Cape Peninsula University of Technology

THE ROLE OF URBAN LAND AS A LEVER FOR STRATEGIC URBAN RESTRUCTURING IN FRONTIER TOWNS: A CASE STUDY OF POST-APARTHEID SPATIAL PLANNING IN GRAAFF-REINET

by

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DECLARATION

I, Ndumiso Camngca, declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and that the thesis has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

11 February 2024

Signed **Date**

ABSTRACT

The focus of this research was on the role of urban land as a lever for strategic urban restructuring in frontier towns of South Africa, using a case-study analysis of post-apartheid spatial planning in the town of Graaff-Reinet, Eastern Cape province. Consequently, the extent to which well-located state land parcels provide strategic levers for the socio-spatial restructuring of the apartheid geographies of Graaff-Reinet was investigated. Furthermore, the study analysed the extent to which emergent land-use planning and management systems and instruments have been used to reshape the spatial structure of the town's growth. The purpose of this research was to determine the nature of the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area, particularly the relationship between ownership and patterns of public budgets and investment in infrastructure and services. A qualitative case-study approach was adopted for this research, using personal interviews with stakeholders, as well as document analysis of the Graaff-Reinet local municipality's integrated development plan (IDP), the Camdeboo spatial development framework (SDF), Graaff-Reinet Zoning Scheme (2012), and Dr Beyers Naude local municipality's IDP. Findings from the historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet revealed the existence of planned and intentional fragmentation of the town and the maintenance of structuring elements in the form of buffers between designated areas, separating the settlements. Meanwhile, the influence of the pre-1994 spatial plans on existing Graaff-Reinet spatial patterns shows the existence of restricted land development for the majority and the prioritisation of the town's heritage over sufficiently formulated spatial plans designed to achieve the desired spatial development goals. These findings also highlighted the capacity of the municipality's understanding of land-use management methods and lack of effective implementation of the spatial elements. The use of well-located state land to accommodate new developments through the integration of previously segregated areas and recycling or repurposing of vacant, degraded and under-utilised state land for the restructuring of Graaff-Reinet is recommended in the study.

Keywords: Urban land, urban restructuring, spatial planning, spatial restructuring, socio-spatial restructuring, land-use planning and management systems, Graaff-Reinet

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

RSA	Republic of South Africa
ABP	Area-Based Plan
COGTA	Co-operative Governance and Traditional Affairs
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013
BCDA	Black Communities Development Act, 1984
ARBLMA	Abolition of Racially-Based Land Measures Act, 1991
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
NUT	New Urbanism Theory
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
LM	Local Municipality
LUPO	Land Use Planning Ordinance
SBDM	Sarah Baartman District Municipality
DBNLM	Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background

South Africa's colonial and apartheid history has left a legacy of inequality that is particularly evident in the distorted social and physical geographies of the regional, urban and rural space economies (Mashiri, Njenga, Njenga, Chakwizira & Friedrich, 2017). These distortions and forms of inequality also manifest in social-cultural, economic, ecological and political imbalances (Mashiri *et al*., 2017) and arrangements in the distribution and use of land (Du Plessis, 2013; Mashiri *et al*., 2017; Turok, 2019). The relationship between spatial planning and spatial transformation is thus an instrumental one – the former being a means and the latter an end (Verna, 2015). There also seems to be an assumption that, through spatial planning and the resultant spatial restructuring, spatial transformation is enabled; possibly reducing socio-economic inequality and access to resources (Turok, 2019; Verna, 2015 & Koma, 2014).

Since democratisation in 1994, attempts to restructure and transform the socio-spatial distortions of frontier towns have had limited effect (Turok, 2019; Du Plessis, 2013). While social inequality has consolidated across both class and the inherited racial structures, poverty continues to grow for the majority of black populations in both rural and urban areas (Joscelyne, 2015; Keti, Salvatore & Federico, 2019). The social and spatial geographies of small towns *or "dorps"* in the hinterlands of metropolitan areas and across the former homelands remain intact (Segatti *et al.*, 2011); and largely grow by consolidating the inherited colonial and apartheid socio-spatial formation (Du Plessis, 2013).

There have been concerted and multi-faceted responses by the democratic state to transform socio-economic conditions of society, and to restructure the spatial structure of inequality (Keti *et al*., 2019; Nnadozie, 2013; Segatti *et al.*, 2011). National policy frameworks and development instruments suggest a significant reliance on targeted interventions in specific places and communities. A central pillar of state initiatives (policy, strategy and instruments) has been targeted intervention in space, or spatial

planning, especially in human settlements; such that the discipline and profession of urban and regional planning has come to play a critical role in this social and spatial redress (Van der Berg, 2019; Du Plessis, 2013). In this regard, land (location, tenure, and availability) (Van der Berg, 2019), infrastructure investment/ provision and the operation of land and property markets (Du Plessis, 2013) become important levers in socio-spatial transformation of human settlements (Van der Berg, 2019). In this regard, the purpose of South Africa's National Spatial Development Framework (Schindler and Kanai, 2021), in line with the vision of the National Development Plan (2013), is to contribute to transforming South Africa's space economy and recognises three intersecting legacies:

a. The restriction that the unjust national spatial development paradigms, logics and patterns of the past have placed on many attempts to overcome poverty, unemployment and inequality (Nnadozie, 2013);
b. The valuable, and often hard lessons learnt over the years in pursuit of national reconstruction, inclusive economic growth and spatial transformation (Williams, J.J., 2000); and
c. The necessity for decisive, collaborative and targeted state action in national space to drive towards the shared, inclusive and sustainable future desired and required (Du Plessis, 2018).

Most national policy documents (Schindler and Kanai, 2021) thus acknowledge the continued reproduction of the unjust social, economic, and spatial development pattern of wealth and privilege developed under the apartheid system. The Integrated Urban Development Framework (Republic of South Africa, 2018) highlights four primary factors that perpetuate the existing social, economic, and spatial patterns in South Africa's urban areas as:

i. Existing land-use and property markets continue to undermine access to urban opportunity and reinforce the highly inefficient urban sprawl patterns of South Africa's urban areas (RSA, 2016; Turok and Visagie, 2018). With no substantial land reform and restitution, especially in urban areas, in part because of the importance of the formal property market, which increased significantly: there has thus been very limited access to, and availability of, well-located land for affordable housing and socio-spatial restructuring;

ii. Unsustainable physical infrastructure networks and consumption patterns of South African urban areas are profoundly resource-intensive, highly polluted and wasteful, resulting in a very high ecological footprint (Chemane, 2022). The spatial form of South African cities thus promotes dependency on cars and suburban-lifestyle aspirations across classes. This, combined with a coal-based and pollution-heavy energy system, is a recipe for unsustainable urban development,

iii. The continued, segregated, urban settlements in South Africa remain marked by profound social divisions, which stem from apartheid planning and, since 1994, have been reinforced by the uneven growth in land values and limited access by the poor to resources (Nnadozie, 2013).

iv. The high levels of inequality in income and access to services and opportunities are a legacy of apartheid education and the (migrant) employment system (Nnadozie, 2013). Since 1994, income inequality has remained persistently high, as a result of very high unemployment and the growing wage gap between skilled and unskilled labour. This inequality reinforces economic marginalisation and produces spatial poverty traps (Du Plessis, A., 2018).

These spatial patterns and social conditions are replicated in numerous small towns outside large urban and metropolitan areas. These form critical regional commercial, agricultural and mining service centres within the hierarchy of the national settlement structure (Turok, 2019; Nnadozie, 2013). They also serve the rural municipalities in the former homelands where the migrant labour system remains as an enduring livelihood support and resource-transfer mechanism between urban and homeland bases for the majority black population (Segatti *et al.*, 2011).

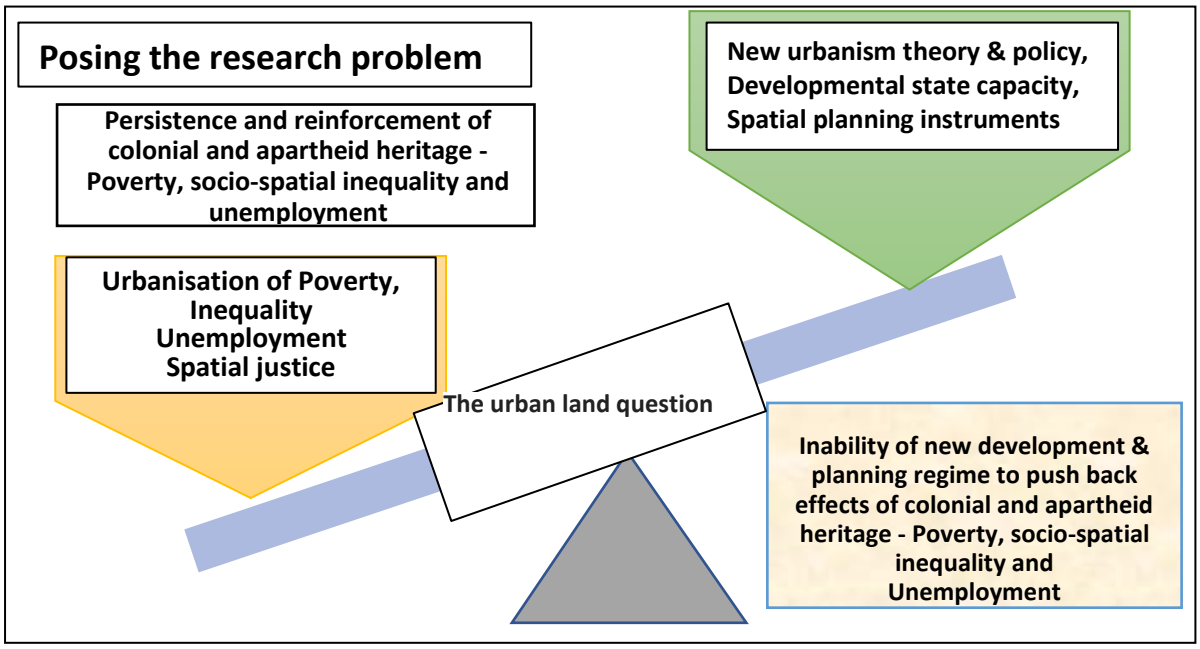
Post-apartheid South African municipalities have generated several spatial plans to redress the legacy of apartheid planning. Provincial structures such as Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), Provincial Treasury, and the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform (previously known as Land Affairs) have developed a number of strategic documents/policies and, together with all municipalities in the country, have in their possession elaborate plans to restructure

cities towards inclusiveness/inclusive growth (Koma, 2014). The Municipal Systems Act (MSA) mandates all municipalities to develop Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) as part of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP), also as a measure to address spatial and social injustices (Du Plessis, A., 2018). In 2013, the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) was promulgated to unify planning legislation in the country as an effort to redress spatial injustice, among other things (Swanepoel, 2020). All these measures, evidently, have not had the intended impact and, in most spaces, have failed. There has thus been a general consensus that, as has been observed, despite new planning and development legislation, policies and strategies these have not been effective and have yielded no results (Todes & Turok, 2018).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Availability of well-located land and the strategic targeting of public infrastructure are the key levers by which spatial planning facilitates socio-spatial restructuring of inefficient and unsustainable urban forms (Hogarth, 2015). Repurposing strategic, well-located land parcels for urban restructuring in smaller frontier towns has been an approach, and problem, in re-imagining small-town sustainable development (Molefe & Nkhahle, 2019). The minimal use of strategically located land for purposes of spatial restructuring partially accounts for the failure of new-generation plans. As observed by Koma (2014) and Todes (2002), in the South African context, broadly-based strategic spatial frameworks of the post-apartheid era offered insufficient guidance for infrastructure planners. Molefe and Nkhahle (2019) have argued that, since land is an essential ingredient of urban growth, spatial plans and planning processes, of which the aim usually is to control the built form, allocation, direction of growth and use of urban land, are potentially important techniques.

Figure 1.1: Conceptualising the Problem Statement



Source: Researcher's construct

Therefore, the restriction that the unjust national spatial development paradigms, logics and patterns of the past have placed on many attempts to overcome poverty; unemployment and inequality is recognised in the study (see Figure 1.1). The valuable, and often hard, lessons learnt over the years in pursuit of national reconstruction, inclusive economic growth and spatial transformation (Pieterse, 2019), are also recognised in the study. Therefore, it is acknowledged that there is a necessity for decisive, collaborative, and targeted state action in national space, to drive towards a shared, inclusive and sustainable future (Messerli *et al*, 2019). The intention of the study was to show how having land in strategic locations has influenced how towns are planned after apartheid and has helped to perpetuate unfairness in organising spaces, especially in smaller towns. Using a case study of Graaff-Reinet, the role of land (location, tenure, zoning and availability) as a lever for strategic socio-economic restructuring of the persistent apartheid geographies of Graaff-Reinet is examined in the thesis.

1.3 Research Aim, Questions and Objectives

1.3.1 Research aim

The aim of this study was to examine the importance and extent of repurposing of strategically well-located state land in Graaff-Reinet for the purpose of breaking down apartheid geographies through urban restructuring.

1.3.2 Research question

To what extent have the well-located state land parcels provided strategic levers for socio-spatial restructuring of the apartheid geographies of Graaff-Reinet?

The following sub-questions were considered:

- What have been the (historic) nature, patterns and logic of land tenure and land use in Graaff-Reinet?
- How have the land-use planning and management systems after 1994 changed the way in which land is used in Graaff-Reinet, especially in terms of making well-located land available and making beneficial use of it?
- What has been the emerging assembly of land-use in the town and, especially, the relationship between ownership and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services)?

1.3.3 Research objectives

Arising from the three inter-related sub-research questions above, the research objectives of the study were:

- To show a historical background of the changing land-use, spatial pattern and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet;
- To analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have been a factor in re-shaping the spatial structure of Graaff-Reinet's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of availability of well-located land; and
- To evaluate the emerging assembly of land-use in Graaff-Reinet and especially the relationship between attributes of available, well-located land

and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services).

1.4 Research Approach

An inductive research approach was adopted for this study, which involved the collection of information and, through the analysis of the data collected, to address the identified aim, questions and objectives (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). An interpretive perspective was also adopted where, because of the nature of the study and the data and issues to be explored, a qualitative research approach was appropriate within the quantitative-mixed-qualitative continuum (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2018; Creswell, 2016). Triangulation of multiple sources of information (document analysis and interviews) was also applied to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the research findings (Saunders *et al*., 2018; Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). Document analysis was conducted manually by the researcher without automated tools or software.

Spatial analysis and interviews were used to assess the planned objectives (the abstract map of a planned landscape – Spatial Development Framework (SDF) – against the socio-spatial restructuring of the resultant outcomes of planned interventions in an attempt to explain and describe departures from objective realities. Secondly, qualitative assessments from interviews with stakeholders were triangulated with observed and secondary sources from document analysis to interpret further and explain these departures related to state institutional capacities to plan and implement land-use and development initiatives on well-located state land parcels, and the extent to which these have provided strategic levers for socio-spatial restructuring of the resilient apartheid geographies of Graaff-Reinet.

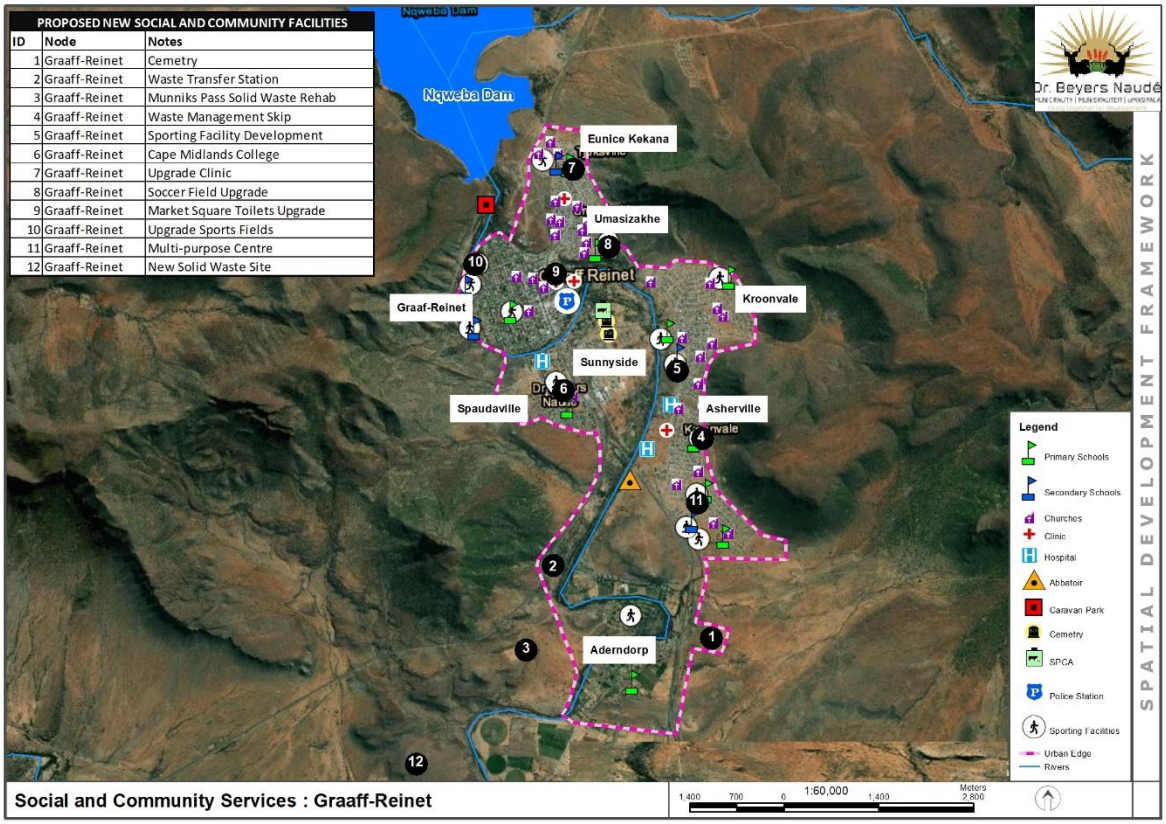
1.5 The case study approach

The research was based on a case study of the town of Graaff-Reinet. Graaff-Reinet falls under the province of the Eastern Cape, within the Sarah Baartman District Municipality and, more specifically, within Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality.

Yin (2014) asserted that case-study research entails an in-depth and multi-faceted approach to understanding a complex phenomenon being investigated, in the case of this research, the socio-spatial restructuring. Crowe *et al*. (2017) and Zainal (2015) suggested that case studies are used to investigate contemporary real-life phenomena through detailed contextual analysis of a limited number of events or conditions and their relationships.

Graaff-Reinet was selected because of its residual, apartheid, spatial patterns, and geographies that persist even 29 years after democracy and the promulgation of the South African Constitution (1996) that encourages equal rights and equality. The town remains, as suggested by the Centre for Development and Enterprise Research, a "mini-citadel of apartheid" (CDE Research, 1996: 4). These socio-spatial dynamics persist even though the town has state-owned, vacant land (together with commonage land) that could be used for urban restructuring.

Figure 1.2: Graaff-Reinet Town



Source: Camdeboo SDF. 2012

According to Fransen (2006), Graaff-Reinet (*see Figure 1.2*) was established in 1785 and was one of the last towns established under Dutch rule. Its name is a combination of two names: those of the governor, C.J. van der Graaff, and of his wife, Reinet (van Rooyen, Sigenu & Kruger, 2007).

Table 1.2: Summary of research questions, objectives and methods

Research Question	Research objectives	Research methods and instruments	
		Methods	**Instruments**
What have been the (historic) nature, patterns and logic of land tenure and land use in the Graaff-Reinet region?	To present an outline of a historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet.	Literature review, interviews and document analysis.	Observation guide.
How have the land-use planning and management systems after 1994 changed the way land is used in Graaff-Reinet, especially in terms of making well-located land available and making beneficial use of it.	To analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have/failed to re-shape the spatial structure of the town's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of availability of well-located land.	● Literature review, document analysis (SDF, Municipal Growth Strategy, LED Strategy) and ● Focus-group discussion and interviews with stakeholders.	Observation guide, focus-group discussion guide and interview guide.
What has been the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and, especially, the relationship between ownership and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services)?	To evaluate the emerging assembly land-use in the municipal area and, especially, the relationship between attributes of available, well-located land and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services).	● Literature review, and document analysis. ● Interviews with stakeholders – municipal officials, planning professionals.	Observation guide and interview guide.

Source: Researcher's construct

1.6 Significance of the Study

Dlamini (2018) argued that small towns/urban centres are strategic places in the networks that allow resources, people, information and investment to flow. Chirisa and Nel (2022) suggested further that any forces that undermine the vitality of these small centres will have a systematic impact on the urban and rural sectors. According to Reynolds (2008), a polarised debate currently exists about the question of small towns and their role in rural development and/or regional development. In view of this debate, there seems to be agreement on how government and academia have neglected small towns in South Africa. Schermbrucker (2019) suggested that small towns present an opportunity to build models of spatial integration, greater land availability, less complex infrastructure planning and fewer vested interests than large cities (Schermbrucker, 2019). Access to land for reasons of improving the economic condition and integration of former marginalised communities in South Africa is a growing outcry and is greatly politicised.

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 constitutes a call for spatial justice, a principle that encourages that the past spatial and other development imbalances be redressed through improved access to, and use of, land. In SPLUMA, it is asserted further that spatial development frameworks and policies in all spheres of government must address the inclusion of people and areas that were previously excluded, with an emphasis on informal settlements, former homeland areas and areas characterised by widespread poverty and deprivation (Swanepoel, 2020).

While SPLUMA did not include any description of spatial justice, the act seems to suggest a dimension of the spatiality of justice that informs the spirit of the principle (Swanepoel, 2020). Thus, the leveraging of strategically located urban land for urban restructuring is aligned to the principle of spatial justice. Research to explore leveraging urban land for socio-spatial restructuring will throw light on interventions of economic opportunities to former marginalised communities also to partake in urban markets, a phenomenon that is envisaged to improve socio-economic status for these communities.

1.7 Contribution of the Research

This research has the potential to highlight the spatial challenges and opportunities of small towns in South Africa and how access to land can significantly transform the towns if well planned and adequately funded. The expected outcome was a much deeper understanding of the role that land plays in changing apartheid geographies in frontier towns and, if possible, future development of a model for towns of a similar size and circumstances in South Africa. The further intention of the research was to throw light into local economic development in small towns in order to discourage outward migration.

1.8 Limitations

While the snowball sampling method was effective for identifying the participants in the study, it has limitations. This method is essentially based on referrals by individuals (Parker *et al*, 2019) who had been interviewed by the researcher and institutions/companies that did work for the Local Authority that would be the owners of the secondary data needed for the study. The challenge was that, at times, the individuals to whom the researcher was referred no longer practised in their field of employment and, thus, had discarded the information/documents requested by the researcher. Also, some individuals felt that the subject matter was not their area of expertise and opted not to be involved in the study. In other cases, the people to whom the researcher was referred, who had the authority to provide specific documents, were unavailable for a number of days.

These elements and/or weaknesses contributed to the delay of the data collection process and, thus, the period for which the study was conducted. These challenges were overcome by a level of patience and flexibility through the use of alternative institutional documents in order to extract and interpret the data. Some interviews were also conducted virtually in order to accommodate those participants who were busy and could not manage to make time for a face-to-face interaction.

1.9 Structure of the Thesis

The organisation of the chapters of the research thesis is outlined in below and in Figure 1.3.

Chapter One introduces the thesis and presents the background, to the research, the research problem, aim, questions and objectives.

Chapter Two presents the literature review, and the various contributions, concurring and conflicting with the subject matter of the study are considered**.**

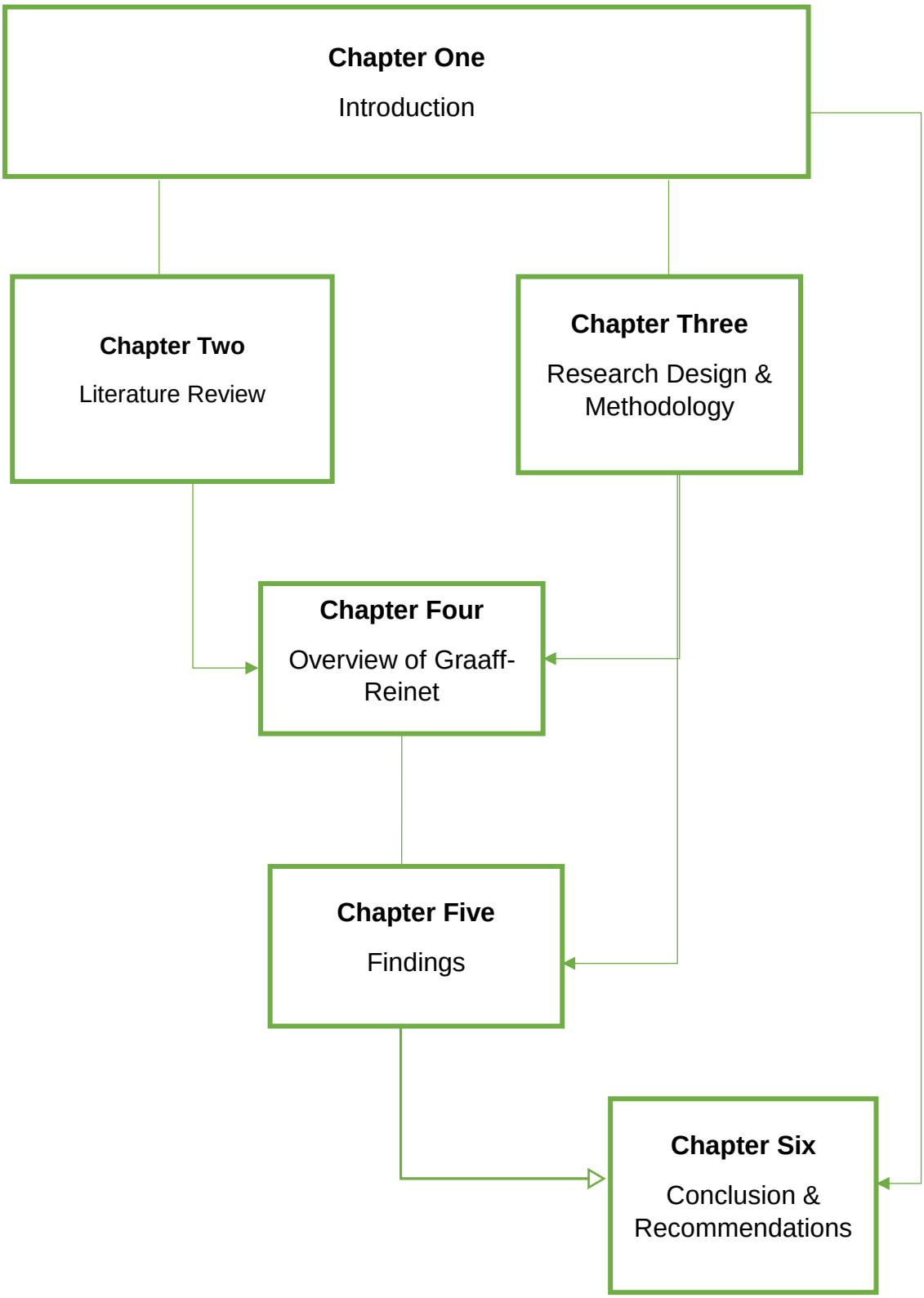
Chapter Three focuses on the case study research design and the data collection and analysis method used to address the research aim, objectives and questions.

