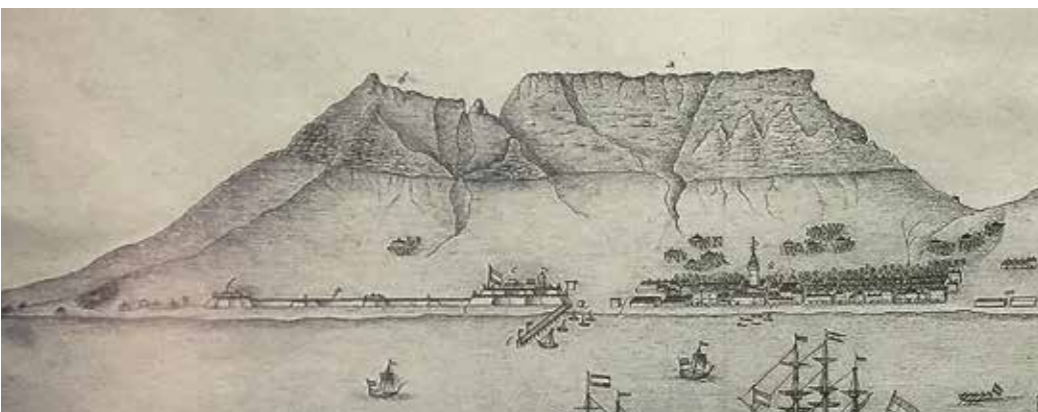
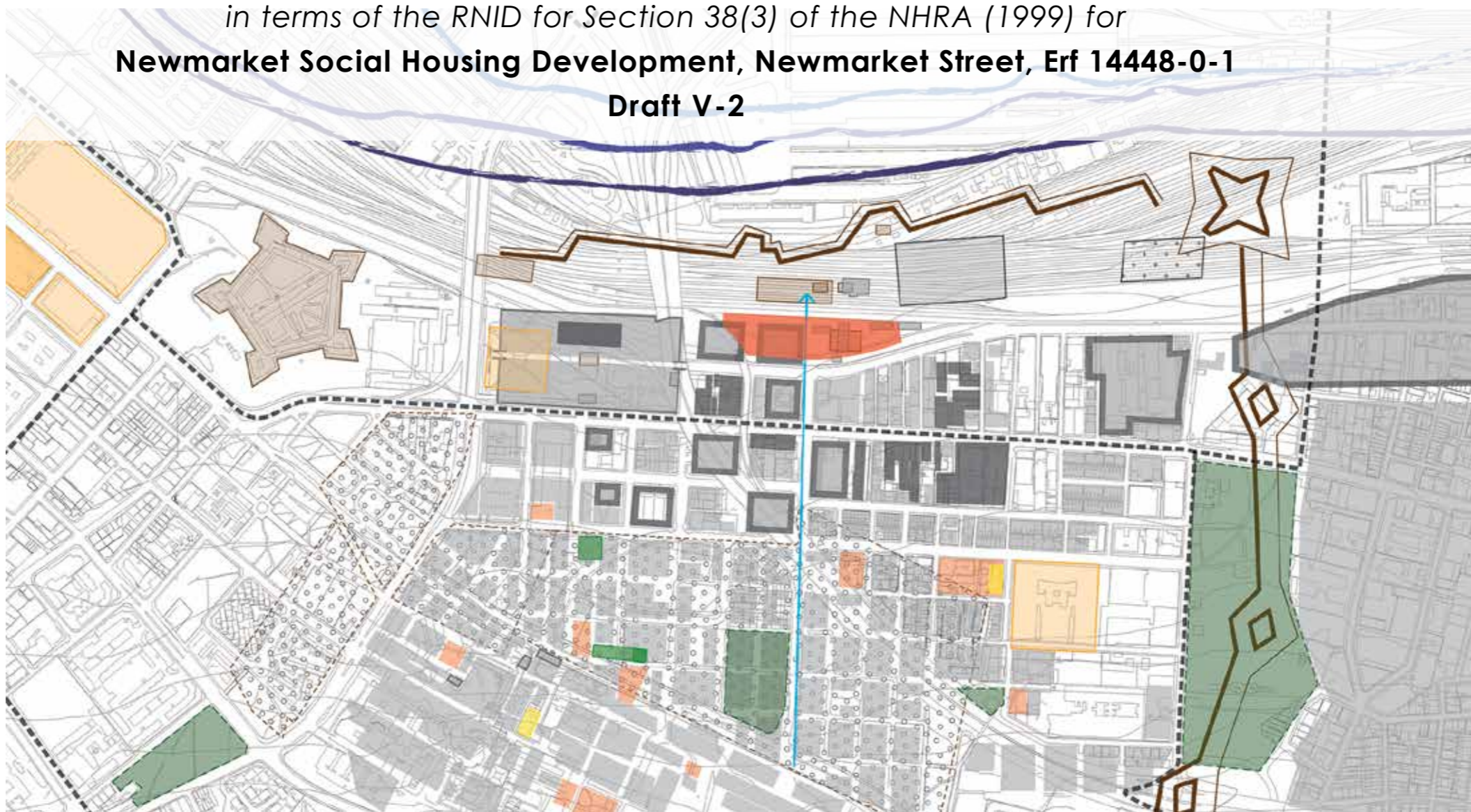


# SOCIAL HISTORY STUDY

*in terms of the RNID for Section 38(3) of the NHRA (1999) for*  
**Newmarket Social Housing Development, Newmarket Street, Erf 14448-0-1**  
**Draft V-2**



SOCIAL HISTORY REPORT

30 AUGUST 2021

Prepared by Rennie Scurr Adendorff Architects on behalf of GladAfrica  
For the City of Cape Town

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Purpose of Report

This social history study is compiled in accordance with requirements of the Record of decision the Notification of Intent to Develop (RNID) for the proposed Newmarket Social Housing Development, Newmarket Street, Erf 14448-0-1. The RNID of 18 December 2020 confirmed the need for a Heritage Impact Assessment in terms of Section 38(3) of the National Heritage Resources Act (Act 53, 1999), and requested the incorporation of a socio-historic study to inform the proposed development.

This study has examined the history of the site as relates to its use, users and its place in the social development of Cape Town. Given that the study is about people and their cultural life, it necessarily looks beyond the site boundaries to the evolution of the wider context.

### 1.2 Project Brief

The project aims to provide social housing, or units for households in the social housing income bracket. The site has been determined to be well-located and to have sufficient carrying capacity to develop residential apartment blocks around public space, with ground floor retail facilities. The development details and composition are as yet unconfirmed.

### 1.3 Methodology

This is primarily a desktop study to identify the key socio-historic indicators that inform the development and use of the study site. These consider the legacy of the socio-political factors and their economic impact, the socio-geographic impact of colonial and apartheid spatial planning, the intangible heritage associated with the location, and the living heritage of its context.

The study has made use of the wealth of historical maps and surveys for the city, which date back almost 400 years, and historic aerial imagery. The numerous historic written journals, records and art works help to paint a picture of the society that built and occupied the space. Sources include the archives of the National Geo-spatial Information, City of Cape Town Historical Maps Collection, Cape Archives, academic and museum libraries, and personal collections.

The contemporary conditions of Woodstock and, to a greater extent, District Six, have been assessed and analysed in numerous academic and governmental studies. These have looked at the social, political and urban conditions that made the receiving environment what it is today. They have informed this study.

### 1.4 Limitations



The research has not included interviews with users and occupants of neighbouring buildings, with potential residents of the proposed development, or with the relevant NGOs working towards inclusionary inner city housing, as this document precedes that phase of social engagement and public participation. However, it will be an important next step that contributes to appropriate development.

This report is compiled by Wendy Wilson (Heritage Practitioner) for RSA Architects.



Figure 1. Erf 14448-0-1 Newmarket Street (Images: Google Earth 2021)



 Associated areas  
 Site




Figure 2. Site: 14448-0-1 Newmarket Street (Image: Google Earth)

## 2.0 CURRENT SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

### 2.1 Site Description

The irregular-shaped site, measuring approximately 8600m<sup>2</sup>, lies between Newmarket Street on its south boundary, and the network of railway lines at their point of termination at Cape Town Station to its north. Its city edge is bounded by the Strand Street on-ramp to Nelson Mandela Boulevard.

For administrative purposes the site is located in the Foreshore suburb, although it is spatially severed from the Foreshore by the railway, and is more naturally experienced as part of Woodstock suburb. Socio-historically, however, it was part of the District Six urban grid prior to its destruction from 1966 to the mid 1980s.

The site is a fenced, brownfield site in use as a secure parking area for offices in neighbouring street blocks. Views northwards extend over the reclaimed land of the Foreshore to the railway goods yard at Culemborg and the port; views south take in Devils Peak and Table Mountain. The site lies in the path of the South East wind which can be intense and hostile in this area.

### 2.2 Receiving Environment

The two city blocks facing on to the site differ from each other in period, architectural form and social character. Four storey Castle Mews at 16 Newmarket Street, built c1900, is a sectional-owned building with small, service businesses on the street facing ground floor and apartments accommodating operations such as specialist workshops, architects, engineers, tech development and retail store offices on the upper floors. The neighbouring building, The District, completed 2006, is a company-owned corporate head office, with up-market rentable office space. Neither are particularly high-volume employers.

Continuing along Albert Road into Woodstock, the buildings are occupied by a range of tech, engineering, light industry and commercial concerns, where employees can be expected to include balanced mix of administrative workers, skilled labour, and support staff such as cleaners, drivers and security personnel.

The immediate area, with its coarse grain, large footprint commercial

and industrial buildings along the south side only, has a low-residential component and is predominantly used by day-time only office workers, with the area becoming vulnerable to night-time opportunistic crime. Newmarket Street, itself, is a two lane road with central island, well served by public transport (minibus taxis and MyCiTi buses) and not conducive to pedestrian movement. It has no natural gathering areas for pedestrians - kiosks, food outlets or street cafés - and conveys as sense of pedestrian exposure and insecurity.

Once Newmarket Street transitions to Albert Road Woodstock, the area becomes dense with fine grain buildings accommodating a mix of small businesses and residences. This is a very low income area, with residents vulnerable to the impact of land value increases of gentrification.

Newmarket Street towards the city and its transition to Strand Street is dominated by the freeway flyovers, with security controlled parking beneath, and has no other built infrastructure. This is a pedestrian hostile area and does not provide a natural connection to the city.

### 2.3 Social Infrastructure

The receiving environment of Woodstock and District Six has, for over 200 years, been a centre for financially marginalised families. As such, the existing social infrastructure is well suited to vulnerabilities experienced by people with low income.

- Transport infrastructure: Public transport with MyCiTi bus lines along Newmarket and Hanover Streets; access to central railway station to all areas; central taxi rank and bus station; easy road access to the N2 freeway.
- Schools and colleges: At least two pre-primary schools, four primary schools, and four secondary schools located in District Six and Woodstock. Traditionally, these cater to low-income families and provide social and family support systems. Tertiary education is available at Cape Peninsula University of Technology primary campus in District Six; several subject-specific training colleges in Woodstock.
- Health services: Access to Groote Schuur Hospital and (small) Chapel Street clinic.
- Community centres and facilities: Include the Woodstock Community Hall; Central Library. The Good Hope Centre, which until 2016 was used as a community centre for cultural and sporting events is now under a private lease.

- Religious institutions: The immediate area is served by at least three mosques and numerous churches of various denominations, many of which survived the destruction of District Six.
- Parks and recreation: Trafalgar Park, Rutger Park.

**2.4 Gentrification**

Gentrification generally describes the rehabilitation of working class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle class neighbourhood. The key social feature is one of population replacement, an “invasion” by middle class groups into working class neighbourhoods, a change in land tenure from rental to ownership, and a rise in property value (Garside 1994). “It is ‘simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon’” (ibid: 43).

Woodstock, traditionally a socially stable, racially mixed working class neighbourhood, has been under pressure of gentrification from the late 1980s, the result of a complex mix of apartheid government policy, market forces and its location close to the city. Albert Road, which became particularly vulnerable, has been most impacted by this effect. The rehabilitation associated with gentrification is not a bad thing itself, provided that “population replacement” is avoided with the provision of appropriate affordable family accommodation in situ, and the impact to existing social networks is mitigated.

