

Article

A ‘Marshall Plan’ for human settlements: how megaprojects became South Africa’s housing policy

Richard Ballard and Margot Rubin

Richard.Ballard@gcro.ac.za, Margot.Rubin@wits.ac.za

Abstract

In 2014, the South African National Department of Human Settlements announced that it would phase out its many small public housing projects of a few hundred units, and housing would now exclusively be delivered in large settlements of thousands of units, called catalytic projects. Shortly afterwards, the Gauteng Provincial government announced its own version of the policy, stating that it intended to build dozens of megaprojects around the Province. This article examines this policy moment both at the national level, and in Gauteng Province. We show how this direction was heralded by a series of bold political announcements and that although they were given some policy content over the subsequent months, the policy development process was superseded by project identification lasting several years. This case demonstrates that policy making in South Africa can be a fast-moving process in which headline ideas are announced and then elaborated, adopted, adapted and resisted by different actors. The result, therefore, is not a single policy but rather a diffuse and contradictory policy turn. While the announcements surprised some observers, we offer a framework of the various logics that fed into this policy direction: a history of scaled-up projects since the 1990s; a desire to ramp up the quantity of houses delivered; the appeal of designing entirely new integrated settlements; the pressure to invest in deprived areas; and the expectation that large projects can cut through bureaucratic blockages. Notwithstanding these imperatives, this policy direction has drawn criticisms for presuming to be able to attract economic activity to new settlements, and for potentially exacerbating urban sprawl.¹

Introduction

Nothing short of a total mobilisation of society around the issue of the provision of housing for the poor will solve the problems we confront in the short term. ... nothing short of some kind of Marshall Plan will see us survive this challenge. (Sisulu 2014)

Given South Africa's history of dispossession, segregation and exclusion, the provision of housing has been a major element of the post-apartheid social contract. The African National Congress-led government has repeatedly committed itself to providing poor households with houses in order to change the profile of property ownership, and as a form of redress for apartheid. The resulting 3.7 million subsidised housing opportunities in a two-decade period have been largely unprecedented in scale and pace in democratic societies (South Africa, Presidency 2014).

While this form of welfare provision has undoubtedly transformed the country's urban landscape, and the lives of 9.5 million direct beneficiaries, the programme has a series of well-documented limitations (Charlton et al 2014). These include long waiting lists with opaque allocation practices (Rubin 2011, Tissington 2011), variable construction quality (Marx 2003), questionable locations often far from economic opportunities (Biermann and Van Ryneveld 2007), the reinforcement of apartheid geographies (Huchzermeyer 2003), and the continuation of historical patterns of land ownership (Bond 2000, Gordon et al 2007). More recently, concerns have focused on the increasing costs of construction, the declining rates of delivery (South Africa, Financial and Fiscal Commission 2012), and, therefore, the long-term affordability and sustainability of state-provided housing. The state has also voiced concerns that people are becoming overly dependent on the state for their housing needs (Oldfield and Greyling 2015).

In recognition of some of these critiques, housing policy has been modified over time. An important development was the 2004 policy *Breaking New Ground: a comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements* (South Africa, Department of Housing 2004) which was intended to shift the sector away from delivering basic accommodation to the development of fully-serviced human settlements fitted with a range of urban amenities (Joseph and Sebina-Karuri 2014). A key aim of the policy was also the delivery of mixed-income and mixed-use settlements to encourage social integration.

Notwithstanding its laudable intentions, many in the sector recognise that the transition from housing projects to integrated sustainable human

settlements has been partial at best (South Africa, Department of Human Settlements 2009) and that the original problems that provoked Breaking New Ground have continued to trouble the sector. In order to boost delivery and spatial transformation, the state put in place new subsidies between 2008 and 2010, such as the Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant and the Urban Settlements Development Grant, administered largely by National Treasury. These funding mechanisms sought to enable 'a more integrated approach to local area development and catalyse active involvement and investment of the private sector in community economies' (Joseph and Sebina-Karuri 2014:7).

Even with these measures, the sector suffered a decline in house production. This triggered a further major shift in housing policy in 2014 to megaprojects, which is the primary focus of this article. According to this new approach, all public housing is now to be delivered in 'megaprojects', also referred to as 'catalytic projects'. Although the state had previously embarked on several large scale human settlements projects such as the N2 Gateway project in Cape Town, Cornubia in eThekweni, and Cosmo City in Johannesburg, these were unusual in scale and the mix of housing typologies, most housing projects were less than a thousand units each. According to the megaprojects approach, all housing would now be delivered in large scale projects of more than 15,000 units. The rationale given was that this would help deliver more housing for the available budget, and would assist in achieving the aims of integrated human settlements.²

Our conversations with housing practitioners, including engineers and officials, suggests that there was some sympathy for the idea of consolidating housing delivery within fewer, larger, projects. However, many, including some inside the state, were surprised and concerned about the proposal that *all* housing would now be delivered exclusively in megaprojects, especially since earlier attempts at large scale human settlements had not been without significant limitations (Jordhus-Lier 2015, Newton 2009). Furthermore, critics were concerned that this policy turn would result in large scale greenfield development, which would exacerbate urban sprawl. Yet it is difficult to mount a normative debate about whether or not the turn to megaprojects is the right policy direction since the policy is referred to under multiple rubrics, appears in different places, and is contradictory even within single documents.

In this article, we suggest that in addition to interrogating the policy on its own terms, we need to consider the forces that have made this policy

moment. We argue that the policy is diffuse and unresolved precisely because it is produced by the frustrations of a government which has been in power for more than two decades and now feels that it needs to offer ever more decisive solutions to enduring problems of poverty and inequality in order to stay in power. The fact that the ANC lost three metropolitan municipalities in the 2016 local government elections is indicative of the enormous political pressure the party was under when it arrived at the megaprojects idea in 2014.

Following a brief literature review on policy making in section two, section three explains where the megaprojects policy turn is articulated, section four considers the logics that fed into this policy direction, and section five examines how the policy has been received. Our primary material comes from six recorded interviews with ten officials and housing consultants, a number of informal discussions with stakeholders, participation in nine workshops on spatial planning in general or megaprojects specifically, a review of 31 newspaper articles and press releases, and 17 speeches, policy documents and related grey literature. Although the research participants did not specifically request to be treated anonymously, we opted to refer to them as ‘stakeholders’ given the sensitive nature of these policy debates.

Policy making

When considering how particular policy ideas gain prominence at particular moments, one might expect a systematic review of a particular problem, a variety of models tested, and an optimal solution codified and implemented. Yet many governance ideas become policy without any particularly comprehensive analysis, or indeed without much general consensus about the right way to govern a particular issue. To be sure, policy making is not simply capricious. Rather, it is determined by considerations which far exceed rationalist evaluations of the merits and demerits of different policy options (Bernstein 2005). McCann and Ward (2012: 43) propose that one way of understanding the ‘non-linear’ nature of policy making is that policies are assemblages comprised of diverse elements drawn together into a composite entity. They use this framework to recognise that a great deal of work goes into reifying these diverse elements into a policy, but that, given the diversity of influences, the resulting policy may have multiple and even contradictory meanings.

Policies also result from influences at different scales. They can be shaped from beyond the jurisdiction of governance, for example by

multilateral agencies (Cochrane 2011, McCann 2011). Cross-border policy influence is not necessarily coercive; sometimes policy makers simply seize enthusiastically on a policy idea which appears to offer a 'silver bullet' for a seemingly intractable problem (Peck 2011: 174, also Peck and Theodore 2010). Policies also invariably 'emerge from and are responses' to particular "local" sets of social and political conditions' (Cochrane and Ward 2012: 4). Even when policy ideas do cross boundaries they become somewhat vernacular as they are adapted by local contexts (McCann and Ward 2012).