Chapter Four provides an overview of the case study of Graaff-Reinet, including the historical background, the demographic trends and the evolution and development of spatial plans.

Chapter Five presents the findings of the analysis conducted.

Chapter Six concludes the thesis with recommendations.

Figure 1.3: Structure of the Thesis



1.10 Summary

In this chapter, the research theme, background to the study, and a brief historical background of the study setting was introduced. The aim of the research was to examine the importance and extent of the repurposing of strategically well-located land in Graaff-Reinet for the purpose of removing apartheid geographies through urban restructuring. Table 1.2 clearly summarises the research questions, objectives and methods of the study. The literature reviewed for the research is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

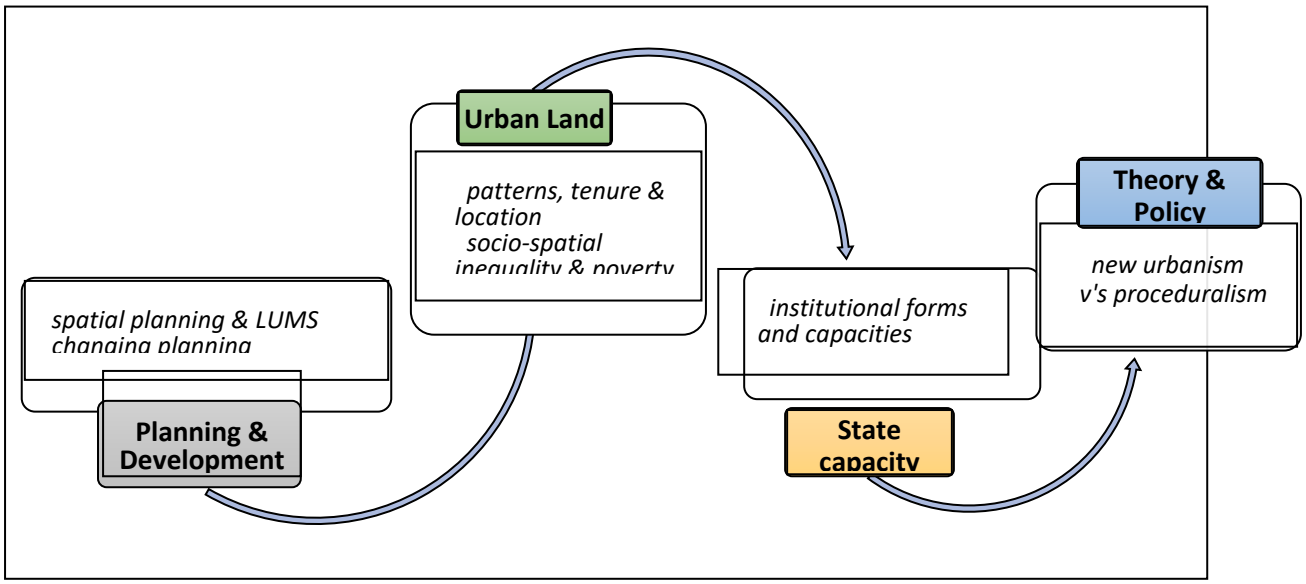
2.1 Introduction

The research was introduced in the previous chapter. The literature pertaining to the study is presented in this chapter. Literature about spatial planning and land-use management is presented first, followed by literature about the urban land question using location, access, infrastructure, and markets as some of the key elements of arguments towards spatial planning and restructuring. Poverty and socio-spatial inequality are considered in the literature review. There is a review of literature on land-use management and spatial planning. Literature about inherited structure of land-use in South Africa is followed by the conceptual framework for the study.

The role of land as a critical catalyst for socio-spatial reform, particularly in small towns is also examined and how various elements such as planning and its instruments, institutional arrangements, theoretical framework/perspective and contextual conditions can contribute towards desired outcomes such as:

a) socio-spatial integration, redress and transformation;
b) economic restructuring and local economic development (LED);
c) efficient and inclusive urban development; and
d) sustainable development, using the small town of Graaff-Reinet as a case study.

Figure 2.1: Literature review flow diagram



Source: Researcher's construct

2.2 Spatial Planning and Land-Use Management System

South African spatial patterns are largely shaped by the colonial and apartheid policies (Nel, 2015). These policies promoted, and were underpinned by, racial segregation, and deliberately located Black communities in predominantly peripheral spaces with inadequate infrastructure and on non-productive land in the case of farming communities (Ntombela, 2016; Nel, 2015), consequently creating unsustainable socio-spatial and economic disparities (Todes & Turok, 2018). While there is no single definition of spatial planning, the common element that seems to be constant in most definitions seems to suggest that it is the avenue of planning that is used to affect future sustainable use of land (Joscelyne, 2015). For the purposes of this study, spatial planning is a method used to ensure the co-ordination between sectors and government institutions, as well as a method to affect the future sustainable use of land (Yu, Xiao, Lishan & Chen, Xiji & Zhichao *et al*., 2018). Thus, spatial planning is an important process in addressing the challenges of the inherited legacy of colonial and apartheid inequalities in South Africa's space economy and social formation. As such, spatial planning in post-apartheid South Africa has emerged as the main method for socio-spatial restructuring of inherited inequalities through enabling legislation, policies and institutional arrangements, as envisioned in the South African Constitution (1996)

Joscelyne (2015) argued that it was necessary for the post-1994 planning discipline to respond to the new goals of equal rights and integration enshrined in the South African Constitution (1996). New approaches to spatial planning in South Africa have an emphasis on integration, a means to shift from fragmented institutional intervention with the intention of addressing the spatial injustices of the past. Okeke (2015) also suggested that the intention of the new approach is the integration of spatial policies that aim to co-ordinate all space-consuming activities in a geographic territory, and that these policies, together with their programmes, further influence the nature of places and how they function. In the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Bill (2012), it was maintained that there must be integration between the various planning processes and institutions of different spheres and sectors and that there must be integration of the distorted and segregated spatial fabric inherited from colonialism and apartheid (NDP, 2013; 4)

In Chapter 8 of the National Development Plan (NDP), it is acknowledged that considerable progress has been made since 1994 but it is recognised that South Africa is far from achieving the goals set out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme of “breaking down apartheid geography through land reform, more compact cities, decent public transport and the development of industries and services that use local resources and/or meet local needs” (Buys, T., 2018). In the NDP, the importance of the location where people live, and work is emphasised further. Apartheid planning consigned the majority of South Africans to places far away from work, where services could not be sustained and where it was difficult to access the benefits of society and participate in the economy (Baloyi, 2022).

The role of urban and regional planning in the form of spatial planning is often regarded as an important method of addressing the challenges of the inherited legacy of colonial and apartheid inequalities in South Africa’s space economy and social formation (Okeke, 2015; Du Plessis, 2013). According to South Africa’s National Spatial Development Framework (NSDF), spatial planning is seen as planning for the broader ambit within which land parcels are located and connected to each other through road and rail networks and endowed with other forms of enabling and supportive infrastructure. In the South African context, spatial planning is considered to be a means for spatial transformation whereby a change in the (re)structuring and

(re)organisation of settlements and economic activities can be achieved in order to counter the segregated spatial patterns established during colonial and apartheid times (Harrison & Todes, 2015). Spatial restructuring is used to address existing patterns by altering the inefficiencies, injustices and inequalities in access to opportunities resulting from these patterns (Todes & Turok, 2018). Spatial planning has thus emerged as the main method for socio-spatial restructuring of inherited inequalities through the enabling legislation, policies and institutional arrangements, as envisioned in the South African Constitution (1996)

The strategic policies that were introduced in the shift from the old order of planning towards addressing the socio-spatial and socio-economic dynamics of cities and towns were, among others, the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) within which the Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) are incorporated. The aims of these strategic policies were first to recognise overcoming existing spatial fragmentation and, upon recognising this, to undertake to improve access to jobs and amenities and increase the functional efficiency of cities (Todes & Turok, 2018)

2.3 The Urban Land Question: Location, Access, Infrastructure and Markets

The centrality of land in small towns in addressing spatial disparities is argued in this study. Jin *et al*. (2018) suggested that land is the basic bearer of all human production and living activities and that investment in land contributes to an increase in national wealth. The historic inequality in the spatial land use and ownership patterns of South African cities and towns is reflected in, and reinforced by, unequal access to markets in land, housing, property in general; and to inherited development and use rights (Todes & Turok, 2018). The general scarcity of well-located land for building more compact settlements is further complicated by very low densities and particularly the limitations of property rights, market distortions and failures that result in the majority of the urban poor remaining dislocated in the peri-urban fringes of cities and towns (Napier, 2007). Auzins (2017) stated that urban land and property markets can be distorted by state action but also by the nature of private-sector activity which is often complicit in market failure.

Chang *et al*. (2018) stressed further that markets might fail in the equitable distribution of a resource, but states also fail in addressing the needs of the poor, and in their ability to create the conditions in which markets can be accessed effectively. Verna (2015) noted that, given the centrality of land as a critical lever in the socio-spatial restructuring of South African settlements, the challenge is the extent to which the poor have access to well-located urban land through the markets operating in South African towns and cities through the planning ability of the state.

Urban land differs in some respects from other commodities which are typically addressed by market theory. Firstly, for land to be developed, it is (usually) necessary for the public sector to service it and, on application, zone it for development. Furthermore, while it may be sub-divided and used more efficiently, land is not expandable and remains finite physically. Secondly, while public, private and civil society sectors all trade in land as a commodity, existing rules governing the balance of power to access land are skewed towards the former two and, therefore, are fiercely contested. Therefore, sometimes land is regarded as a basic resource to be distributed fairly (use value) and, at other times, it is understood as being a complex commodity where other embedded use and development rights (exchange value) apply (Napier, 2007: 3-4). Owing to market forces, it is increasingly recognised that, if reasonably well-located land is to be secured for low-income housing, it is necessary for the state to intervene in some way in urban land markets (Napier, 2007: 4).

South Africa's history of exclusive ownership of prime land and the rolling dispossession of land over centuries, where there had previously been ownership or occupation rights, remains a sensitive issue (Rumney, 2005: 401) and the spatial structure and patterns of land-use and tenure of colonial apartheid machinations have been normalised by the South African land market. While provision for more equitable distribution and access to land is made in the democratic constitution, the state has tended to be paralysed in acting to redress socio-spatial inequality and to correct distorted land and property markets by fiercely competing vested interests. The purpose of the new (post-1994) government's land reform programme was to build on this reasoning and to address (rural and urban) land restitution, land redistribution and tenure reform, but with limited success (Centre for Development Enterprise, 2005). Other than very unequal land ownership patterns between races, the colonial and

post-colonial governments distorted the urban land market in resilient forms that are now increasingly based on class lines (Brown-Luthango, 2006). Thus, Napier (2007: 7) summarises evaluation of the emerging political economy of land as:

> And so there was in 1994 a set of unequal relationships of the potential players in the South African urban land market: the dispossessed and the unfairly possessed, the educated and those historically denied access, the well located and the peripherally located, the sophisticated navigators of the complex regulatory environment and those excluded by lack of knowledge of the system, the information rich and the information poor, those who could afford and those who could not, and the owners and the tenants. It is clear that by the end of the Apartheid era, South African cities and towns were very unequal places, and it has now become evident that the market and spatial distortions of the past cannot easily be wiped away even with progressive intentions.

Despite the common claims by the state, especially local municipalities, that well-located (state) land for building more compact settlements is scarce, significant and strategically-located, state land pockets exist, such as municipal commonages, so-called “buffer-zones”, separating apartheid-inspired separation of races and non-compatible land uses along transportation corridors and other reservations that have not been used. Secondly, the generally low residential densities allow significant densification to occur. The often-proclaimed perception that South African society does not prefer high densities tends to be contradicted by organic densification processes in existing townships (backyard dwellings) and in informal settlements (Keunen & Ley, 2023).

Also significant is the non-strategic use of planning and development regulatory instruments for urban restructuring and land value capture that are available to the state. Value capture refers to a process by which all, or a portion, of increments in land value attributed to public and “community” interventions are recouped by the public sector. Mechanisms to capture value include conversion of additional value into public revenues, e.g. taxes, fees or through infrastructure developments, to benefit the poor (Brown-Luthango, 2006: 10). Such mechanisms can provide strategic levers for the state to direct use and investment in strategic locations to facilitate targeted

restructuring zones on the one hand, and in combination with other traditional instruments (budgets, zoning, infrastructure prioritisation etc.), on the other. Napier (2007) noted that municipalities have not maximised possible gains and opportunities for cross subsidisation across urban areas through better value extraction, and that this represents more a case of state failure than market failure, although it has a market effect in that infrastructure investment in outlying areas where the poor live is inadequate and, therefore, this impacts on property values. Thus, Brown-Luthango, (2006: 29) argued:

> It cannot be left up to the market to address the current development and spatial challenges as the current operation of the market reproduces and reinforces marginality, exclusion and poverty…. The development of mechanisms for value capture and shared growth from benefits of surplus values accruing from the 'boom conditions' in the upper end of the land and property market can generate the necessary additional resources for infrastructure investment that promotes densification, integration and the generation of resources for low-income residential development on well-located land.

Therefore, it is not only the case that land is a basic bearer of all human production and living activities and that investment in land contributes to an increase in national wealth. Land is also a highly politicised and commodified resource at the centre of the historical and structural causes of poverty and inequality and their socio-spatial, economic and ecological manifestations. Land, as observed in the case of the concept of "space", is neither politically or socially benign, nor is place only defined physically or as bounded space. Land represents a raw canvas on which the processes of place-specific production, reproduction, as well as articulation of modes of production are inscribed.

2.4 Apartheid Legacy of Socio-Spatial Inequality and Poverty

The South African Government has been grappling with the extent of poverty, inequalities and socio-spatial disparities found in Black townships, rural areas and South African society at large (Davenport, 2016). These elements are the legacy of erstwhile unsustainable apartheid policies regarding the space economy, underpinned

by race. Furthermore, the White Paper on Spatial Planning and Land Use Management maintained that these policies were comprehensive in nature, striving to predetermine the use of all land parcels in order to achieve the desired end-state of separate development (White *et al*, 2012). The separation of Black communities from production spaces and rights/ freedom to use spaces available to them for economic activities was at a great cost to Black and Coloured people, subjecting them to extreme poverty and establishing the conditions for inequality (Turok, 2019; Davenport, 2016 & Jabareen, 2016). Relatively affluent localities enjoy easy access to adequate infrastructure (water, electricity, and sewerage), recreational amenities, health facilities, and better education that enhance the chances of a better life. However, poor localities are usually subjected to inferior conditions and experiences such as increased levels of crime, poor economic infrastructure, and high risk of disasters (Turok, 2019).

The state response to poverty and inequality has tended towards social grants and spending on municipal services, health and education. Intervention relating to deliberate, spatially-targeted efforts to stimulate economic development has been minimal, poorly co-ordinated, and has yielded little success (Turok, 2019). Further to this, the human settlement programme has entrenched the spatial disparities by confining poor households to cheap, peripheral land (Todes & 2018). There is clearly a difficult balance to be established between spending to alleviate poverty and investment to prepare for a more inclusive and sustainable urban future (Todes & Turok, 2018).

Spatial inequalities and poverty in South African cities and towns are concentrated mainly within urban townships and rural areas. Urban townships were designed and created as dormitory settlements for Black workers who were needed to provide cheap labour for white industries in the formal economy (Scheba & Turok, 2020). These areas were, and continue to be, separated from affluent localities by buffer zones and railway tracks, features that have made it very difficult for townships to be physically integrated with affluent localities (Wainwright, 2014). Townships, as separate spaces from the formal economy, have limited social services and less economic infrastructure involving general shops, butcheries, eating-out houses, sale of milk and vegetables and the hawking of goods, but restricted from commercial and Industrial

activities (Mahajan, 2014; Wainwright, 2014). These limitations and restrictions contribute further to the slow urban township transformation and growth of township and rural enterprises, a dynamic that further entrenches poverty and inequality.

2.5 Developmental State Capacities

While significant changes have been made in South Africa regarding the land-use and development policy and the regulatory framework on land, there have been shortcomings that relate to inter-governmental arrangements (Swanepoel, 2020). The distrust and conflict between the different spheres of government have resulted in uncertainty and costs, and undermined efforts to collaborate on overcoming challenges (Ndinga-Kanga *et al*, 2020). The resultant paralysis has led to decisions not being taken, as a "wait-and-see" approach prevails (Buys, T., 2018).

The further implications of the policy are that, despite municipalities developing SDFs, investments by other government partners tend to ignore these plans, resulting in the proliferation of sectoral plans, where individual sectors develop their own spatial plans without integration between sectors (Swanepoel, 2020). In some cases, even municipal investments are not guided and informed by the SDF. Private-sector investments also fail frequently to be aligned with public sector plans, possibly as a consequence of a perceived lack of robust and consistent spatial directives (Raco *et al*, 2019). Thus, action is needed to bolster the capacity of local governments.

The inter-governmental institutional arrangements established to assist municipalities to address the spatial disparities were investigated in this study. Furthermore, the municipal capacity that relates to the suitable skills, budget allocations towards spatial transformation and the instruments which the municipalities use for urban land governance were assessed in this study.

2.6 Conceptual Framework

The purpose of the study was to assess how the town of Graaff-Reinet, an apartheid town (with segregated space) has been re-imagined (planned), and how these goals have been achieved to integrate the spatial economy. One of the planning theories that is recognised in this research, and which can be used to drive this agenda, is the new urbanism theory. Some of its elements can provide guidance in addressing the post-apartheid spatial challenges of the resilient spatial disparities found within the town of Graaff-Reinet, particularly when considering urban restructuring spaces.

2.6.1 The New Urbanism Theory

The New Urbanism Theory, according to Lehrer and Milgrom (1996), cited by Harrison (2012), originated historically from the concepts of the Garden Cities and City Beautiful Movement, with an ideological element in the planning, design and development of urban space, with its main intention being to address criticism of urban sprawl. Internationally, “New Urbanism” is an approach to physical planning concerned with creating a vibrant, compact space for community life (Harrison, 2012). Fernández (2014) counter-argued that New Urbanism Theory is a movement that promotes the creation and restoration of diverse, walkable, compact, mixed-use communities composed of the same components as conventional development but assembled in a more integrated way. Harrison (2012) and Liu (2012) added that the theory takes many forms and is variously referred to as “smart growth”, “growth management”, “transit-oriented development”, the “compact city movement”, and “neo-traditionalism” and is intensely connected to the environmental movement as it upholds and encourages a spatial form that is believed to protect scarce environmental resources, support a more efficient use of infrastructure, and reduce emissions of harmful exhaust gases (Harrison, 2012).

The South African version of the movement and approach also draws from international discourse, developed in a context where the primary concern is with knitting together the fragmented and dysfunctional cityscape produced under apartheid (Watson, 2019). Spearheaded by the academics at the University of Cape Town, from 1970, as an alternative spatial model to the apartheid city in the early 1990s, the movement culminated in South African Cities, by Dewar and

Uytenbogaard, as a manifesto for change that presaged an urban form intended to interlock activity corridors, a network of open spaces and a defined urban edge (Harrison, 2012; Carlton, 2019). The manifesto was greatly influential on policy-makers in the dawn of democracy who were searching for alternatives to discredited ideas on an urban development vision and found its way into various policy documents and legislation, as well as framing the first set of spatial plans produced after 1994 (Watson, 2019; Carlton, 2019 & Harrison, 2012).

Key elements in these spatial visions include networks of corridors and nodes, integrated open space systems, demarcated urban edges, and policies of densification, infill, mixed-use development, and inner-city regeneration (Harrison, 2012; Watson, 2019). Similar to its international counterpart, the South African version of new urbanism was strongly anti-sprawl and promoted the development of compact cities whose agenda strategy was sustained with surprising vigour and speed in the early and mid-1990's and is still hugely influential.

2.6.2 Criticism of the New Urbanism Theory

The New Urbanism Theory is seemingly eclipsed, to some extent, by a concept of planning that is concerned primarily with institutional integration and co-ordination of the planning process or what Watson (2019) referred to as "the marginalisation of the spatial" in the late 1990s with the rise of the IDP. Attempts to achieve effective linkage between the spatial elements of planning (emphasised by the New Urbanists) and the institutional and co-ordinating elements (emphasised by proceduralists) must always be delineated and on-going (Harrison, 2012). There has been a partial return to spatial, with a new emphasis on the role of the spatial development framework within the IDP, and on land-use management (in SPLUMA) (Watson, 2019). While New Urbanism has been applied with some zeal, there have been dissenting voices. Internationally, a vigorous debate has emerged about the benefits of the compact city, with some evidence pointing to an ambiguous relationship between compaction and environmental sustainability, urban efficiency and urban equity (Harrison, 2012).

Influenced by the New Urbanism thinking, Dewar (1996) identified the main problem of South African urbanisation and cities as consisting of uncontrolled and explosive

urban sprawl, spatial fragmentation and separation; the need for socio-economic and spatial restructuring arising from processes of exclusion, urbanisation of poverty-limited capacity of urban economy to absorb new migrants and, thus, structural unemployment and marginalisation, political/governance issues, and ecological crises of resource utilisation and sustainability – the fuel crisis, global warming, climate change. Dewar (1996) then suggested a new urbanism approach for strategic interventions for restructuring the apartheid city's spatial formation to include compacting the city and imploding its growth through:

- Structural implosion by increasing unit densities around strategic locations (rail stations, bus central terminal areas or along prioritised corridors) to maximise potential and infrastructure usage;
- Economic implosion by facilitating intensification of land-use and sub-divisions within performance constraints, to benefit communities;
- Social implosions by encouraging existing communities to identify in-fill land for densification and settle people in over-crowded areas without breaking social ties;
- Surgical implosion involving the strategic insertion of higher density units into urban fabric to give a sense of scale and enclosure to replace current ill-informed, un-scaled, dangerous public spaces.

The spatial planning interventions would also entail maintaining a fixed, permanent edge between urban and rural areas, encouraging decentralised wholesaling systems, promoting a greater mix of land uses and population groups, the use of public transport routes to integrate urban areas and to create activity spines. The interventions would include the creation of low overhead opportunities for small entrepreneurs to manufacture and trade in the most viable locations in the city, and ultimately using the process of housing delivery to stimulate employment generation and wider income circulation and innovate on higher density housing types and tenure assemblages.

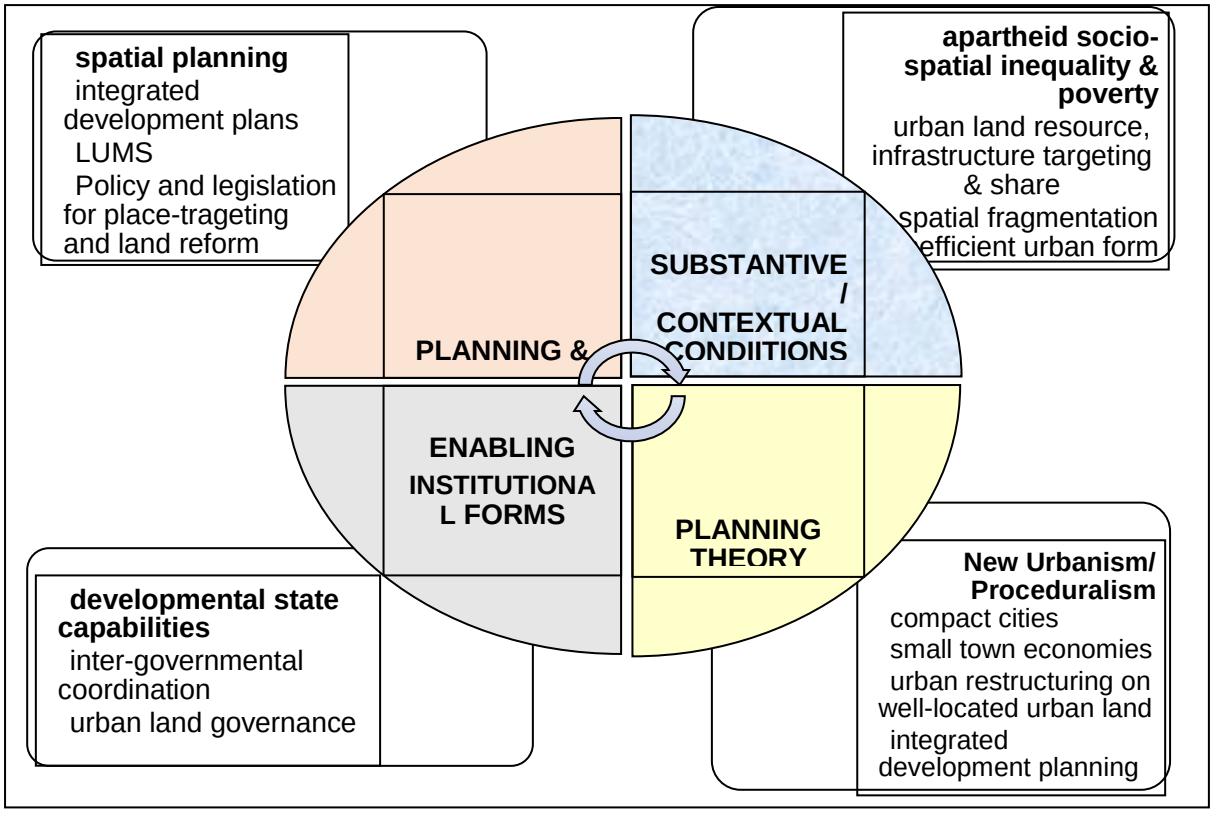
The contribution of New Urbanist/compact city doctrine – as the only available alternative spatial vision at a critical juncture in South Africa's development history – must be acknowledged but it is necessary to question whether many of the new urbanists might represent a planning ideal that is disconnected from people's real

experiences of the city, and from the realities of the transforming space economy. The New Urbanist position has introduced a useful stock of concepts, including ideas of smart cities, and sustainable urban development has become a metaphor that fore-grounds the salient role of markets as the drivers and shapers of African urban futures (Tapela, 2016: 98).

However, as Harrison (2012: 6) noted:

> … the contribution of the New Urbanist/Compact City doctrine … must be acknowledged but it is now time to which question whether many of the elements of the New Urbanist vision [alone] may represent a planning ideal that is disconnected from people's real experiences of the city, and from the realities of the transforming space economy. The New Urbanist position has brought a useful stock of concepts, but it should not be allowed to bring about closure in the evolving practice of spatial planning.

Figure 2.2: Conceptualising the study



Source: Researcher's construct

Harrison (2012) also noted the increased eclipsing of the spatial focus of the new urbanism by a conception of planning that is primarily about institutional integration and co-ordination, and the correct planning process. These contending approaches were also driven from different departments – Department of Land Affairs (responsible for spatial planning and land management) and the Department of Provincial and Local Government (responsible for supporting and co-ordinating municipal planning within a broader framework of inter-governmental relations) which tended to complicate attempts to achieve effective linkage between the spatial elements of planning (emphasised by the New Urbanists) and the institutional and co-ordinating elements, as emphasised by the Proceduralists (Harrison, 2002: 7).