The trajectory of property purchase prices in Castle Mews (facing the site) from the late 1990s demonstrates the change to Woodstock west, from its place of extreme vulnerability in the early 1990s through to redevelopment and gentrification. The average sale price on a Mews apartment has grown steadily from R100 000 in year 2000, reaching R4.8 million in 2020 (Property24).

**2.5 Proposed Development**

The proposed development as it currently stands (August 2021), incorporates 1, 2 and 3 bedroom apartments ranging from 30 to 50m<sup>2</sup>, in several medium-rise (approx 4 storey) buildings. Alternatives being tested include a mixed use model with ground floor commercial space and one which includes high-rise multi-storey blocks with sectionalised market value apartments above the social housing.



Figure 4. Woodstock 10 year average property sales price increase (Image: Property 24)



Figure 3. Extract from proposal document, social housing apartments and (below) with additional commercial and sectionalised component. (Image: MDK Architects)

### 3.0 APPLICABLE POLICY

The South African Constitution addresses issues of housing in its Bill of Rights, stating:

- “Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing. The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resource, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right” (Bill of Rights 26 (1)(2)).

In fulfilment of this objective, the National Housing Code exists to set “the underlying policy principles, guidelines and norms and standards which apply to Government’s various housing assistance programmes introduced since 1994” (DHS 2009).

In terms of this Code, South Africa has a number of housing policies and models to deliver affordable housing. Of these the Social Housing programme is particularly well-suited to providing well-located, affordable urban accommodation, with the larger objective to reduce inequality and dissipate spatial apartheid.

### 3.1 Social Inclusion and Redress

#### 3.1.1 Social Housing

Social Housing is rental accommodation specifically catering to households earning R1 500 to R15,000 per month (as of 2017). It is governed by the Social Housing Act, 2008 (Act 16 of 2008) (SHA) and aims to provide well-located housing and to ensure that it remains accessible as rental accommodation. It may not be sectionalised to become attached to market value. Typically, it describes a self-contained unit of approximately 30m<sup>2</sup> in a medium to high density complex (Weber 2016).

General principles of the SHA include the objective to promote:

- “social, physical and economic integration of housing development into existing urban and inner-city areas through the creation of quality living environments” and;
- “the expression of cultural identity and diversity in social housing development” (SHA 2(i)(iv) and (vii)).

-

As such, it calls for a socio-cultural understanding of the proposed receiving environment.

#### 3.1.2 Spatial Planning and Land Use Management (SPLUMA)

Stated objectives of SPLUMA (Act 16 of 2013 ) address the legacy of apartheid as experienced through spatial segregation, land dispossession and economic exclusion. They include the following, which are served by well-located, urban social housing:

- “ensure that the system of spatial planning and land use management promotes social and economic inclusion” (SPLUMA 3(b));
- “promote social inclusion, spatial equity, desirable settlement patterns, rural revitalisation, urban regeneration and sustainable development” (SPLUMA 8(2)(b)).

#### 3.1.3 Draft Inclusionary Housing Policy Framework

The Western Cape Government has recently (May 2021) released its draft Inclusionary Housing Policy Framework. The objective of inclusionary housing is to generate “more opportunities for people to live in better locations.” It implements policy that will oblige property developers to provide affordable housing at prices below those targeted by their development and applies where there is strong land value.

A primary objective is to address the spatial inequality that resulted from apartheid and attend to the economic exclusion currently impacting the availability of low-cost accommodation. This is particularly relevant to the social-historic conditions of the site, which bore witness to the land dispossession of District Six and the current impact of rising urban land value felt by low income families in Woodstock.

Key to successful policy implementation, is that the housing is well-located in an area that can accommodate densification and give access to public transport, employment, schools, and community facilities such as crèches, clinics, recreation sites and religious institutions.

Inclusionary housing can be a mixed market model that involves partnership between a Social Housing Institution (SHI) and a developer. The SHI is responsible for providing high-quality, affordable rental stock in well-located areas. An important component, is the creation of affordable housing that is restricted from entering the open market so that it remains accessible to low-income people so as to achieve social integration and socio-economic spatial justice.

### 3.1.4 Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF)

Cape Town's MSDF of April 2018 revisits issues of equity and housing, and notes that "Connected, inward growth is the most cost-effective way of reducing the social and economic costs of the current inefficient urban form." (MSDF: xii).

It rescinds earlier policies focussing development on the city periphery, and restates the intent to introduce "affordable housing and social housing in Salt River and Woodstock as a precursor to a comprehensive inner city housing programme" (MSDF: 85).

## 3.2 Social History and Living Heritage

### 3.2.1 National Heritage Resources Act

In its preamble, the NHRA positions itself as a vehicle "to enable and encourage communities to nurture and conserve their legacy so that it may be bequeathed to future generations." It identifies heritage as having the capacity to facilitate "healing and material and symbolic restitution". (NHRA Preamble)

This is an acknowledgement of the social responsibility of heritage law and its implicit role in the redress of dispossession that resulted from colonial and apartheid legislation. The social history of the site, and its proposed development should therefore be examined with an appreciation of its capacity to contribute to a more just future.

### 3.2.2 Cultural Heritage Strategy 2005 (CHS)

The site, now vacant, has been in use - constructed and occupied - for two hundred years. While it has little or no intrinsic social or intangible significance, its position in the urban landscape does.

The CHS, part of the City of Cape Town's Integrated Metropolitan Environmental Policy (IMEP), identifies the context of a site as both social and spatial, and social memory as an important element of the cultural life of a place. Perceptions and experiences of individuals are formed by place, and by the wider social context of relationships such as "friendships, kinship, employment, debt, power, enmity and passion" (Nasson in Garfield 1994). This value - social spatial connections - should be considered by the proposed development.

## 3.3 Literature Review

The site falls between District Six and Woodstock, two areas that have been carefully studied in the context of urban development for their rich and important social cultural heritage. The following studies are particularly informative:

***Texture and Memory, the Urbanism of District Six*** (Pistorius et al. 2002) is a deep dive into the urban morphology and place making qualities that gave District Six such resonant significance. It recommends the creation of a new urban space that is human scaled, efficient and equitable and "recognises the texture and memory of the District's history."

Le Grange's ***District Six HIA*** (2003) and the comprehensive ***District Six Development Framework 2010*** (Le Grange, Mammon 2010), while focussed on architecture and urban development, both consider the social, cultural and symbolic value of District Six and the significance of the memory of place. This informs recommendations, including to "resurface" street blocks and establish community linkages to places of social importance.

***Re-imagining Woodstock and Salt River*** (2018) by the Development Action Group (DAG) turns its focus on pro-poor urban development in Woodstock and Salt River. This followed the 2012 findings that the area, with its long heritage as socially diverse, mixed income and mixed race, was vulnerable to cultural and social erasure. Urban regeneration and the resulting gentrification was destroying the affordable housing stock, taking with it, the social heritage.

DAG has undertaken civic engagement, facilitating workshops and dialogues, and liaised with NGOs and City systems. The 2018 study identifies the importance of the central location and accessibility, noting that "social housing gives low to mid-income renters access to the opportunities and amenities – jobs, transport, schools, healthcare, etc. – that allow them to take control of their own development" (DAG 2018: 9).

***Social Impact Study - WEX 2*** (Stewart, 2018), drafted to inform a development proposal in lower Woodstock, reached findings similar to those of DAG: that the urban regeneration was impacting the sustainability of the area's rich living heritage through the economic displacement of people. It concluded that these impacts may be mitigated with a social housing initiative that ensures affordable family accommodation is made available in the location.



#### 4.0 SOCIO-HISTORIC CONTEXT

Erf 14888-0-1 is a brownfield site. Now vacant, it has been the location of store rooms and infrastructure owned by the government of the time, since the 18th century. It has something of a liminal location: on the edge of the original sea shore, just inside the early defences, just outside the city, on the edge of District Six, just beyond Woodstock, beside the railway, beyond the residential, commercial and business blocks. The site, as described by its erf boundaries, has no one defining socio-historic role or characteristic.

However, this location provides the perfect opportunity to play a role in knitting together the socially fractured precincts that surround it: District Six, Albert Road Woodstock and the Foreshore.

#### 4.1 Land Use Patterns

The site lies on the edge of the shore, part of a sandy beach, and was plausibly a place for fishing from pre-history through early ship landings, and a site of conflict and contestation well into the colonial settlement period.

It neighbours the stone Castle of Good Hope completed in 1679, built by the labour of enslaved people and VOC soldiers. It lies directly behind the defensive Sea Lines built (and frequently repaired) by this same workforce from the 1740s. The construction of large scale infrastructure brings with it social conditions: a large servant and slave class needing water, food, shelter and waste management. The Slave Code of 1756 enforced restrictions on the movement and social interaction of enslaved people.

Being a defensible zone, there was little development of the site other than the gunpowder store, shown in surveys of the 1760s. The south boundary, the French Lines built 1780s, established an outer edge to urban expansion. Following British Colonial takeover in 1806, the Sea Lines no longer had a defensive role and fell into disuse and disrepair. Land reclamation caused by urban debris filling the shallows pushed the shoreline into the sea, creating space that could be developed for new functions.

The city, expanding particularly as a result of new incomers from Great Britain, grew eastwards with new land grants for agriculture made beyond the outer edge of the town - the "buitenkant" - on the lower slopes above the site.

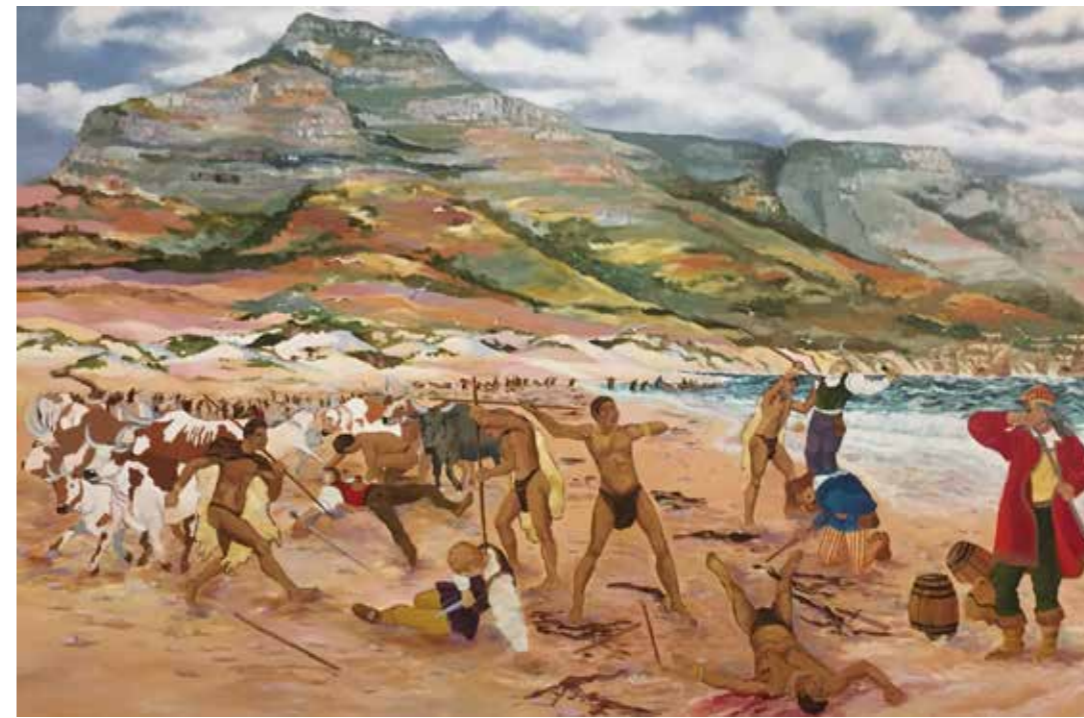


Figure 6. 1510 "Clash at Table Bay", battle between the Portuguese sailors of De Almeida and Khoer pastoralists over the theft of cattle by the sailors. (Image: William Fehr Collection)

