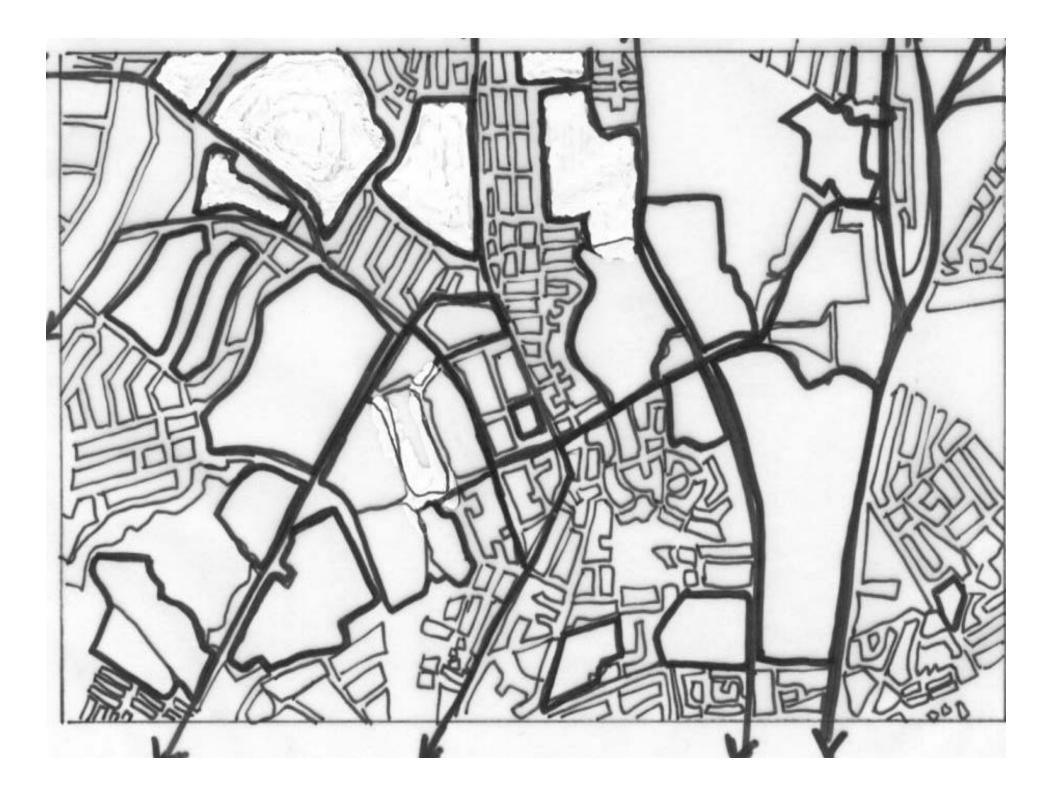
- Urban transformation through fortification and privatisation of space, services and governance – number of consequences for poor:
 - 1. Restricted or prohibited access
 - 2. Access to property or land
 - 3. Institutional challenges
 - 4. Access to well-developed land/ places

Restricted / prohibited access

Physical capital

- Reduce access to physical capital
- Privatisation of public space and facilities/amenities inside
- Traffic congestion, travelling time increased, through-movement hampered, vulnerability of pedestrians / cyclists
- Major impact on daily use patterns
- Spatial fragmentation







Restricted / prohibited access

Social capital	 Alienation, mistrust, conflict Adverse effect on society as whole NIMBISM and escapist mentalities Social exclusion and stigmatisation Violation of human rights 	
Financial capital	 Influence potential access to financial capital 	

Access to property or land

- Property prices:
 - Increase on inside
 - Decrease on outside
 - Unfair advantage
- Can reduce opportunities for crosssubsidisation
 - Directly: if proponents start to demand tax rebates
 - Indirectly: private investment in common facilities and amenities restricted to inside gated communities

Institutional challenges

- Privatised governance
 - Privatisation of services (partial)
 - Micro-governments new institutional space
 - Emerging tensions between HOAs and local authorities
- Inefficient state intervention
 - Driver of privatisation (indirectly)
 - HOAs taking over number of local services – restrict access to these places
 - Also in poorer areas lack of welldeveloped places

Access to quality places

- Relevance of public space in cities
- Public space:
 - "... space that allows all people to have access to it and the activities in it, which is controlled by a public agency and managed by public interest" (Madanipour 1996)
- Thus urban development needs to address tensions inherent in transformation of urban public realm and contribute to emergence of urbanism which promotes integration and tolerance

Conclusions

- Nature and design of urban form impact on poor's access to welldeveloped public space and opportunities (physical, social and financial capital)
- Key dimensions of privatisation for access to land and opportunities – widening gaps between rich and poor:
 - Physical gap
 - Institutional gap
 - Market gap

Conclusions (cont.)

- Emerging spatial and institutional structure therefore not addressing imbalances of the past
- Gated communities contributes to spatial fragmentation and separation
- Negates aims of integration
- However, major dilemma
- Need for safety and security in short term

Way forward

- Despite challenges: cannot ignore issue
- Government should not adopt laissezfair attitude, especially in areas of high demand and growth
- Need stronger state intervention:
 - Stronger guidance (regulatory frameworks/policies)
 - Enforcement of policies
 - Alternative interventions

Way forward (cont.)

Key focus areas	Key actions	Key stakeholders
Safer design and cities	 alternative responses to crime broader crime prevention strategy Urban renewal 	 3 spheres of government Local communities Developers SAPS
Inclusive design and housing	Mixed developmentsExternalisation of facilities	Local councilsArchitects, urban designers/planners
Integrated and efficient management	 Regulation & land use control Longer term consideration of impacts 	•Local councils •HOAs & local communities

Integrative urbanism

- Promotion of greater access to land / well-developed spaces for all urban residents
- Access to land and well-developed spaces – more right than privilege
- If it however means need current market approach to facilitate implementation, so be it.
- Greater state intervention in enabling markets to work for poor as well and ensure greater access to land

Access to land: two core issues

- Access to land (spatial dimension)
 - Private: land for housing development
 - Infill developments to enhance opportunities
 - Address fears of NIMBY'ism & market paranoia
 - Public: land for development of adequate public places (state-owned and managed)
 - Three components:
 - 1. Accessible and open to use of all
 - 2. Landscape with appropriate furniture & vegetation
 - 3. Pleasant sensory experience
- Access to land markets (institutional dimension)
 - E.g. through mixed housing developments