The purpose of the conceptual approach adopted for this study was to explore both the substantive spatial (land and infrastructural targeting dispositions) and the procedural (institutional and state capacity) dimensions of socio-spatial restructuring.

2.7 Summary

Theoretical and substantive informants of spatial planning policy and practice on the eve of, and during, the democratic transition were explored in the review of literature. The centrality of access to well-located land in the process of socio-spatial reform and restructuring was also explored, particularly in small towns and how various elements, such as planning and its instruments, institutional arrangements, theoretical framework/perspective and contextual conditions can contribute towards restructuring of inherited inequalities of apartheid planning.

The review of late apartheid plans suggested that the integration imagined in them was a physical design-oriented spatial planning that tended to gloss over the processes and outcomes of socio-spatial inequalities embedded in the intentions of apartheid social engineering. It seems that the underpinning inequalities of land ownership, and the associated logics of infrastructure and service provision did not explicitly inform the spatial integration agenda. Furthermore, the absence of political willingness of the state to create a democratic, socially just and spatially integrated settlement and the ability and capacity of existing planning and development instruments and institutions to drive this transformation were inadequate, if not

contradictory. In the next chapter the methods used to collect and analyse data are explained.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The steps and procedures undertaken to address the research aim, questions and objectives are presented in this chapter. The research philosophy is discussed first, followed by the justification for a qualitative, case-study research design. The sampling method and the data collection methods, and the ethical considerations, are then presented. The last section summarises the chapter.

3.2 Research Philosophy

Koffi (2019) explained that, in research philosophy, the inductive, deductive, and abductive reasoning approaches are three kinds of logic used to reach a conclusion. The reasoning of research refers to the logic of research, the role of the existing body of knowledge gathered in a literature study, and the manner in which researchers use the information collected and, finally, how the information is analysed (Koffi, 2019; Sutrisna, 2009).

Using the inductive approach, a researcher begins with the collection of information and, through the analysis of the collected data, formulates a theory to arrive at a conclusion (Creswell, 2016; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill; 2018: 153). The deductive approach is contrary to the inductive approach in that the researcher begins with formulating the theory and supports the theory with data collection (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2018: 152-153). The abductive approach begins with the “surprise factor” and then a plausible theory of how this could have occurred is developed (Aqil & Hussain 2018; Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2018).

This study was based on an inductive approach, which involved the collection of information and, through the analysis of the collected data, to address identified questions and objectives (Leedy & Ormrod, 2015). The main advantage of this approach is its straight-forwardness, flexibility, and suitability for research where there is a dearth in literature by attending closely to context (Saunders *et al*., 2018: 267).

3.3 Research Design

According to Akhtar (2016), research design can be considered to be the “glue” that holds all the elements in a research project together. Kothari (2004) described research design as the overall plan or blueprint that guides the conduct of a research study. It outlines the specific steps, procedures, and strategies that researchers employ to address their research questions or objectives. Kothari (2004) asserted further that research design encompasses various elements, such as the type of study, data collection methods, sampling strategy, and data analysis techniques. Research design serves as a plan for researchers to ensure the validity, reliability, and relevance of their study. According to Creswell (2009: 95-107), research design is a complete strategy developed to conduct a research study in a systematic and effective manner. Kothari (2004) asserted further that research design is necessary because it facilitates the smooth progress of the various research operations, thereby making research as efficient as possible, yielding maximum information with minimal expenditure of effort, time, and money. The research design must include steps to minimise bias and must maximise reliability, with due concern for the economical completion of the research study (Kothari., 2004).

Research designs are either classified as qualitative, quantitative or mixed-methods research (Eyisi, 2016). Eyisi (2016: 92) argued that qualitative and quantitative research differ in their ideal approaches with respect to their way of knowing and enquiry into the nature of reality and philosophical foundation. Ashley and Boyd (2017: 70), in comparing these research approaches, argued that both qualitative and quantitative researchers use careful, systematic methods to gather high quality information that can be quantitatively expressed as numbers or qualitatively expressed as words, images or objects. Mixed methods are positioned in the middle of the two approaches because they incorporate elements of both qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

3.3.1 Case Study Research Design

A case study research approach was adopted for this study and therefore falls within the provisions of a qualitative research. The purpose of the study was to examine the extent to which well-located land in the town of Graaff-Reinet has been a factor in

changing the spatial form of the town, by interviewing relevant participants. The study further examined how post-apartheid spatial plans have influenced the use of well-located land to restructure spatial injustices in small towns. The focus of the study was on well-located state land and how it has been used to restructure the settlement form and functionality, using the town of Graaff-Reinet as a case study.

The research was carried out using a case-study design, where the historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure, and infrastructure development of Graaff-Reinet was presented. This was achieved through a literature review and examination of spatial plans applicable to the town before 1994, together with interviewing relevant individuals who were part of decision-making structures and major role-players/stakeholders within the built environment.

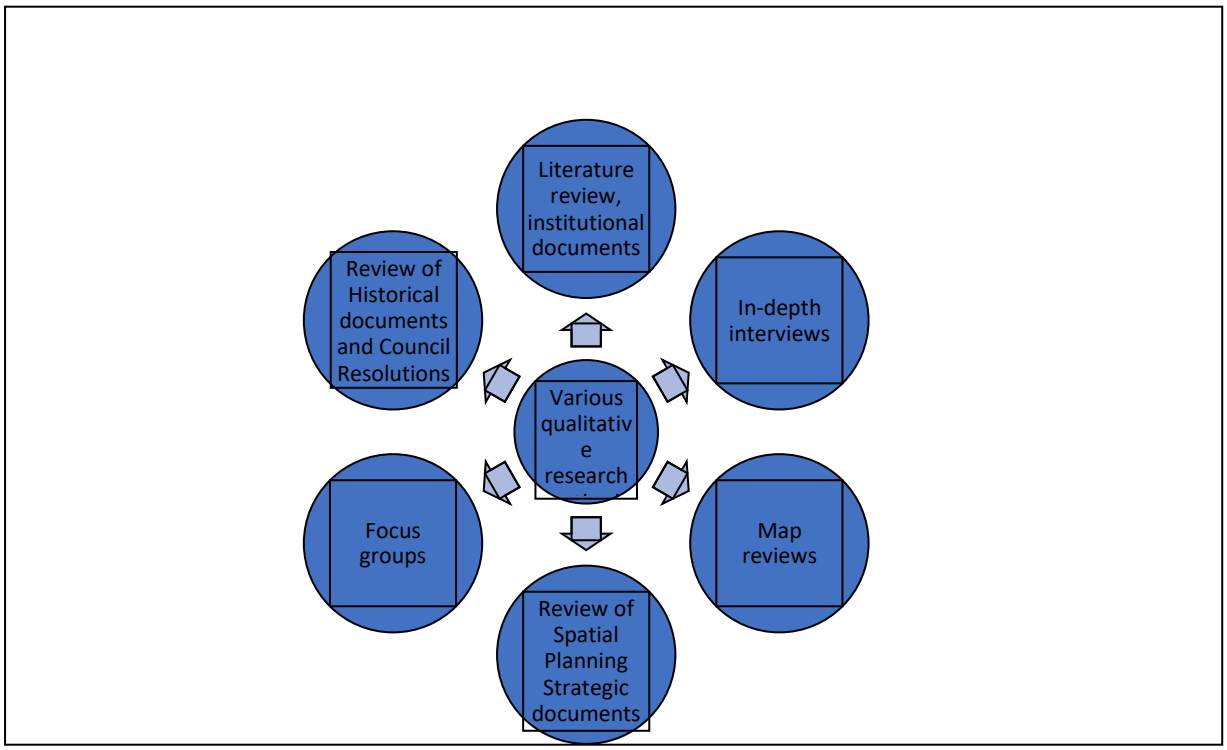
3.3.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research involves, among other things, understanding some aspect of social life, and its methods which generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis (Patton & Cochran, 2002). Furthermore, Ayesu-Koranteng (2017) noted that potential resources are limited in qualitative research and, therefore, data are gathered by means of recordings, descriptive memos, and journals. Creswell (2009: 32) explained further that those who use the qualitative research approach support a way of considering research that honours an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation.

Qualitative research involves the use of qualitative data, such as interviews, documents, and observation, to understand and explain a social phenomenon (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Qualitative research, in particular, entails gathering and interpreting non-numerical data for the purpose of understanding human and social environments (Yin, 2014). A variety of methods are used in qualitative research, such as intensive interviews or in-depth analysis of historical materials, and it is concerned with a comprehensive account of some event or unit.

As illustrated in Figure 3.1, various qualitative research methods were selected to collect data for the study.

Figure 3.1: Qualitative research methods



Source: Saunders et al. (2018) and Creswell (2016)

3.3.3 Qualitative research designs

In a qualitative study, there are five commonly-used, qualitative research designs. Leedy and Ormrod (2015: 271) argued that qualitative research methods are the least prescriptive and that the qualitative methods the researcher uses will ultimately be constrained by the limitation of the researcher's imaginations. The common research designs are listed as follows:

- Case Study;
- Ethnography;
- Phenomenological Study;
- Grounded Theory Study;
- Content Analysis;

Furthermore, Leedy and Ormrod (2015: 271) argued that the five designs are not necessarily distinctly different. Any study can include elements of two or more qualitative designs. Table 3.1 shows an outline of some of the differences between the qualitative designs and a brief description of the designs.

This research is based on a case study of the town of Graaff-Reinet. The purpose was to examine the use of well-located land as a lever for socio-spatial restructuring and, in the process, to identify the land. A case study can be defined as an empirical research method used to investigate a contemporary phenomenon, with a focus on the dynamics of the case, within its real-life context (Teegavarapu *et al*., 2019). Teegavarapu *et al.* (2019) explained further that triangulation of data is recommended in this research design strategy by giving the observer an opportunity to collect data by using techniques, such as a survey, interview, and experiment etc., all under a single study.

Table 3.1: Purpose, focus and methods of data collection and analysis of qualitative research designs

Design	Purpose	Focus	Method of data collection	Methods of analyses
Case Study	To understand one person or situation (or perhaps a very small number) in great depth.	One case or a few cases within its/ their natural setting.	Observations, Interviews, Appropriate written documents and/or audio-visual material.	Categorisation and interpretation of data in terms of common themes. Synthesis into an overall portrait of the case(s).
Ethnography	To understand how behaviours reflect the culture of a group.	A specific field site in which a group of people share a common culture.	Participant observation, Structured or unstructured. Interviews with "informants", Artefact/ document collection.	Identification of significant phenomena and underlying structures and beliefs. Organisation of data into a logical whole (e.g. chronology, typical day).
Phenomenological Study	To understand an experience from the participants' points of view.	A particular phenomenon as it is typically lived and perceived by human beings.	In-depth, unstructured interviews. Purposeful sampling of 5–2 individuals.	Search for meaningful concepts that reflect various aspects of the experience. Integration of those concepts into a seemingly typical experience.
Grounded Theory Study	To derive a theory from data collected in a natural setting.	A process, including human actions and	Interviews. Any other relevant data sources.	Prescribed and systematic

Design	Purpose	Focus	Method of data collection	Methods of analyses
		interactions and how they result from and influence one another.		method of coding the data into categories and identifying inter-relationships. Continual inter-weaving of data collection and data analysis. Construction of a theory from the categories and inter-relationships.
Content Analysis	To identify the characteristics of a body of material.	Any verbal, visual, or behavioural form of communication.	Identification and possible sampling of the specific material to be analysed Coding of the material in terms of predetermined and precisely defined characteristics,	Tabulation of the frequency of each characteristic Descriptive or inferential statistical analyses as required to answer the research question.

Source: Leedy and Ormrod (2015)

3.4 Data Collection

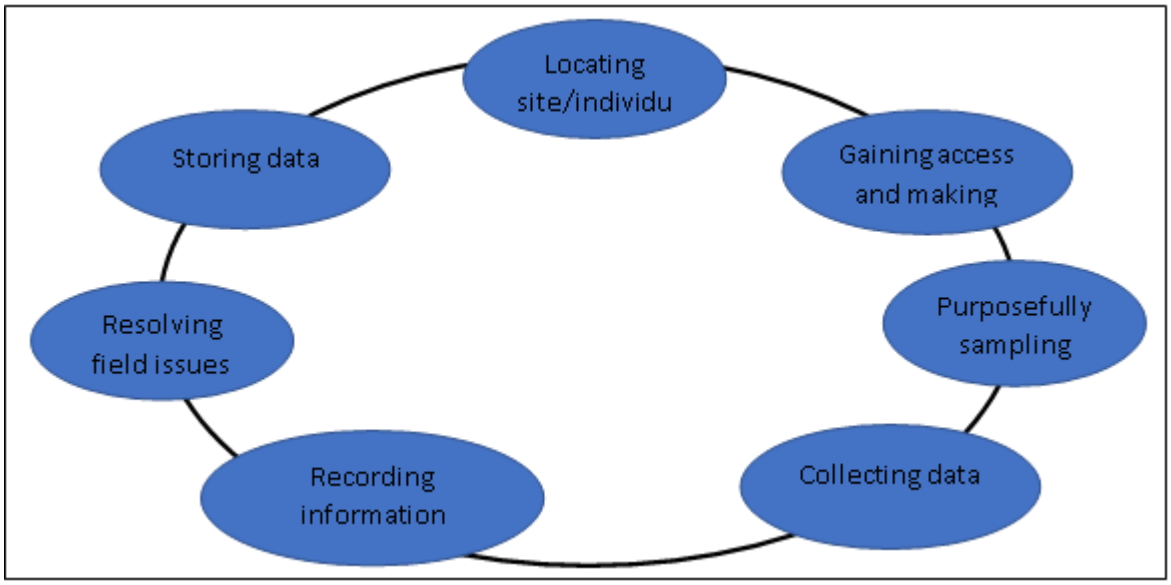
Data collection is a critical part of conducting research. The data collected is used to answer the research questions and address the aim and objectives of the research (Creswell, 2018). This involves collection of data in a targeted manner, which is further analysed thoroughly to lead to answers to the research questions and evaluate the results.

Barrett and Twycross (2018) argued that the core approaches to data collection in qualitative research make it possible to explore how decisions are made and to gain detailed insight. Barrett and Twycross (2018) asserted further that qualitative research requires data which are holistic, rich and nuanced, allowing themes and findings to emerge through careful analysis.

Creswell (2014) viewed data collections as a series of inter-related activities with the aim of gathering information to answer emerging research questions. Creswell (2014) asserted further that this series of inter-related activities (see Figure 3.2) will involve the selection of a site or people to be studied and, once these have been selected, decisions must be made about the most appropriate data collection approaches.

The most common data collection approaches in qualitative research are interviews, qualitative documents, audio and visual material, and qualitative observations.

Figure 3.2: Data collection activities

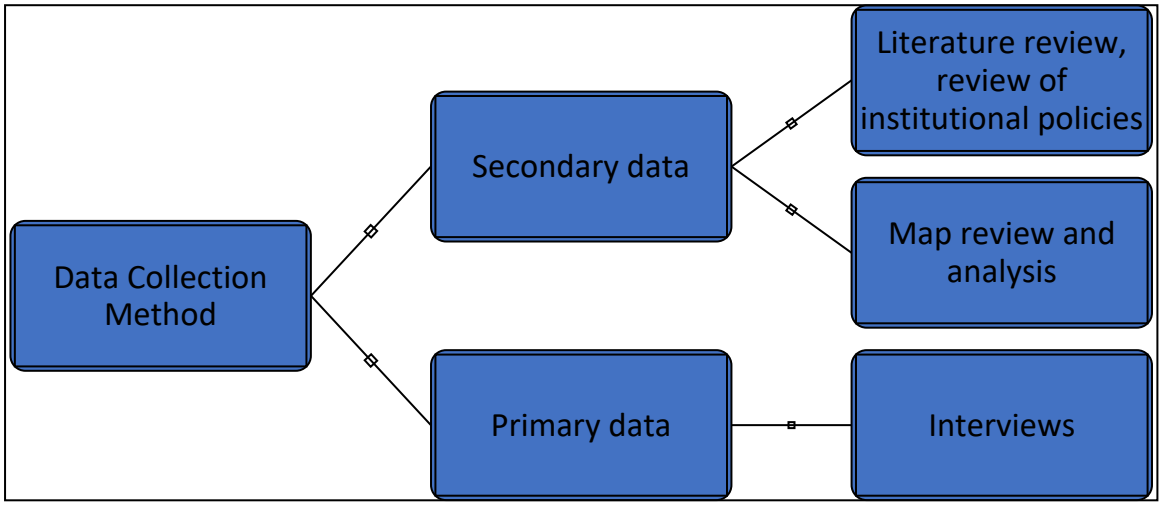


Source: Creswell (2014)

In this study, historical data were collected in the form of applicable spatial and development plans/policies from before the democratic (pre-1994) dispensation. These documents were examined thoroughly by reading for the purpose of extracting information to answer the research questions and to address the objectives of the study. Furthermore, new land use policies governing the municipal land-use systems were reviewed and the budgets of the institution were assessed to determine investment in making land available for socio-spatial restructuring. This process involved carefully reviewing the text to extract meaning, understand context, and gather insights.

In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted to collect primary data from selected participants comprising municipal officials, officials from the provincial government, consultants in the town planning field and members of the public in Graaff-Reinet (see participants listed in Table 3.2) for the purpose of closing information gaps in the literature analysed. During the one-on-one interviews, open-ended questions were used so that participants could express themselves freely.

Figure 3.3: Data collection method



Source: Researcher's construct

3.4.1 Sampling Methods

Suri (2015) maintained that informed decisions about sampling are critical to improving the quality of research synthesis. Taherdoost (2016) explained further that it is doubtful that a researcher would be able to collect data from all cases. Therefore, it is necessary to select a sample. Sampling can be defined as the selection of specific data sources from which data are collected to address the research objectives (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg & McKibbon, 2015).

A combination of purposive and snowball sampling methods enhanced the efficiency, validity and richness of the data collected, thus leading to a complete and detailed understanding of the research subject. A purposive sampling method was selected because it makes it possible to select specific participants who have performed spatial planning work in the town of Graaff-Reinet and would possess valuable knowledge to

contribute to the study. The snowball sampling method also made it possible for the participants to make referrals to other participants who might assist in addressing the objectives of the study.

Purposive or judgmental sampling is a strategy in which settings, people or events are selected deliberately to provide important information that cannot be obtained from other sources. Purposive sampling is used when researchers include cases or participants in the sample because they believe that they warrant inclusion (Gentles *et al*., 2015). The selected sampling methods are non-probability sampling methods, and they are often associated with case-study research design and qualitative research. The reason for selecting these methods was because the research was to enquire whether well-located land can be used as a lever for socio-spatial restructuring in the small town of Graaff-Reinet. The purpose of the study was to examine past and present spatial strategies, and how these have influenced the spatial patterns of the town. The purposive sampling method was used to interview participants involved in the built environment.

Snowball sampling is a non-random sampling method that uses a few participants to encourage other participants to take part in the study, thereby increasing sample size (Gentles *et al*., 2015). Thomson (1997) explained that this technique offers real benefits for studies which seek to access populations that are difficult to reach or are obscured from the view of social researchers and policy-makers who are keen to obtain evidence of the experiences of some of the more marginal, excluded groups. The researcher used the snowball sampling technique to address the objective relating to the historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure plans and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet. While attempting to reconstruct the historical evolution of land-use, specific respondents were identified. For an example, Respondent A in the local authority referred the researcher to Respondent B in the private sector, who then made a referral to respondent C in the provincial sphere of government.

3.5 Demographic Background of Respondents

The selection of the participants in the study was informed by the experience each participant had in relation to the town and the role the participant played in each state organisation located in the case study area of Graaff-Reinet. The targeted participants included town planners, an LED practitioner, civil engineers, a professional land surveyor, a researcher, a former mayor, personnel from municipal corporate services, and a community and business leader. Notably, it was not possible to access all the respondents mentioned as initially planned. However, those who responded were able to assist with important data for the study and suggested individuals who would potentially add value to the study.

Table 3.2: Demographic data summary of study respondents

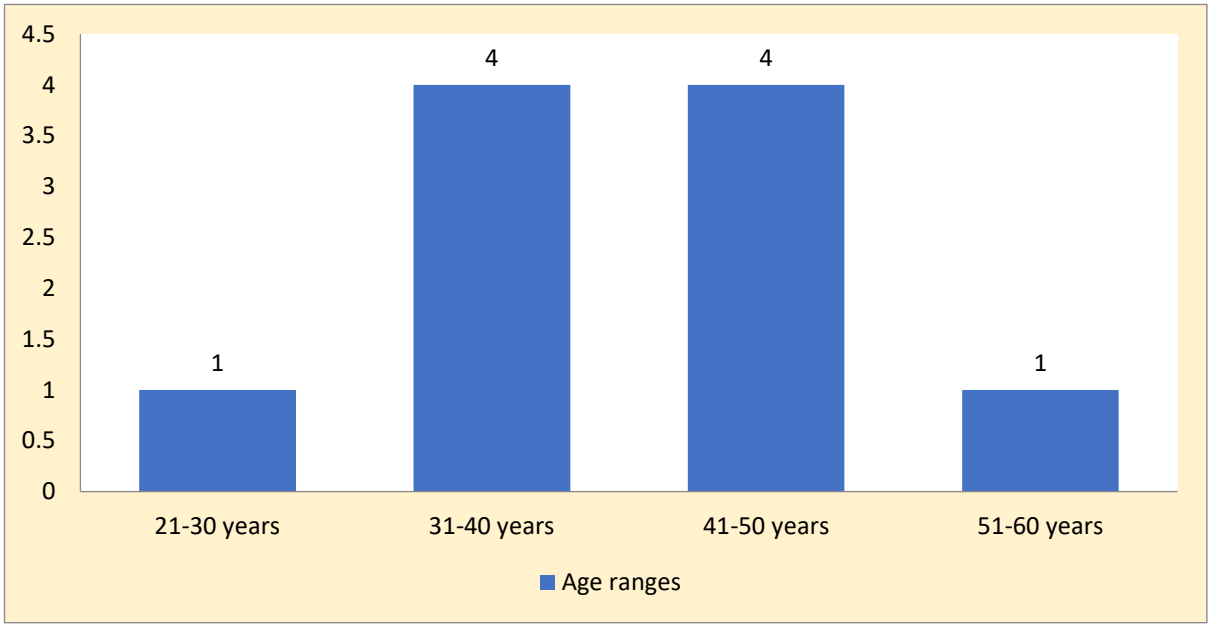
Respondent ID	Age range	Gender	Highest educational qualifications	Current profession or employment status
1	21-30 years	Male	Matriculated	Community leader
2	41-50 years	Female	Diploma (Nursing)	Politician
3	31-40 years	Male	Master's Degree in Urban and Regional Planning	Consultant
4	31-40 years	Male	Bachelor Degree in Human Resources	State Employee
5	50-60 years	Female	Bachelor Degree in Urban and Regional Planning	Consultant
6	31-40 years	Female	Bachelor Degree in Commerce	State Employee (Local Economic Development)
7	51-60 years	Male	Bachelor Degree in Education	Former Mayor
8	50-65 years	Male	Degree in LLB	Private Practice and Community leader
9	60-70 years	Male	Bachelor Degree in Land Surveying	Professional Land Surveyor
10	41-50 years	Female	Advanced Diploma in Civil Engineering	State Employee – Civil Engineer

The demographics of the participants are presented in the sections below.

3.5.1 Age range of respondents

The age range of the study participants is shown in the diagram (Figure 3.4) below:

Figure 3.4: Age ranges

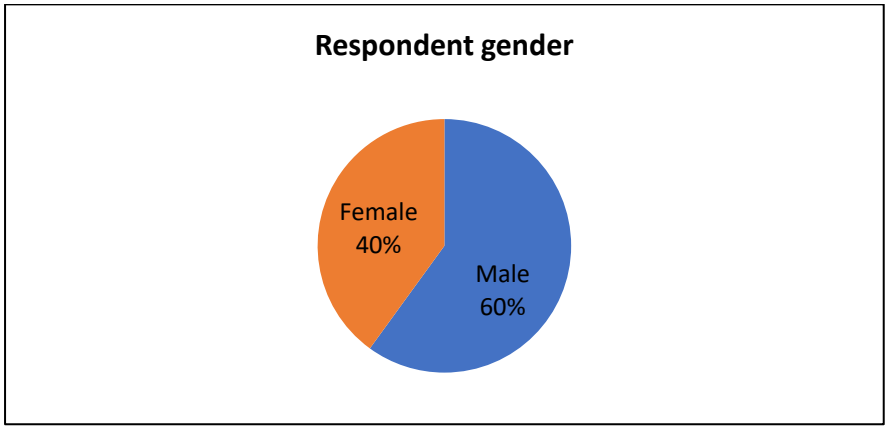


As shown in Figure 3.4, most of the respondents were in the age ranges of 31-40 years and 41-50 years, comprising 80% of the respondents in the sample. Only one respondent was in the age range of 21-30 years and another was in the age range of 51-60 years. The age ranges with most respondents depicted that the level of maturity, experience and availability of institutional memory was highly likely to enrich the research results.

3.5.2 Gender

The gender of the study participants is illustrated in the pi-chart (Figure 3.5) below.

Figure 3.5: Gender of respondents

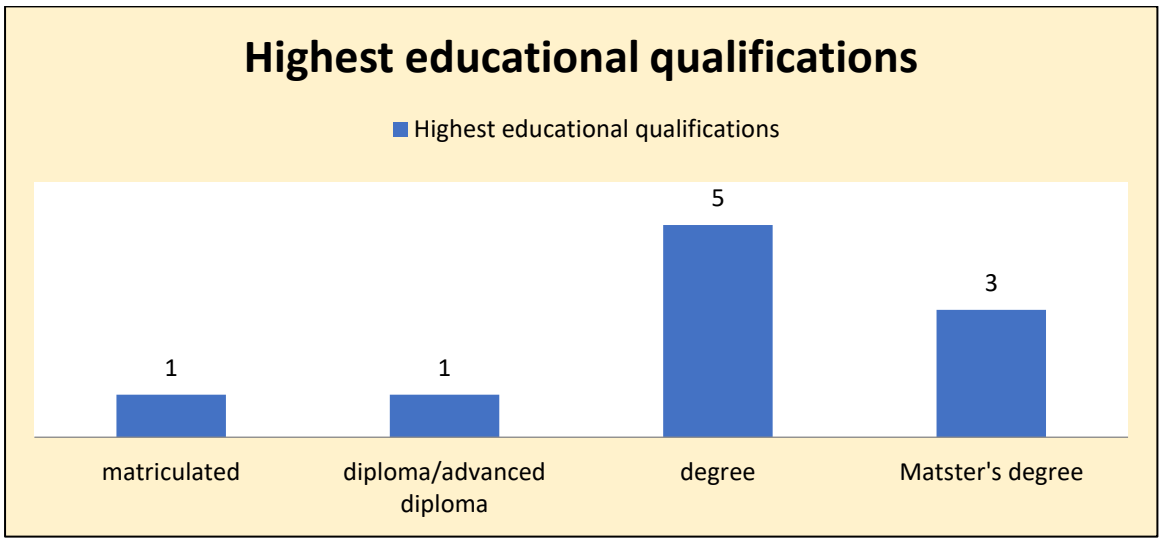


As shown in Figure 3.5, the ten-member sample size obtained was 40% female and 60% male. This reflected an almost 50-50 gender representation, revealing the gender sensitivity of the study, as well as the emerging presence of women in critical roles and functions of government in different spheres of governance in bringing about change to past socio-economic injustices of apartheid, while fostering land-use and development initiatives.