Authorities can approach their role in benevolent terms; thinking of themselves as trustees acting on behalf of a constituency or population (Li 2007). While acknowledging the often benevolent intentions of authorities, policies nevertheless can reflect the outlook and interests of policy makers (Adams et al 2012). For Stone (1993), policy is a resource that is mobilised by political leaders in coalition with other actors to empower certain regimes to further their goals. Furthermore, policy may serve bureaucratic and political self-interest, for example where a particular agency or department attempts to position itself with more authority in relation to a certain field of issues, or where a political party hopes to impress its constituency. In a less calculating way, policies may reflect that which most suits the institution, promoting the policy because the institution is comfortable with specific ways of thinking and acting in relation to a problem. The result is a kind of 'path-dependency'; so that procedures, plans and routines that are already in place become greater determinants of policy than a hypothetical alternative (Peters and Pierre 1998:224).

A policy document or pronouncement is, of course, not the final word on what will happen in practice since implementation – and resulting social change – are also non-linear (Lipsky 1969). Policy is less a blueprint for implementation than it is a mechanism for mobilising a host of actors to engage in a series of practices presumed by the advocates of the policy to be desirable. The policy's capacity to dictate those practices is not absolute. Those responsible for implementing a policy may not feel compelled enough by the policy to adopt and institutionalise it (Buitelaar et al 2011). For example, when a central institution develops a policy that is incongruent with local institutions, the policy may not gain traction with the local institution. To the extent that actors responsible for implementing policies do adopt new policies, they can interpret them in quite divergent ways (Veron et al 2003), or blend new practices with old in a way that might

even undermine the new policy (Lund 2008).

Finally, literature on policy making notes that policies take many different forms: some have legal status, such as laws and regulations; some have political status, such as ‘executive decisions’; and some have informal status such as ‘commonly understood’ principles and approaches (Weible 2014: 4). They can be procedural and detailed, or notional and symbolic. The following section describes the various manifestations of megaprojects policy within the human settlements sector in South Africa, showing that it exists as political pronouncements, concept documents, systems for analysing proposed megaprojects, and a provincial proposal. We show that the policy idea gets taken up in different institutional locations in specific, and sometimes quite divergent, ways.

Articulations of the megaprojects policy turn

In this section we examine the location and form of megaprojects policy turn, first within the national Department of Human Settlements and then in the Gauteng Provincial Government. At national level, this new policy direction was announced by minister of Human Settlements, Lindiwe Sisulu, on the occasion of the budget vote of the Department of Human Settlements in July 2014 (Sisulu 2014), just two months after Sisulu returned to this portfolio. Sisulu had previously been minister of Housing from 2004 to 2009, a period she described retrospectively as ‘the golden era of housing, both in policy and delivery’ (Sisulu 2014: 1). During her speech to parliament upon her return, she expressed concern that in the period since her original tenure, the ‘delivery of houses has dropped by 25%’ (Sisulu 2014: 16). Her solution was to move the sector away from small housing developments to large scale projects called megaprojects or catalytic projects of at least 10,000 houses and 5,000 serviced stands.

The job of fleshing out this ‘political announcement’ (interview, stakeholder, December 15, 2015) was handed to the Housing Development Agency (HDA) (South Africa, Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2014). The HDA had been established in 2009 by parliament in order to work directly with the ministry and the Department of Human Settlements to assemble well-located land for scaled-up human settlements (South Africa 2008, Sisulu 2007). Following the minister’s announcements, the HDA developed a concept document for a ‘National Human Settlement Spatial Plan’ (South Africa, Department of Human Settlements 2014). The document used the 2012 National Development Plan (NDP) to ground the megaprojects

idea within established national development principles, for example by quoting the NDP's intention to '[i]mplement strategically chosen catalytic interventions to achieve spatial transformation in a manner that supports locally driven spatial governance' (National Planning Commission 2012: 260).

Shortly after the concept note was completed, the Department of Human Settlements organised a National Human Settlements Indaba in October 2014 in order to mobilise buy-in to the policy. At this event, 82 stakeholders signed a 'Social Contract for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements' committing themselves to creating 1.5 million housing opportunities by 2019 (Khumalo 2014, South Africa, Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2014). At the Indaba, the minister provided an e-mail address for municipalities and developers to submit their ideas for catalytic projects, and proposals duly started coming in. According to one stakeholder 'it was a bit chaotic because it was not like a planned process ... but she's a minister and she has this charisma and she has this energy, ... and she likes to make things happen' (interview, stakeholder, December 15, 2015).

In order to bring some procedural order to the process, the HDA developed a questionnaire which required those proposing projects to explain, *inter alia*, the settlement's proposed density, mix of housing typologies, property market supply and demand, funding models, potential for home enterprises, integration with existing bulk infrastructure, and plans for social services (interview, stakeholder, December 15, 2015). This tool also assessed the viability of the project in terms of the local authority's capacity to implement a large project over many years. Those responsible for identifying projects were at pains to stress that they had no intention of overriding the municipal responsibility for spatial planning (interview, stakeholder, December 15, 2015), although whether or not a proposed project was well-located would factor in to the decision about whether it was included on the final list.

In choosing which proposals would be selected, the HDA also developed a mechanism for identifying municipalities that would be prioritised. This included the identification of municipalities that had concentrations of people who needed state housing. However, the HDA was mindful of the possibility that targeting based on need alone can result in poor location decisions (interview, stakeholder, February 3, 2016). The location of *need* was therefore considered alongside the *potential* for economic growth and other key aspects of long term settlement sustainability. The analysis

identified 117 municipalities which had both need and potential. These municipalities together constitute half the municipalities in the country, and contain three quarters of the population.

Sisulu's early announcements stated an intention to identify 50 catalytic projects within 100 days (South Africa, Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2014). However, the announcement of a list has been deferred a number of times. In 2015 she said that more than 150 applications had been received (Greve 2015b). By December 2015, no public announcement had been made but a stakeholder told us that the list had grown to 77 projects (interview, stakeholder, December 15, 2015). On May 9, 2016 the minister held a press conference to announce catalytic projects, although in the actual event she announced that the list consisted of 101 projects but did not release the list itself (Bejoy 2016). In August 2017, the HDA announced that the ministers and members of the Executive Council (MINMEC), a national inter-governmental forum mandated to co-ordinate and align national and provincial policies and programmes, had signed off on 48 'national priority human settlements projects', which are part of the catalytic projects programme, to go into a pipeline of implementation (HDA 2017).

At a national level, then, the policy idea was presented as a *fait accompli* before it was even articulated in publicly available documentation. While technocrats spent several months creating some documentation, the policy direction was not workshopped or developed with a broad range of partners, and the emphasis soon shifted to a process of identifying major projects. Notwithstanding a systematic approach by technocrats to choosing projects, the final decision-making process remains opaque. Given the many delays in announcing the final list, we might speculate that there has been considerable contestation about the selection of projects. A list was eventually announced in 2017, three years after the policy was announced and two years before the target of 2019, when 1.5 million houses are meant to have been built under the policy.