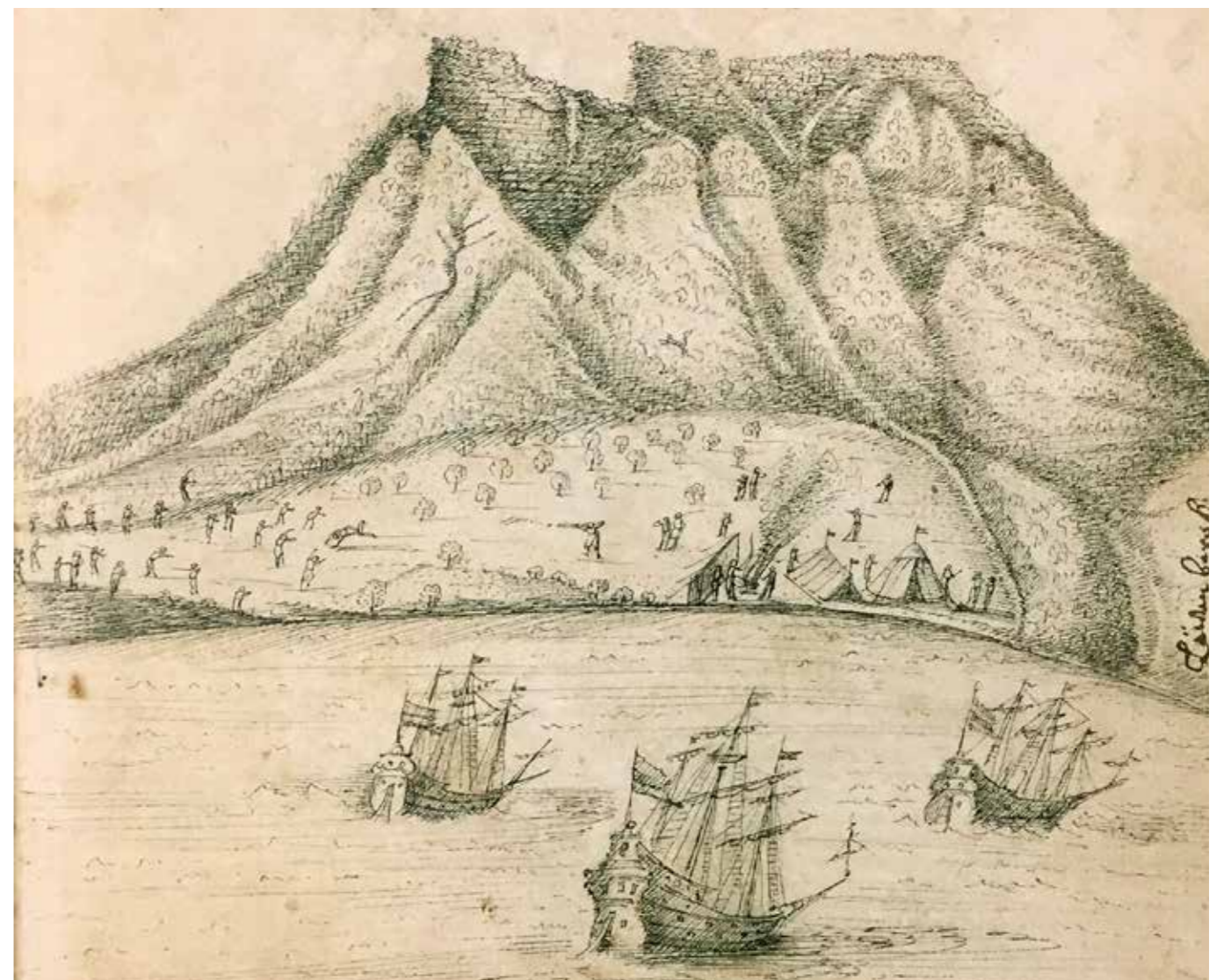


Figure 5. 1646 depiction of conflict in Table Bay between sailors and Khoer, with a European encampment in the general area of the site. (Image

The new regime modernised systems and focussed on trade, industry and development to get the best possible financial reward out of the colony. In 1812 the New Market was established directly east of the Castle, replacing the outspan and farmers' market place, "Boerenplein" at Riebeeck Square on Buitengracht Street. The wholesale market, would have seen high

volume ox wagon traffic and been a centre for sale by auction of farm produce and livestock, worked by enslaved people and labour - drivers, haulers. This would have attracted support services such as food and drink supply, inns and social activities for farmers.

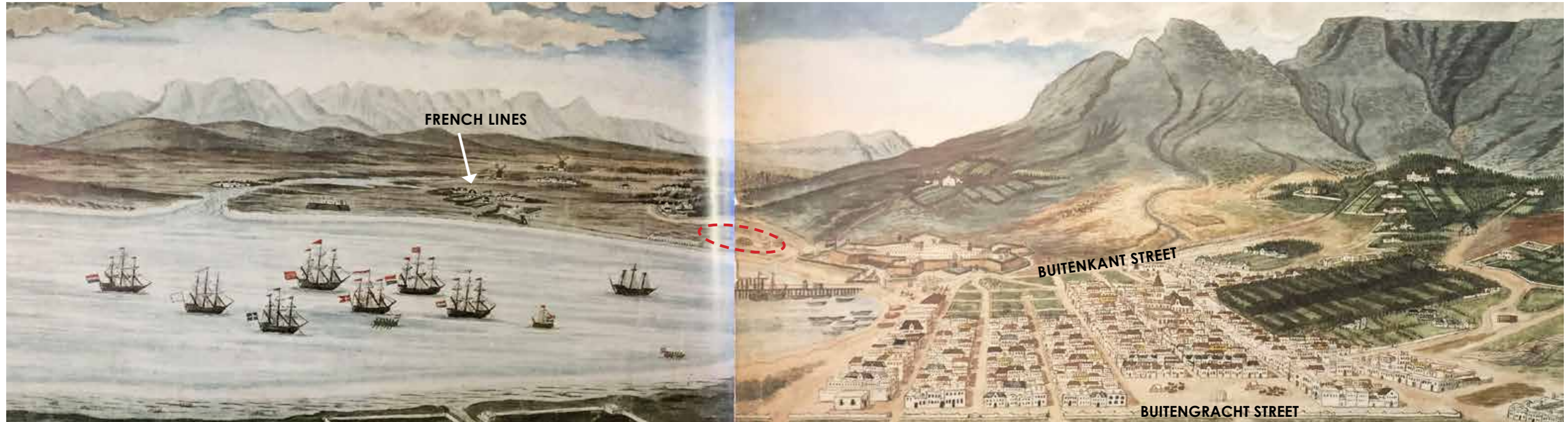


Figure 7. 1777 Shumacher panorama shows residential development to the boundary of Buitenkant Street and the Capel Sluit canal. Approximate site location circled. (Image: Brommer, VOC Atlas)



Figure 8. 1847 Sea shore from approximate site location, view east. Shows human activity including fishing, and adults with children at play. (Image: Thomas Bains, William Fehr Collection)



Figure 9. 1847 Sea shore from approximate site location, looking towards the Castle. Shows general fishing activity, with ruins of brick structures, possibly kilns, on the water's edge. (Image: Thomas Bains, William Fehr Collection)



## 4.2 Urban Development and Social Impacts

### 4.2.1 District Six

The abolition of slavery and 1834/1838 emancipation quickly changed the east city. While making many insecure in terms of food and shelter, typically provided by the enslaver, it introduced social and cultural liberty. Some of the business elite used their slave compensation funds to build low cost housing to serve the rapidly growing housing requirements resulting from freed people. Shipping records from 1820 to 1840 show a quadrupling of arrivals to the colony: European, American and African immigrants escaping various home hazards such as religious persecution, grinding poverty and land dispossession (Pistorius 2002). An 1854 survey shows tentacles of the modern town spreading eastwards into the agricultural area on the lower mountain slopes. Called Kanaladorp, possibly in reference to the spirit of social support known as kanala/kanalah (to give help with pleasure), this is the forerunner to District Six and was renowned for its social and religious diversity. In 1867 the area was defined as District Six.

The first railway line opened in 1867, with lines added from the 1870s. This severed the residential sectors of Woodstock and District Six from the sea, a place for income and recreation. Suburbanisation of the southern suburbs followed, taking municipal revenue with it, to the detriment of urban neighbourhoods.

The discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886), and religious persecution in Europe amplified the diversity of incomers. Many arrived without resources, living a hand to mouth existence. Low income work and informal labour jobs were available in the markets, railways and docks and city industries. People were absorbed into the rapidly expanding terraced row housing of District Six to the point of sufficient density and poverty that it was later declared a slum area. However, the density and diversity generated a distinct self-sustaining social, cultural and economic centre.

### 4.2.2 Woodstock

Woodstock evolved from early VOC farm grants. From the mid-1700s it grew as a settlement around the Van Papendorp homestead, giving rise to its earlier name, Papendorp. Accessed via the "Road to False Bay" (Gordon survey 1778)

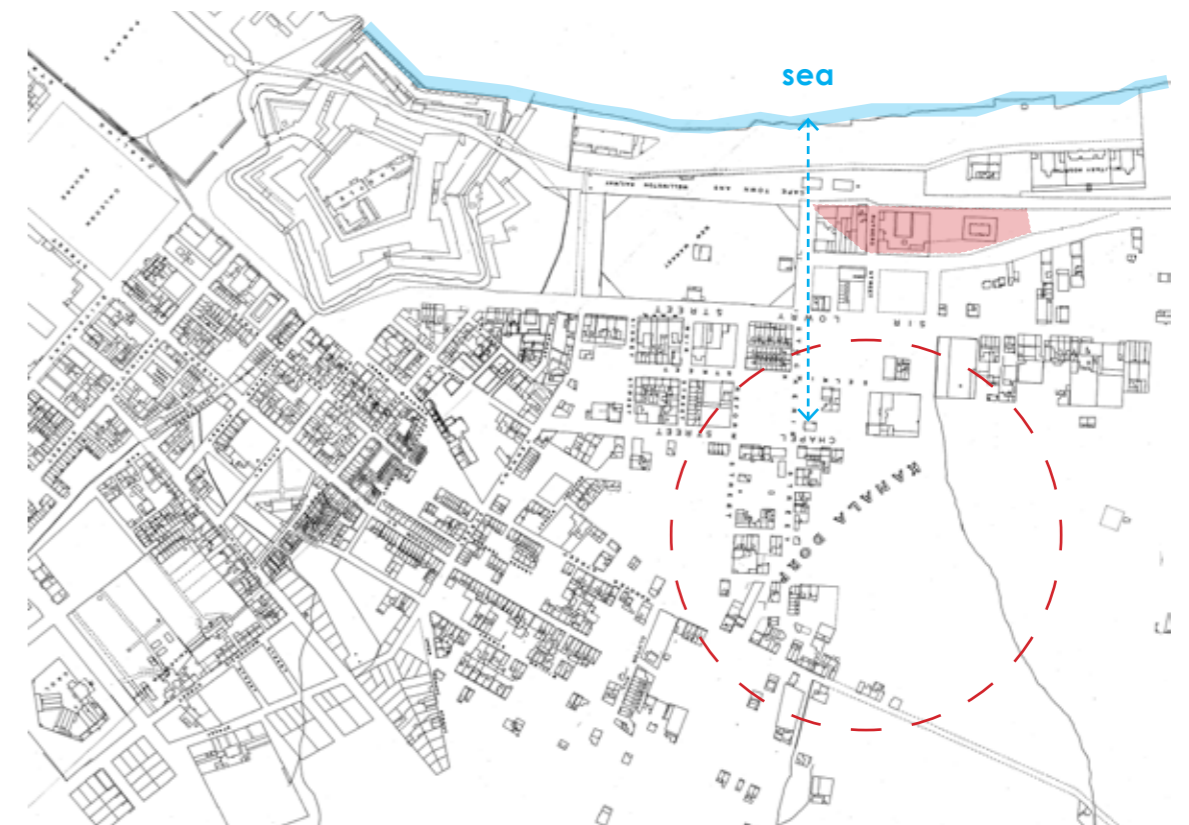


Figure 10. 1860 shows the development of Kanaladorp; site shaded red. (Image: Snow Survey, CoCT Historical Maps Collection)