3.5.3 Highest educational qualifications

The highest educational qualifications of the study participants are shown in Figure 3.6 below.

Figure 3.6: Highest educational qualifications



As shown in Figure 3.6, half of the respondents had a degree or equivalent, with three having completed their Master's Degrees. Only one respondent had a matriculation certificate as highest educational qualification, and one had a diploma. This information suggested that the respondents had a high level of cognition from acquired education and, thus, richer insights were projected pertaining to the theme of the study.

3.5.4 Current profession/employment status

As indicated earlier, the snowball technique was used to access some of the participants. Using this technique, Respondent A in the local authority referred the

researcher to Respondent B in the private sector, who then made a referral to Respondent C in the provincial sphere of government. The targeted participants included town planners, LED practitioner, a civil engineer, a professional land surveyor, a researcher, a former mayor, personnel from municipality's corporate services, and a community and business leader.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of reducing expansive amounts of collected information to understand them (Saunders *et al*., 2018). During this process, data are organised, reduced through summarisation and categorisation, and patterns and themes in the data are identified and linked. The data collected through this research were analysed through data reduction, categorisation, and establishment of themes based on the three objectives of the study as follows.

Thematic analysis as a suitable instrument of data analysis in qualitative research was used in this study. This involves identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2019). Additionally, qualitative research often employs coding techniques, where segments of data are systematically labeled with descriptive or interpretive codes to facilitate analysis and interpretation (Braun and Clarke, 2019).

Objective One: To present an outline of a historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet.

Document analysis was used to review historical municipal policies, old maps, and published papers to address this objective in the form of a literature review (published and unpublished articles and books) to obtain the historical development of the area. Erstwhile, master plans and land development objectives (LDOs) developed during the transitional period of local government were also reviewed. In addition, the integrated development plans (IDPs), spatial development frameworks (SDFs), and municipal service delivery budget implementation plans (SDBIP) developed post 1994 were examined in order to understand the progression of the planning function post 1994.

Table 3.3: Documents analysed

Reviewed Instrument	Period
Graaff-Reinet Urban Design	1989
Graaff-Reinet Local Structure Plan	1995
Graaff-Reinet Local Structure Plan	1998
Land Development Objectives (LDO's) & Integrated Development Plan (IDP)	1999 – 2004
Spatial Development Framework (SDF)	2006
Integrated Development Plan (IDP)	2007 – 2012
Integrated Development Plan (IDP)	2012 – 2017
Spatial Development Framework (SDF)	2012
Annual Reports and Municipal Budgets	2012
	2013
	2014
	2015
	2016
Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP–	2011 – 2016

The targeted period of study was from 1999 to 2016 (17 years). The reason for reviewing this period was because most of the documentation mentioned was first implemented from 1999 upon the promulgation of the Municipal Systems Act (MSA) and the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) that would make it possible to construct the progression of planning policies, land-use, structure and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet.

Objective Two: To analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have, or failed to, re-shape the spatial structure of the town's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of well-located land.

Secondary data in the form of land-use schemes (zoning schemes) and the SDFs that were developed for the Graaff-Reinet area were examined by carefully reviewing the text to extract meaning, understand context, and gather insights to address this objective. Available historical and current land-use maps were also reviewed to analyse how strategic land has been utilised, together with conducting interviews with strategic stakeholders who had performed some work that related to the built

environment (planning consultants) and development planning in the area of Graaff-Reinet.

Objective Three: To evaluate the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and especially the relationship between attributes of available, well-located land and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services) in the past 17 years (1999 – 2016).

Secondary data were used by carefully reviewing the texts to extract meaning, understand context, and gather insights to address the objective, using existing literature to analyse the intended purpose regarding well-located land. Furthermore, the municipal valuation roll was used to assess general land ownership patterns, and the municipal asset register was used to assess land owned specifically by the municipality within the area of Graaff-Reinet. Significant stakeholders who were major state landowners within the area were also engaged, such as the Department of Public Works, Transnet, Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform, and the Department of Human Settlements in order to source their asset registers for further assessment of land owned by the state. The Municipal Service Delivery Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP) for the selected years was also assessed to determine the budgets allocated to land development and investment in infrastructure for the town of Graaff-Reinet. In addition, plans were sourced from the relevant departments involved in infrastructure development (Public Works, Roads and Transport) in order to establish how much funding had been invested in land development and infrastructure within the study area. Individuals from entities within the built environment were interviewed, specifically those who had proposed and conducted development and infrastructure master plans within the study area.

Table 3.4: Summary of data analysis

Research Question	Research Objectives	Research Methods and Instruments	
		Methods	**Instruments**
What have been the (historic) nature, patterns and logic of land tenure and land-use in the Graaff-Reinet region?	To present an outline of a historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet;	Literature review interviews and document reading and analysis	Observation guide
How have the land-use planning and management systems after 1994 changed the way land is used in Graaff-Reinet, especially in terms of making well-located land available and making beneficial use of it?	To analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have, or failed to, re-shape the spatial structure of the town's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of available well-located land;	● Literature review, document reading (SDF, Municipal Growth Strategy, LED Strategy) ● Interviews with stake-holders	Observation guide, focus-group discussion guide and interview guide
What has been the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and especially the relationship between ownership and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services)?	To evaluate the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and especially the relationship between attributes of available well-located land and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services) in the last 25 years.	● Literature review, and document reading ● Interviews with stake-holders – municipal officials, planning professionals	Observation guide and interview guide

Source: Researcher's construct

3.6.1 Document analysis

Document analysis was also used to achieve the research objectives (*see table 3.4*.). Document analysis is the process of examining and evaluating various aspects of a document to gain insights, extract information, and draw conclusions (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg and McKibbon, 2015). Document analysis was conducted manually by the researcher without automated tools or software. Document analysis is a valuable technique for understanding written materials, extracting relevant information, and making informed decisions based on the findings.

Municipal policy documents were analysed by carefully examining (reading) the text to extract meaning, understand context, and gather insights. The key policies that were examined and/or reviewed were as follows:

- **Land Development Objectives (LDOs)** – these were the first set of policy documents developed between 1994 and 1998 during the transitional phase in South African Local Government. The existing policy developed in 1999 for the town of Graaff-Reinet was examined as it related to proposals for spatial patterns of the town. The focus of the policy mentioned was on service delivery matters and institutional arrangements together with the budget of the institution (municipality) responsible for the town of Graaff-Reinet.

- **Integrated Development Plans (IDPs)** – Three IDPs from 1999, one from 2014, and one from 2016, examined carefully. The IDP was introduced as a short- to medium-term plan to guide local authorities in their land development objectives, ensuring that land-use and development aligned with broader development goals. The mentioned IDPs were examined in order to address the objectives of the study.

- **Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs***)* –all SDFs developed between 1994 and 2016 that were related to the town of Graaff-Reinet were collected. It was evident that, during these years, there were only two existing spatial development frameworks. These were both examined to extract meaning, understand context, and gather insights.

- **Municipal Budgets/Annual Reports** - Annual budget documents were collected from the municipality with the intention of examining whether there were funds allocated for the purposes of acquiring of land for spatial integration. These were examined to extract information.

- **Graaff-Reinet Maps** – A set of maps that reflected the spatial patterns before 1994 were collected and examined. A comparison was made using QGIS to examine what the spatial patterns were in 1994 and what they were in 2016.

- **Land-Use Schemes (Zoning Schemes)** - all zoning schemes applicable to the area of Graaff-Reinet were collected. It was evident that two schemes existed for the area between 1994 and 2016. There was a Graaff-Reinet Zoning Scheme that was applicable for the town area (Horseshoe area) and Kroonvale area developed in terms of the Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985 (LUPO), and the second scheme was applicable only to the township of Umasizakhe (Umasizakhe Zoning Scheme), developed in terms of the Black Communities Development Act No 4 of 1984.

3.6.2 Interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted during the study with municipal officials, officials from some of the Eastern Cape Provincial Departments, consultants in the town planning field and members of the public (see table 3.2), with the intention of obtaining in-depth details of the experiences and perspectives of the interviewees in response to the questions posed (Saunders *et al*., 2018; Trochim, 2018). Hoglund and Oberg (2011) explained that, during in-depth interviews, researchers and participants have the freedom to explore additional points and change the direction of the process when necessary. Trochim, Donnelly and Arora (2016) asserted further that an independent research method can adopt multiple strategies according to the needs of the research. As suggested by Trochim and Donnelly (2016), the in-depth interviews conducted during this research were intended also to close the gaps in the findings of the literature review because of the unavailability of specific institutional documents.

The selected participants requested not to be mentioned by name in the research report. However, they can be categorised as follows:

- Senior Municipal Employees, Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality;
- Specialists in Development Planning, Sarah Baartman District Municipality;
- Employees at Provincial Government Departments of the Eastern Cape;
- Consultants within the Town Planning and Engineering fields;

- Business Leaders;
- Politicians; and
- Community Leaders.

During the interviews, the participants were asked to reflect on the extent to which well-located state land parcels provided strategic levers for socio-spatial restructuring of the apartheid geographies of Graaff-Reinet. The guiding questions on table 3.5 were formulated based on the objectives of the study and posed to the participants.

Table 3.5: Interview question guide

Number	Objective	Questions
Objective One	To show a historical background of the changing land-use, spatial pattern and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet.	• How did pre-1994 Graaff-Reinet spatial plans promote/address/approach the fragmented local spatial distribution and infrastructure development of the town? • How did the pre-1994 spatial plans influence the existing Graaff-Reinet spatial patterns? • Was the Urban Design developed by UCT in 1989 adopted by the municipality?
Objective Two	To analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have been a factor in re-shaping the spatial structure of the town's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of availability of well-located land.	• What did the first post-1994 spatial plans propose in the effort to change the past spatial patterns of the town? • Did the town council in power during the transitional period (1995 - 1996) adopt the spatial strategies? If so, were they implemented? • What are the elements that make up well-located land? (Define the term "well located" and outline the elements that make up the term). • What could be the role of well-located vacant land in the context of restructuring apartheid geographies? • Which portions of land in Graaff-Reinet do you consider to be well located for purposes of spatial restructuring? Please

Number	Objective	Questions
		identify at least five portions of land and rank them. • What, in your view, was the cause of non-implementation of the Umnyama Park Project?
Objective Three	To evaluate the emerging assembly of land-use in Graaff-Reinet and especially the relationship between attributes of available, well-located land and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services).	• How do current spatial plans applicable to the town of Graaff-Reinet address this spatial challenge? • What are the main challenges that prevent spatial integration in Graaff-Reinet? • What are the required planning interventions that can address these challenges? • What institutional arrangements does the municipality need to implement in order to address this spatial challenge?

While the intention was to conduct the interviews face to face, it was not possible to do so for all the participants. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with seven participants. The remaining participants were given the option to participate using MS Teams or to be sent the guiding questions in table format prepared using MS Word so that they could respond. The three remaining participants opted to be sent the questions in an MS Word table and they provided their responses.

The questions were guiding questions. The participants were permitted to respond in any manner in which they were able and could provide additional follow-up data that were related to the questions. The interviews were conducted between 10 November 2022 and 23 March 2023

The data collected from the interviews were transcribed, labelled, and stored as agreed with the participants. The transcribed data were then cleansed to extract the most relevant information in relation to each of the three objectives of the study.

3.7 Ethical Considerations

According to Cacciattolo (2015), understanding the discourse of academic research and being aware of what constitutes ethical research is an essential part of planning for a research project. Cacciattolo (2015) explained further that the field of ethics ensures that participants are safe from harm and are protected from unnecessary stress. Cacciattolo (2015) added that unethical behaviour that is displayed by researchers can also compromise the validity of the data collected.

The researcher applied to the institution (CPUT) for ethical clearance which was granted to proceed with data collection (Annexure A). In this study the participants were identified in terms of their field of work and experience. They were formally informed about the purpose of the study and its background. The intention was to give the participants information about the study and a choice to become involved in the research project or to decline if they so wished.

Similarly, with the collection of secondary data, public documents were used that, by law, would have been published for public comment. However, the researcher informed the institutions of the purpose for which the documents were being requested and all the institutions consented to the use of the documents for the purposes of conducting this study. The data collected from in-depth interviews and institutional documents were used and reported accurately.

The researcher exercised the principle of autonomy, allowing the identified individuals and stakeholders to decide whether they wished to participate in the study or not. The participants were offered the option to choose to withdraw from the study at any time during the research process (Orb *et al*., 2001). All participants were required to give their consent before participating, as a matter of trust. Also, with regards to documents that might be obtained from government institutions in the course of this study, the researcher ensured that the information was acquired with the consent of the particular institutions.

3.8 Summary

This chapter presented the steps taken to accomplish the objectives of the study. This involved examining documents, such as development plans, maps, and frameworks provided by the local authority in Graaff-Reinet. In the chapter, the rationale for adopting a case study design was presented, incorporating the utilisation of snowball and purposive sampling techniques. The chapter discussed ways the information collected from the interviews and documents was analysed. The ethical issues that were taken into consideration in the study were also described. The next chapter provides an overview of the town of Graaff-Reinet. The chapter includes a discussion of population dynamics, land ownership patterns existing within the small town and an attempt to elucidate what is meant in the study when addressing the subject of well-located land.

CHAPTER 4: OVERVIEW OF GRAAFF-REINET

4.1 Introduction

To contextualise the main findings in Chapter Five, this chapter contains an overview of the town of Graaff-Reinet. This includes a brief reflection on the history of the small town, its population, inequality gaps, land ownership patterns, the structure of land-use inherited after 1994 and an attempt to explain what “well-located land” means in the context of this study. The last section summarises the chapter.

4.2 Contextual Background

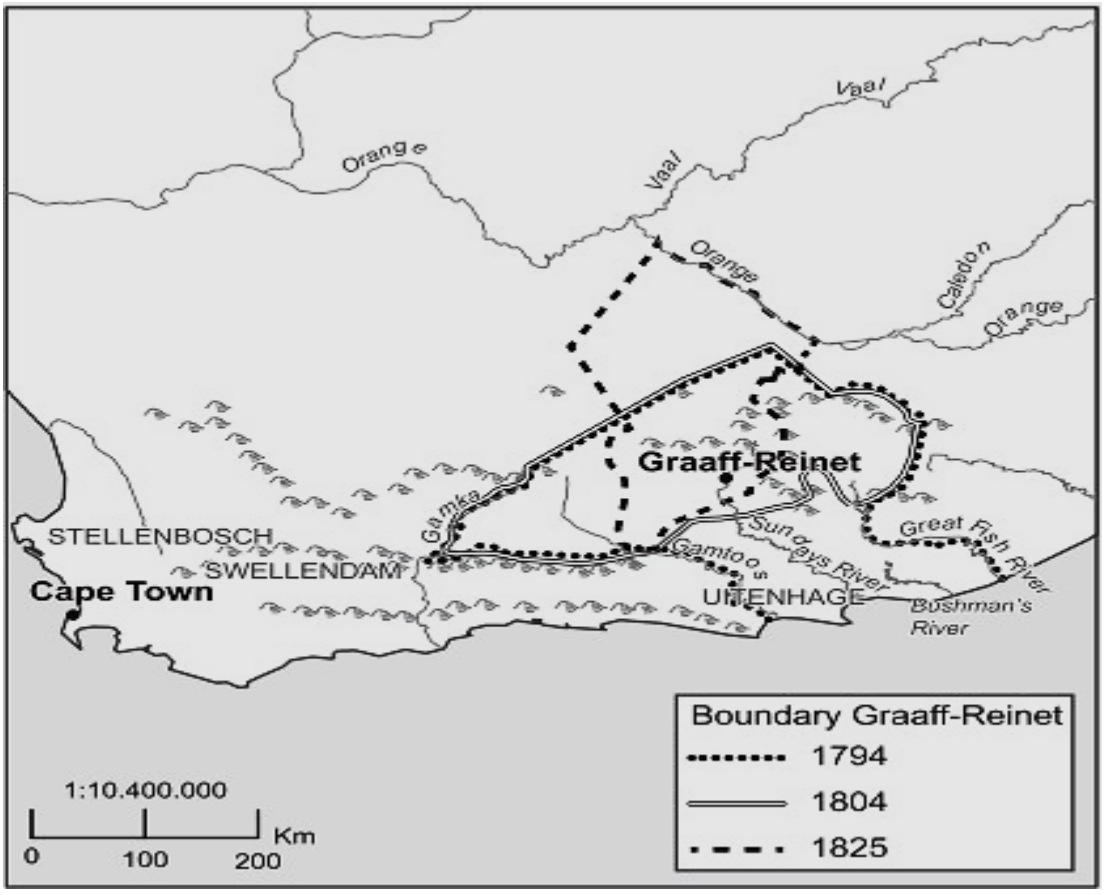
Graaff-Reinet falls under the Eastern Cape province, within the Sarah Baartman District Municipality and, more specifically, within the Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality. According to Fransen (2006), the town of Graaff-Reinet (see Figure 4.1) was established in 1786, following significant conflicts between the Khoi-San and Xhosa nations in the region and was one of the last towns established under Dutch rule. Named after Cornelis Jacob van de Graaff and his wife Cornelia Reinet, “de Wiljdgelegen Colonie van Graaff-Reinet" was established in 1786 and is one of several towns in South Africa named after Dutch governors. This was the fourth district to be proclaimed in South Africa and, as a result, received a "drostdy" or seat of local government (van Rensburg, 2015).

The town is strategically situated between major centres, namely George in the Western Cape, and Gqeberha in the Eastern Cape and, therefore, is an ideal stop-over for travellers (Sigenu, 2007). Graaff-Reinet is made up of three areas, namely: Horseshoe area, Umasizakhe, Kroonvale and Adendorp, each with its significant historical background. The oldest of the three areas is the Horseshoe area, attributed to its shape that resembles that of a horseshoe. Graaff-Reinet has long been justly renowned for its attractive and well-preserved, historic homes and buildings. This part of the town was historically populated by the White community and harbours all commercial activity together with most of the government institutions. With over 200 buildings claimed as National Monuments and an entire street restored, including its

slave cottages, the Horseshoe area has retained much of the character of a typical 19th century town.

The areas of Kroonvale and Adendorp are completely separated from the Horseshoe area and, consequently, are located a distance from all major employment opportunities and commercial activity.

Figure 4.1: The town of Graaff-Reinet as established in 1786



Source: Cilliers and Green (2018)

While Umasizakhe, a former Black township is adjacent to the economic hub of the town, it is characterised by poor basic infrastructure, with mixed tarred and gravel roads, poor storm water drainage systems, ageing electrical infrastructure and is separated from the town area by a railway line, making it impossible for integration. The Urban Econ Eastern Cape (2012) argued that the township started as a result of the influx of Xhosa people into Graaff-Reinet. These people had to be housed in close proximity to the town of Graaff-Reinet because they were the much needed labour

force but, at the same time, they could not live in town because they were associated with crime. Amidst efforts to control the influx, the numbers of Africans increased such that a location was demarcated where Africans were to reside (Kalipa-Mini, 2018). Similarly, the Kroonvale Township, a former Coloured area, is separated by the Sundays River, but has suitably-planned neighbourhoods, a mixture of tarred and gravel roads, with some of its areas paved.

Based on a business survey conducted by Atkinson and Ingle (2010), it was observed that most businesses in the town of Graaff-Reinet fell into the category of retail food sales (groceries, vegetables, butcheries, and general merchandise). It was contended further that 6% of the enterprises were in the vehicle and garage trade, illustrating the importance of Graaff-Reinet's being situated on a national highway (N9). It was also argued that tourism was significant, with 7% of the businesses being restaurants of various kinds and an equal proportion classified as accommodation establishments.

4.3 Graaff-Reinet Population Background

The town of Graaff-Reinet covers an area of 50km^2 which includes the neighbourhoods Horseshoe, Adendorp, Asherville, Kroonvale, Spandauville and UMasizakhe, of which the latter four neighbourhoods are known as townships. In the South African National Census of 2011, the population of Graaff-Reinet was recorded as being estimated to be 35,672 people. It is evident from the Table 4.1 that the neighbourhoods in Graaff-Reinet are grouped mostly according to race. Also, a very low percentage of Whites live in the townships.

Table 4.1: Graaff-Reinet Population Statistics, 2011

Neighbourhood	Area (m^2)	Population	Population Group (%)					First Language		
			Black African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Other	Afrikaans	English	Xhosa
Adendorp	31.34	401	4.24	16.96	-	78.05	0.75	88.78	10.22	0.25
Asherville	1.04	5394	8.40	91.01	0.17	0.06	0.37	95.12	1.67	1.85
Horseshoe	7.97	4285	25.58	20.75	0.30	52.28	1.07	67.62	20.68	9.72
Kroonvale	3.64	14654	3.92	95.00	0.70	0.09	0.28	96.97	1.07	0.78
Spandauville	4.19	1847	34.92	34.65	0.60	29.34	0.43	79.86	7.53	11.03
Umasizakhe	1.59	9087	79.99	19.28	0.34	0.03	0.34	33.66	1.55	62.89
Total	**49.59**	**35668**	**28.19**	**62.18**	**0.47**	**8.73**	**0.42**	**76.06**	**4.08**	**18.40**

Source: Stats SA, 2011

The population growth of Graaff-Reinet has been relatively slow over the past few decades. According to the 1996 Census, the population of Graaff-Reinet was approximately 28,000 people. By the 2011 Census, the population had only increased to approximately 35,672 people, indicating a growth rate of approximately 1.1% per year.

There are several factors that might contribute to the slow population growth in Graaff-Reinet, including limited job opportunities, limited access to health care and education, and a lack of infrastructure development. In addition, the town is relatively remote and isolated, which might make it less attractive for people to move to or live in compared with larger cities.

Factors such as economic conditions, social dynamics, and migration patterns can all influence population growth in a particular area. While Graaff-Reinet has experienced

some growth over the past few decades, its relatively slow growth rate in recent years suggests that it might not be experiencing significant economic or social development.

4.4 Inequality Gap

South Africa is widely known for its history, wherein race-based inequality forms the cornerstone of White minority rule. Similar to many towns and cities in South Africa, Graaff-Reinet has significant levels of inequality, particularly along racial and economic lines.

According to data from the South African 2011 Census, the town has a Gini coefficient of 0.65, which is higher than the national average and indicates a high level of income inequality. This means that there is a large gap between the income of the richest and poorest residents of the town.

There are also significant disparities in living conditions and access to basic services in Graaff-Reinet. Although many residents live in well-maintained homes with access to reliable electricity, water, and sanitation, others live in informal settlements without access to these basic services.

Additionally, there are significant disparities in access to education and health care in Graaff-Reinet. Many residents, particularly those living in poorer areas of the town, might have limited access to quality education and healthcare services.

These inequalities are often linked to historical and ongoing structural factors such as apartheid-era policies, unequal economic opportunities, and unequal distribution of resources. Addressing these inequalities remains an important challenge for Graaff-Reinet and South Africa.

4.5 Socio-Economic Infrastructure

Graaff-Reinet has a range of socio-economic infrastructure, including healthcare facilities, schools, transportation, and public services. However, according to the Dr Beyers Naude Municipal LED Strategy, access to these resources is not equally distributed across the town and disparities exist along socio-economic and racial lines (Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality, 2021).

Healthcare facilities in Graaff-Reinet include a number of public and private hospitals, clinics, and medical practices. However, access to quality health care is limited for many residents, particularly those living in informal settlements or in rural areas on the outskirts of the town. The nearest major hospital is located in the Bergendal area, which is in close proximity to the Horseshoe area (Camdeboo Local Municipality, 2012).

In terms of education, there are several public and private schools in Graaff-Reinet, serving students from primary school through to secondary school. However, similar to many parts of South Africa, the quality of education is often dependent on the resources available to the school and its location within the town. Many schools in poorer areas might lack basic resources such as textbooks and qualified teachers.

Transportation infrastructure in Graaff-Reinet includes a network of roads and highways connecting the town to other parts of South Africa. The town also has a small, local airstrip, but air travel is not widely used for domestic travel within the country.

Public services in Graaff-Reinet include waste management, water and sanitation services, and emergency services. However, similar to health care and education, access to these services might be limited for residents living in poorer areas or in informal settlements.

Overall, while Graaff-Reinet has a range of socio-economic infrastructure, disparities in access to these resources persist and reflect larger socio-economic and racial inequalities within South African society.

4.6 Land Ownership

According to the Area Based Plan (ABP) developed in 2008 by the erstwhile Cacadu District Municipality (now known as the Sarah Baartman District Municipality), 90.9% of the land in Graaff-Reinet is privately owned (see table 4.2). The ABP essentially functions as a Sector Plan, the purpose of which is to address related issues at a municipal level and is intended to form part of the Municipal IDP and SDF.

Table 4.2: Area Based Plan and Land Availability

Land Use	Area	%
Private	426424.4	90.9
Municipal	9429.0	2.0
State	33025.6	7.0

Source: Camdeboo Local Municipality (2007)

According to the ABP (Sarah Baartman District Municipality, 2008), by the year 2014, 30% of the land would have been transferred from private ownership to the previously disadvantage communities. Notably, there is no existing land audit compiled that shows any changes in land ownership. Owing to the slow pace of land reform, no data were found during this study that suggested changes in land ownership patterns for the town. Instead, land invasion has been observed, creating urban sprawl by developing informally away from the areas of economic opportunity.

Similar to many parts of South Africa, land ownership in Graaff-Reinet is a complex and contentious issue that is closely linked to the country's history of colonialism, segregation, and apartheid.

During the apartheid era, the South African Government enforced a system of racial segregation that included laws governing land ownership and distribution. These policies resulted in significant disparities in land ownership along racial lines, with most Black South Africans being excluded from land ownership and forced to live in designated "homelands" or townships.

In Graaff-Reinet, as in many other parts of the country, these policies resulted in the displacement of many Black South Africans from their ancestral lands and the transfer

of land ownership to White South Africans. Today, the majority of land in Graaff-Reinet is owned by White South Africans, while many Black South Africans continue to be excluded from land ownership.

4.7 Inherited Structure of Land Use

The traditional approach to forward planning and land-use management or development control by municipalities/town councils before 1994 was different from the current systems (Nel, 2015). Nsele (2016) added that in Chapter 1 of the repealed Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985 (LUPO) the two functions of planning and control were separated and separate zoning schemes were created together with structure plans. In terms of Section 4 of the repealed Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985 (LUPO), all town councils were required to prepare structure plans in consultation with all interested groups in the community (Graaff-Reinet Municipality, 1995). In Section 5(1) of the Land Use Planning Ordinance, promulgated on 1 July 1986, it was stated that the general purpose of a structure plan should be to provide guidelines for the future spatial development of an area to which it related tin urban renewal, urban design, or the preparation of development plans.