While these processes were playing out at in the national sphere, aspects of this policy approach were taken up and adapted within the province of Gauteng. Although it is geographically the smallest province in South Africa, Gauteng contains a quarter of the country's population and a large concentration of its economy, mostly in three contiguous metropolitan municipalities (Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, and Tshwane). Gauteng's megaproject approach originated in December 2014, when Jacob Mamabolo, the MEC³ for Human Settlements and Cooperative Governance and

Traditional Affairs briefed a housing consultant who began developing a provincial policy. This approach was taken up at the highest levels and the premier of the Province, David Makhura, signalled this new policy direction in his State of the Province address in February 2015 (Makhura 2015). In April 2015, with much fanfare, the province launched their document entitled *Mega Projects: Clusters and New Cities, New Mega Projects proposal for human settlements in the Gauteng City Region* (Gauteng Department of Human Settlements 2015). Although this was billed as a discussion document it was not posted online, nor has there been a follow up document incorporating feedback on the discussion document.

The policy development process was a somewhat closed one between the MEC and the consultant he employed. No new research was commissioned to support the policy, although the consultant read some secondary material. The draft plan was workshopped with some officials at the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements. However municipalities were not given the opportunity to learn about or make input on the policy before its launch, even though they are, as one stakeholder put it, the 'actual people who are responsible for planning and approvals of these plans' and for implementing them (interview, stakeholder, March 10, 2016). One of the first major discussions between provincial and municipal officials happened at the University of the Witwatersrand five months after the policy was launched.

The provincial policy making process unfolded with little reference to the national catalytic projects process (interview, stakeholder, December 15, 2015). Planning between the provincial and national Human Settlements Departments did take place in time, but project lists were not fully harmonised. Gauteng developed its own list of projects, which, by late 2016, numbered 29 'nodes' (speaker, Gauteng Planning Forum November 20, 2016).⁴ A representative of the HDA said that 15 of the catalytic projects on the national list are located in Gauteng and only seven of these overlap with the 29 projects listed by Gauteng Province (speaker, Gauteng Planning Forum November 20, 2016). One observer remarked that 'Gauteng like[s] to do things differently always' (interview, stakeholder, December 15, 2015).

Echoing the national policy, the provincial policy spoke of the need to build all future housing within settlements of 15,000 units or more. However, the Gauteng policy incorporated some flexibility by saying that smaller projects could be grouped together into 'nodes' to make up a single

megaproject even if they were not spatially contiguous. The policy was also willing to incorporate large private sector projects, even though they were generally for high-end users. However, the ideal presented in the document, and in various speeches, was to construct new post-apartheid cities; effectively satellite towns built on previously undeveloped land. These satellite towns would draw on the principles of integrated human settlements, and in the vision of the MEC, would largely consist of high rise buildings (Mashego 2015).

The provincial document was driven by a concern that ‘poor black communities are confined to the margins of areas characterised by poverty and unemployment’, and that wealth and opportunities are located in urban centres, to which poor areas are not well connected (Gauteng Department of Human Settlements 2015: 17). However, the document was contradictory. On the one hand, it said it was going to ‘build settlements that are closer to employment and economic opportunities’ (Gauteng Department of Human Settlements 2015: 15). On the other, it said that the new settlements were going to be economically ‘self-sufficient’ and residents would be able to live and work in the same place (Gauteng Department Human Settlements 2015: 37).

There are four broad ways in which Gauteng Provincial government argued that megaprojects could become economically self-sufficient or indeed contribute to the economy of Gauteng (also Charlton 2017, this issue). First, building them will be economically generative because this would channel billions of Rands into urban construction, and this would ‘propel and turbocharge the economy of the province’ (Mamabolo 2015). Second, they would be located in parts of the province which the provincial government intends to re-industrialise (Makhura 2015). Third, new settlements would allocate land for office parks, light industry, manufacturing and other economic activities, which would help to ensure that economic opportunities would be located within the new developments (Mamabolo 2015). Fourth, they would follow the integrated human settlements approach of including a variety of housing typologies to attract residents with different incomes. Unlike earlier housing settlements, which were universally for low income residents, the greater heterogeneity of residents would present more internal economic opportunities, for example to service the needs of residents with higher incomes.

The province of Gauteng, therefore, developed a somewhat autonomous take on the megaprojects approach, resulting in a separate list of human

settlements projects and a distinct set of intentions for the approach. Crucially the Gauteng approach seemed sympathetic to the idea of new satellite towns, but did not ultimately resolve whether the intention was to bring people to jobs, or jobs to people. Like the national process, Gauteng's policy was written by a small team and not in discussion with partners in government let alone outside of government. Following the launch of the discussion document in April 2015, the provincial Human Settlements Department has focused on preparing to launch megaprojects.

Logics informing the megaprojects policy turn

To some observers of the housing sector, the announcements made by political leaders in 2014 and 2015 seemed to arrive without warning, particularly since there had been minimal consultation on the policy direction. However, in this section, we show that this policy is the confluence of a series of long-standing logics within the human settlements sector. Here we map out five logics that anticipated and fed into this policy announcement. By logics we mean rationales, imperatives and justifications which we identified in speeches, newspaper articles, workshop exchanges and interviews.

To be sure, we are not offering an exhaustive explanation of all potential factors which explain this policy moment. The introduction to this special issue (Ballard 2017) notes the often unstated political work which talk of megaprojects can perform. A further set of unstated factors is the way in which some economic interests stand to profit from these developments, not only through rent seeking, but also through the above-board awarding of contracts. While we certainly feel that understanding such dynamics is vital, particularly as this policy idea is translated into real projects in the coming years, we limit ourselves to working inductively from the logics articulated within speeches, discussion documents and interviews.

Scaling up

Scaling up has in fact been a key interest of housing officials over an extended period of time. As Harrison and Todes (2017) note in their contribution to this issue, there have been various kinds of new town and township development in South Africa throughout the twentieth century. In the 1990s the Gauteng province faced the problem that developers were withdrawing from the sector due a change in legislation which pushed out small scale low-cost housing developers (Charlton and Kihato 2006). As a result, the provincial government made an agreement with five of

the largest companies that each would get a project of at least 5,000 units. A respondent told us that ‘the idea was to get the big construction companies back in and get economies of scale, [and to build] a relatively better product than the “kak en slaap” [shit and sleep houses] which were being produced at the time’ (interview, stakeholder, November 16, 2015). Government also intended that it could use the economy of scale of large projects to attract the private sector, and in so doing could share the risk that had been shouldering on its own.

In the 2000s, the trend towards large projects continued with Cosmo City in Johannesburg (originally one of the five large projects commissioned in the 1990s but delayed substantially), the N2 Gateway in Cape Town, and Cornubia in Durban. Not only did each of these contain a large number of units, but, under the 2004 Breaking New Ground policy, they also catered for a much wider variety of household incomes and exhibited a wider range of housing typologies than previous state-led housing projects. By 2007, towards the end of her first run as minister of Housing, Lindiwe Sisulu stated ‘[o]ur intention is to upscale delivery and prioritise mega-projects’ (Sisulu 2007).⁵

Scaling up, then, has emerged as an important consideration over the last two decades becoming entrenched in a set of housing practices, and evolving into a kind of consistent rhetoric used by politicians and some officials. An informant suggested to us that there is a growing ‘big project mentality’ which sets out to ‘solve a whole bunch’ of problems through large prestige projects (interview, stakeholder, November 16, 2015). Megaprojects are intuitively appealing in the face of big problems because they appear as muscular ‘big hit’ statist interventions, which are much more visible than diffuse small-scale projects.