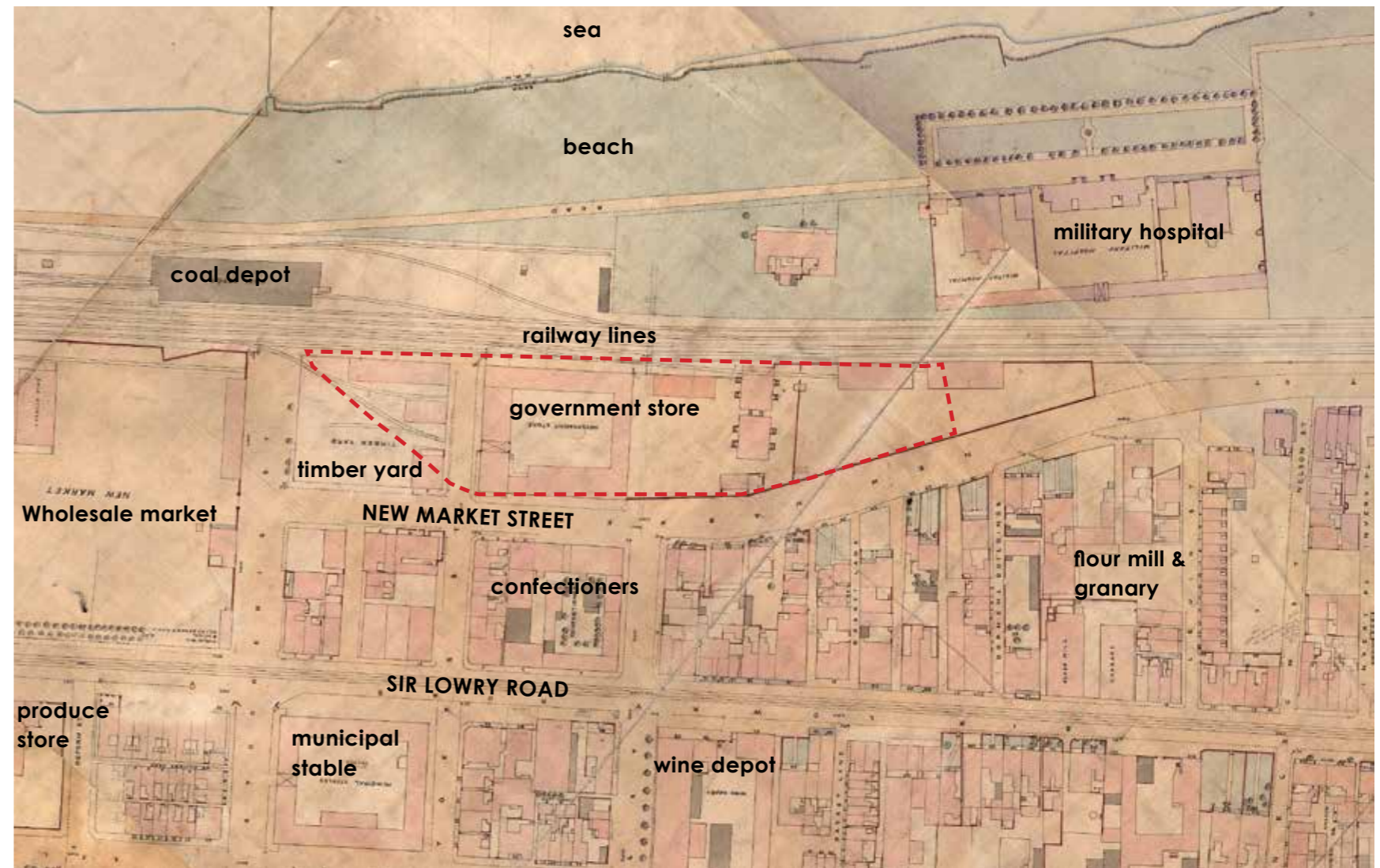


Figure 11. 1897 Intermingling of fine grain residential blocks with light industry, warehousing and railway infrastructure, between city and the sea. Site outline red. (Image: Thom Survey, CoCT Historical Maps Collection 2015)

it was distinctly separate from the development of the city, south and west of the castle. From the mid-1800s, with the defensive French lines made redundant and the completion of Woodstock station in 1862, expansion of the City met that of Woodstock, now developing as a desirable residential centre with beach access.

With intensified industrialisation and the additional swelling of the population following the South African War (1899-1902), the social and economic character of the area began to change, becoming increasing working class. Lower Woodstock was more industrially developed and housed artisans, traders and labourers of all races. High density row housing was developed to supply demand in "this rapidly rising hamlet" (The Argus 1881, in Garside 1994).

The population makeup was racially and culturally diverse, with working class people: rural South Africans forced off farms by the war and later depression, British soldiers who chose to settle, independent trades people, and Jewish, Greek, Italian, and later Portuguese, immigrants. Proximity to work in the transport sector of the railway yards and docks, the breweries, fishing industry, and in the burgeoning textile industry, ensured financial stability such that "Woodstock was always a very 'respectable' suburb in Cape Town" (Garside 1994: 77). Family focussed, the social infrastructure

was well developed with schools, religious institutions and sports facilities.

Unusually, Woodstock escaped racial segregation both before and during Apartheid, allowing it to develop and retain a distinct cultural heritage. Garside's 1987 research found that: "In Woodstock the perception of 'community' is striking - both at the turn of the century and lingering on into the 1980s."



Figure 12. c1900 Woodstock Beach as a recreational place. (Image: Grogan 2015)

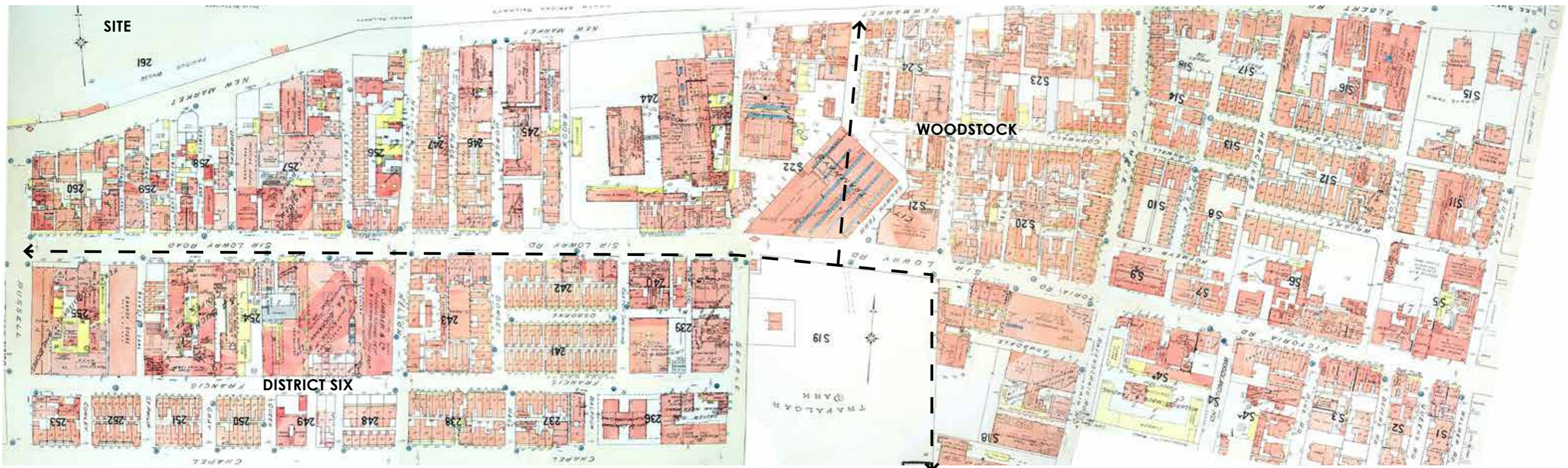


Figure 13. 1949 shows the pattern of fine grain residential of lower and east Woodstock, interwoven with industrial and warehousing premises. (Image: Goad Insurance Survey)

### 4.2.3 Newmarket 20thC

The site of the “new” commercial wholesale market was blocked out in 1812 and remained in use until Epping Municipal Market opened in 1961. Initially the large open space was maintained to accommodate high volume of commercial transport, such as wagon trains, from which trading took place. Its location adjacent to the new railway was significant for transporting produce from inland, and use was made of the goods yards rail sidings. Over the years the site acquired several small warehouses and service buildings on the perimeter to provide for the high volume of live animals and market workers. By the late 1800s, the “Early Market” was a six-day operation with activity from pre-dawn to late night. Selling livestock, live poultry and farm produce, it was a major employer of government officials, auctioneers, trading agents, porters, night watchmen, cleaners and security personnel (Mayor's Minutes 1899).

In 1900 the City's fresh vegetables market was moved to a purpose-built trading warehouse on the New Market site to make way for the City Hall at the Grand Parade (Mayor's Minutes 1899). This market was both a place of employment and a much used facility for the residents of District Six, including afternoon retail sales and informal after hours trade. It features in the memories of many older, former residents.

By 1939 the needs of town had outgrown the site and plans, interrupted by WWII, resulted in the 1959 construction of Epping wholesale market, (Shorten 1963). The land was subdivided and cleared, making way for the construction of Nelson Mandela Boulevard (then Eastern Boulevard) freeway completed 1967.

#### 4.2.1 Erf 14448-0-1 Development and Use

The site, developed for use by the government of the day, has seen a variety of structures come and go, all believed to be simple storage-type buildings. It had a gunpowder magazine, one of many in use by military, government and city merchants through the 1800s and, as surveys show (1862, 1895, 1897), structures identified “Government Store”. By the early 1900s these buildings were partially replaced by railway facilities. Probably because the site was part of the military property, surveys are not consistent, and no clear record has been found of the site use (restrictions of access to research resources imposed by Covid-19). The site was completely cleared in the 1960s to make way for the construction of the freeway.

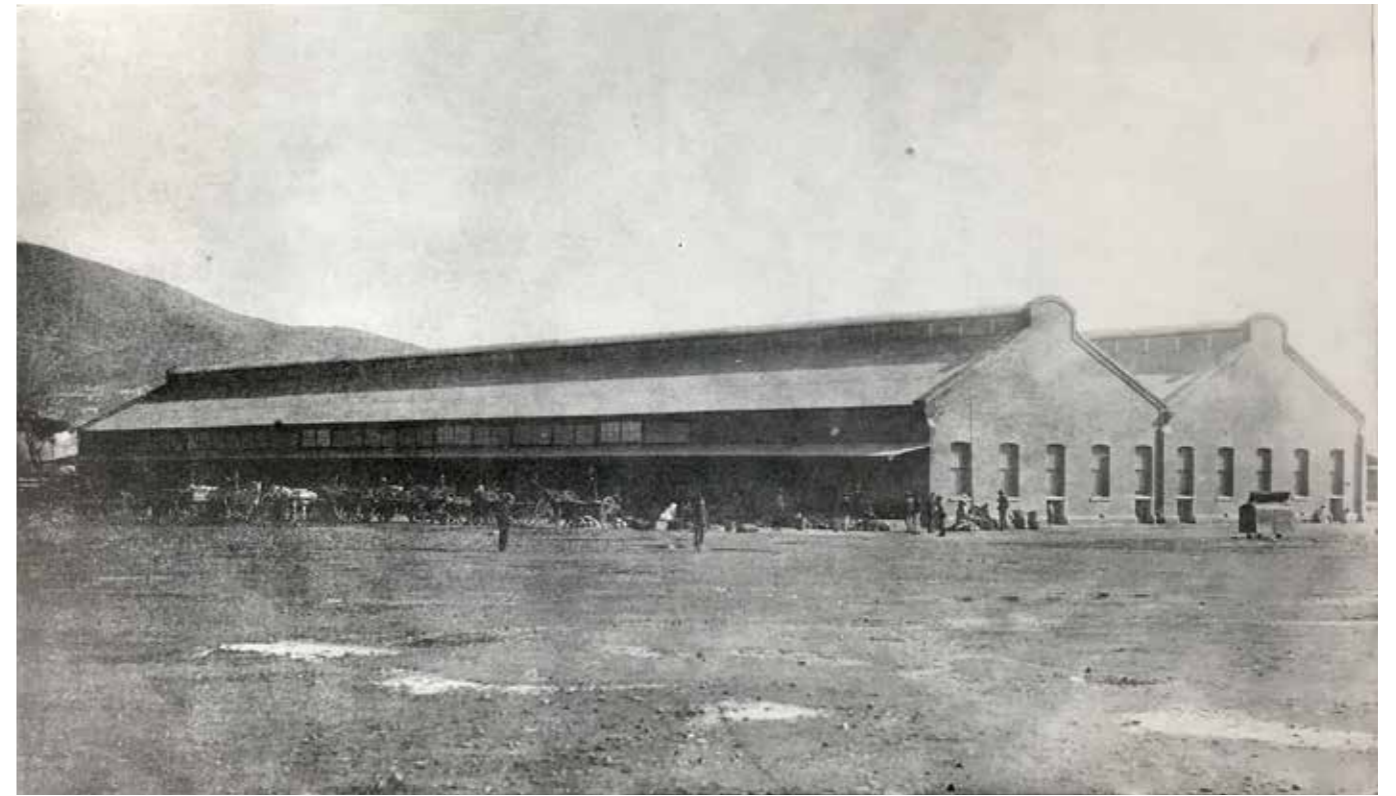


Figure 14. 1900 “Sir Lowry Market” for trade in fruit and vegetables on the Newmarket site. Horse wagons, drivers and porters wait to haul sold goods; people sit beside sacks of good. (Image: Mayor's Minutes, CoCT EHRIC)