The evolution of the forward planning and land-use management in the town of Graaff-Reinet is captured in the structure plans mentioned, developed for the town. One of the sources documenting this evolution is the Guidelines for Conservation and Development, also termed the Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design (Nsele, 2016). These guidelines, in the form of an urban design, were developed by the School of Architecture and Planning, at the University of Cape Town in 1989 and might have been commissioned as a follow-up strategy to a preceding structure plan. However, it is not clear from the reviewed document which institution commissioned the urban design.

According to the 1989 guidelines, Graaff-Reinet originated in the late 18th century in response to a need for an administrative and military centre in a district consisting primarily of trek farmers and local inhabitants. These two groups competed with one another for the utilisation of land and water (Graaff-Reinet Urban Design Studio, 1989). The town arose as a settlement within the Horseshoe area, surrounded by the

Sundays River and mountains on three sides. Despite slow economic growth, the town remained important as a local trading and cultural centre for the surrounding farmers. Over the years, Graaff-Reinet was divided into separate parts for administrative purposes, and this affected the physical form it has taken (Nsele, 2016; Graaff-Reinet Urban Design Studio, 1989). The areas were mainly separated by railway lines and the Sundays River. According to the Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design, the railway line separated the area of Umasizakhe from the Horseshoe area to some extent. It is explained further in the Design that, for the town to realise its full economic and social potential, such artificial separations of living environments should be strongly avoided and actively replaced with urban development (Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design Studio, 1989). This seemed to suggest that pockets of vacant land in the town of Graaff-Reinet, capable of integrating these communities, must be utilised/developed to avoid the existing separation.

The Graaff-Reinet Urban Design Studio (1989) seems to provide a sound analysis of the entire area of Graaff-Reinet that includes the Horseshoe area, Umasizakhe, Spandauville, Adendorp and Kroonvale/Asherville areas. Notably, the Structure Plan developed in 1995 seems to suggest that there are existing development strategies compiled exclusively for the area of Umasizakhe and Kroonvale, since these areas were administered separately. The Urban Design further suggested that the soundest development policy would move towards a more substantial integration of the parts (Graaff-Reinet communities) at every level of daily life for the survival and well-being of all the residents of Graaff-Reinet. The analysis given by the 1989 Urban Design further provided the 1989 *status quo* and the desired urban form that demonstrated integration. In the desired urban form, the use of centrally located vacant land between the local communities (Horseshoe area, Umasizakhe, Kroonvale) of the town of Graaff-Reinet was proposed in the Design.

On the subject of urban structure, the Graaff-Reinet Structure Plan developed between 1994 and 1995 seems to suggest that the urban structure of the town is to a great extent the consequence of the topographical features within which it is located (Graaff-Reinet Municipality, 1995). This is a different interpretation from what was articulated in the Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design. Notably, in the Graaff-Reinet structure plan (1995), it is explained further that, from an urban structure point of view, the only

development potential that the town has is in a southern direction (along the PE/ Gqeberha route) and then also in vacant portions of land in between the three communities.

The subject of the use of vacant land located between the three communities within the reviewed spatial strategies (Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design and the 1995 Structure Plan) seems to be consistent. These spatial strategies seem to encourage the integration of the separated areas for the benefit of all the residents of the town.

The promulgation of the South African Constitution in 1996, together with the Local Government Transitional Act of 1993 and its amendments in 1996, introduced the Integrated Development Plans (IDP) as instruments to help local authorities with transformation and fulfilling the objectives of the nationally-sponsored Reconstruction and Development Plan (Harrison, 2001). The newly-introduced legislative framework and the White Paper on Local Government also considered the redrawing of municipal boundaries to ensure the integration of rural and urban areas and construction of new metropolitan authorities (Harrison, 2014). The erstwhile Graaff-Reinet, Nieu Bethesda and Aberdeen Local Municipalities were amalgamated in 2001 to form Camdeboo Local Municipality (Camdeboo Municipality, 2000).

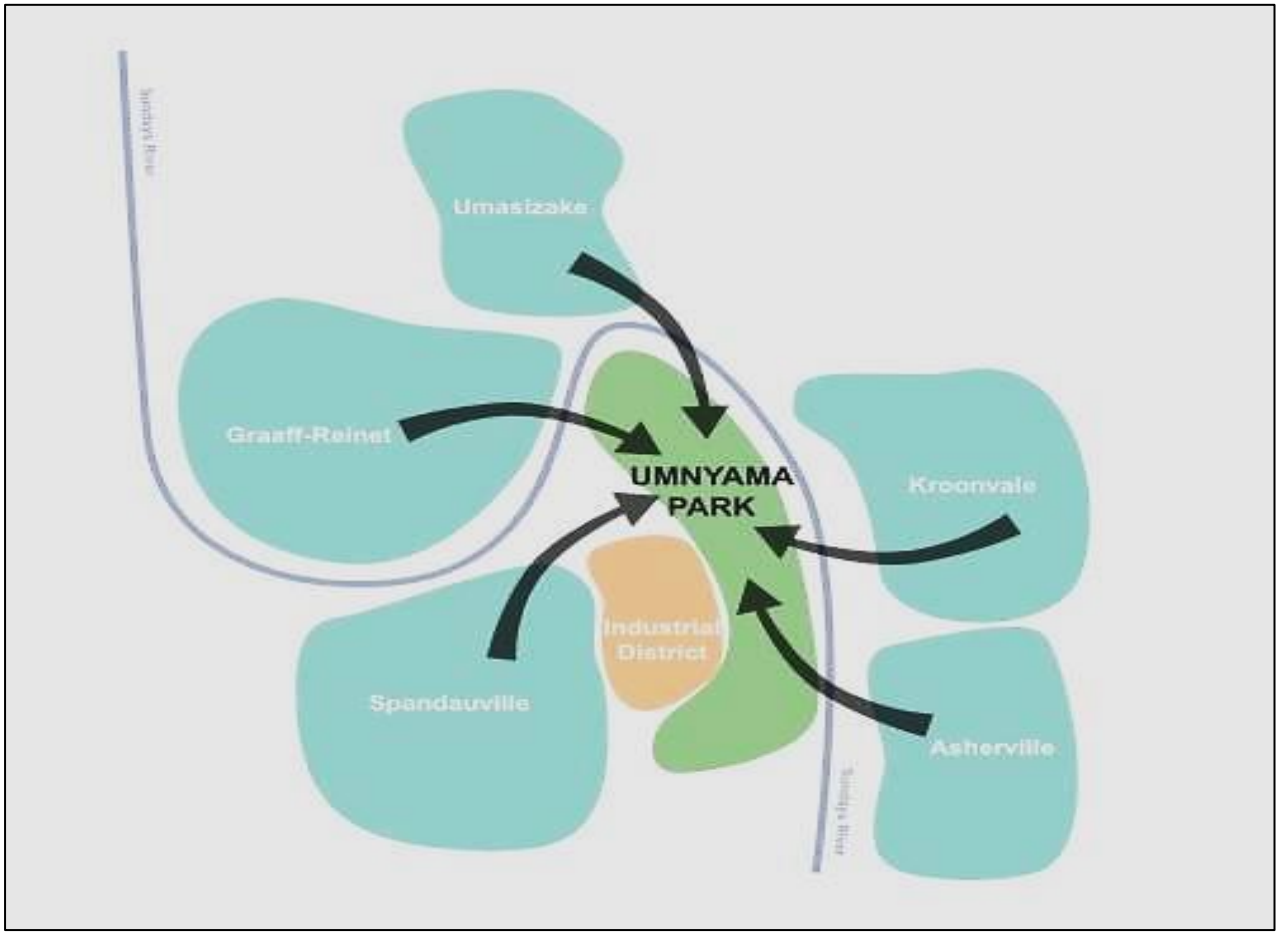
Nel (2015) asserted that the development of the early generation of IDPs (between 2001 and 2006) included a form of spatial analysis together with land development objectives for all the nodes within the municipal jurisdiction. Notably, the early generation IDPs reviewed did not reflect on the fragmented spatial form of the Graaff-Reinet town. One of the objectives suggested in the Camdeboo MSDF (Camdeboo Municipality, 2006: 87) was the promotion of equal political opportunities, input and decision-making powers for all residents through the division of land-uses on the basis of geographic planning areas, each of which would reflect its own character in respect of erf size and economic principles, and not on the basis of racial classification. There was minimal reflection on the inherited spatial form and how it should be addressed.

The 2016 IDP of Camdeboo Municipality included a reflection on a proposal to develop the centrally-located land, between the areas of the Horseshoe, Umasizakhe and Kroonvale. The IDP seems to suggest that the proposed Community Rental Units or

the development of this centrally-located land was attempted in the past but was not successful. According to the IDP (Camdeboo Municipality, 2016/17:105), the Umnyama Park Project was developed in the year 2008 by a joint venture between the Camdeboo Municipality and Winterswijk Municipality in Holland as part of a twinning agreement reached between the two municipalities. In the IDP (Camdeboo Municipality 2016:105), it was explained further that the aim of the urban vision of, and development plan for, the Umnyama Park Scheme was to integrate and empower communities through a well-designed, sustainable, and socially cohesive approach.

The Umnyama Park Project resembles the Urban Design proposed by the University of Cape Town in 1989. The locality of the development is central, and its intention is to integrate the areas formally divided. The implementation of the two proposals would have been a significant attempt at deconstructing the apartheid geographies of the frontier town of Graaff-Reinet. These designs do not appear in any of the three post-1994 Spatial Development Frameworks developed for this municipal area.

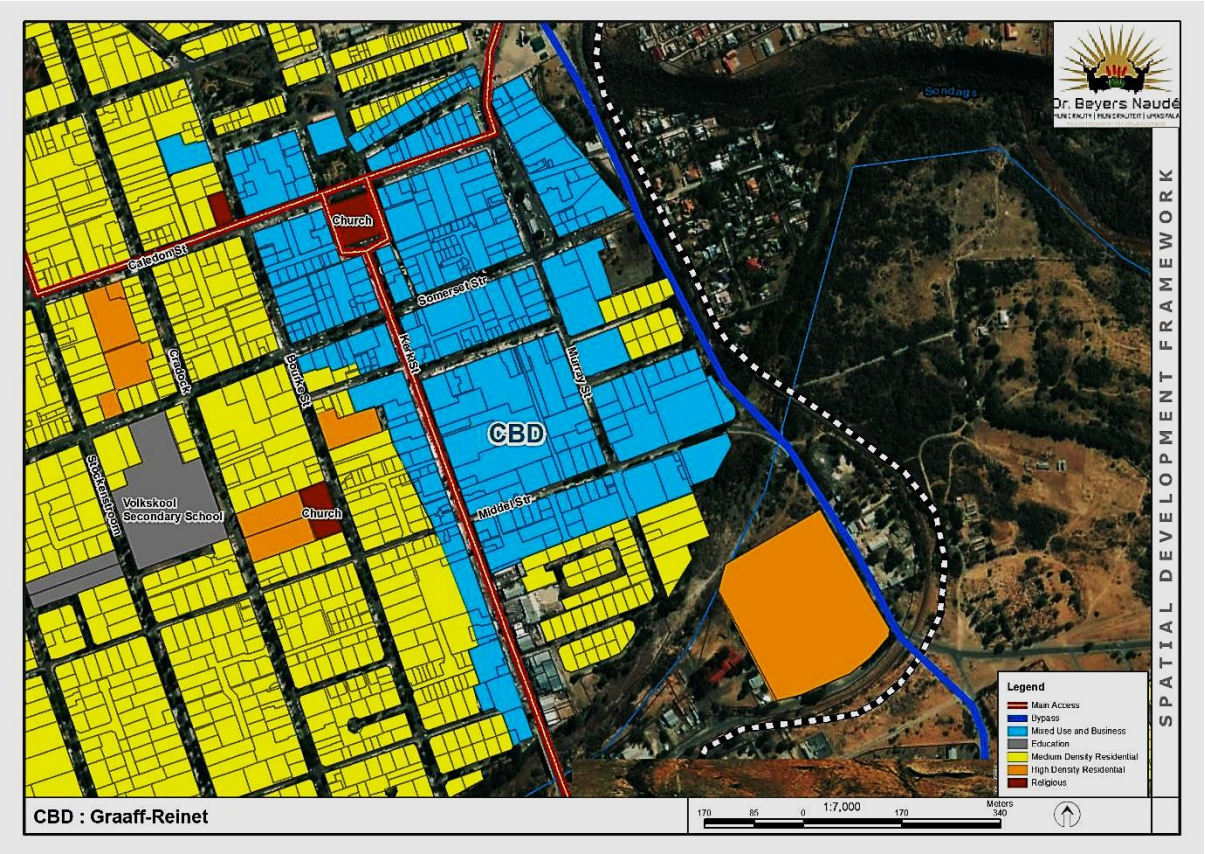
Figure 4.2: Umnyama Park Concept Plan



Source: Camdeboo LM (2012)

The review of the zoning maps applicable to the town of Graaff-Reinet (that include the Horseshoe area, Umasizakhe, Kroonvale, Spandauville and Adendorp) demonstrate a concentration of commercial land-uses in, and very close to, the main streets (Church and Caledon Streets, Horseshoe area) of the town, significantly overlapping with the concentration of public facilities and administrative buildings (Graaff-Reinet Zoning Scheme, 2012).

Figure 4.3: Zoning map



Source: Dr Beyers Naude Draft SDF, 2021

A closer examination of these zoning maps showed sporadic business zones, especially within the former marginalised areas of Umasizakhe and Kroonvale. The sporadic nature of business zones suggests *ad hoc* rezoning from single residential to commercial and general residential zones. In the case of the Kroonvale area, it is observed that there are blocks planned for commercial activities, but this remains very limited in relation to the size of the population of the area. The perceived *ad hoc* rezoning could be interpreted as a response to the population growth of these areas (Graaff-Reinet Municipality, 1999) and as a means to take advantage of the growth by establishing house shops, taverns and flats in a manner that is out of keeping with the existing pattern of residential development. Notably, it has been observed that, for the area of Umasizakhe, zoning information was reflected during the development of the Land Development Objectives (LDOs) in 1999. Before this, no zoning information can be found in any of the institution's documents.

The demographic data of Graaff-Reinet, throughout the years, has been divided into the existing areas of Horseshoe, Umasizakhe, and Kroonvale. The sum of these areas makes up the total population of the town of Graaff-Reinet, making it possible to measure each of these areas and which area has had any changes in terms of growth or decline as a result of either outward/inward migration or mortality rates. Smith *et al*. (2013) explained that population change is measured in population size between two points in time. Population growth for this research was measured first between 1991 and 1999 in order to enrich the historical background of the study and, then the latest population numbers were captured from Stats SA (2011).

In the reviewed IDP developed in 1999 for the erstwhile Graaff-Reinet Municipality, it was recorded that the population of the area of Graaff-Reinet had remained almost constant for an estimated period of 70 years. In the Graaff-Reinet LM IDP prepared in 1999, it is explained further that a strong and more constant growth rate has been observed since 1985 with the in-migration of people from the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. The estimated population of the town for 1995/6 was 33, 790, with the Coloured area (Kroonvale) recording the largest population of the existing areas, at 18544 (Graaff-Reinet LM, 1999). The Camdeboo Spatial Development Framework (Camdeboo Municipality, 2006) published estimated population figures of 44,687 in the year 2010 for the area of Graaff-Reinet. Furthermore, while the estimated population figures published by the Dr Beyers Naude LM IDP prepared in 2021 showed a decline with an estimated population of 35,672 for the area of Graaff-Reinet, the overall population for the Municipal jurisdiction of the Dr Beyers Naude LM showed an increase in population growth of approximately 22% (Dr Beyers Naude LM, 2021).

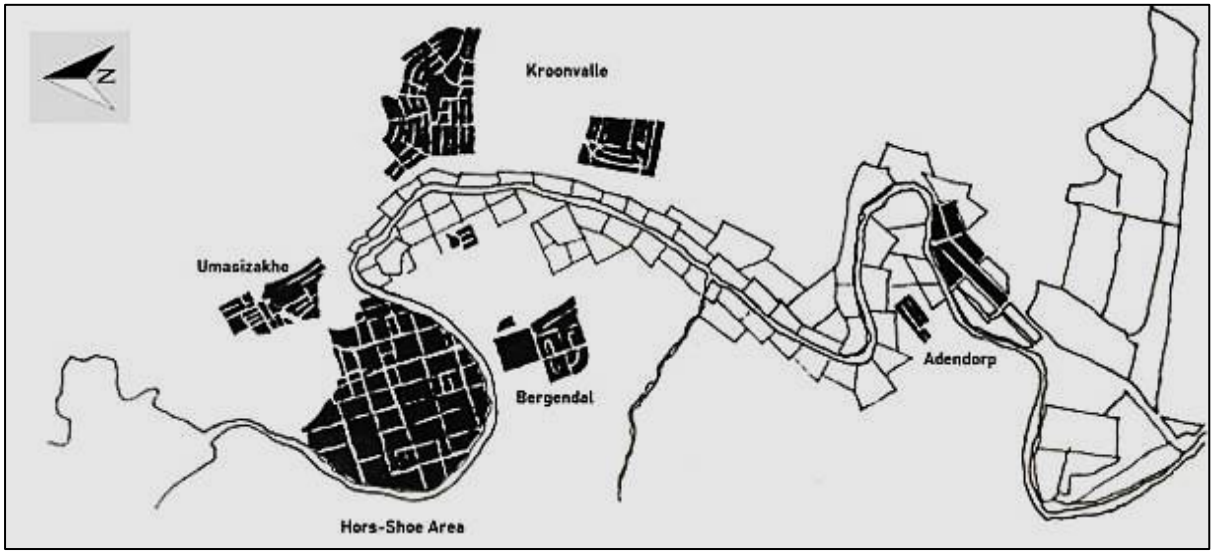
4.8. Well-located land

Well-located land in the context of this study can be understood as land that is close to economic opportunities such as places of employment, social services, and infrastructure. In their paper about the well-located land index, Musakwa, Tshesane and Kangethe (2017) defined well-located land as land that is well positioned for promotion of agriculture, housing, and rural as well as tourism development. The mentioned sectors are some of the national economic drivers capable of stimulating employment and growth of the local and national economy.

Lia *et al.* (2015) also suggested that well-located land is a parcel of real estate located in a highly convenient and desirable position. Well-located land provides easy access to essential amenities, transportation networks, and key infrastructure, making it valuable for various urban development or investment purposes. Premium prices are often paid for such land because of its strategic positioning and potential for economic and social advantages.

Thomas (2016) suggested that the system of apartheid separated people (the Black, Coloured and Indian population in particular) from their places of work and many social services required to live a productive life. These communities were relocated to the periphery of the city/town, far from work and economic opportunities. Mpantsha (2000) further emphasised the importance to the poor of well-located land, as land that offers proximity to employment areas, being close to the city, having access to shopping facilities and less costs for transport. Thus, improvements in living standards and quality of life are influenced by numerous factors including income, employment, access to facilities, housing improvements, access to transport, services, and infrastructure. The more the households have access to these factors, the more their living standards and quality of life improve (Mpantsha, 2000).

Figure 4.4: Town pattern

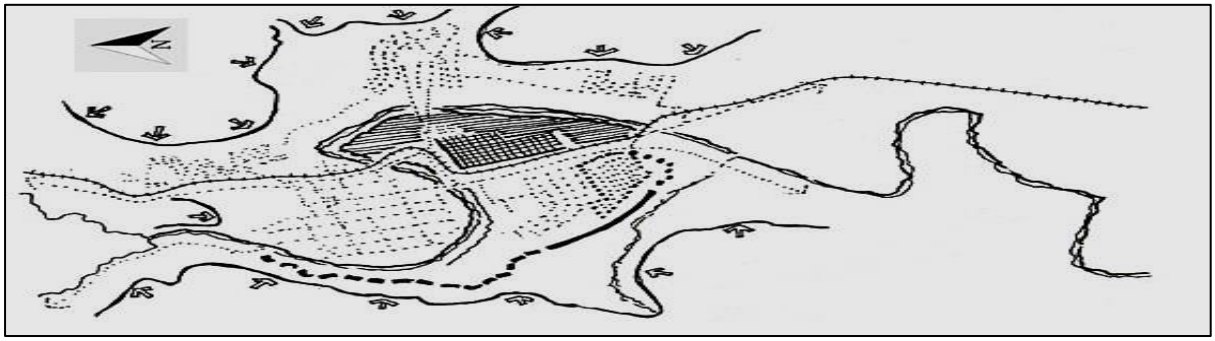


Source: Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design (UCT, 1989)

The Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design developed by the University of Cape Town (UCT) spatially represented the pattern of the town in 1989, in an attempt to illustrate its fragmentation (see Figure 4.4). While the area of Umasizakhe interfaces with the Horseshoe area (an area containing the commercial, social services, and the CBD), the areas of Kroonvale Bergendal and Adendorp are completely separated from this area. Moreover, there are structural elements, such as the Sundays River and the railway line, serving as buffers to these areas.

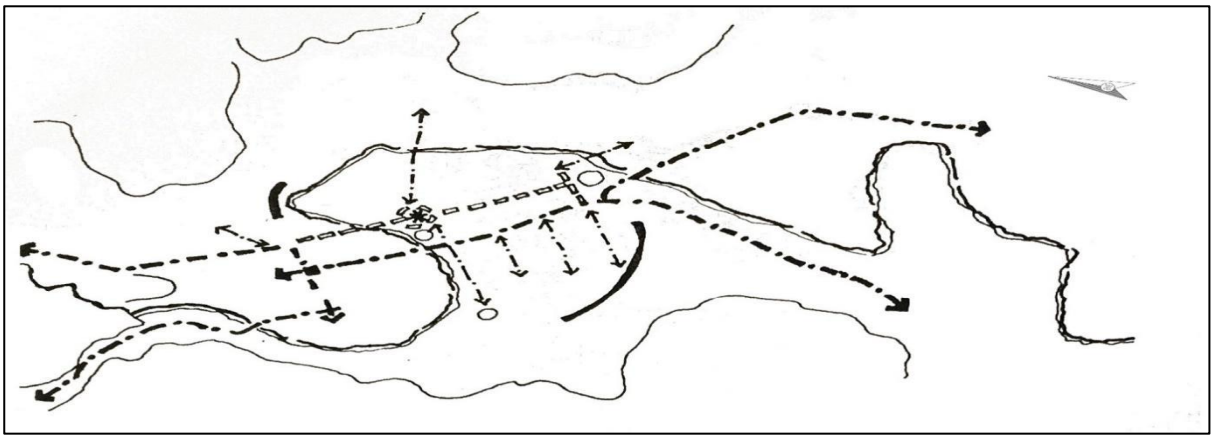
However, in the Graaff-Reinet Urban Design, it was proposed that the land in the middle of all the areas could be used to join together proximate areas around the fragmented town. The identified land is in close proximity to the CBD area and light industrial area. The plan seems to suggest that the development of the land located in the middle of the existing areas (see Figure 4.5) would join the Horseshoe area with Kroonvale and Spandauville, thus creating new business and residential investment opportunities for the residents of the town. It can be argued that the suggestion of spatially joining the town through the development of the identified, strategically located land also contributed to removing the apartheid geographies, as outlined in the NDP.

Figure 4.5: Development of adjoining land



Source - Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design (UCT, 1989)

Figure 4.6: Road linkages connecting Graaff-Reinet



Source: UCT (1989)

The imagined integration proposed in the Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design of which the aim was to bring the dislocated settlements closer to opportunities and economic infrastructure, further illustrated how road linkages could be used for the purpose of restructuring the frontier town (see Figure 4.6). The Church and Caledon Streets are outlined as the main roads within the business area, together with access roads that connect the main road of Church Street to the centrally-located land identified for restructuring of the small town.

The reviewed zoning maps of the area reflect that the identified land parcel was planned for light industry, institutional, residential, and agricultural purposes. A large portion of the land is commonage and used by small and emerging farmers for grazing and crop farming (Graaff-Reinet LM, 1999). These land-uses within the portion of the land make it very strategic and suitable for the imagined restructuring for purposes of

actively dismantling the legacy of apartheid and stimulating local economic development.

The identified land parcel is approximately 220ha and joins the Horseshoe area and the area of Kroonvale, significantly shortening the gap between the two areas. The land is largely undeveloped between major neighbourhoods of Graaff-Reinet and is within walking distance (1km) to the CBD. While the Camdeboo Spatial Development Framework (2005) encouraged the expansion of light industry, business and residential development (RDP units), this portion of land remains largely undeveloped.

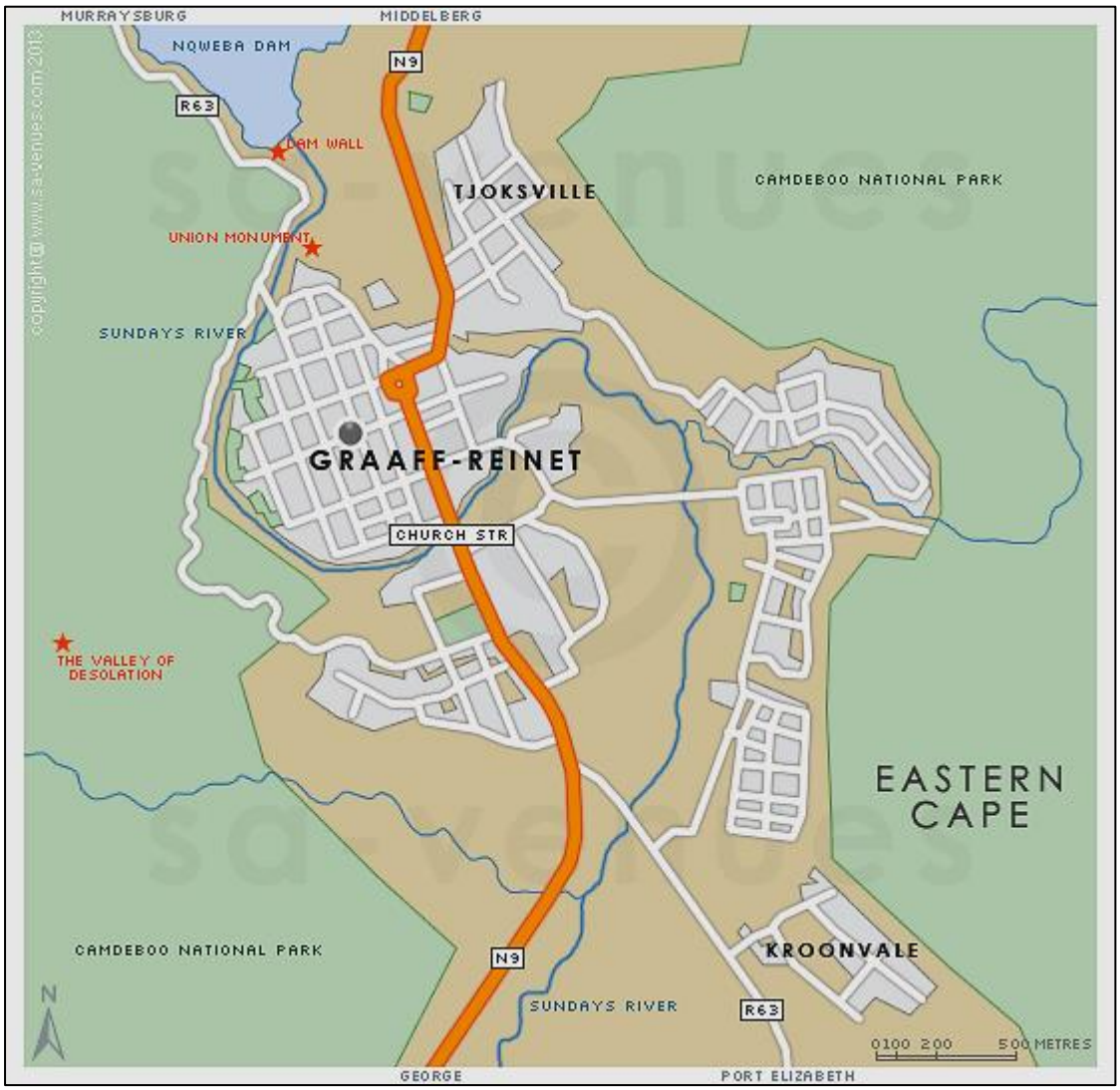
The intention of the Umnyama Park Project was to implement the integration proposed by the Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design. While there is no evidence that suggests the link between the Urban Design and the proposed Umnyama Park Social Housing Project, the Umnyama Park design suggests that the identified land is indeed strategic and well-located for purposes of closing the separation gap between the two areas.