Mega project thinking was further entrenched by the Soccer World Cup hosted by South Africa in 2010. During the parliamentary Human Settlements budget vote of 2010, minister of Human Settlements, Tokyo Sexwale, likened state housing to preparations for the World Cup:

Questions are being asked about what will continue to propel the South African economy beyond the current infrastructural developments which are also associated with the 2010 FIFA World Cup ... South Africa has constructed massive highways, iconic stadiums, world-class airports and state of the art technology platforms. The target for human settlements ought to be nothing less than an enhanced vision, driven by a similar energy and passion to World Cup 2010 ... It is important that

we think creatively about large-scale human settlements as the 'stadia', 'airports' and 'highways' of our people ... The potential exists for the whole country to be turned into one large construction site as we build sustainable human settlements in various localities. (Sexwale 2010)

In 2014 when Lindiwe Sisulu returned to the position of minister of Human Settlements, she presented the emerging megaprojects zeitgeist as being not simply one way of doing housing but the only way of doing housing. Notwithstanding extensive internal and external criticism of the N2 Gateway project in Cape Town, the minister continued to favour it because it demonstrated how space could be reconfigured and how such projects could create durable multi-generational housing stock (interview, stakeholder, November 16, 2015). Sisulu was also said to have been impressed with the achievements of large projects in Gauteng, including Cosmo City and Braamfisherville. She took these projects to be good examples of the ability to bring mixed income groups together by offering housing at different affordability levels as well as the scale of housing production (Sisulu 2016). Sisulu also believed that in order for human settlements to catalyse development, they needed to be large enough to 'make an impact' and achieve meaningful urban integration, as one stakeholder put it in summarising the minister's thinking (interview, stakeholder, February 3, 2016).

Large scale housing projects are not novel and have constituted an important way of delivering houses since the 1990s. The present policy is an elaboration of a long-established mode which offers a forceful, state-centred approach that is intended to have big impacts, solve numerous problems and demonstrate the authority and ability of those in power.

Concern about being able to meet housing expectations

Woven through the 2014 and 2015 political announcements about megaprojects was significant anxiety about the ability of the state to meet its repeated commitment to give all poor households a house. In her parliamentary budget speech of 2014, Sisulu noted that a fifth of all protests were related to housing and resulted from the state not meeting its promises 'fast enough' (Sisulu 2014). In fact, the minister was ambivalent about this commitment. She attempted to place limits on the expectation of housing, bemoaned an 'unfortunate culture of entitlement amongst our people' and the fact 'that some of the beneficiaries of the system have sold their houses' (Sisulu 2014). She furthermore stated 'I myself was

alarmed when looking through a housing waiting list, to see how many 18 year olds assume that government owes them a house' (Sisulu 2014). She stated that the government would develop the definition of indigence as the basis for free housing (2014 budget vote speech) and also declared '[i]t never was the intention of this government to give free homes ad infinitum' (Merten 2014).

However, she also acknowledged that houses were not being built fast enough for those who currently qualify, and nor for the anticipated future demand. With this in mind, the minister committed her department to a Marshall Plan-like endeavour (Sisulu 2014) of building 1.5 million units by 2019 in order to get on top of the current housing backlog of 2.3 million units. Sisulu said '[t]he waiting list requires us to do nothing less than that... We can't go into 30 years of freedom with a huge backlog' (quoted in Merten 2014).

Similar urgency was evident at the Gauteng provincial government. The provincial MEC for Human Settlements had the particular expertise of having led turn-around strategies of two government departments before taking up his provincial appointment in the portfolio of Human Settlements. This sensibility informed his approach to human settlements in Gauteng (Mamabolo 2015). One stakeholder's understanding of the motivation behind the idea was to 'put some fire under [Gauteng's Department of] Human Settlements, because they not spending their money, there is a [drastic] slowdown in delivery' (interview, stakeholder, November 13, 2015). Following the national government, the Gauteng premier felt that by continuing with 'microprojects', '100 houses here and another 100 houses there, we won't meet the housing backlog' (quoted in Greve 2015a).

While housing serves various social goals, including redress, improving socio-economic conditions and changing ownership profiles, it is also a form of political capital. Through housing provision, the state offers material proof of its concern for the South African populace and its commitment to being a developmental state. The slowing down of delivery, particularly during moments of political uncertainty, is cause for enormous concern for the ANC led government. Within this context, politicians presented megaprojects as being capable of ramping up delivery to help the state meet its promises.

New town utopian thinking

Conceivably, megaprojects could be grafted onto existing cities as urban infill, resulting in the intensification of existing urban areas, or the construction of new greenfield settlements which are contiguous with existing urban areas. However, as noted above, the Gauteng provincial government framed its interest in megaprojects within a broader desire to create new cities. It argued that these new cities would be good economically:

Cities remain the backbone of economic growth and development throughout the world. It is for this reason that the Department [of Human Settlements] seeks to rigorously pursue the creation of new cities in the province. These new cities will serve as a source of employment, economic opportunity and prosperity for its communities and migrant workers who leave rural settlements in search of better life. (Gauteng Department of Human Settlements 2015:28)

This quote seems to be suggesting that the virtues of urbanism were better provided by creating *new* cities and – implicitly – not by supporting, improving and growing *existing* cities. Through interviews it became clear that policy makers believed that new cities could be created through a decision:

... we must understand that sometimes cities developed from ideas, obviously, and they sprang out, and then they become the City of Johannesburg ... So maybe there's a hope, that in Mogale City, something like that would give the impetus, and if they give it that attention and it suddenly something would happen, like maybe an airport that would come there, or something like that, that would drive some economy in the area and get it going. (interview, stakeholder, November 13, 2015)

The need to create new cities was also shaped by ongoing frustrations with existing cities which remain segregated, both racially and economically (Haferburg 2013). By building new cities, the provincial government believes that it can create truly 'post-apartheid' cities which will 'change the spatial landscape of [the] province' (le Cordeur 2015). The provincial government, therefore, was defaulting to a recurring theme in the idealist vision of authorities who are seduced by the idea of new towns designed on a 'blank slate'. As Parikh explains, '[p]lanners, "starchitects", corporations, and governments have time and again been lured by the promise of starting afresh, of designing and planning new ways of living, unencumbered by the problems of the past and present' (2015: 17).

According to the provincial government, not only could these new cities design in a greater degree of social and economic integration, they would also be designed for a host of other virtues such as energy efficiency and aesthetics. A short film which accompanied the launch of the provincial policy in 2015 depicted multi-storey glass-fronted buildings, mixed use environments, yachts on rivers, and people strolling down tree-lined paths (see Figure 1). The architecture and design of these new towns seems to be taken directly from catalogues featuring ‘modern’ urban planning layouts, echoing the designs of so-called world class cities in Asia and the Middle East. As with proposed projects in a number of other African cities, the new cities of the South African megaprojects, portray a ‘fantasy’ of modern urbanism, these too are ‘draped’ in the rhetoric of eco-cities and smart cities (Watson 2013:215).

Figure 1: Image from Gauteng’s Megaprojects promotional video.



Spatial equity

Part of the reason why new towns were favoured over developing existing urban areas is the desire to spread development to deprived places. Policy makers are mindful of the fact that Gauteng is characterised by spatial inequality, accommodating on one hand the richest economy of the country and, on the other, extremely poor populations which are by and large spatially removed from wealthy areas. Furthermore, they are concerned

about distressed towns (Sisulu 2014); towns which grew outside of the metropolitan areas as a result of mining or secondary industry, and which are now in decline because their core industries have collapsed. Rather than (only) reinforcing existing centres of dynamism, the state seeks to use megaprojects to bring development to 'people who time forgot' (Sisulu 2016).