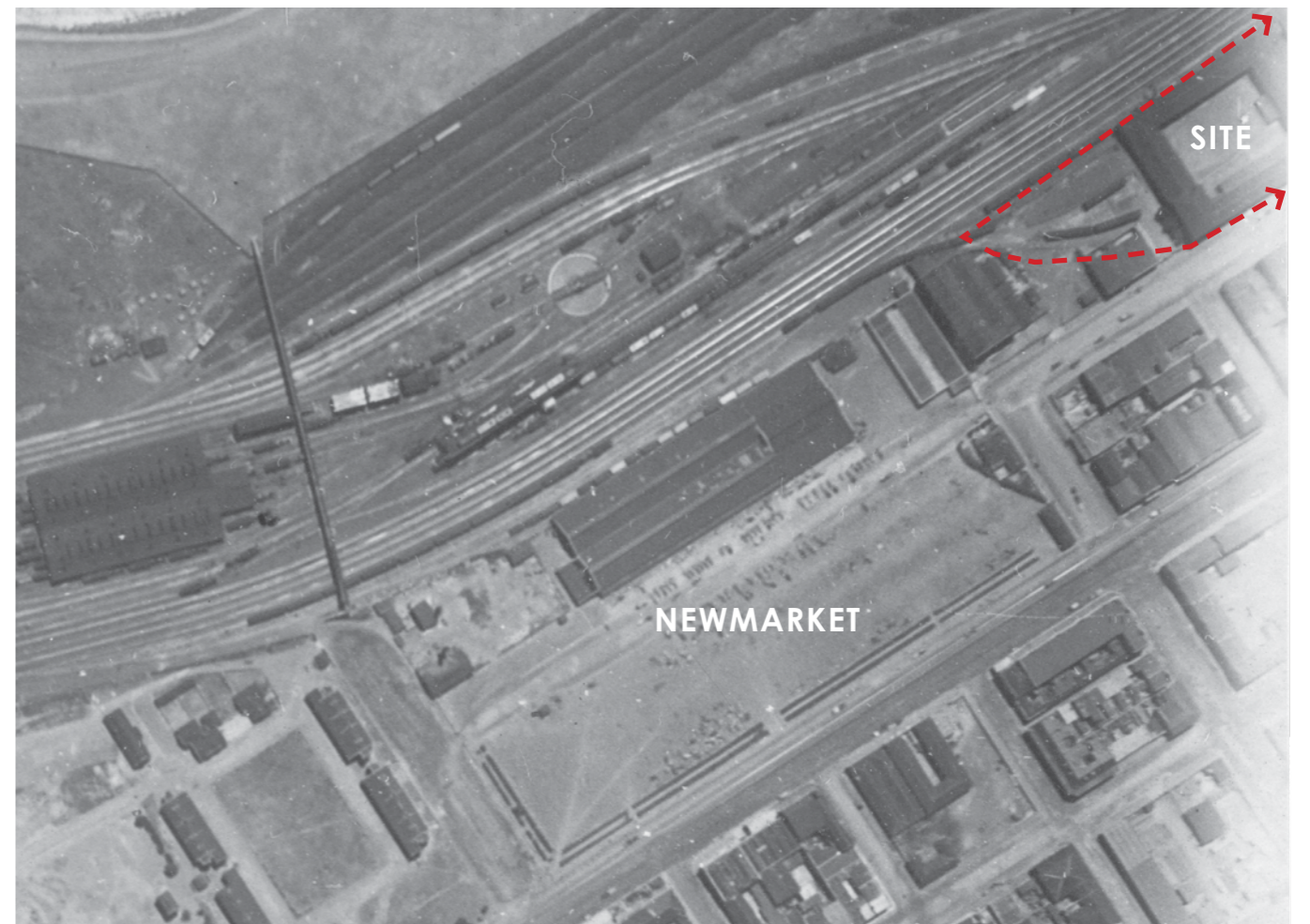


Figure 15. 1926 aerial shows Corporation's Early Morning Market and the Fruit and Vegetable Market at Newmarket. The market neighbours the site, with its goods rail and platforms, government workshops and warehouses. (Image: NGI 1926\_08\_0884)

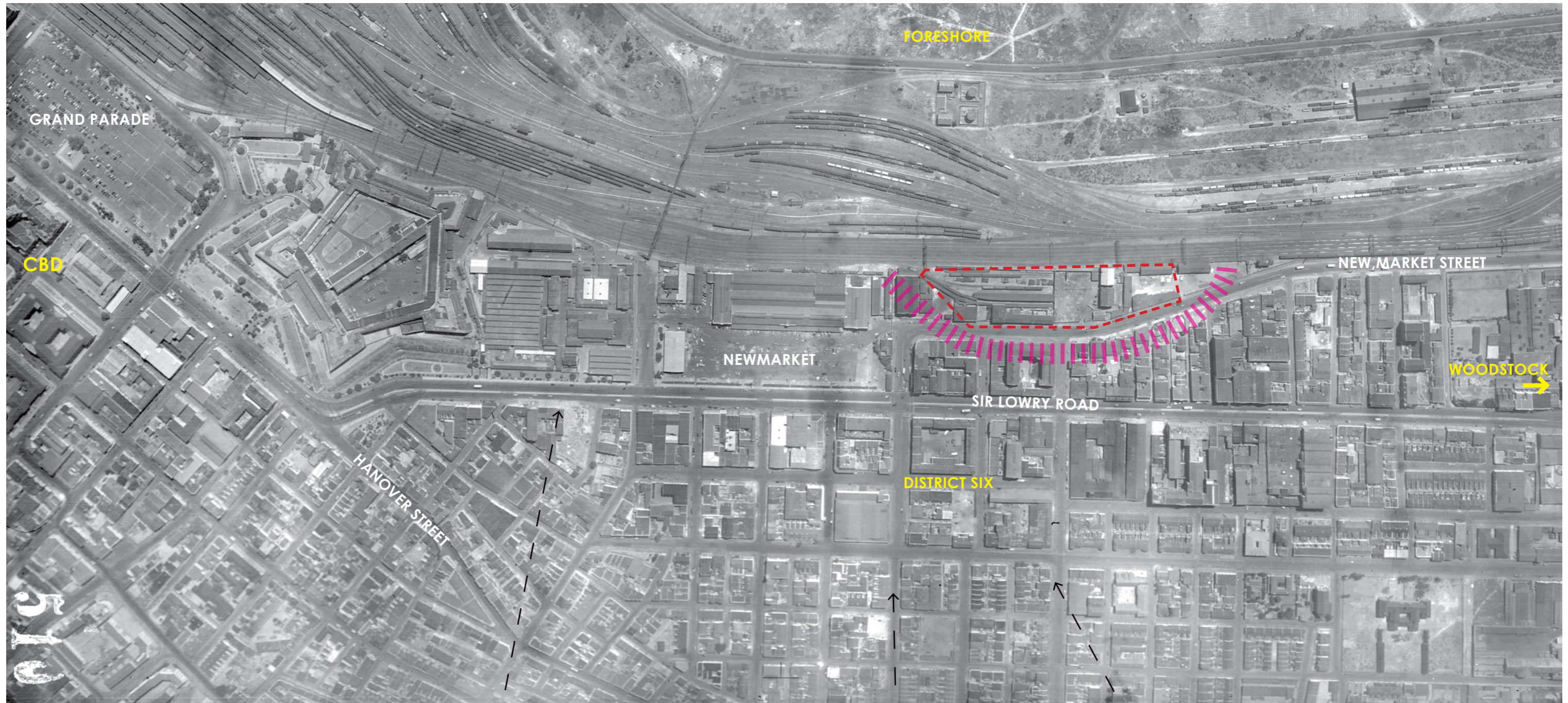


Figure 16. 1945 prior to Apartheid, Group Areas legislation and the clearing of District Six, shows the socio-spatial relationships of the site to the immediate residential area and places of employment. Newmarket, the railway goods yards, coarse grain of warehouse and workshop buildings along Sir Lowry Road, and the Central Business District. (Images: Aerial NGI 1945\_203A\_06\_00510; photos Jan Greshoff in Greshoff 2021)

#### 4.2.4 Apartheid and the Group Areas Act (1950)

The Group Area Act (GAA) affected the dense residential areas of District Six and Woodstock in dramatically different ways.

The 1950s were a period of intense urban development and change. The onset of Modernism in urban planning, which sought to use the organisation of the built environment to separate activities—working, dwelling, recreating—coincided with and served the Grand Apartheid spatial plan of segregation. The Foreshore scheme, urban renewal projects and Eastern Boulevard had a devastating impact, severing the powerful grid connecting District Six, Woodstock and the City. This coincided with the 1966 declaration of District Six above the Boulevard as a White Group Area. In 1968 demolition, which had already cleared a path for the freeway, began to flatten the rest of the District, gutting the social core of the City.

The implementation of the GAA separated Woodstock into two sectors: Upper, declared White Group residential, and Lower, which comprised the industrial, warehousing and residential row houses. Despite being predominately occupied by people then classified coloured, it became a “controlled area”, which allowed it to remain racially mixed (Garside 1994). From 1976 to 1978 the area was assessed for declaration for the Coloured Group, however, the residents campaigned successfully to keep it mixed. This sequence of events was repeated in 1986-1987. However, this caused uncertainty for the future and ultimately had the effect of destabilising the social structure of the area.

#### 4.2.5 Separate Amenities and Services

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) legalised the racial segregation of public buildings and premises and affected development and use of new infrastructure.