The Umnyama Park Project has also not been implemented. According to the municipal IDP (2016), the project was an initiative and collaboration between contesting partners. This partnership emanated from a Social Housing Conference held in Pretoria during 25 - 26 June 2007, hosted by the National Department of Human Settlements. The Mayor of erstwhile Camdeboo Local Municipality and a delegation from the Netherlands agreed to work together in a twinning arrangement to attempt to address the challenge of the housing backlog in the area of Graaff-Reinet. A project team was established to focus on a possible development of rental units to reduce the housing backlog within the area of Graaff-Reinet. The twinning agreement included a memorandum of understanding drafted between the two municipalities and a visit to some rental units in the Netherlands within the municipal area of Winerswijk Municipality by the Camdeboo and Winterswijk delegation. One of the aims of the Umnyama Park Project was to develop a social restructuring strategy that would provide programmes that enhance the viability and the diversity of the community. It was proposed that this strategy would include providing serviced plots at a special price offer and researching the potential for rent-to-buy and rent-and-save programmes. It was also envisaged that, through this development, economic restructuring would be focused on creating social and economic opportunities for the

community, including tourism, skills development, and youth and sport facilities. However, it is not clear why the project was not implemented

In the Vision Booklet (Umnyama Park Vision, 2014), developed by the delegation as a result of the twinning agreement and MoU (2014), it was suggested that, in order to make the project financially viable, multiple subsidies and investments were necessary. Furthermore, the Umnyama Park Vision (2014) suggested that, to increase financial feasibility, Camdeboo Municipality would invest a significant amount in the project in the form of a donation of land valued at R16,090,000. In addition, the municipality would invest a considerable amount of staff time (Umnyama Park Vision, 2014). Through the twinning partnership with Winterswijk Municipality in the Netherlands, the market research was sponsored, and the location study was conducted without cost. The interactive design process was also facilitated through this programme without cost. As implementation continued, the municipality would continue to reduce costs to ensure that the maximum resources were available to develop a community that is both affordable and well designed (Umnyama Park Vision, 2014).

Figure 4.7: Strategically-located land for integration



Source: Umnyama Park Vision (2014)

The Graaff-Reinet detail and street-level map in Figure 4.7 shows the layout of the town and some attractions, including the location of the Valley of Desolation. The oldest town in the Eastern Cape and the fourth oldest in South Africa, Graaff-Reinet lies enclosed by a bend in the Sundays River, overshadowed by the rocky Sneeuberg Mountain within the Camdeboo National Park. Graaff-Reinet was founded in 1786 by Governor Cornelius Jacob van de Graaff, whose wife's name was Cornelia Reinet. Her namesake, Reine House, was originally built as a parsonage and is now a museum with one of the largest living grape vines in the world in its garden. This vine still bears fruit today (SA Venues, 2020).

In an attempt to implement the project, the erstwhile Camdeboo Local Municipality (2012) resolved to identify the land (see Figure 5.1) at the centre of the Graaff-Reinet town as a restructuring zone. The Council Resolution (2012), reviewed for this study, describes the identified land as strategically located, within walking distance from the Graaff-Reinet CBD, Kroonvale business area and the large functional Industrial area. This was one of the requirements of the National Department of Human Settlements in order to apply for funding for the development of Umnyama Park as a Social Housing node.

The land identified as a restructuring zone accommodates a mixture of land-uses ranging from residential areas, business use, and light industry to vacant land used for agricultural purposes (commonage). Services such as water, sewer, electricity, and road infrastructure are well maintained and of good quality because of the presence of business and industry located with the portion of the restructuring zone. Furthermore, the portion of land is adjacent to the N9, a national road that traverses the town, connecting it to the Western Cape and the interior of the Eastern Cape. Further access roads connect the Kroonvale area from the N9, through the identified portion of land, to the former disadvantaged Coloured area. These access roads further integrated the area into the business and industrial area. While the land portion abuts the Sunday's River along the western portion, this does not affect the potential of the land to be developed negatively. A flood-line study might be necessary, especially on the land portion in close proximity to the Sunday's River.

A sizeable portion of the identified land is under state ownership (Transnet, Public Works, and Municipality), with the municipality owning most of the portion of land (commonage). According to some of the senior employees of the municipality, some of the portions owned privately within the identified are of land were offered for sale to the municipality to be used for mixed-use developments, but the municipality had expressed its financial challenges and, thus, was unable to buy the land. Considering the elements of accessibility, land-use, size and zoning, the land seems to be ideally and strategically located to dismantle the legacy of apartheid in the small town of Graaff-Reinet and has the potential to stimulate its local economy.

4.9 Summary

In this chapter, an overview of the town of Graaff-Reinet and some of the important elements relevant to this study were provided. The aspects of population demographics, inequality gap, socio-economic infrastructure, and land ownership briefly discussed, as these can be perceived as indicators of the extent of transformation within a society. Similar to many places in the country, significant inequality gaps are experienced in terms of socio-economic conditions. The town's population consists of diverse demographics, including a mix of racial and income groups. However, historical legacies and systemic issues have contributed to the significant disparities in access to resources, opportunities, and services. There is a visible gap between affluent and disadvantaged communities, with the latter facing challenges related to poverty, limited access to education and healthcare, and high unemployment rates. Efforts have made in the town to address these issues but the inequality gap remains as a persistent challenge. There is a notable insufficiency of socio-economic facilities in the townships, even with the noticeable growth in population sizes of township residents. The distances that the township residents must walk to a clinic, school, or public hall keep increasing as these informal settlements sprawl away from the urban centre.

Regarding land ownership, similar to much of South Africa, Graaff-Reinet has a history of land dispossession, particularly during the colonial and apartheid eras. Land ownership patterns have been skewed, with a large portion of the land being owned historically by White individuals or entities. The post-apartheid government implemented land reform policies to address these historical imbalances and to promote land redistribution to previously disadvantaged communities. However, progress has been slow, and disputes over land ownership and tenure rights continue to be issues of contention in the town and in the broader region.

The socio-economic infrastructure in Graaff-Reinet includes basic services such as schools, healthcare facilities, and water supply systems. However, there are disparities in the quality and accessibility of these services across different neighbourhoods. Some wealthier areas might have better infrastructure and access to amenities, while poorer communities might face inadequate service delivery and

infrastructure backlogs. The town's local government, together with regional and national authorities, has been working to improve infrastructure and services. However, limited resources and capacity constraints hinder progress. Addressing the inequality gap, land ownership issues, and socio-economic infrastructure remains crucial to achieving a more equitable and inclusive future for the residents of the Graaff-Reinet. The findings of the research are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

The findings from secondary data sources (policy documents and maps) and the one-on-one interviews conducted with Spatial and Development planning professionals who worked for the state and those who were in the private sector are presented in this chapter. The interviews also included community leaders and professionals in business. The participants were selected carefully for the study in order to collect primary data that would help to address the objectives of the study and also to identify well-located land and determined whether this land could be used as an effective lever for spatial restructuring in the frontier town of Graaff-Reinet. The research objectives are confirmed as follows:

- To present an outline of a historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet;
- To analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have been a factor in re-shaping the spatial structure of the town's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of well-located land; and
- To evaluate the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and, especially, the relationship between attributes of available, well-located land and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services) between 1994 and 2016.

5.2 Historical Account – Objective One

One of the methods used to address Objective One of the study was a review of literature and old maps of the town of Graaff-Reinet. In Chapter Three of the thesis, it was explained that document analysis was used to review historical municipal policies, old maps, and published papers (published and unpublished articles and books) to understand the historical development of the area.

The findings of the literature review revealed that the Horseshoe area was the first to be established by the Dutch during the colonial era in 1736. Furthermore, it was revealed that the Horseshoe area in Graaff-Reinet was established along the Sundays River and inhabited mainly by a farming community. The development of Umasizakhe township was started officially after the influx of 3000 Xhosa people after the infamous cattle killings of 1857. It was also revealed that the formation of uMasizakhe in 1857 was an attempt to reconcile two conflicting interests of the then municipal council. The first interest was to have Black labour in close proximity to the town, and the second was a fear of increased crime if the township was too close to the main settlement. In terms of municipal service provision, little service or infrastructure was afforded to the township.

Findings from the literature review together with the primary data collected from the interviews showed similarities between the Umasizakhe and District Six experience during the implementation of the Group Areas Act in 1950. Coloured and Black individuals living in Graaff-Reinet and uMasizakhe were forcibly removed to racially demarcated areas. Black individuals living in Graaff-Reinet were relocated to uMasizakhe and Coloured individuals living in either Graaff-Reinet or uMasizakhe were relocated to Kroonvale. These removals demonstrated the establishment and/or genesis of the existing spatial structure/form of the Graaff-Reinet frontier town.

The relocation of the mentioned racial groups from the Horseshoe area was confirmed during the collection of primary data by Respondent 6, who recalled enforced removals from the Horseshoe area to Umasizakhe and to Kroonvale. Based on the response from Respondent 6, it was clear that the provisions of the Group Areas Act were also enforced by the local authority of Graaff-Reinet.

It can be deduced from the literature reviewed that the relocation of Black people from the Horseshoe area to establish the township of Umasizakhe did not involve any formal planning system. The land-uses for the area were mainly residential with no areas dedicated to business and/or social facilities. There remains no documented evidence of planning for roads, water, electrical and sewer infrastructure for the area before the 1980s. It was revealed in some of the literature that, in 1901, the local

council-built hire rooms behind the formal town area, referred to as the Horseshoe area, specifically to accommodate the influx of the Black community.

In the literature, it was revealed further that several Acts of Parliament were promulgated by the apartheid government to enforce the objectives of spatial segregation on land-use and land development. In addition to the Group Areas Act, the Black Communities Development Act 4 of 1984, Physical Planning Act, Municipal Ordinance, 1974 (Ordinance 20 of 1974), Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985 and the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945, are some of the Acts that were instrumental in legalising racially-based spatial planning in the town of Graaff-Reinet. This legislative framework was transformed in 1995 by the promulgation of the Development Facilitation Act (DFA) that contained general principles for land development. In some of the most relevant sections of the DFA, it was maintained that policy, administrative practice and laws should promote efficiency and integrated land development in that they promote the availability of residential and employment opportunities in close proximity to each other (Section 3.1c(iii), DFA).

5.2.1 Map review – Use of strategic land

The maps from both before and after 1994 that were reviewed showed a clear separation of the racial areas established during the 1950s and earlier years. These maps were obtained from the local municipality and the local professional land surveyor practising in Graaff-Reinet. The maps were used to confirm the findings of the literature and data collected during the interviews. The Graaff-Reinet 1989 Urban Design prepared by the University of Cape Town (UCT) spatially represented the pattern of the town in 1989, in an attempt to illustrate its fragmentation.

The land where ethnic groups were resettled were found to be owned by the state. This kind of land-use planning and management further entrenched the spatial control and dispossession of Black communities, as it was provided in applicable legal frameworks that land could not be registered in the name of a "native", "Bantu" or "Black". The exclusionary nature of land ownership was justified on the basis of Article 13 of the Pretoria Convention of 1881. The restriction on owning land by specific racial groups created the current disparities or inequality in land ownership. While this was

meant to be addressed by the post-1994 Land Reform Programme, many people still have no access to land and are cramped in small township spaces with limited and/or insufficient infrastructure. To this end, the principle of Spatial Justice within the recently promulgated Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act is an attempt to compel government to address these disparities through developing Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) as part of the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs).

A careful review of the maps obtained from the local authority further revealed that the land separating the former racially demarcated areas is commonage land and, therefore, state-owned land.

In Chapter 4, it was explained how the erstwhile Master Plans, and the erstwhile Land Development Objectives (LDOs) developed during the transitional period of local government were reviewed.

5.3 Pre-1994 Spatial Policies – Objective Two

In the following sub-sections, findings regarding the spatial policies used for the town of Graaff-Reinet are discussed to address Objective two of the study. In addressing this objective, the discussion was also guided by the questions drafted for the participants. The policies reviewed are listed in the table below:

Table 5.1: Policies reviewed

Policy	Period
Graaff-Reinet Urban Design	1989 – Reviewed
Umasizakhe Structure Plan	1992 – Could Not be found
Kroonvale Structure Plan	1990 – Could Not be found
Graaff-Reinet Structure Plan	1999 – Reviewed
Land Development Objectives and IDP	1999 – Reviewed
Act 4 of 1984 Town Planning Scheme	1984 – Reviewed
Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985	1985 – Reviewed
Section 8 of LUPO Regulations	1985 – Reviewed
Spatial Development Framework	2006 – 2011 Reviewed
Spatial Development Framework	2012 – 2017 Reviewed

5.3.1 Graaff-Reinet Urban Design

The findings of the study revealed that there was an existing Graaff-Reinet Urban Design developed by the School of Architecture at the University of Cape Town in 1989. It is not clear from the council documents reviewed whether the study was commissioned by the local authority. However, the Structure Plan developed in 1999 suggests that the Urban Design was commissioned by the Department of Public Works but was never adopted by council.

In the Graaff-Reinet Urban Design (1989) the physical development of the town, its built-form characteristics, spatial structure, major infrastructure and its future expansion structure were considered. The review of this document revealed that new links between the areas that form the town of Graaff-Reinet and reinforcement of those that already existed were proposed. In this proposal, links between the Horseshoe area, Umasizakhe and Kroonvale/ Ashervile areas were encouraged. In the reviewed urban design, the development of new residential development, and a new agricultural development were proposed. In terms of the layout plans depicted in the design, these developments would be undertaken along the new Market Street permeating the industrial area and vacant land that was a buffer between the Horseshoe area and the Kroonvale/Asheville township.

It was also revealed in the document that concept plans provided graphically illustrated how the proposed new roads and residential and agricultural developments should look (see Figures 10 and 11). A careful study of the document revealed that the spatial inequalities were addressed very effectively in the design and specific interventions in terms of how the apartheid legacy could be eradicated were provided. The approach to addressing the challenges of urbanisation, housing needs, and access to basic services, especially in the context of the rapidly growing urban area of Graaff-Reinet was practical.

Notably, most of the participants during the interviews were not familiar with the Graaff-Reinet Urban Design (1989). Only Respondent 2 mentioned that the Urban Design might have been an addition to the 1989 Structure Plan. However, there is no record that suggests the existence of a 1989 Structure Plan.

Considering the absence of a council resolution adopting the provisions of this document there was no evidence of an obligation to implement them. However, it was found that this document influenced the post-1994 plans with regard to identification of land for future expansion of the town.

In addressing the question about the efforts made in first, post-1994, spatial plans to reshape the town's spatial patterns, Respondent 3 noted that, during the transition period, the focus was on the systems of the institution to strengthen service delivery issues. The respondent's view was that the municipality during that period did not have the capacity to implement the existing and newly developed, post 1994, spatial plans. The municipal records reviewed showed that the municipality relied heavily on private service providers together with provincial government for functions of spatial planning and land-use management. This confirmed the sentiment of the respondent regarding the internal capacity of the municipality.

5.3.2 Structure Plans

The findings of the literature review revealed that the main policy used to guide land-use and spatial planning in some portions of South Africa from 1985 was the Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985 (LUPO). In terms of Section 4 of the recently repealed LUPO, all town councils were required to prepare structure plans in consultation with all interested groups in the community. In Section 5(1) of the LUPO, promulgated on 1 July 1986, it was stated that the general purpose of a structure plan should be to provide guidelines for the future spatial development of an area to which it relates in urban renewal, urban design, or the preparation of development plans.

During the study, a Structure Plan prepared by a hired consultant on behalf of the Graaff-Reinet Municipality in 1998 was found. The objective of the structure plan was to incorporate framework plans prepared for Kroonvale and Umasizakhe, with a view to future joint local government. It was also found that another objective of the Graaff-Reinet structure plan was optimal utilisation of land and infrastructure.

In the 1999 Graaff-Reinet structure plan that was examined, it was found that there was land available for urban expansion and, specifically, portions of land that could be

developed immediately to provide housing for lower income groups. In the structure plan, eight portions of land were identified and mapped within Graaff-Reinet for future expansion. However, two of the land portions identified for the expansion have now been invaded for residential purposes, and these portions were planned for the expansion of Umasizakhe and Kroonvale townships. The land identified for the expansion of Kroonvale was initially used for low-cost housing but, according to the reviewed maps, a portion of this land is now an informal settlement named Reimvasmaak. Similarly, it was found that the land portion of Umasizakhe had also been invaded and is now an informal settlement named Vrygrond.

The maps of the town that were reviewed showed that the land portions identified for the Horseshoe area and Spandauville remain vacant. These are strategic portions of land that were also identified by the participants during the study, suggesting that the portions could be categorised as well-located land, especially the land portion connecting the Horseshoe area and the Kroonvale/Asherville area (see Figure 7).

During the collection of primary data, the community leader who was interviewed could recall that the involvement of the township communities in the development of the Structure Plans was minimal. The participant recalled that most of this communication took place at district level. This sentiment was also reflected in the perception analysis, a section within the structure plan in which it was stated that the majority of the community was dissatisfied with the extent of public participation. Poor communication between the public and authorities was one of the main reasons cited, and also that the community felt that one town council should be established for the entire urban area.

The Graaff-Reinet Structure Plan can be summarised as focusing on tourism, the services sector, urban design, growth of the light-industrial area, and upgrading the water and sewer infrastructure because of the anticipated growth of the housing market. The findings of the review of the structure plan showed further that the proposals in the plan encouraged high-density residential development in the former Black and Coloured areas, while promoting low-density residential development in the Horseshoe area. The review of the maps of the town showed that this encouraged

sprawling of the township areas along the N9 and the R63, creating informal settlements on the periphery of the township areas as a result.

The structure plan was the first document used post-1994 to guide land-use development and forward planning for Graaff-Reinet. The spatial proposal espoused in the plan formed the basis of post-apartheid planning and set the tone for plans developed subsequently. Notably, Respondent 3 maintained that the council might have adopted the instruments (IDPs, LDOs) but certainly did not have a plan to implementing these or simply did not know how to do so. This response suggested the institutional incapacity of the then Graaff-Reinet Municipality to implement spatial policies that were adopted.

Respondent 10 suggested further that implementation of the 1998 Structure Plan might have failed because of a lack of internal capacity in the municipality, which relied heavily on the Department of Local Government, specifically regarding matters that related to urban planning. The views expressed by the participant were also confirmed by the findings of the review of the annual reports on the local authority from 1999 to 2016. Notably, the annual report published by the erstwhile Camdeboo Municipality in 2012 contained nothing about town planning activities, land acquisitions and land development activities discharged by the municipality. However, in the budget published for the same financial year the recruitment and appointment of a town planner were reported for the first time. Moreover, as outlined in the SDBIP, the position was limited to administrative duties that related to control of land-use development.

The delay in the appointment of a planning official was confirmed by Respondent 2 during the interviews. The respondent explained that the municipality was heavily reliant on the Provincial Department of Local Government for support in relation to planning. This support, as explained by Respondent 2, was provided in the form of funds for projects relating to Land-Use Management Systems (LUMS) and technical support in the form of monthly advice on managing land development applications.

5.3.3 Land Development Objectives

Structure Plans were followed by the introduction of the Land Development Objectives (LDOs) in 1995 and Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) initially in 1996. It is noted that the LDOs and IDPs were required according to two separate legislations from two separate ministries. It was revealed through the review of the LDOs that they were developed in terms of the Developed Facilitation Act (DFA) of the Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs. One of the objectives of the LDOs was to describe how the local authority planned to use the land and resources in its area for agriculture, business, education, services etc. For purposes of this research, the focus was on this objective to determine whether the LDO policies enabled the use of strategically-located land for spatial restructuring. Another important element was to link the component of detailed projects and business plans that ensured spatial integration.

The introduction of these policies suggested that local authorities were required to lead, manage, and plan for development. These strategic policies primarily addressed service delivery issues such as Infrastructure development, social and housing matters, environmental management, local economic development, spatial planning, institutional arrangements, and finance.

The findings of the review of the LDOs that were prepared by a hired planning consultant for the erstwhile Graaff-Reinet Municipality revealed that the policy was heavily influenced by a structure plan for the town prepared in 1998. The LDO was prepared and adopted by Council in 1999, making it the first policy of its nature prepared in terms of the Development Facilitation Act. Notably, the same consultant who prepared the 1998 structure plan was appointed to prepare the 1999 LDO.

While the structure plan provided direction regarding expansion of the town, the review of the 1999 LDO reveal details of the implementation of the expansion. In the LDO, it was maintained that the carrying capacity of the land identified for immediate expansion amounted to approximately 2597 units and made adequate provision only until the year 2000. Expansion related to land for business was mentioned for the area of Kroonvale only. It was also mentioned in the policy that this was not enough, considering the township’s growing population.

5.3.4 Integrated Development Plans

After the transition of the policy and legislative framework, after the Land Development Objectives were produced in terms of the Development Facilitation Act as one document with the Integrated Development Plans produced in terms of the Local Government Transition Act, the Municipal Systems Act was introduced. Based on the review of the literature, it was found that the purpose of the Municipal Systems Act was to establish systems and processes that promoted good governance, transparency, accountability, and public participation in local government. Regarding the IDPs, it was mandated in the Act that every municipality must develop and adopt an IDP.

According to the Act, the IDP is required to be a comprehensive, long-term plan that outlines developmental objectives, priorities, and strategies of the municipality. The IDP instrument was equally intended to play a crucial role in shaping spatial planning within municipalities. In Section 26(e) of the MSA, it is stated that an Integrated Development Plan must reflect a Spatial Development Framework which must include the provision of basic guidelines for a Land-Use Management System for the municipality.

The IDPs prepared for the town of Graaff-Reinet that were reviewed showed that there was a contribution towards spatial integration of the town through housing development projects. The first generation of IDPs for the town were also influenced by both the Graaff-Reinet Urban Design and the LDOs that preceded them, but the institution lacked capacity to implement them.

Three IDPs from 1999, one from 2014, and one from 2016 were sampled in order to examine their role in spatial integration. The 2016 IDP for Camdeboo Municipality included an existing plan to develop the centrally located land, between the areas of the Horseshoe and Kroonvale. It was shown in the IDP that the proposed Community Rental Units or the development of this centrally-located land was attempted in the past (proposed by the Graaff-Reinet Urban Design) but was not successful. According to the IDP (Camdeboo LM, 2016/17: 105), the Umnyama Park Project was first proposed in 2008 by a joint venture between the Camdeboo Municipality and Winterswijk Municipality in Holland, as part of a twinning agreement reached between

the two municipalities. It is further explained in the IDP (Camdeboo LM, 2016: 105) that the aim of the urban vision of, and development plan for, the Umnyama Park scheme was to integrate and empower communities through a well-designed, sustainable, and socially cohesive approach.

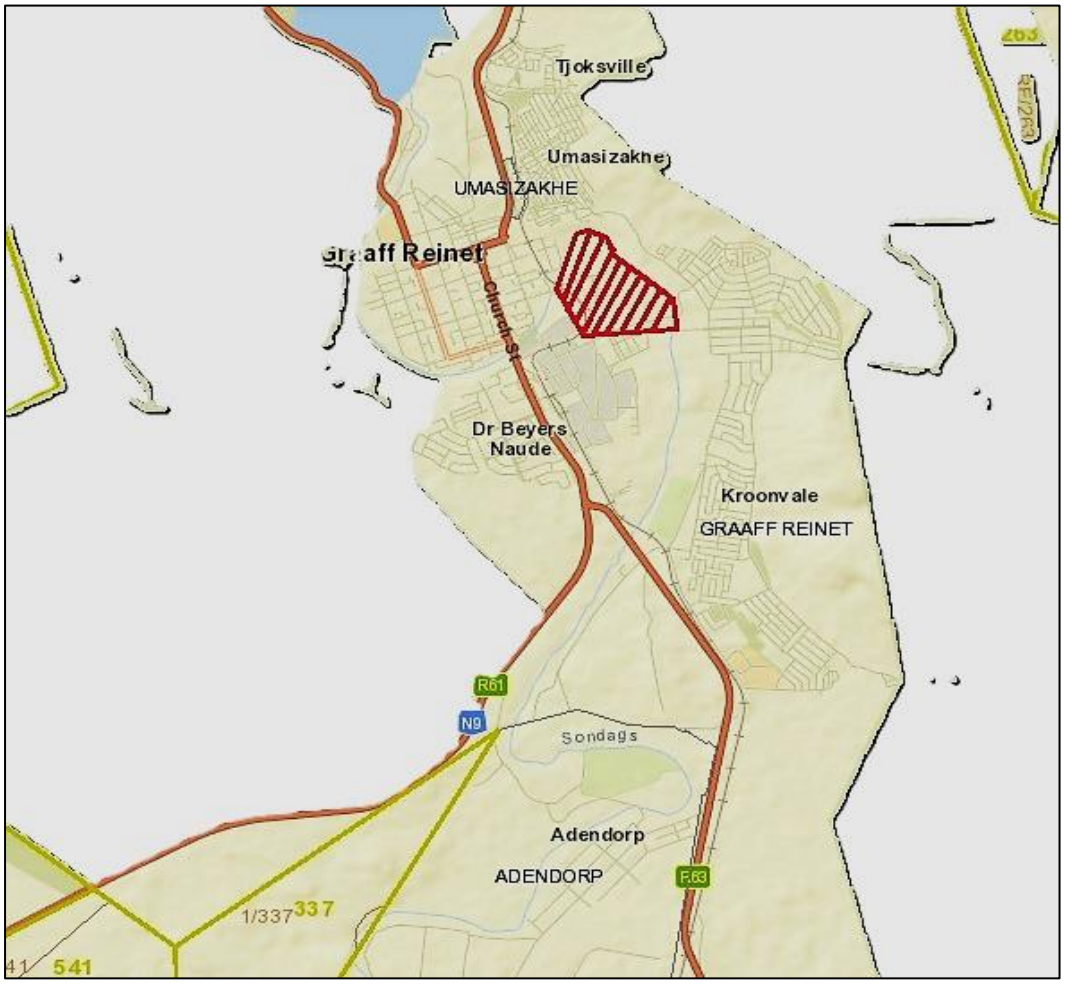
The Umnyama Park Project resembled the urban design proposed by the University of Cape Town in 1989. The locality of the development was central, and its intention was to integrate the areas through a social housing project. The implementation of the two proposals would have been a significant attempt at deconstructing the apartheid geographies of the frontier town of Graaff-Reinet.