The desire for spatial equity sometimes manifests as an intention to divert resources to the non-metropolitan municipalities of the Province. The Gauteng premier, in his 2015 State of the Province Address, declared:

Gone are the days when some regions and municipalities will be neglected as the Cinderellas on the periphery of the provincial economy. We need deliberate and conscious action by the entire City region leadership to reverse spatial injustice and economic marginalisation of Sedibeng and the West Rand. (Makhura 2015)

Paul Mashatile, who replaced Jacob Mamabolo as Gauteng MEC for Human Settlements in 2016, stated that 'Our settlements and Big Cities will contribute to building the Province as a Gauteng City Region with equal levels of development across all five of its development corridors' (Mashatile 2016). The Provincial Government uses the notion of five corridors to refer to development strategies in the centre, north, east, south and west of the province. In effect these corridors refer to the five municipalities in the province: Johannesburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni, Sedibeng, and West Rand.

Solving governance problems

Finally, megaprojects were justified by politicians as a means of solving a variety of governance problems within existing processes. In particular, what was at stake in these justifications was bringing control for human settlement development back under the aegis of the national Department of Human Settlements. As the literature on megaprojects elsewhere has shown, megaprojects are sometimes regarded as a way of bypassing normal planning processes insofar as their size implies that they should be treated as exceptional (Swyngedouw et al 2002, also see Cirolia and Smit 2017, this issue, and Sutherland et al 2015).

The manner in which such legitimisation was articulated can be summed up in the words of Sisulu: megaprojects are 'the first step is to create a new model of development that will unshackle the construction sector from the bureaucratic entanglement that has held it back' (Sisulu 2016).

In the first instance, megaprojects are presented as a way of streamlining the number of housing projects. According to the HDA, there were around 11,000 housing projects across the country at various stages of development (interview, stakeholder, February 3, 2016). Only six of these consist of more than 5,000 units and 91 are more than 1,000 units. The sheer number of smaller projects was seen to be, itself, a governance challenge and a key reason for the declining capacity of the sector to deliver units and to spend its budget. Shifting to megaprojects means that housing would be delivered under fewer projects and therefore would consolidate bureaucratic relationships, requirements and costs.

As with earlier experiments in scaled-up housing such as the N2 Gateway project in Cape Town (Millstein 2011), megaprojects were also presented as a way of ‘helping to streamline the working relationships between national, provincial and local government’ (Sisulu quoted in South Africa, Parliamentary Monitoring Group 2014) and between different sectors within government. Megaprojects are intended to be a way of bringing a host of different institutions and departments into a relationship of collaborative planning. However, the minister’s statement is also informed by the fact that there is considerable ambivalence over which parts of government are or should be responsible for housing delivery and urban growth more generally. In its division of responsibilities between the different spheres of government, the 1996 Constitution defined housing as a conjoined national and provincial responsibility. Following the 2004 Breaking New Ground policy, the state pursued a process of accrediting local government to take on the role of delivering human settlements since some large local authorities had the capacity to deliver housing projects and also were responsible for various aspects of spatial and infrastructure planning. In a more general sense, municipalities were ultimately responsible for spatial planning within their jurisdictions as confirmed in the 2013 Spatial Land Use Management Act (Berrisford 2014).

This left provincial governments with diminished responsibility. Sisulu also apparently felt that this devolution had failed to deliver housing at the required pace, and she felt that megaprojects would be able to bring “‘foot dragging’ of municipal processes’ under ‘central control of all three spheres [of government] working together’ (Khumalo 2014). Similarly, the Gauteng premier said that local government planning functions had essentially collapsed:

What we call planning in our system of government is not planning at all. This is a challenge to the municipalities, who have the greatest control. The things we have often spent time on is not planning and we want to eliminate this waste of time. Planning also shouldn't stifle private-sector investment nor be an attempt to bureaucratise. (Makhura quoted in Greve 2015a)

The Premier specifically bemoaned Environmental Impact Assessments conducted by municipalities for costing time and lost opportunities, and said that approvals would be streamlined (also see Charlton and Kihato 2006). The fact that the ANC was to lose control over key municipalities in 2016 adds further context to efforts by provincial and national government to become the agenda setters of major urban investments.

Promoters of the megaprojects approach seek to bypass what they regard as a recalcitrant local government in an attempt to make the process of housing delivery faster, more efficient and more cost effective. However, in effect such actions are a forceful attempt to centralise efforts to create megaprojects and thus re-capture the housing delivery process.

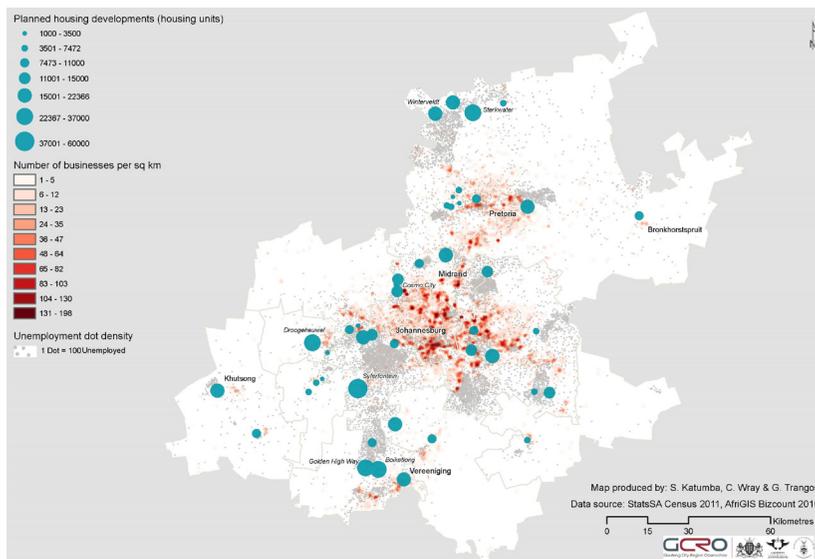
Reception

We turn now to the way in which this policy direction has been received. Some stakeholders saw merit in the megaprojects direction. Various developers and engineers, for example, felt that scaling up housing production for a single site was the correct approach in order to gain the most from infrastructure investments (speakers at the Gauteng Planning Forum, August 18, 2016). They argued that large scale projects were not necessarily poorly located and could in fact include inner city projects.

Nevertheless, some of the major debates about the policy were its potentially deleterious spatial implications. Shortly after the Gauteng Provincial Government launched its megaprojects policy document in April 2015, the Gauteng City-Region Observatory, a research unit based jointly at the University of Johannesburg and the University of the Witwatersrand, published a map depicting the location of Gauteng's planned megaprojects. The map showed that although many settlements were located close to large concentrations of unemployed people, some were far from clusters of formal sector businesses (Figure 2). Subsequent maps showed that many of these projects were to be located on undeveloped land on the periphery, with some being located on environmentally sensitive land (Leroy et al 2015, Bobbins and Ballard 2015). Although there is no similar map yet

for the national list of projects, the map of Gauteng’s projects triggered a considerable concern about exactly where any large housing project might be located.