The Good Hope Centre, started in 1964 on the remainder of the Newmarket site, was built to function as a show-piece exhibition hall and conference centre, augmenting the city's urban core of the City Hall, Grand Parade and transport hub with the new central station completed 1966/1967. However by the time of completion in 1977 its context was vastly changed and usage was impacted by segregation legislation. Despite this, it did function for many years as a community centre for events held by former District Six residents, until the Athlone Stadium, expanded in 2010, fulfilled

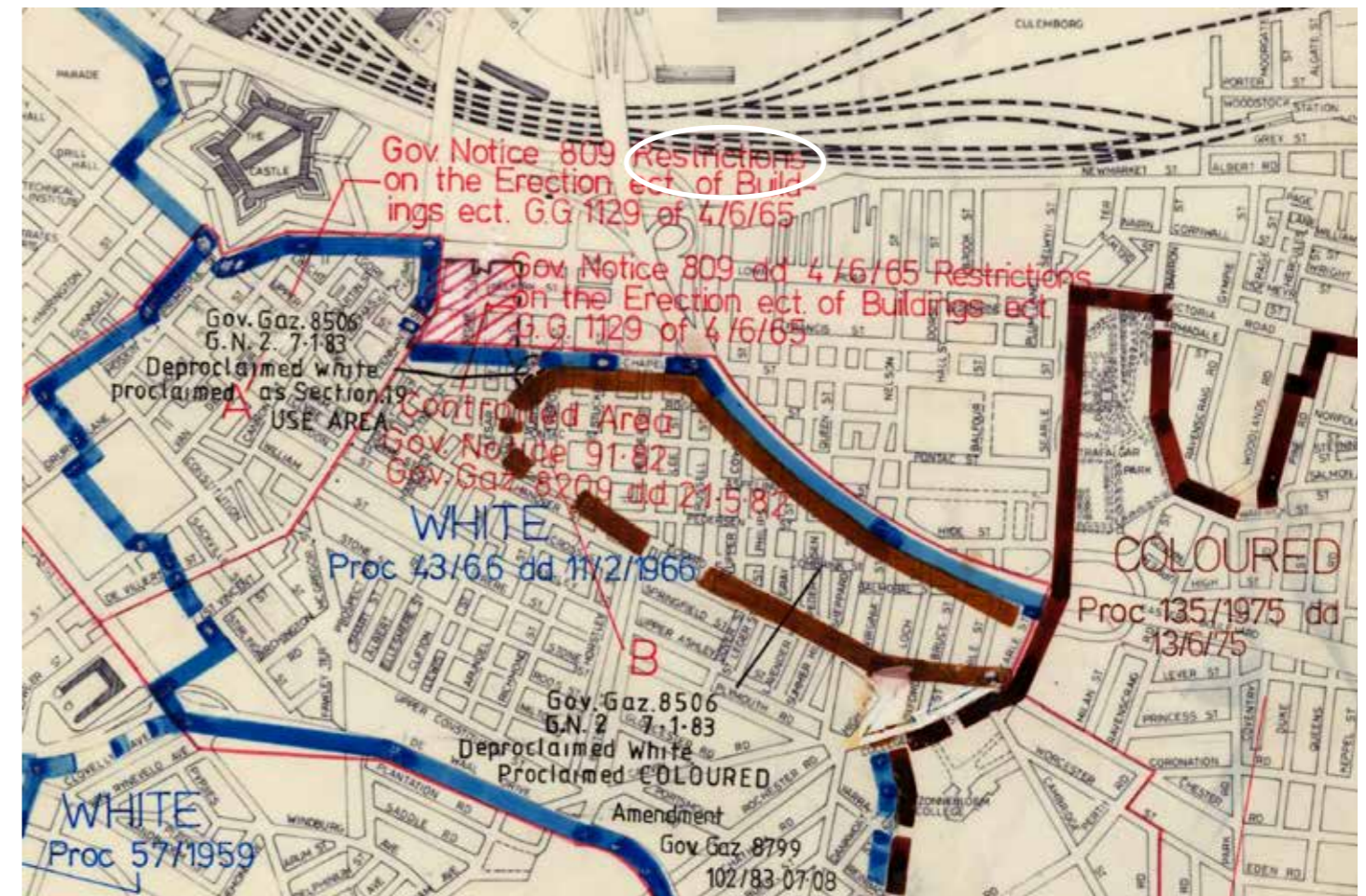


Figure 17. Group Areas Act working map shows 1965 proclamation of the Foreshore and part of District Six as White Area and 1966 proclamation of the majority of District Six. Walmer Estate and portions of Woodstock are marked as proclaimed Coloured 1975; Woodstock was effectively a Controlled Area. Site area circled in white. (Image: CoCT Historical Maps Collections)

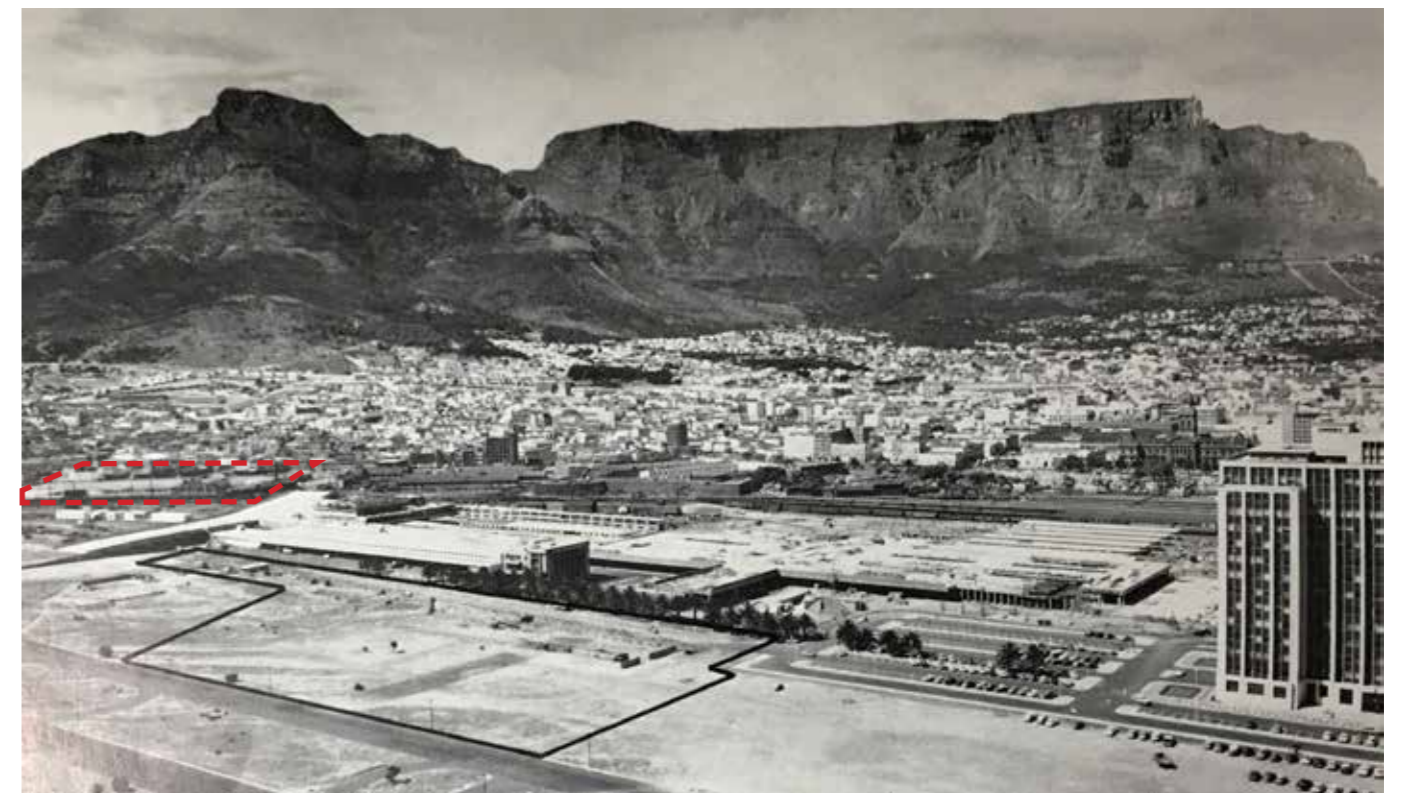


Figure 18. Late 1960s Foreshore development plan with the position for the Civic Centre marked out. Development site, mostly clear of structures, is outlined red. (Image: Mayor's Minutes)



that role. It retains strong associational value for many and although it is currently under a private lease from the City, has the capacity to be integrated into the social facilities of the development site's wider location.

Built from 1979 on land cleared following the forced removals of District Six, the Cape Technikon was a dedicated campus for white students, operating in terms of the Separate Amenities Act.

Now called Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), it is a merger of Cape Technikon and the Peninsula Technikon established in the 1960s to cater to people classified coloured. For many, the physical structure represents an "alien insertion" that has dominated the landscape. Its placement shows no regard for the historic street pattern of the District (Pistorius et al. 2002). However, CPUT has the potential to be integrated as a dynamic core to the restructuring of the wider site.

#### 4.2.6 Local Heritage Resources

Situated in a historic part of the city, the site is near to a number of places recognised for their heritage significance:

- Castle of Good Hope (Grade I), Grand Parade (Grade II) Trafalgar Park (IIIA), Good Hope Centre (IIIB) and Castle Mews directly opposite (IIIB).
- The Chapel Street HPOZ is protected as the last remaining portion of District Six residential buildings.
- Victoria Rd HPOZ is protected for its architectural coherence and significance in the early commercial/industrial development of town.

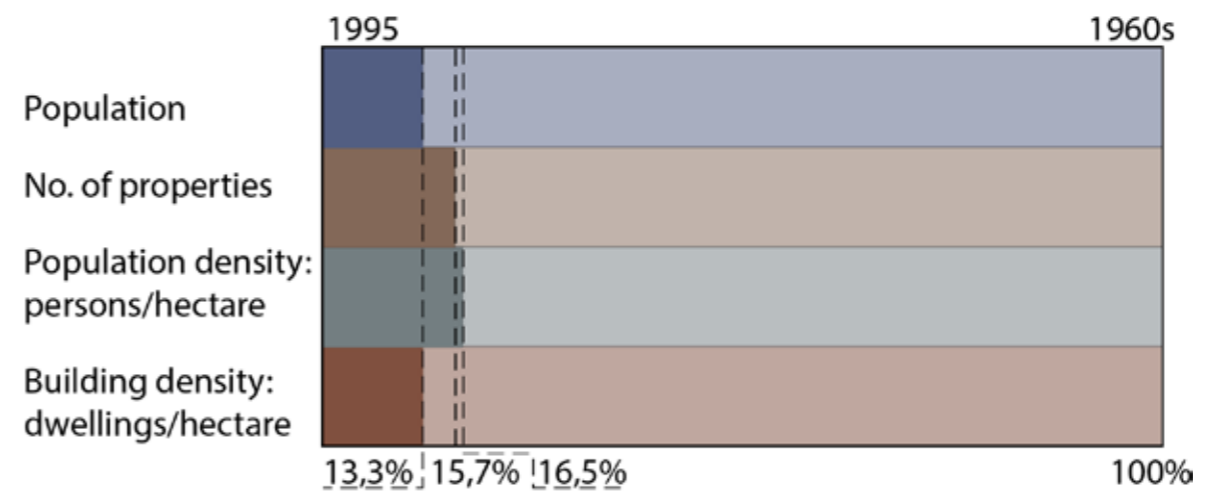


Figure 19. c1978 Architect render of proposed Cape Technikon (Colyn & Meiring) with the Good Hope Centre (Image: J Du Plessis, UCT Special Collection, islandora:17979)

#### 4.2.7 Restitution and Redevelopment

Group Areas was abolished in 1991. A population of 30,000 in District Six in the 1960s was reduced to just 4,000 by 1995, representing a drop in population density from 326 people per hectare, to just 54.

The total number of built properties pre-1960s demolition was reduced from 3695 to 580 in 1995, a density reduction of 45 dwelling per hectare to just 6 (Pistorius et al. 2002). These numbers are represented graphically as percentages below.



Woodstock suffered 1980s neglect resulting from its uncertain racial status. The collapse of the textile industry also impacted residents and businesses. Vacated and run down property was bought by landlords and developers opting to benefit from Woodstock's proximity to the CBD, and a period of vulnerability gave way to both the good and bad impacts of gentrification: regeneration, but also displacement. Social integration, an essential element of Woodstock's cultural and living heritage is under threat and needs to be positively addressed in its urban development.

The various comprehensive studies undertaken to inform the redevelopment of District Six (Pistorius et al., Le Grange, Mammon) have urged that the urban principles which first built District Six and Woodstock should be observed in the reconstruction plans. These are the patterns of city building such as scale, texture, grain, access, permeability, variety, transitional spaces, mixed uses, that respond to extended family and social networking.

The proposed development is well-positioned to knit these vulnerable environments—Woodstock and District Six—together, to establish an area of integrated and accessible social infrastructure.