In addition, the findings of the review of the Housing Sector Plan prepared in 2014 showed that the aim of the Urban Vision and Development Plan for the scheme, known as Umnyama Park (situated between Graaff-Reinet, Kroonvale, and Spandauville) was to integrate and empower communities through a well-designed, sustainable and socially-cohesive approach (BNG and COP 17 principles).

During the collection of primary data, in response to the question about the cause of the non-implementation of the Umnyama Park Project, Respondent 5 noted that there might have been confusion within the municipality about who would fund the project. Respondent 5 asserted that the Department of Human Settlements was part of the planning process for the project but did not commit fully to making funding available for the project.

In all the IDPs sampled for review, the land that would later be selected for the Umnyama Park Project as a well-located land parcel was identified. This portion of land was initially identified by the Graaff-Reinet Urban Design in 1989. Also, some of the respondents identified this land portion as being ideal space to link the town with the township areas. This idea was then carried over to the first and second Spatial Development Frameworks prepared in 2006 and 2012, respectively.

Figure 5.1: Strategically Located Land



Source: Chief Surveyor General GIS 2023

5.3.5 Spatial Development Frameworks (2006, 2012)

As discussed earlier in this chapter, SDFs are required in terms of Section 26 of the Municipal Systems Act (MSA). Based on the findings of the study, this spatial policy replaced the Land Development Objectives required in terms of the Development Facilitation Act together with the Land Use Planning Ordinance 15 of 1985. The first SDF to be developed in 2006 was prepared by a private consultant.

An integral part of a Spatial Development Framework is its spatial vision, objectives and guidelines that make provision for the procedures, norms and standards as well as evaluation criteria for the assessment of land development applications. Based on the study, it was found that, during the period of adopting the first SDF for the town of Graaff-Reinet in 2006, land-use management for the erstwhile Camdeboo LM was extremely fragmented, with different sets of legislation used to regulate land-use within

the town of Graaff-Reinet. This sentiment was repeated in the 2012 SDF. In the circumstances of a fragmented legislative framework outlined above, the SDF was prepared as a guideline that would emerge for the desired spatial form of the town of Graaff-Reinet.

Based on the study, it was found that in the two SDFs (prepared in 2006 and 2012) the town of Graaff-Reinet was identified as a primary node within the erstwhile Camdeboo LM. The policy provided that a primary node reflects a larger urban centre with strong administrative, financial and residential functions and components. Existing infrastructure (engineering and social) is well developed with opportunities for expansion and strengthening. Primary nodes are easily accessible and fulfil a historical function as a service centre to the area.

Based on the study, it was found further that the guidelines in the SDF on nodal development and densification provided that existing built areas should be used to accommodate new developments by integrating previously segregated areas. The recycling of vacant land degraded and under-utilised ground to accommodate new developments was also proposed in the guidelines.

5.4 Findings Relating to Objective Three

5.4.1 Emerging Land-Use Management Systems

Based on the study, it was found that, before the introduction of spatial policies in the form of Structure Plans, followed by LDOs, IDPs and SDFs, the town of Graaff-Reinet relied on zoning regulations and maps to guide land-use management. Thus, the shaping of the town was guided primarily by national and provincial legislation/ordinances, especially after 1948 and the introduction of the Group Areas Act.

In response to the spatial distortion created by the land-use management system as outlined, post-1994 this was driven by the introduction of the IDPs, SDFs and Land-Use Schemes (zoning schemes) to address spatial inequalities. These instruments are mandated in the Municipal Systems Act, together with the recently-promulgated Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA).

As outlined in the literature reviewed, the development of the IDP must include a Spatial Development Framework which must include the provision of basic guidelines for a land-use management system for the municipality. Based on the review of the post-1994 land-use management systems for the town of Graaff-Reinet, they seemed to be disjointed, as both the 2006 and 2012 SDFs did not align with the Graaff-Reinet zoning scheme. The SDF is a long-term, transversal planning and co-ordination document and a spatial expression of the Municipality's IDP. While the SDF is informed by the Sector Plans, the Sector Plans should be strategically and spatially led by the MSDF.

5.4.2 Nodal development and densification

The findings of the study showed that the SDF adopted by the then municipal council in 2012 had no new proposals for spatial restructuring. However, a noticeable element that was different from the SDF adopted in 2006 was the drive towards nodal development and densification. In the erstwhile Camdeboo Municipal SDF (Camdeboo LM, 2012: 77), the use of existing built areas was encouraged to accommodate new developments through the integration of previously segregated areas by way of densification. However, in the SDF (2012) there was identification of ideal land where densification could be implemented.

Furthermore, it was found that, in the zoning scheme that was supposed to be the means to implement the spatial development framework, no provision was made for densification in the zoning categories. Furthermore, there were two different zoning schemes for the area: the Graaff-Reinet Zoning Scheme (administering the Horseshoe area and Kroonvale/ Asherville areas) and the regulations of Act 4 of the 1984 Scheme for Umasizakhe only.

5.4.3 Institutional incapacities

While the SDFs gave direction for significant spatial transformation for the town of Graaff-Reinet, as discussed in Chapter 4, the findings of the review showed that the municipality did not have the capacity to implement the SDF proposals. It was also found that the direction of the post-apartheid spatial plans was influenced more by private developers and sector departments, specifically the Department of Human

Settlements. According to the IDP adopted by Council in 2012 (Camdeboo LM, 2012: 82), a proposal to invest in social housing (community rental units aimed at low- to middle-income groups) was made in 2016 by the Winterswijk Municipality in Holland as part of a Twinning agreement with the Camdeboo Local Municipality. The aim of the urban vision and development plan for the project, known as Umnyama Park, was to integrate the community of Graaff-Reinet, as the land identified was deemed to be well located.

One of the respondents during the interviews asserted that the project failed because of little understanding by the municipal officials of how implement the project effectively after the municipality had been granted approval as a Restructuring Zone (RZ). This once again seems to indicate the impact of internal capacity within the municipality regarding the function of spatial planning.

Implementation of a spatial plan proposal and supporting Capital Expenditure Framework (CEF) requires dedicated institutional arrangements and institutional capacity to ensure success. As can been seen from the reports and conducted interviews, it seems that, for several years, the erstwhile Camdeboo LM has had very limited capacity to discharge a meaningful spatial transformation.

With regard to internal capacity, Respondent 3 asserted that the institutional arrangements that would have to be considered in order to address the spatial challenges would be to establish a full planning unit, with a Senior Manager and a minimum of two Town/Development Planners.

5.4.4 Municipal budget allocations on land-use and spatial planning

The first-generation planning instruments developed for the town of Graaff-Reinet seem to be direct about the new urban form of the small town. These seem to give a form of direction regarding the use of land in order to restructure and to remove the apartheid geographies that prevail in the frontier town of Graaff-Reinet. However, from the reviewed budgets of the 1998/99 – 2015/16 financial years, it is noted that there was no evidence of budget allocation to implement the SDF proposals.

Notably, the annual report published in 2012 by the erstwhile Camdeboo Municipality had no report on town planning activities/functions, land acquisitions and land development activities discharged by the municipality. However, the budget did record the recruitment and appointment of a Town Planner, for the first time. Moreover, as outlined in the SDBIP, the position was limited to administrative duties that related to control of land-use development.

The delay in the appointment of a planning official was confirmed by Respondent 2 during the interviews. Respondent 2 explained that the municipality was heavily reliant on the Provincial Department of Local Government for support in relation to planning. Respondent 2 explained that this support was provided in the form of funds for projects relating to Land-Use Management Systems (LUMS) and technical support in the form of monthly advice on processing land development applications.

Furthermore, the findings of the review of the 2006 Spatial Development Framework showed that the Capital Expenditure Framework (CEF) compiled for the town of Graaff-Reinet was not included in the annual budget of the municipality and also was not included in the project list of the 2006 IDP. There is no record of any of the items listed in the CEFs compiled for the town of Graaff-Reinet.

Respondent 3 also noted that there is no evidence of a budget item between 1994 and 2016 for land acquisition for the purposes of integrating previously segregated areas, as outlined in Chapter 4 of the 2006 SDF (Camdeboo Municipality, 2006: 56).

The response by Respondent 3 was confirmed by Respondent 10, highlighting that development in the town was driven primarily by the private sector because developers invested their own financial resources with little assistance from the municipality or state departments. The respondent cited a failed housing project, named “Amatenda Housing Project”, that was driven by a private developer in 2011. According to municipal records, the project failed because of the unavailability of bulk infrastructure.

The responsibility to install bulk infrastructure was placed fully on the developer, and also to build middle-income group housing units, a development that would have

benefitted the former marginalised community. The failure by the municipality to contribute funds towards infrastructure development for the project could be understood/perceived as lack of support for a project that was intended to balance development patterns within the town.

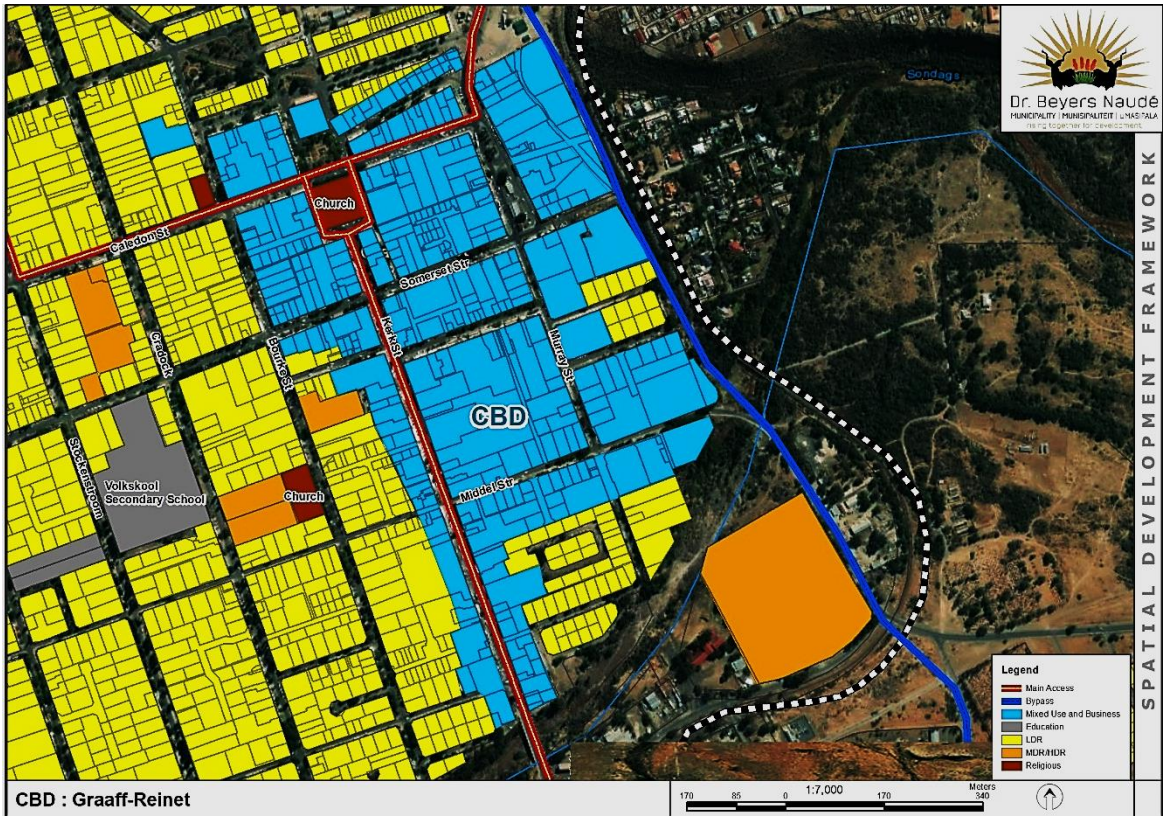
5.4.5 Graaff-Reinet land-use patterns

As discussed in Chapter 4 of this study, the town of Graaff-Reinet is made up of four areas known as the Horseshoe, Umasizakhe, Kroonvale/Asheville, Spandauville, and Adendorp areas. These areas have distinct features that make each of them unique. These features are based mainly on the history of each area and how these areas have evolved over time. These land-use patterns are discussed below, and each area is assessed in order to outline the findings of Objective 3 of the study.

5.4.5.1 Horseshoe Area

According to the review, the town of Graff-Reinet is the largest urban node within its municipal area, with 36,739 people (Stats SA, 2011). The town has a strong administrative and central commercial place function. These commercial and administrative functions are complemented by a large and stable residential component. The reviewed land-use maps on figure 5.2 showed that the town houses numerous educational institutions located in all the neighbourhoods of the urban area. Graaff-Reinet also serves as a regional centre for various State and Provincial Government Departments. The central business district is well defined and situated in approximately the central hub of the urban area, on either side of Church and Caledon Streets. These two roads are the main vehicular arterials that link the town to other urban centres. Erven near the business centre were developed more densely than those further away.

Figure 5.2: Graaff-Reinet land-use map



Source: Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality Land Use Map, 2023

These erven each contain a single residential structure, whereas the erven near the business centre contain a series of connecting units.

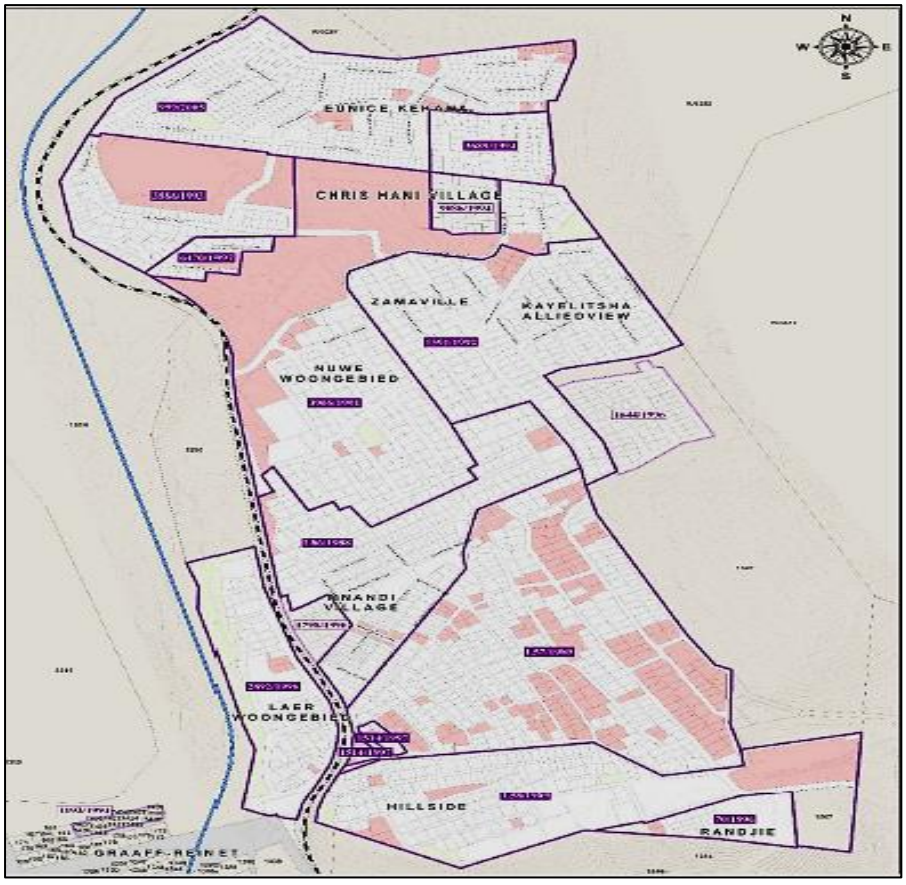
It was evident from the review of the Municipal Quarterly Reports from the Building Control Unit, within the Municipal Infrastructure Services Department, specifically for the Horseshoe area, that an overwhelming number of developments within the period 1999 - 2016 were initiated by private developers. These developments ranged from high-density developments, in the form of flats, to second dwellings for the purposes of renting out rooms catering for low- to middle-income groups. The volume of high-density building plan applications can be attributed to the need for high-density developments within the municipality, especially for the former marginalised groups.

5.4.5.2 Umansizakhe

The township of Umasizakhe interfaces with the Horseshoe Area, with the railway and a bridge separating the two areas. The township as depicted in figure 5.3 is characterised by narrow access roads, with most of them being gravel. The area is

mostly single residential, with businesses/commercial sites scattered throughout the settlement. The commercial sites are residential sites that were converted by way of rezoning in order to operate spazas or house shops and taverns together with bottle stores. The area does not have a designated business zone. The reviewed maps showed that the area has a clinic, a community hall, three schools and two sports fields.

Figure 5.3: Umasizakhe Township



Source:Umasizakhe Township Encroachment Report, 2021

The area is densely populated, with rapid, annual, population growth. As a result, there is an informal settlement growing towards the north. The Vrygrond informal settlement was established between 2009 and 2010 because of the slow pace of housing delivery. According to the reviewed records of the Municipality, the informal settlement has increased to over 400 residents. Some sites have recently been designated as tourism sites because of the area's political significance.

Furthermore, based on the study, it was found that the township of Umasizakhe has at least three heritage sites, sometimes deemed to be tourism sites, located within the settlement. The first is the Royal Block, a row of houses that were built in 1902 for stable grooms who took care of the horses of the British soldiers stationed in Graaff-Reinet during the Anglo Boer War. The second is the home of an influential leader during the struggle for freedom in South Africa, Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe. The local authority also named a street near the home of Mr Sobukwe as Sobukwe Street. The third feature is one of the first churches built in 1907, known as the AME Church.

5.4.5.3 Kroonvale/Asheville

The township of Kroonvale as illustrated in figure 5.4 is completely separate from the Horseshoe Area and Umasizakhe Township, buffered by the Sundays River and the Commonage. The area has a block used for commercial activities together with a community hall within the commercial area. However, there are several sites scattered throughout the township that are used as spaza/ house shops and taverns. The area also has five schools, four sports facilities, and two hospitals. The area is continuing to grow southwards, with an informal settlement at the southern tip of the township. The informal settlement was established as a result of the slow pace of housing delivery and consists of approximately 220 residents within the settlement.

Similarly, Kroonvale/Asherville is dominated by single residential properties, built mostly by government through the Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP). The review of the maps of the area showed that there is still vacant state-owned land available within the area, but the available land encouraged urban sprawl and thus maintains apartheid spatial planning.

Notably, it was found in the study that, with regards to tourism and/or heritage sites, Kroonvale is symbolically linked to Umasizakhe because the grave site of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, the struggle stalwart, is located in Kroonvale. This seems to be the only heritage land-use mentioned within the area.

Figure 5.4: Kroonvale/Asherville Township

Source: Chief Surveyor General GIS, 2023

5.4.5.4 Adendorp

The area of Adendorp as illustrated in figure 5.5 is located along the R63, southward of the Horseshoe and adjacent to Kroonvale/Asheville Areas, but separated by the R63 and a railway line. This area is dominantly agricultural, with an unnoticeable residential element. A quick survey of land-use in the area of Adendorp revealed that the property owners in this area use their properties as residential and agricultural plots. The community facilities observed in the area are a school, a community hall and a library.

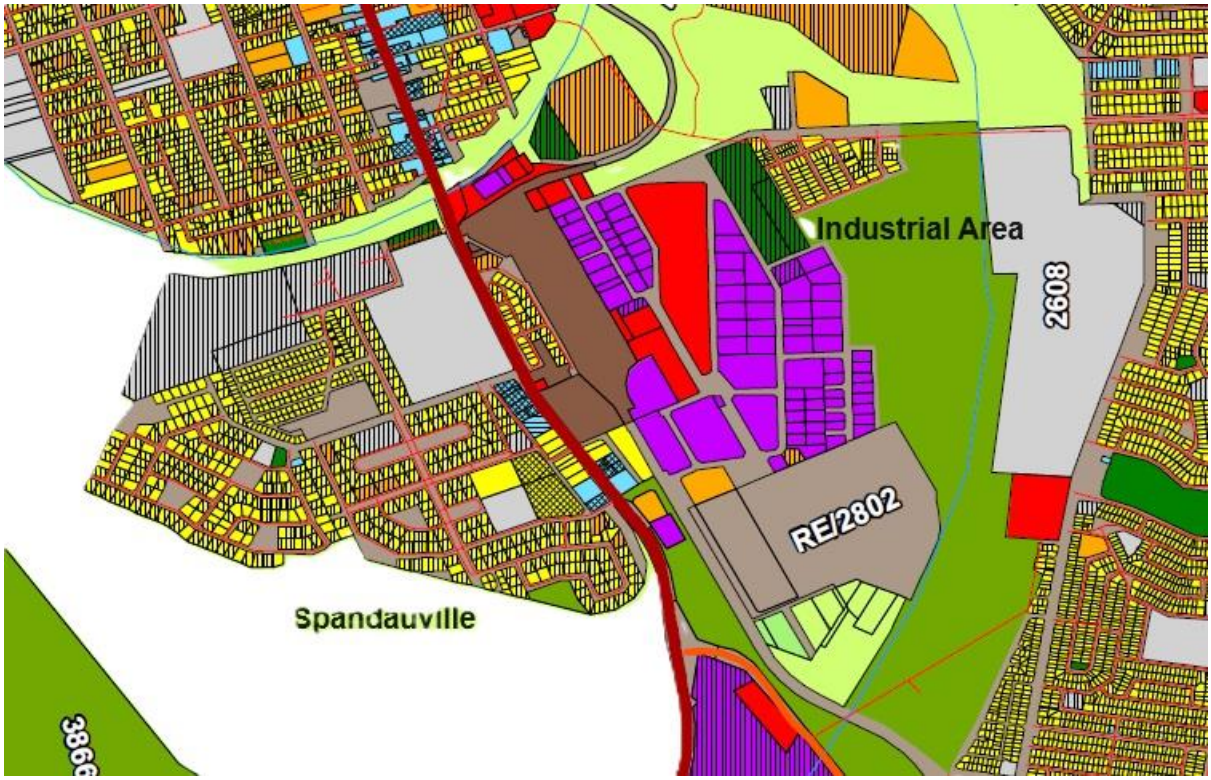
Figure 5.5: Adendorp Area

Source: Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality Land Use Map, 2023

5.4.5.5. Spandauville and light-industrial area

The Spandauville and light-industrial areas (*see figure 5.6*) are at the centre of the three areas mentioned and can be categorised as strategically located areas. The Spandauville and light-industry areas are within walking distance of the Graaff-Reinet Central Business District (2.5 km) and the Kroonvale Central Business Area (1 km). Spandauville is dominantly residential but with a growing commercial element along College Road. This road is fast becoming a business corridor, with a filling station and car dealerships together with vehicle workshop facilities. The social land-uses found in the area are a school, a hospital, a Police College and a TVET College.

Figure 5.6: Spandauville and light-industrial areas

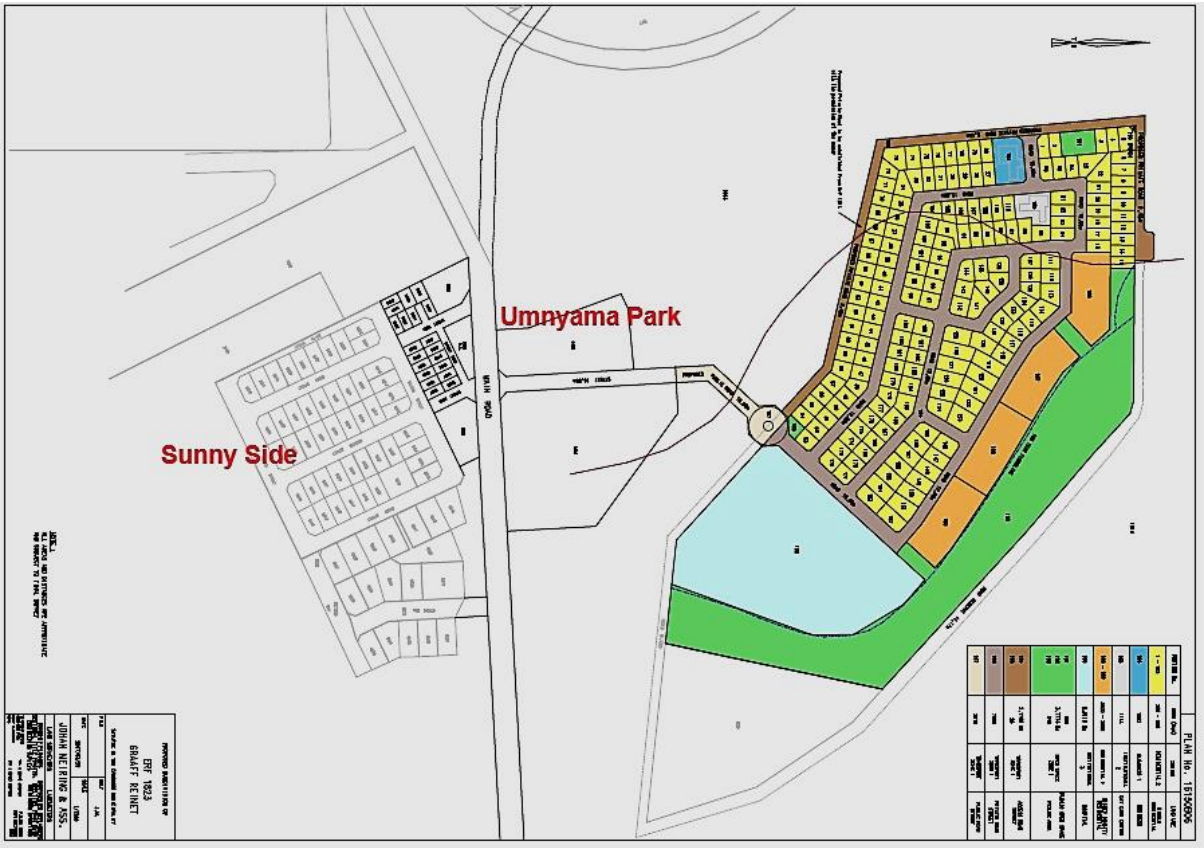


Source:Dr Beyers Naude Local Municipality Land Use Map, 2023

The Amatenda Housing Project was a residential housing project proposed in these areas (see Figure 5.7). According to the review of a Council resolution taken in 2009, through a process of proposal submission, a private developer initiated a housing project targeting low- to middle-income groups. The Council minutes showed that the municipality made the land available for the development and that the developer would build the housing units. The land was subdivided and zoned to accommodate residential housing units, together with a Technical Skills Collage. The project failed because of the unavailability of bulk infrastructure to connect the new development to sewerage, electricity and water. The project was going to increase densities within this area and would have created conditions for commercial growth.

Based on the study, it was also found that a private hospital development was proposed and approved by the Municipality in 2016, within the light-industry area directly opposite the Sunny Side Area, and behind the proposed Umnyama Park Development. Similarly, this project failed because of issues regarding water infrastructure.