Figure 2: GCRO Map of the Month May 1, 2015. The location of planned mega housing projects in context. (Wray et al 2015)



Even though the policy could, in theory, be directed towards inner city projects, and even though some planned projects were reasonably well positioned, critics feared that the policy encourages peripheral developments both as a result of the scale of the projects and the objectives of the policy (Turok 2015). Many available parcels of centrally located land would not accommodate 15,000 or more units both because they are too small and more costly, encouraging planners to select parcels on the periphery. They may also be pushed to the periphery by not-in-my-back-yard (NIMBY) reactions of centrally located middle class residents; a major factor behind delays in the construction of Cosmo City in Johannesburg (interview, stakeholder, November 16, 2015). Furthermore, as this article has noted, Gauteng Province’s iteration of the megaprojects approach explicitly intends

to create self-sufficient satellite settlements in order to reach deprived parts of the Province and to create well-designed integrated urban spaces.

To the extent that projects were located on the urban periphery, whether as a result of land constraints or by design, this could have a series of consequences. Firstly, some observers, including some City of Johannesburg officials, argued that avoiding smaller infill developments in favour of large greenfield developments on the urban edge precludes the possibility for infusing a greater mix of housing types into the inherited urban form. A speaker at a workshop stated 'the location of people and jobs is disparate – we don't need mega, we need infill' (speaker at workshop on Mega Human Settlements, September 3, 2015). By emphasising the possibility of designing integrated new 'post-apartheid' cities, Gauteng's approach in particular seemed to have little to offer in the way of restructuring existing cities.

Peripheral development would also undermine other government policies which sought to resist urban sprawl (Charlton 2017, this issue, Turok 2015). Such policy is articulated at a national level in the National Development Plan (South Africa, National Planning Commission 2012), the National Treasury's City Support Programme and the Integrated Urban Development Framework (South Africa, Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs 2016). Preventing sprawl was also an explicit intention in the Growth Management Strategies and Integrated Development Plans of municipal governments in Gauteng. The metropolitan municipalities had implemented transport oriented development, with Johannesburg having developed – within its Corridors of Freedom policy – the idea that bus rapid transit routes could help densify and diversify central urban areas (see Ballard et al 2017, this issue). Concerns about sprawl had also been articulated within documents of the province itself, whose own Spatial Development Framework was critical of the location of some planned megaprojects (Gauteng 2016).

One of the arguments against sprawl was that new peripheral settlements would require new bulk infrastructure which, in the assessment of some municipal officials, was both financially unviable and would detract from their attempts to densify core areas. Some municipalities are also wary of large-scale projects as a result of past experience in which provincial government contracts large companies to construct vast settlements with little regard for municipal spatial priorities and then hands the completed projects over to municipalities to service and maintain (interview, stakeholder,

November 16, 2015). Since many residents of these settlements were below the rates (local taxes) income threshold and many of the households are very low consumers of water and electricity, they are seen as ‘drains’ rather than as contributors to municipal revenue.

In addition to infrastructure, critics have expressed concerns about the Gauteng Province’s capacity to create economically self-contained settlements as it says it would, in which job seekers would be able to find employment within the settlement. While the actual construction of these settlements would doubtless generate jobs for construction workers, this would only last for the duration of the project. A municipal official stated: ‘[w]e don’t believe human settlements create economies, housing should follow jobs’ (speaker at workshop on Mega Human Settlements, September 3, 2015).

The hope that other economic activities could be brought to new cities by zoning space for them did not seem to consider why businesses would leave larger economic centres where they were close to a bigger range of potential employees, allied firms, services and customers. To be fair, providing zoning for commercial space is an important corrective from past regulations which prohibited this (Parnell and Pieterse 2010). However, as Berrisford (2015) notes, land use zoning is not capable of inducing development simply by naming a parcel of land according to the desired land use. Neither were critics convinced that the economic base of these settlements would be created by ensuring that there would be a mix of incomes of people living there:

Sustainable local jobs will require the development of a local economic base, which needs externally traded activities rather than personal services that are dependent on local spending power. The chances of success seem slim. There are powerful forces promoting the concentration of businesses in central Gauteng, including risk aversion and inertia: it is very difficult to shift the pattern of private investment in industry and tradable services. (Turok 2015)

The result, according to Turok (2015), is that these settlements could ‘remain as dormitories that are isolated from economic opportunities for decades, while people lucky enough to have jobs will have to commute even further than they do today’. While it has become fashionable to say that one should be able to ‘live, work and play’ in a contained area, opportunities for working and playing are greater across a city region of 14 million people than they are for a settlement of 15,000 units.

Aside from the spatial implications of the policy, various stakeholders remarked that the policy cannot achieve its primary objective, which at a national level is to deliver 1.5 million houses by 2019. Even smaller housing projects take many years to get off the ground as a result of the myriad negotiations, planning permissions, and land deals that are required. Past experience of building Cosmo City in Johannesburg, the N2 Gateway project in Cape Town, and Cornubia in Durban, showed that larger projects might take a decade to prepare (personal communication, stakeholder, November 1, 2016). Even when they do reach the point of construction, they will probably deliver fewer units per development than initially hoped for (Sutherland et al 2015, also Charlton 2017, this issue).

Municipal responses: resistance and adaptation

The City of Johannesburg utilised the 2016 Spatial Development Framework as the basis for discussion around the megaprojects.⁶ In the period following the announcement of the megaprojects approach, the City of Johannesburg and the Gauteng Province were finalising their spatial development frameworks, which are legislatively required planning policies. The megaprojects discussion, was seen in light of a range of inconsistencies that were picked up between the Spatial Development Frameworks (SDFs) of the two spheres of government: where the City of Johannesburg was focusing on a set of key nodes and had a clear sense of where infrastructure should be prioritised and an ethos that 'housing should follow planning' (speaker, workshop, February 23, 2017). During a set of discussions initially facilitated by the University of the Witwatersrand and later continued as a set of one-on-one engagements between the provincial Human Settlements department, other planning departments, and the City of Johannesburg, Gauteng Province agreed to change its SDF in order to align more closely with the City's vision.

Ekurhuleni chose a slightly different approach. Instead of confronting the province directly, theirs has been a subtler strategy: officials have chosen to continue with their long-term plans of compaction and infill but have re-labelled and re-packaged their projects in line with national and provincial rhetoric. Thus existing projects have been grouped together into northern, eastern and southern clusters. They have referred to each cluster as a 'megaproject' as it has 'one champion' who effectively project manages all of the components. In this way, Ekurhuleni are conforming to the megaprojects approach but are continuing in their plan to construct

what they consider to be urban infill (personal communication, stakeholder, November 1, 2016).

Thus, the megaprojects policy approach has not just been accepted by the other spheres and the two cases above clearly demonstrates some of the tactics that have been used to oppose or adapt to this new policy direction.

Conclusion

Advocates of megaprojects present them as a panacea; a singular *fix* for a whole host of existing limitations such as declining house production and enduring segregation. By imagining itself in the mould of the ‘Marshall Plan’, the policy turn presents itself as a decisive and extensive state-led rescue. Despite its wide reach, this was not a policy articulated in legislation nor debated by legislatures or even in cabinet approved documents. Furthermore, it was not extensively workshopped with partners in government and beyond. Rather the policy approach was a set of executive decisions (ie Weible 2014), in which politicians announced this direction as a *fait accompli*. In addition, this policy was formulated in binary terms: that all housing would henceforth be delivered in megaprojects of 15,000 units and more. Anything less, which constitutes the majority of housing projects in SA, would be, in effect, invalidated.

While this policy idea was by no means the only option available to the state, it satisfied a number of needs and can be seen as the confluence of a series of logics including a ‘big project mentality’, the frantic desire to increase house production, a fantasy of new town construction, and an intention to invest in poorer areas rather than already dynamic existing urban cores. It was also motivated by the desire to cut through bureaucracy. Senior politicians in national and provincial spheres wanted to galvanise their own departments, and to regain some control from municipalities, particularly planning functions.