OVERVIEW OF SOCIO-HISTORIC EVOLUTION

Graphics adapted from Pistorius et al. 2002



1790:

- Site situated behind the Sea Lines, with French Lines completing the defensible east core of the settlement.
- Urban grid development west of the Grand Parade; no development east of the Castle

1818

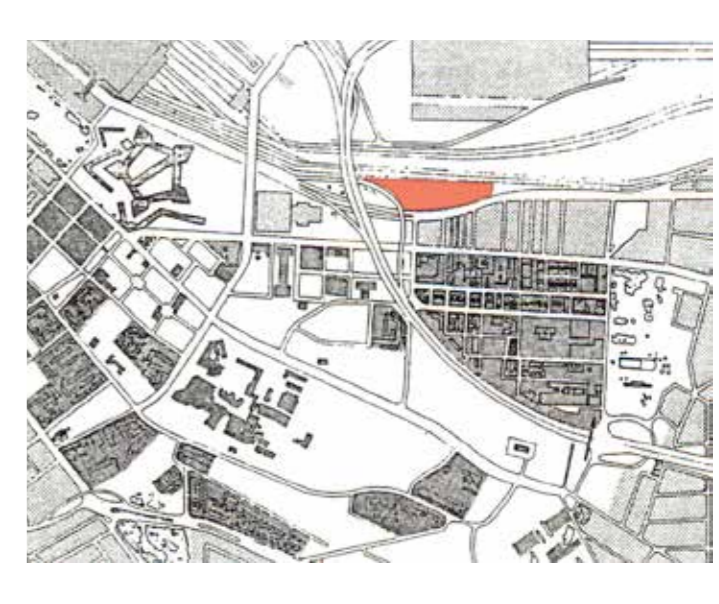
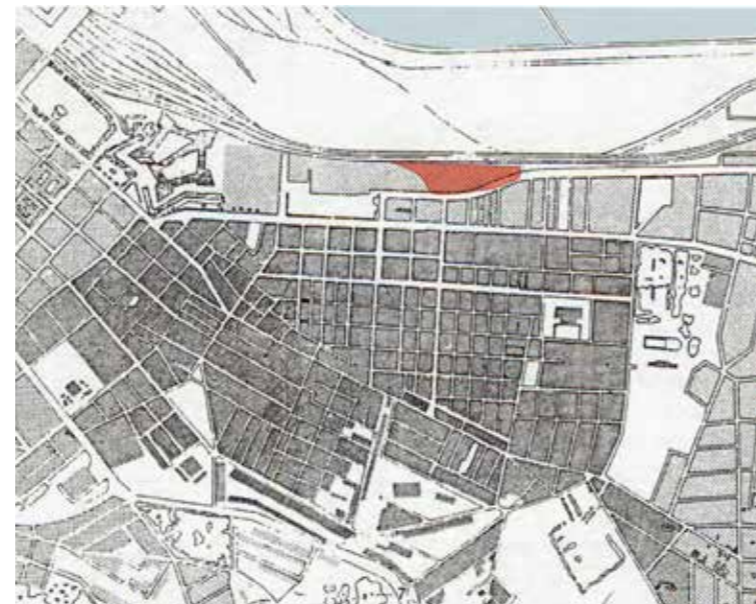
- Rapid growth & development following British Colonial takeover
- New Market established
- Some construction on site block
- Urban grid expands east
- Agricultural development on slopes above site

1862:

- Defensive Sea Lines have disintegrated
- Expansion of docks
- Military Hospital built just north of site
- Urban creep expanding east

1900:

- Docks relocated west
- Some land reclamation
- Fruit and vegetable market structure on Newmarket site
- Inconsistent pattern of structures on development site
- Urban expansion and densification
- Lower Woodstock merges with City
- Railway lines constructed



1926:

- General densification and infill
- District Six densely built, open spaces infilled
- Additional railway infrastructure north of site

1944:

- Military Hospital demolished
- Redoubts demolished
- Foreshore land reclamation
- Railway expanded to multi-track
- Woodstock and City merge

1968:

- Demolition to allow construction of Nelson Mandela Boulevard
- Foreshore development
- Extension of railway and yards at Culembourg

1992:

- District Six south west above/west of Nelson Mandela Boulevard largely demolished
- Religious institution buildings remain
- Good Hope Centre; CPU built
- Lower District Six merges with lower Woodstock
- Hanover Road reconstructed

## 5.0 SOCIO-HISTORIC INDICATORS

### 5.1 Social Inventory

An assessment of the social heritage qualities of the wider location, the resources that engender a supportive environment, and conditions that threaten viability.

#### 5.1.1 Social Cohesion

- Both Woodstock and District Six have acquired a rich, now largely lost and almost mythic, memory of social and cultural interaction.
- The conditions of high urban density contributed to a fertile ground for the generation of economic, social and cultural opportunities (Pistorius et al. 2002).
- Both Woodstock and District Six were able to support a diverse and complex range of activities and services.
- Buildings accommodated families, businesses and general amenities allowing for a high degree of convenience and accessibility.
- These social, economic and cultural networks were shown to be essential survival strategies for the working class and contributors to social cohesion.

#### 5.1.2 Sense of Place

- The sense of place in the role of memory and collective nostalgia—a yearning for a remembered past—is experienced both in Woodstock and District Six.
- Particularly profound in District Six because of its dramatic destruction, it is manifest in numerous memoirs, the arts (fiction, music, visual art). This creates a strong, place-based community identity, social bonds, and a spirit of support and sharing.
- The physical qualities contributing to sense of place include the active use of communal and public space (dwellings being too small and crowded for play or gathering).
- Active use brings with it some passive surveillance and safety.
- Other features contributing to a sense of place include the presence of the mountain, and connections to Grand Parade and Trafalgar Park.

#### 5.1.3 Community and Restitution

- The spatial proximity to District Six gives any development on the site

the opportunity for social engagement with the wider redevelopment programme.

- Redevelopment will return a strong residential quality to the City centre.
- The reintroduction of a residential society can contribute to the economic and cultural vitality of the City.

#### 5.1.4 Current Conditions

- Shortage of economically accessible and suitable urban housing, in part resulting from gentrification and economic exclusion in Woodstock, and the slow rebuilding of District Six
- Poor safety and security resulting from the city centre's shift westwards towards Greenpoint and the Waterfront, the poor use of PRASA railway land, the non-residential nature of the area.
- Limited social cohesion with not many stable, generational, long-term places of dwelling and places of work.
- Limited employment affecting hyper-local economics, particularly following the economic impact of Covid-19 on the city centre's retail, tourism and entertainment industries and informal support services.
- High level of homelessness, food insecurity and the associated negative social impacts, affecting the immediate area.

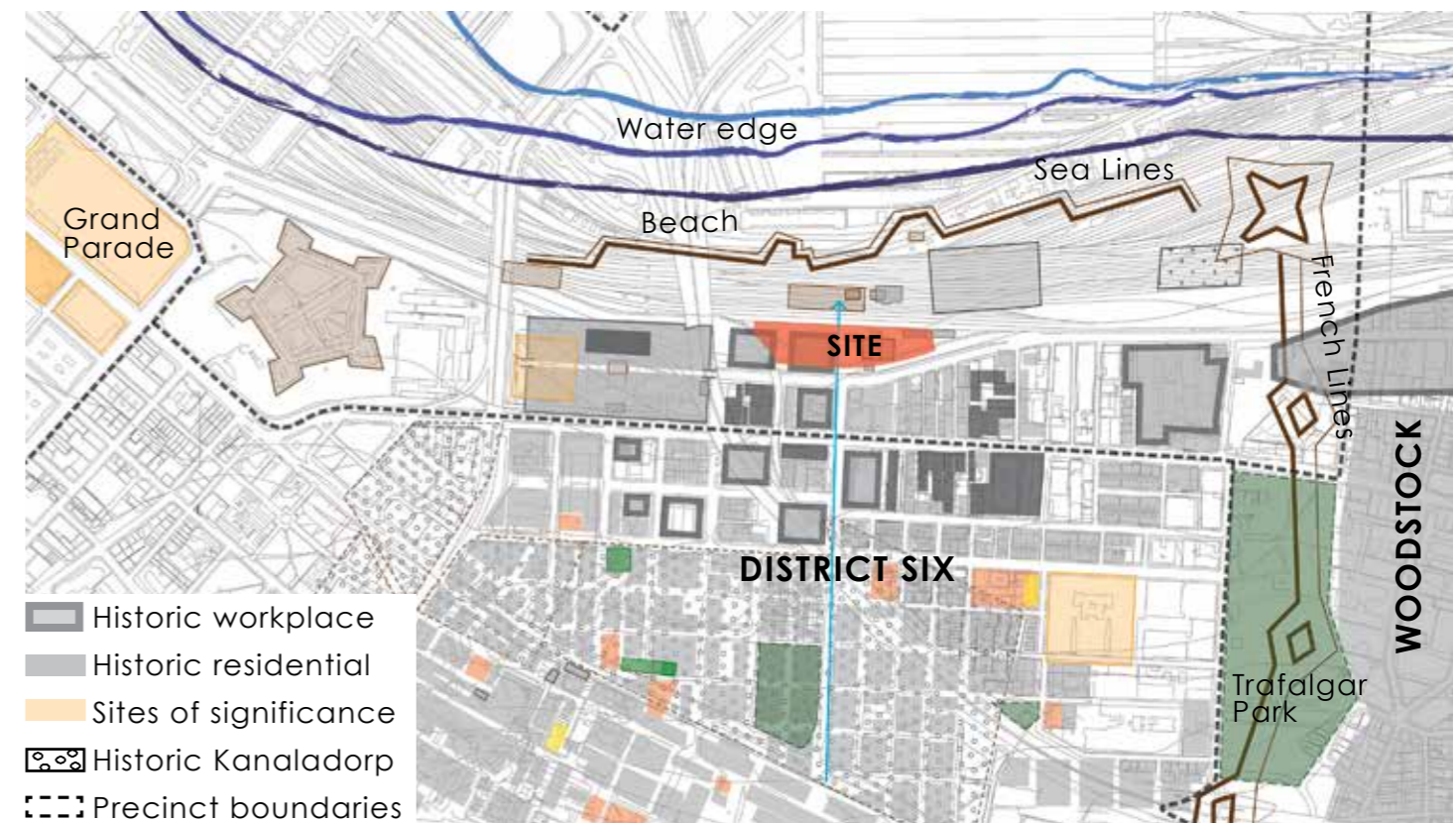


Figure 20. Social inventory

## 5.2 Social Resources of the Receiving Environment

### 5.2.1 Value of the Receiving Environment

- Proximity to primary public transport nodes: central train station, bus depot and taxi rank.
- Proximity to a range of commercial facilities: low-price supermarkets, small east city businesses, outdoor markets and street traders.
- Proximity to civic services: Central Library, public swimming baths, hospitals and clinics.
- Proximity to religious institutions: mosques, churches of a wide variety of denominations.
- Proximity to schools and tertiary institutions.
- Access to employment opportunities in business, hospitality, industry, proximity to CBD, port, Waterfront; densely occupied, financially secure City Bowl residential sector.

### 5.2.2 Opportunities of the Receiving Environment

- Potential to restore physical, social and visual connection to Victoria Road, District Six and the CBD
- Potential to add significant quantity of affordable housing
- Integration of new mixed use facilities with offerings of the wider area
- Medium (5 storey) to high rise (8 storey) residential accommodation
- Natural environmental conditions: underground water
- Invert the liminal quality of being “just beyond” the City, D6, Woodstock by reinforcing the location as a gateway or as a central hub.

### 5.2.3 Constraints of the Receiving Environment

- Somewhat strangled and isolated by road and rail network.
- Site is located in a car oriented space - a hostile pedestrian environment.
- Hostile south east wind.
- Hostile railway and freeway: physical barriers, noise and pollution.