Figure 5.7: Proposed private hospital development



5.4.6 Land ownership

The review of the Municipal Valuation Roll showed that the town of Graaff-Reinet has about 23,821 properties. Land located in Graaff-Reinet was filtered under the ownership of the municipality. This was done by acquiring the municipal asset register in Excel format. The filter feature was used to sort the data. The process revealed that of the 23,821 properties, the town of Graaff-Reinet had 4208 properties and, of these, only 628 properties were owned by the municipality.

It is noted that the Municipality's asset register consists of movable and immovable assets. However, the search was focused on the immovable assets, specifically vacant land, and buildings.

A verification of randomly selected properties using Windeed Search showed that some of the remaining properties in the valuation roll were privately owned and also owned by Provincial and National Government. During interacted with officials from the department of Public Works, it was revealed that the department had conducted

its own land audit within the town of Graaff-Reinet in 2020/21. However, the information could not be shared with the researcher. Therefore, it was not possible to filter the percentage of land owned by this department from the municipality valuation roll.

5.4.7 Evaluation of Assemblies of Land-Use - Objective Three

As assessed in the preceding sections in this chapter, the Horseshoe Area, Spandauville, and the light-industrial area are deemed to be well-located land based on the attributes discussed. The areas are located in close proximity to economic facilities and infrastructure. Based on the economic activities, such as commercial and industry, the areas are the main generators of revenue for the municipality because of the high value of their land. The assessment of the maps also showed that a portion of the industrial area, along the main road connecting the Horseshoe Area and the Kroonvale/Asherville Area (*see Figure 5.6*), contains vacant land that can be used strategically to integrate the town. The identified land was ear-marked for the development of Community Rental Units (CRU) to accommodate low-income groups who could not afford to build or purchase a property.

The findings of the study showed that the identified land might require less investment in infrastructure development since it is already well-connected to transportation, utilities and other services. It was shown that the development of this land for purposes of integrating the town could improve public budgets through revenue collection, as infrastructure spending is a significant component of government spending.

Figure 5.8: Identified well-located land

Source: Satellite Pro. (2022)

5.4.8 Infill development aimed at linking Umasizakhe Township and the CBD area

Based on the study, it was found that, in the 2006 and 2012 SDFs, guidelines were proposed to ensure intensification within built areas within the erstwhile Camdeboo LM, one of those being Graaff-Reinet. In the SDFs, it was outlined that this intensification could be achieved through infilling, dwelling conversion, redevelopment of degraded areas, change of land-use, density increases and development of open land. It was also found that there was a plan to build infrastructure for a long-distance transport terminal that would serve as an addition to the district and would be located in the town of Graaff-Reinet. The infrastructure (see Figure 5.9) was proposed to be along the N9, at the entrance to the Horseshoe Area and that of Umasizakhe. The significance of the land identified was that it would present an opportunity to undermine the railway infrastructure that maintains the segregation of the township and the commercial area.

Figure 5.9: Locality of the proposed Goedhal's Square Transport and Business Precinct

Source: Surveyor General GIS, 2023

The findings of the study showed that the proposed development of Goedhal's and Market Squares, was reflected initially in the Graaff-Reinet Urban Design (1989), Graaff-Reinet Local Structure Plan (1994), LDOs and IDP (1999) and the purpose was also to create a tourism route from the Horseshoe Area into the Umasizakhe Township.

5.5. Analysis of Findings

An analysis of the primary data results from face-to-face interviews is presented in this section. The analysis is conducted according to the research objectives that were used to establish the direction of the study in answering the main research question. An analysis of the results pertaining to the historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use structure and infrastructure development in the town of Graaff-Reinet is presented first:

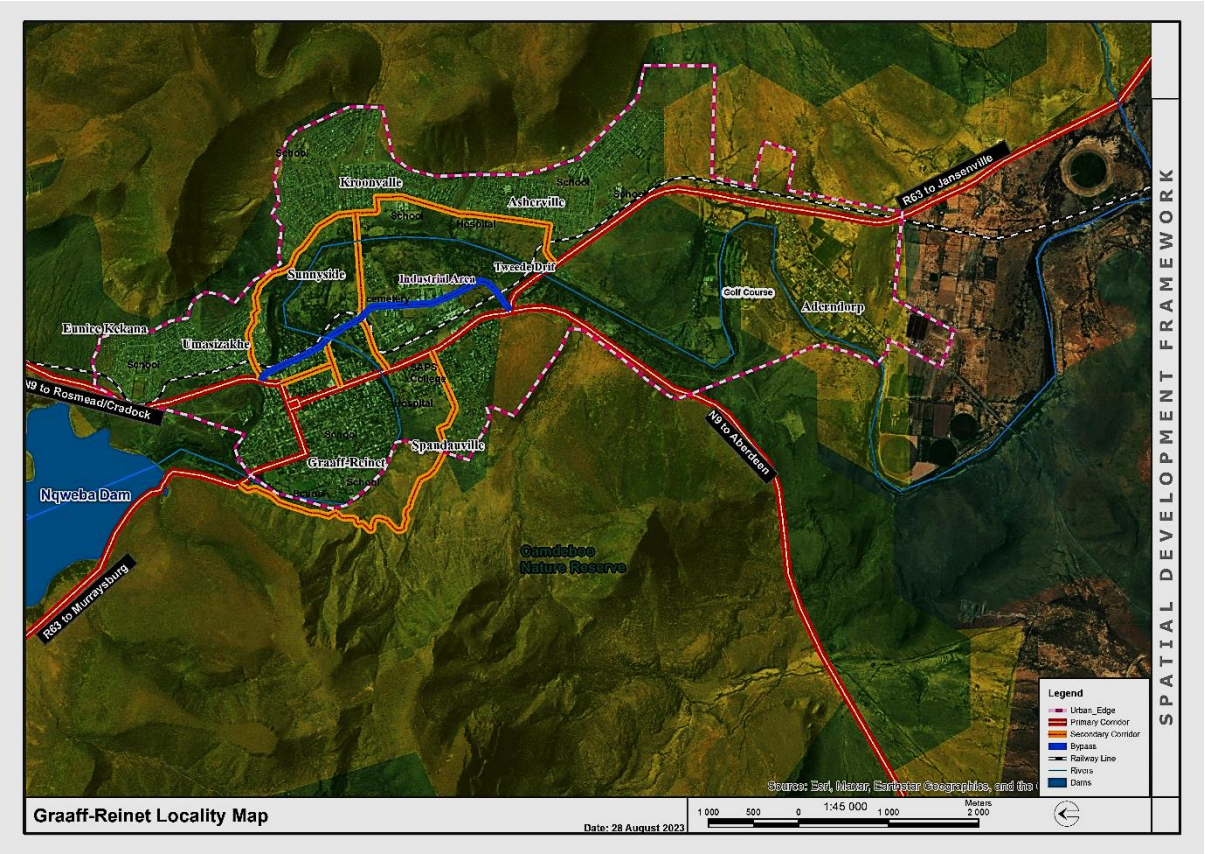
5.5.1 Analysis of the historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet

5.5.1.1 Planning legislation that encourages segregation

The emphasis of the findings regarding Research Objective One of this study was on the planning legislation used to administer land development and spatial planning in the country and, consequently, the frontier town of Graaff-Reinet. This legislation dated from the colonial era through to the period of apartheid and finally to the period

of the democratic government of South Africa. Based on the review of the literature, strategic documents of the LM and participants interviewed, it was evident that the colonial and apartheid planning legislation laid the foundation for the town's existing and current spatial pattern. The planning legislation was used to drive the agenda of separate development based on race and, thus, created a fragmented spatial pattern. Based on the study, it was found that there were efforts since 1989, through one of the instruments, to introduce a new paradigm regarding planning for the future of the town. However, it was indicated by the participants in the study that the institution had no capacity in that era to implement the proposed changes.

Figure 5.10: Spatial map of Graaff-Reinet town 2022



Source: Satellites Pro. (2022)

Further to this, it was evident from the review of the maps that the colonial and apartheid planning deliberately located the Black and Coloured settlements beyond the railway lines and used the Sundays River as a structuring element to ensure that the settlements were not able to integrate. Figure 5.10 above shows the Sundays River in an S-shaped and dark path that separates Graaff-Reinet town from the more

distant Townships of Kroonvale and Umasizakhe. Meanwhile, Kalipa-Mini (2018) counter-argued that, to realise the town's full economic and social potential, such artificial separations of living environments would ideally be strongly avoided and actively replaced with urban development that takes all stakeholders into account.

5.5.2 Analysis of the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have been a factor in re-shaping the spatial structure of the town's growth

The legislative framework prepared and promulgated during the colonial and apartheid era made provision for planning instruments to be created by municipalities to guide land development and management. These instruments were in the form of Zoning Schemes, Urban Design and Structure Plans in favour of advancing the segregational agenda. These have evolved overtime, because of a changing legislative framework to include IDPs and SDFs intended to integrate previously segregated areas.

The findings suggested that, even with the evolution of planning instruments, the change in spatial patterns in the town of Graaff-Reinet has still not been achieved. These findings are similar to the study of Machakaire, Tapela and Mokhele (2020) which found that in Harare, Zimbabwe, the patterns of development were not aligned with the aspirations of the spatial plans. However, a closer examination of the instruments from 1999 to 2016 showed that the focus during the transitional period might have been more on institutional systems (municipalities), and little attention was given to spatial transformation.

The findings also suggested that it was not enough to develop instruments, but institutional capacity to understand and implement the provisions of the planning instruments was required. This suggested further that the understanding and implementation of the instruments influenced the change in the spaces of the town.

Based on this study, it was found that, in the process of preparing these instruments, the public participation process was critical. The respondents reflected that some of the instruments, especially the Land Development Objectives were prepared at a district level, restricting the participation of the local residents.

5.5.3 Analysis of the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area

The findings regarding Objective Three were that the town of Graaff-Reinet is made up of five areas, namely: the Horseshoe, Umasizakhe, Kroonvale/Asherville, Spandauville and Adendorp. All these areas were assessed and discussed in detail, concluding that Spandauville and the light-industrial areas were ideal, well-located land. This was concluded based on the locality of the areas in relation to the other listed areas. Also, the area of Spandauville and light-industrial areas have sufficient infrastructure in terms of roads, sewerage, electricity, and water. The findings also showed that there were numerous opportunities to develop a portion of land along a main road connecting the Horseshoe Area and Kroonvale/Asherville located within the light-industrial area. However, these developments failed because of institutional incapacity. It was found that, should this portion of land be developed successfully with the requisite infrastructure, this development would translate into major financial benefit to the local authority. This would have a positive impact on the budgets of the local authority together with that of the developer. Investment in infrastructure services in the area identified as well-located land could also increase the property values in the area. The findings suggested that there has been major investment in terms of infrastructure in Graaff-Reinet, specifically in the upgrading of water and sewerage infrastructure.

In addition, the findings of the study showed that the Spandauville and light-industrial areas possessed the attributes of well-located land. The areas are easily accessible, located within 2km of commercial areas and social facilities, and have large areas of vacant state-owned land that could be developed for mixed-use activities.

5.6. Summary

The research results with themes emerging from the objectives of the study were presented in this chapter. The results were based on a combination of the literature reviewed, map reviews and interviews conducted for primary data collection. A closer examination of the results showed the importance of the impact of old order legislation that shaped the frontier town. The results revealed the underestimated influence of the segregational policies on the new generation of spatial plans, especially in the town of

Graaff-Reinet. It is noted that the influence of the legislative framework on the small town was give effect by the policies developed on the basis of legislation.

While there was a perceived attempt through urban design prepared in 1989, the findings of the study demonstrated that constructive plans are of no use without state capacity to implement them. Similarly, innovation regarding state policies that relate to spatial change are futile with limited state understanding and capacity. The findings of the study demonstrated that, even after 1994, with the numerous policy changes introduced, it was not possible to influence the spatial structure of the town, because of state incapacity.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

The research results from one-on-one interviews conducted, where themes emerged from the analysed findings concerning land-use, the spatial patterns of the town of Graaff-Reinet and state capacity were presented in Chapter 4 of this study. In the current chapter, the focus is on presenting discussions of the key research findings, and the gaps in the research in relation to the research objectives are also explained. The research objectives were to establish an outline of a historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure, and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet. The purpose of the study was to analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments have been a factor in re-shaping the spatial structure of the town, and to evaluate the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and, especially, the relationship between attributes of available, well-located land and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services).

6.2 Discussion of Research Findings

In this section, the research findings are discussed in relation to the research objectives. The key findings of the results pertaining to the historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet are presented below.

6.2.1 Discussion of findings about the historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet

The analysis of the research findings revealed two themes that emerged as significant historical characterisation of spatial planning in the pre-1994 apartheid era, and in the frontier town of Graaff-Reinet. Among the key themes that emerged were:

- Use of legalised Acts of Parliament to legitimise enforced displacements.
- The deliberate construction and use of structuring elements that act as buffers between racially classified settlements in order to discourage spatial integration of settlements.

6.2.1.1 Use of Legislative Framework to enforce the objectives of pre-democracy spatial plans

The results showed that several legislations were promulgated by the Apartheid Government to enforce the objectives of spatial plans on land-use and land development. For instance, the Group Areas Act was found to have been the basis of forced movement of local Black and Coloured communities from the Horseshoe Area. Watson (2019) cited the Group Areas Act, the Black Communities Development Act, 1984, Lands Act, and the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 as some of the instrumental Acts legalising racially-based spatial plans. Particularly, the current spatial form of the town can be traced from the promulgation of the Group Areas Act and its enforcement.

This Act also restricted ownership and the occupation of land by Black and Coloured people to a specific space. The restriction on owning land by specific racial groups created the current disparities or inequality in land ownership. While the post-1994 Land Reform Programme was intended to address this, many people still have no access to land and are cramped in small township spaces. To this end, the principle of Spatial Justice within the recently promulgated Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act is an attempt to compel government to address these disparities through developing Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) as part of the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs).

6.2.1.2 Entrenched pre-1994 structuring elements that hinder spatial planning today

Based on the research, it was found that the construction of structuring elements such as the railway lines, and the use of the Sundays River as a natural meandering river, still separate the Township of Umasizakhe and the Horseshoe Area (a former area preserved for the White population). The former Coloured area, known as Kroonvale is also separated from the commercial area by the Sundays River and railway line.

It was also evident from the participants who were interviewed during the study that these elements were intended to make it impossible for the township and former White area to be integrated, together with the commercial area of the town of Graaff-Reinet. Based on the responses of the participants, it was observed that there was effort from the post-1994 state institutions in charge of spatial planning and infrastructure development to counter these elements to enable integration. There was no evidence in the reviewed strategic documents of the municipality or any department that proved that an effort was made towards integration.

6.2.2 Discussion of findings on emergent land-use planning and management systems and instruments to re-shape the spatial structure of the town's growth

This sub-section contains a discussion of the findings pertaining to the effect of emergent land-use planning and management systems and instruments in re-shaping the spatial structure of the town's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of available, well-located land.

6.2.2.1 Use of the SPLUMA to enforce implementation of the SDFs

In the findings, reference was made to the promulgation of SPLUMA, a significant milestone for modelling and developing spatial plans that came into force to address the land-use and land development question. Respondents showed recognition of the Act's significance, while mention was also made in the document analysis that the 2017/18 IDP, ward-based plans for Graaff-Reinet (Ward 2, 5 and 6) were also guided by the provisions and principles of the Act.

The findings from the reviewed literature corroborated that the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 called for spatial justice (Swanepoel, 2020; Todes & Turok, 2018). This has been understood as a principle that encourages that the past spatial and other development imbalances should be redressed through improved access to, and use of, land.

The perusal of some of the reviewed minutes of the Municipal Planning Tribunal (MPT) enforced reference to the SDF in the processing of all land-use applications. The Municipal Land Use Administration Unit seemed to suggest that some of the members

of the MPT insisted on conducting land-use surveys or site visits to ensure that they made decisions that were aligned to the applicable SDF for the town of Graaff-Reinet.

6.2.2.2 Delayed alignment of SDFs with IDPs to integrate town and townships in Graaff-Reinet town

The analysed research findings showed that the vision and objectives of the IDP were not aligned with the spatial vision outlined in the 2006 and 2012 SDFs. In both plans, different goals of promoting balanced and sustainable development were outlined. The development objectives and projects of the sampled IDPs were not aligned with the land-use policies and priorities set in the SDFs. The spatial distribution of development initiatives in the existing SDFs did not support the overall goals of the sampled IDPs.

Notably, the findings of the study also showed that the infrastructure planning in the IDP did not align with the spatial analysis and infrastructure requirements outlined in the existing SDFs. The purpose of this co-ordination ensures that infrastructure investments are made in areas with development potential and support the desired land-use patterns. It was also found that, instead of the plans addressing environmental concerns and ensuring that development activities were undertaken sustainably, they merely outlined the challenges. The SDF should identify environmentally sensitive areas, and the IDP should have strategies for preserving them.

Lastly, through the interviews with some of the municipal personnel that work for the local authority under which the Graaff-Reinet town falls, the research findings revealed that there has never been an attempt to align the two policies (IDP and SDF). This is because the two policies have never been developed simultaneously, as is required by the Municipal Systems Act (MSA).

6.2.2.3 Outdated land-use management guidelines and forward planning for the area

The findings from the interviews showed that the current town planning scheme regulations were not sufficiently detailed to provide clear direction on land-use management and the future growth of Graaff-Reinet. Thus, there was a lack of updated land-use scheme policy/guidelines to enable the municipality to function optimally. The current Town Planning Scheme has made it highly complex for the

municipality to manage development, as it is not in a position to respond to all the development proposals.

It was also found that the municipality's unique development challenges necessitated more integrated, effective, and innovative land-use management systems that are appropriate and more proactive in application.

6.2.2.4 Absence of municipal budget allocations for spatial planning and restructuring

The results showed that the erstwhile Graaff-Reinet Municipality made funding provision for the development of the pre-1994 Structure Plans and Land Development Objectives (LDOs). The LDOs later became IDPs and Structure Plans became SDFs. It was found that, after the Graaff-Reinet Municipality was amalgamated with other nearby LMs (Aberdeen and Nieu Bethesda LMs) to form the erstwhile Camdeboo LM (in the year 2000), the newly formed Camdeboo LM developed its first IDP in the same year but did not produce an SDF until 2006.

It was noted from the review of the literature and one-on-one interviews that further funding provision was made in 2012 for the review of the 2006 SDF. After this, no funding was provided for the implementation of the developed spatial plans together with personnel with capacity to implement the SDFs.

The analysis of documents (annual reports and SDBIPs) showed that budgets reviewed since 1998/99 to 2016 had no evidence of budget allocated towards implementation of the SDF proposals. Findings also highlighted that investors have tended to ignore IDPs and SDFs, resulting in many sector-based spatial plans being submitted. Meanwhile, the documents analysed revealed an urban design proposed by the University of Cape Town in 1989. The proposed development was positioned in a central place, and its aim was to integrate formerly alienated settlements. By putting the two ideas into practice, Graaff-Reinet, a frontier town, would have made a significant decision to change its apartheid geographies.

6.2.3 Discussion of findings on the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area

This sub-section contains a discussion of analysed findings pertaining to the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and, especially, the relationship between ownership and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services).

6.2.3.1 Greenfield development on well-located land parcels for purposes of integrated development

The findings revealed problems in the use of well-located land for spatial restructuring in addressing the pre-1994 imbalances. Nsele (2016) and Swanepoel (2020) confirmed the existence of land that is only available at high premiums outside the affordability of the implementing authority. Graaff-Reinet's well-located land is privately owned and the local authority cannot afford to buy the land for greenfield developments in order to use the land for restructuring the town.

6.2.3.2 Private investments derailing SDFs

The interview responses revealed the notion of outsourcing to third parties by the Graaff-Reinet town authorities in addressing the land issue. The documents analysed seemed to elucidate some past projects that were affected by the bureaucracy that did not support proposed spatial plans for the restructuring of Graaff-Reinet. Reviewed literature, in which Nsele (2016) attested to the existence of land that was only available at a high premium beyond the affordability of the local authority, concurred with the interview respondents. Meanwhile, there was evidence that spatial plans developed to build Community Rental Units, known as Umnyama Park, were not successful because some business leaders supported a private hospital development rather than the housing project on the same land. Findings from the analysis of document also revealed that there was more support for housing development along the periphery of the town and less support for projects located in close proximity to the town centre.

6.2.3.3 Restrictions on well-allocated land for greenfield developments identified in the SDFs

The challenge mentioned the most within the emerging assembly of land-use was the restriction of availability of well-allocated land, as most land in the Graaff-Reinet was privately owned (Swanepoel, 2020). As a result, land development was undertaken mostly on privately-owned land and, thus, emerging land-uses were driven by private developers on strategically located land that could have been used to drive an integrative agenda to counter apartheid geographies.

The findings from the document analysis revealed that the need to use greenfield developments (housing and mixed-use developments) to address historical imbalances towards spatial restructuring has been identified in SDFs. The research findings further asserted that land-use schemes could be a dominant method to implement SDFs by discouraging development that is not aligned with the vision of the town.

6.3 Recommendation

6.3.1 Using GIS and reliable data sets to determine the extent of vacant land parcels

In the context of increasing informality and homelessness in towns, the presence of large tracts of strategically located, vacant, state-owned land is a sign of inefficient urban planning and a dysfunctional land market. Therefore, it is critical for Graaff-Reinet's local government to have reliable data on the extent of vacant state-owned land parcels and their potential for housing development, particularly affordable housing for the poor.

6.3.2 Implementation of the approved Restructuring Zone for the town of Graaff-Reinet

According to the reviewed Umnyama Park study proposed for the town of Graaff-Reinet, the National Department of Human Settlements (through the Social Housing Regulatory Authority) approved a Restructuring Zone for the construction of Umnyama Park. The implementation of this restructuring zone in the form of the construction of

Community Rental Units (CRUs) would be the beginning of the integration of the town of Graaff-Reinet.

6.3.3 Adopting a land-banking strategy with buildable and proximity to facilities attributes

Based on this study, a land banking strategy is recommended. This involves systematic and deliberate buying of vacant pieces of land for future development. Buildable areas are proposed to identify land that has conditions conducive to building (i.e. manageable slope, not flood prone, not on protected areas etc.). Proximity to facilities must be considered, including parameters such as closeness to roads, shops, malls, healthcare facilities, and social facilities. The findings suggested that land is the basic bearer of all human production and living activities and that investment in land contributes to an increase in national wealth.

6.3.4 Re-purposing strategic, well-located land parcels for urban restructuring

Based on the research, re-purposing strategic, well-located land parcels for urban restructuring in smaller frontier towns is considered to be a critical means to re-imagining sustainable development of small towns. The research findings indicate that vacant land in Graaff-Reinet is an important resource as it presents opportunities for urban renewal and revitalisation and can further contribute to municipal revenue.

6.3.5 Transforming the Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

Transforming the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) of the municipality, under which the Graaff-Reinet town falls, into a Strategic Plan for Spatial Integration is an important step forward in urban and regional planning. While an IDP is normally focused on individual sectors and local requirements, a more comprehensive and forward-thinking approach is adopted in a Strategic Plan for Spatial Integration, recognising the inter-connection of many elements within a geographical area. Data-driven research, stakeholder involvement, and cutting-edge technologies are used in a Strategic Plan for Spatial Integration to build a more unified, sustainable, and resilient urban landscape. This transformation entails breaking down functional silos, fostering collaboration among various government departments, and aligning development objectives with a long-term vision, resulting in more efficient resource allocation,

improved infrastructure, and an improved quality of life for residents. This strategic shift embraces the complexity of modern urban life by breaking free from the constraints of traditional planning.

6.3.6 Establishment of a department dedicated to planning and economic development at a local municipal level

The municipality must establish a department that will focus exclusively on town planning and economic development, as promulgated by the South African Government Regulation Gazette 37245 in 2014 for local government. The establishment of an exclusive department for Town Planning and Economic Development will streamline all functions related to spatial planning, urban renewal, Land-Use Management, Building Control Management, Integrated Development Planning, Human Settlements and Local Economic Development.

6.4 Conclusion

6.4.1 Research aim

The aim of the research was to analyse the extent of repurposing strategically well-located state land to rectify historical injustices, drive spatial transformation, and the creation of a more equitable and inclusive urban environment in Graaff-Reinet.

6.4.2 Research objectives

Three objectives were established to achieve the aim of this research. A reference is provided below to the primary sections in which the objectives are discussed in the thesis:

i. The first objective of the study was to present an outline of a historical reconstruction of the evolution of land-use, structure and infrastructure development in Graaff-Reinet. The objective was addressed in Chapter Two, Chapter Four, and Chapter Five;
ii. The second objective of the study was to analyse the extent to which emerging land-use planning and management systems and instruments

have, or failed to, re-shape the spatial structure of the town's growth with respect to availability and strategic utilisation of available, well-located land. This objective was addressed in Chapter Two and Chapter Five.

iii. The third objective of the study was to evaluate the emerging assembly of land-use in the municipal area and, especially, the relationship between attributes of available, well-located land and patterns of public budgets and investment in space (infrastructure and services) between 1999 and 2016. This objective was addressed in Chapter Two and Chapter Five.

The summary above demonstrates that the research objectives were addressed comprehensively and systematically in the dissertation, the research questions were answered, and the overall research aim that was set was achieved.

6.5 Areas for Future Research

- **Infrastructure development and accessibility**
  The specific difficulties and opportunities connected to infrastructure development and accessibility in Graaff-Reinet, given the focus of previous research on socio-economic infrastructure should be examined in future study. This might entail determining the suitability of infrastructure investments, the effect on the lives of citizens, and methods for enhancing infrastructure equality.

- **Economic development and job creation**
  Investigating the economic consequences of urban re-organisation efforts could be a worthwhile research topic. Researchers could investigate how changes in land-use and spatial planning have influenced economic development, job creation, and income distribution in Graaff-Reinet. This would offer information about the larger socio-economic effects of such programmes.

- **Community engagement and participation**
  The emphasis of this research topic would be on the crucial role of community involvement in urban restructuring. Future research can concentrate on the breadth and efficacy of community participation in Graaff-Reinet's spatial planning

endeavours. The strategies employed to elicit community input, the level of engagement, and the influence of community-driven initiatives on decision-making and project outcomes could be investigated.

- **Policy analysis and recommendations**
  Future studies could also investigate the policy environment of urban restructuring in frontier towns. Researchers could evaluate the present laws, regulations, and frameworks governing land-use and spatial planning in Graaff-Reinet and similar municipalities. Based on this data, they might provide policy recommendations to improve the role of urban land in fostering fair development.

These research topics could contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of urban restructuring in frontier towns such as Graaff-Reinet, as well as crucial insights for politicians, urban planners, and communities promoting equitable and sustainable development.

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Annexure A: Ethics Approval

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24 August 2023

Mr Ndumiso Camngca
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Reference no: 204212324/2023/15

Project title: The role of urban land as a lever for strategic restructuring of frontier towns: The case of post-apartheid spatial planning in Graaf-Reinet, South Africa

Approval period: 24 August 2023 – 31 December 2024

This is to certify that the Faculty of Informatics and Design Research Ethics Committee of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology approved the methodology and ethics of Mr Ndumiso Camngca (204212324) for Master of Technology.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Research Ethics Committee for approval.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Dr Blessing Makwambeni
Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Informatics and Design
Cape Peninsula University of Technology