The policy itself was underdeveloped. The mega projects approach moved swiftly from announcement, to discussion documents and frameworks, to the creation of lists of large scale human settlements projects. Such rapid movement from a headline idea to project identification implies that potential limitations of the scaled-up approach and potential merits of small-scale alternatives are ignored. Furthermore, advocates have ignored the inflexibility implied by this approach, that once project lists are finalised, they will define the location of development for decades to come and

areas outside of these projects will not get housing. It also bears noting that hasty uptake in different spheres of government may have in the end worsened some of the challenges that the policy approach sought to fix. Where the approach was intended to solve intergovernmental relations, there is instead a basic inconsistency in that the list of projects identified by Gauteng Province was not fully harmonised with the list of catalytic projects identified for Gauteng by national government.

Thus an examination of the megaprojects approach is a useful case for illustrating the non-linear practice of policy-making in South Africa. Given these multiple currents feeding into the policy turn, it is indeed apt to describe it as an assemblage (following McCann and Ward 2012) which has acquired a series of different and sometimes contradictory meanings. These contradictions are a reflection of the different logics feeding into the policy, the quite different spatial implications of large scale human settlements, and the different institutions and agencies who have articulated interpretations of this policy turn. It also shows how this policy idea has been received, with some support, some critique and some adaption.

Notes

1. We would like to thank the research participants who provided their time and ideas, and Jennifer van den Bussche for her excellent interview transcriptions. We also thank two anonymous reviewers and Sarah Charlton for helpful input on earlier drafts.
2. According to policy makers we spoke to, the number 15,000 was somewhat arbitrary in that it was not the result of a quantitative analysis. More recently, the Department of Human Settlements and its agencies have moved away from naming a specific threshold.
3. MEC stands for Member of the Executive Council, which is effectively a provincial minister.
4. By September 2017 MEC Paul Mashatile referred to '31 huge human settlement projects' (Greenblo 2017).
5. We thank Liza Cirolia and Warren Smit for alerting us to the minister's earlier mentions of megaprojects.
6. Much of this information comes from Urban Lab discussions that were held at Wits University during February, June and July 2016. All three spheres of government were present and this forum allowed for open discussion. A full report of these events is expected in August 2017.

References

- Adams, D, R Croudace and S Tiesdell (2012) 'Exploring the "notional property developer" as a policy construct', *Urban Studies* 49(12).
- Ballard, R (2017) 'Prefix as policy: megaprojects as South Africa's big idea for human settlements', *Transformation* 95, this issue.
- Ballard, R, R Dittgen, P Harrison and A Todes (2017) 'Megaprojects and urban visions: Johannesburg's Corridors of Freedom and Modderfontein', *Transformation* 95, this issue.
- Bejoy, R (2016) 'Experts caution government over new housing mega-projects', *Groundup*, June 14. Available at: <http://www.groundup.org.za/article/not-too-big-fail-experts-caution-government-over-new-housing-megaprojects/>
- Bernstein, H (2005) 'Development studies and the Marxists', in Uma Kothari (ed) *A Radical History of Development Studies: individuals, institutions and ideologies*. Cape Town: David Philip
- Berrisford, S (2014) 'The evolution of urban planning law and policy, 1994–2014: implications for South African cities'. South African Cities Network Urban Land Paper Series 1.
- _____ (2015) 'Land use management'. Presentation at REDI 3x3 Policy workshop on spatial inequality, Cape Town, August 17.
- Biermann, S and M van Ryneveld (2007) 'Improving the location of low income housing delivery in South African urban areas'. Computers in Urban Planning and Urban Management, 10th International Conference, Iguassu Falls, Brazil, July 11-13.
- Bobbins, K and R Ballard (2015) 'Gauteng's changing urban footprint 1990-2013'. *Gauteng City-Region Observatory Map of the Month*, December 10. Available at: <http://www.gcro.ac.za/outputs/map-of-the-month/detail/gautengs-changing-urban-footprint-1990-2013/>
- Bond, P (2000) *Elite Transition: from apartheid to neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press.
- Buitelaar, E, M Galle, and N Sorel (2011) 'Plan-led planning systems in development-led practices: an empirical analysis into the (lack of) institutionalisation of planning law', *Environment and Planning A* 43(4).
- Charlton, S (2017) 'Poverty, subsidized housing and Lufhereng as a prototype megaproject', *Transformation* 95, this issue.
- Charlton, S and C Kihato (2006) 'Reaching the poor? An analysis of the influences on the evolution of South Africa's housing programme', in U Pillay, R Tomlinson and J du Toit (eds) *Democracy and Delivery: urban policy in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

- Charlton, S, D Gardner, M Rubin (2014) 'Post-intervention analysis: the evolution of housing projects into sustainable human settlements', in South African Cities Network (ed) *From Housing to Human Settlements: an evolving perspective*. SACN: Johannesburg.
- Cirolia, LR and W Smit (2017) 'Fractured narratives on urban transformation: analysing parallel perspectives in South Africa', *Transformation* 95, this issue.
- Cochrane, A (2011) 'Making up urban policies: the role of global institutions', in G Bridge and S Watson (eds) *The New Blackwell Companion to the City*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cochrane, A, and K Ward (2012) 'Researching the geographies of policy mobility: confronting the methodological challenges', *Environment and Planning A* 44(1).
- Gauteng (2014) 'Gauteng Growth Management Perspective'. Available at: <http://www.gautengonline.gov.za/Publications/Gauten-Growth-Management-Perspective2014.pdf>
- Gauteng (2016) 'Gauteng Spatial Development Framework 2030'. Available at: <http://www.gautengonline.gov.za/Publications/GSDF2030.pdf>
- Gauteng Department of Human Settlements (2015) 'Mega Projects: Clusters and New Cities, New Mega Projects proposal for human settlements in the Gauteng City Region'. Document distributed at the April 2015 launch of the Mega Projects policy proposal, Johannesburg.
- Gordon, R, M Nell and A Bertoldi (2007) Overview of urban land as a commodity in South Africa: research findings and recommendations. Urban LandMark. Available at: <http://www.urbanlandmark.org.za/research/x15.php>
- Greenblo, A (2017) 'Ready, set ... Paul Mashatile on Gauteng's mega infrastructure operation', *Financial Mail*, September 1.
- Greve, N (2015a) 'Megaproject strategy to permanently alter housing development landscape – Makhura', *Engineering News*, April 7.
- _____ (2015b) 'DHS to review tender system', *Engineering News*, May 7.
- Harrison, P and A Todes (2017) 'Satellite settlement on the spatial periphery: lessons from international and Gauteng experience', *Transformation* 95, this issue.
- Haferburg, C (2013) 'Townships of to-morrow? Cosmo City and inclusive visions for post-apartheid urban futures', *Habitat International* 39.
- Huchzermeyer, M (2003) 'Low income housing and commodified urban segregation in South Africa', in C Haferburg and J Ossenbrügge (eds) *Ambiguous Restructurings of Post-apartheid Cape Town: the spatial form of socio-political change*. Berlin, Muenster, Hamburg and London: LIT Verlag.

- Jordhus-Lier, D (2015) 'Community resistance to megaprojects: the case of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo informal settlement, Cape Town', *Habitat International* 45(3).
- Joseph, S-L and K-S Geci (2014) 'Introduction', in South African Cities Network (ed) *From Housing to Human Settlements: an evolving perspective*. SACN: Johannesburg.
- Khumalo, G (2014) 'Stakeholders recommit to sustainable human developments', *SANews* South African Government News Agency. Available at: <http://www.sanews.gov.za/features/stakeholders-recommit-sustainable-human-developments>
- le Cordeur, M (2015) 'New mega city for Gauteng', *Finweek*, May 7. Available at: <http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Gauteng-launches-first-ever-post-apartheid-city-20150506>
- Leroy, M, R Taviv, S Mafu, K Bobbins (2015) 'Application of the GPEMF for informing the location of proposed mega-housing projects in Gauteng', *Gauteng City-Region Observatory Map of the Month*. June 1.
- Li, TM (2007) *The Will To Improve: governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Lipsky, M (1969) 'Towards a theory of street-level bureaucracy'. Discussion paper. Institute for Research on Poverty. University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Lund, F (2008) *Changing Social Policy: the child support grant in South Africa*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Makhura, D (2015) 'State of the Province Address by the Gauteng Premier', February 23. Gauteng Provincial Legislature.
- Mamabolo, J (2015) Budget vote speech 2015/16. Available at: <http://www.gov.za/speeches/mec-jacob-mamabolo-human-settlements-budget-vote-201516-19-jun-2015-0000>
- Marx, C (2003) 'Supporting informal settlements', in F Khan and P Thring (eds) *Housing Policy and Practice in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Sandown: Heinemann.
- Mashatile, P (2016) 'Budget Vote Speech for the Department of Human Settlements, Gauteng. Available at: <http://www.gov.za/speeches/mec-paul-mashatile-gauteng-human-settlements-budget-vote-201617-24-may-2016-0000>
- Mashego, P (2015) 'Gauteng MEC sets out plans for "mega human settlements"', *Business Day*, July 17.
- McCann E (2011) 'Urban policy mobilities and global circuits of knowledge: toward a research agenda', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101(1).

- McCann, E and K Ward (2012) 'Assembling urbanism: following policies and "studying through" the sites and situations of policy making', *Environment and Planning A* 44(1).
- Merten, M (2014) 'Sisulu eyes end to free housing', *IOL online*, July 17. Available at: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/sisulu-eyes-end-to-free-housing-1721145#.U8gMKZSSySo>
- Millstein, M (2011) 'Urban governance transformations and the first two years of the N2 Gateway project in Cape Town', *Transformation* 76.
- Newton, C (2009) 'The reverse side of the medal: about the 2010 FIFA World Cup and the beautification of the N2 in Cape Town', *Urban Forum* 20(1).
- Oldfield, S and S Greyling (2015) 'Waiting for the state: a politics of housing in South Africa', *Environment and Planning A* 47(5).
- Parikh, A (2015) 'The private city: planning, property, and protest in the making of Lavasa New Town, India'. PhD thesis. London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Parnell, S and E Pieterse (2010) 'The "right to the city": institutional imperatives of a developmental state', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34(1).
- Peck, J (2011) 'Geographies of policy: from transfer-diffusion to mobility-mutation', *Progress in Human Geography* 35(6).
- Peck, J and N Theodore (2010) 'Recombinant workfare, across the Americas: transnationalizing "fast" social policy', *Geoforum* 41(2).
- Peters, BG and J Pierre (1998) 'Governance without government? Rethinking public administration', *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 8(2).
- Rubin, M (2011) 'Perceptions of Corruption in the South African Housing Allocation and delivery programme: what it may mean for accessing the state', *Journal of African and Asian Studies* 46(5).
- Sexwale, T (2010) Budget vote speech by the Human Settlements Minister, National Assembly', April 21. Available at: <http://www.polity.org.za/article/sa-sexwale-budget-vote-speech-by-the-human-settlements-minister-national-assembly-21042010-2010-04-21>
- Sisulu, L (2007) Housing Department Budget Vote Speech 2007/08', June 8. Available at: <http://www.polity.org.za/article/sisulu-housing-dept-budget-vote-speech-200708-08062007-2007-06-08>
- _____ (2014) Budget vote speech by Minister of Human Settlements. Available at: <http://www.infrastructurene.ws/2014/07/30/budget-vote-speech-by-minister-of-human-settlements/>

- _____ (2016) 'Cosmo City: a beacon of urbanisation', *City Press*, May 25.
- South Africa (2008) Housing Development Agency Act, No 23 of 2008. *Government Gazette*, September 30. v. 519.
- South Africa. Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2016) 'Integrated urban development framework: a new deal for South African towns and cities'. Available at: http://www.cogta.gov.za/cgta_2016/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/eJZWfa-IUDF-2016_WEB.pdf
- South Africa, Department of Housing (2004) 'Breaking new ground: a comprehensive plan for the development of sustainable human settlements'. Available at: https://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/files/BREAKING_NEW_GROUND_DOC_copy-2_1.pdf
- South Africa, Department of Human Settlements (2009) 'Breaking New Ground Review'. Unpublished.
- South Africa, Department of Human Settlements (2014) Concept Document: National Human Settlements Spatial Plan. Available at: [http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/files/140814_MSP_Concept_document_\(2\).pdf](http://www.thehda.co.za/uploads/files/140814_MSP_Concept_document_(2).pdf)
- South Africa, Financial and Fiscal Commission (2012) 'Building an inclusionary housing market: shifting the paradigm for housing delivery in South Africa'. Midrand: FFC.
- South Africa, Housing Development Agency (2017). *HDA Newsletter* 23, August/September.
- South Africa, National Planning Commission (2012) 'National Development Plan 2030: our future – make it work', The Presidency, Republic of South Africa. Available at: <https://nationalplanningcommission.wordpress.com/the-national-development-plan/>
- South Africa, Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2014) Report-back by Minister of Human Settlements on progress made on first 100 days in office. Available at: <https://pmg.org.za/committee-meeting/17774/>
- South Africa, Presidency (2014) Twenty Year Review South Africa: 1994-2014. Available at: <http://www.dpme.gov.za/news/Documents/20Year-Review.pdf>
- Stone, CN (1993) 'Urban regimes and the capacity to govern: a political economy approach', *Journal of Urban Affairs* 15(1).
- Sutherland, C, V Sim and D Scott (2015) 'Contested discourses of a mixed-use megaproject: Cornubia, Durban', *Habitat International* 45(3).
- Swyngedouw, E, F Moulaert and A Rodriguez (2002) 'Neoliberal urbanization in Europe: large-scale urban development projects and the New Urban Policy', *Antipode* 34(3).

- Tissington, K (2011) 'A resource guide to housing in South Africa 1994-2010 legislation, policy, programmes and practice' Johannesburg: Socio-economic Rights Institute of South Africa.
- Turok, I (2015) 'What will housing megaprojects do to our cities?', *Econ3X3*, November 10.
- Veron, R, S Corbridge, G Williams, and M Srivastava (2003) 'The everyday state and political society in Eastern India: structuring access to the employment assurance scheme', *Journal of Development Studies* 39(5).
- Watson, V (2014) 'African urban fantasies: dreams or nightmares?', *Environment and Urbanization* 26(1).
- Weible, CM (2014) 'Introducing the scope and focus of policy process research and theory', in PA Sabatier and CM Weible (eds) *Theories of the Policy Process*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Wray, C, D Everatt, G Götz, R Ballard, C Culwick, S Katumba (2015) 'The location of planned mega housing projects in context'. *Gauteng City-Region Observatory Map of the Month. May 1*.