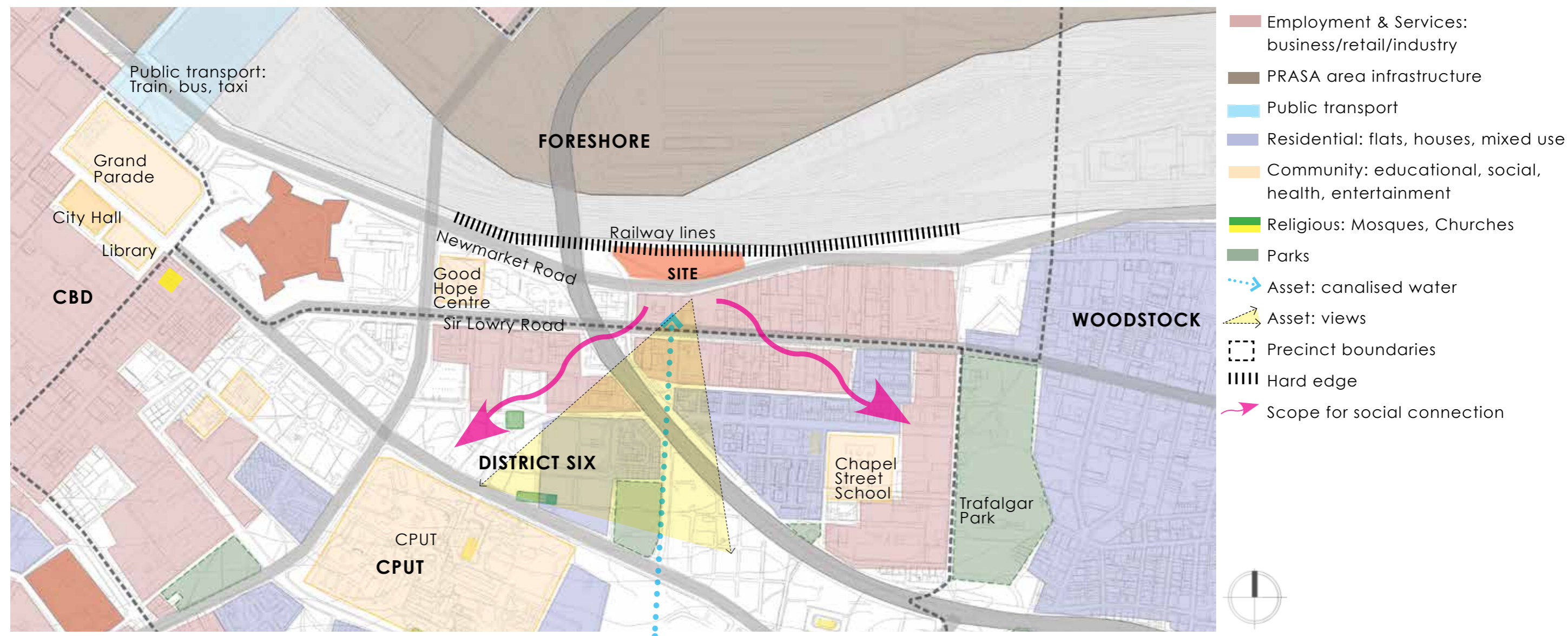


Figure 21. Social resources

### 5.3 Social Indicators to Development

The site lies within the Foreshore precinct. In terms of administrative boundaries, however, it is spatially embedded in District Six and should be viewed in social relationship to that redevelopment.

Secondly, its position on the potential activity corridor of Albert Road Woodstock, which is currently socially hostile, should be considered as an important social design indicator.

#### 5.3.1 Indicators for a Socially Enabling Environment

- Facilities should be prioritised for multi-generational families and extended family groups.
- Provide for the support network for single working parent families (spaces for use as crèche, after school, safe spaces).
- Work from home and mixed-use facilities to enable residents to provide services and develop businesses.
- Social integration and safety - "know your neighbour": De-mass the living experience with small groups/clusters of dwellings sharing an entry point and circulation.

#### 5.3.2 Physical and Spatial Indicators

Context:

- The site occupies a potential "urban gateway" position and has the capacity to be woven into lower Woodstock and District Six.
- Establish accessibility: easy pedestrian access to work, schools, community facilities; safe, well-lit connections.
- Consider modes of movement: baby-carriage, wheelchair, skateboard and bicycle.
- Any development should consider and respond to the redevelopment plans for District Six.
- It should connect spatially with District Six via Russell Road artery.
- Proximity to CPUT should be exploited with safe pedestrian access.
- Establish strong, safe pedestrian connection along Newmarket/Strand Street to access public transport depot and CBD.
- Establish strong pedestrian connections to Sir Lowry Road/Victoria Road artery.

Site:

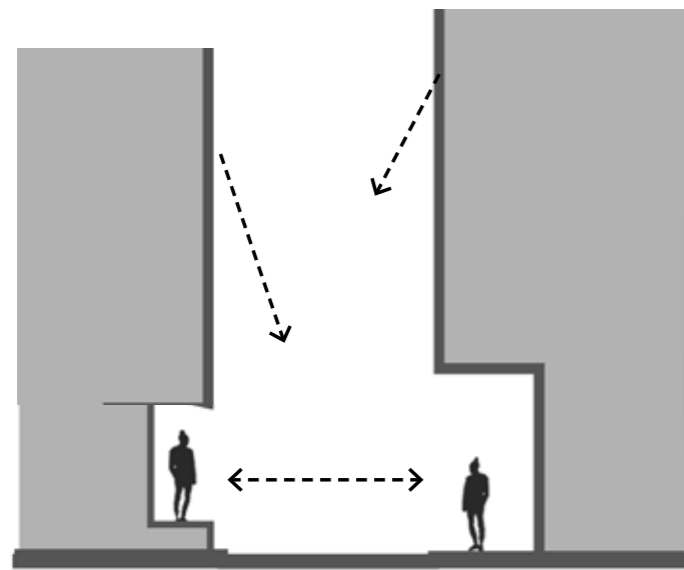
- Design in response to conditions of:
  - noise and air pollution from freeway and railway
  - south east wind
  - mountain views
  - north light
  - port views
- Respond to the historic street grid with small urban blocks, active "streets", pedestrian scale grid, permeable edges.
- Resurface buried water course beneath Russell Road; integrate into communal garden space.
- Mixed-use buildings, express different functions on the exterior.
- Variety of spaces: arcades, balconies, recesses and projections.
- Articulated/chamfered corner for safer street-level space and gathering places.
- Transitional spaces: private - semi-public/ neighbour - social public/block.
- Visual connection between private and public realm to facilitate safe contact and interaction.

Accommodation and dwellings:

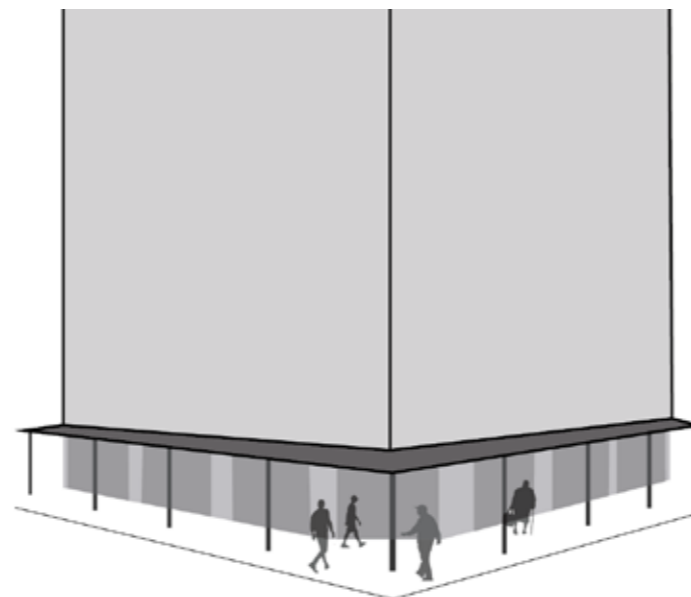
- Create a wide range of accommodation types.
- Family apartments for extended families.
- Integrated accommodation (linked units) for multi-generational families.
- Standard size and micro apartments.
- Group the apartment types to facilitate social interaction and support.
- Opportunities for small scale economic activity; shared-use business premises with low overhead.

Communal facilities:

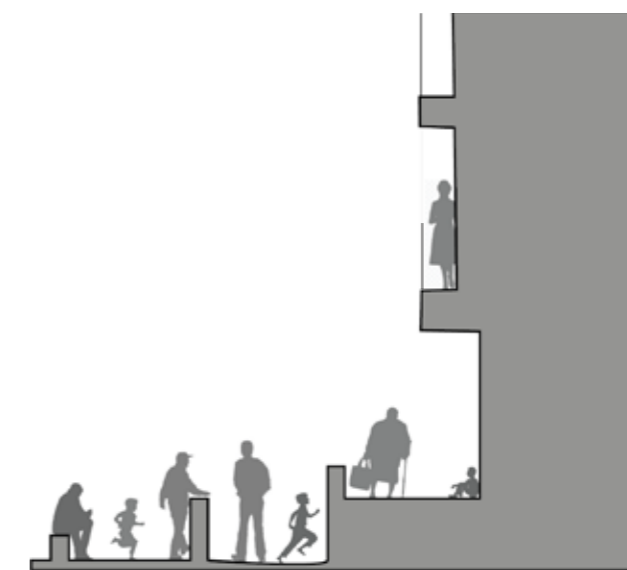
- Integrated, shared-use facilities (eg. crèche, after school hub, teen games room, pensioner activity room).
- Inter-connected outdoor play spaces catering to: toddlers, teens, families, elderly.
- Inner urban furniture to rest: steps, low walls, areas of distinct character.
- Workshop facilities: shared-use/low rental for artisan manufacturing spaces.
- Storage and lockers: tool/supplies storage facilities for trades people and artisans.



- Pedestrian shelter
- Internal "streets"
- Passive surveillance



- Ground floor retail/commercial
- Protected pedestrian space
- Corner gathering place



- Transitional spaces
- Urban furniture
- Social spaces

Figure 22. Social living: Small dwellings in high density places require well-functioning, safe, comfortable outdoor spaces for play, exercise, socialising, hobbying.

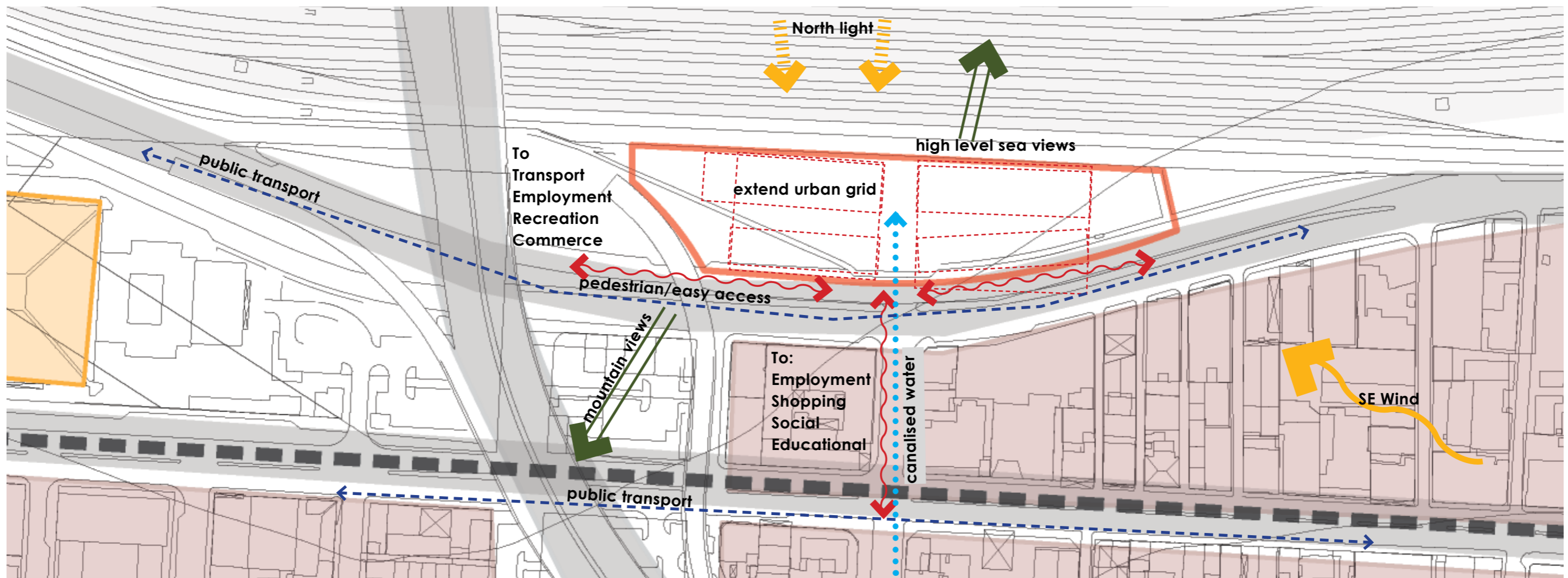


Figure 23. Social living: High volume urban accommodation needs easy, low cost access to opportunities for transport, work, health, education, social, religious, play activities.

## 5.4 Commentary and Precedent

Future Cape Town/Our Future Cities, in a 2017 assessment of the Newmarket Street site, found it to be appropriate for medium-high rise affordable housing development by nature of its adjacent coarse grained infrastructure. It recommended that building heights range between eight storeys along New Market Street and five storeys along the north-facing railway line edge (Rawoot 2017). Similarly, Ndifuna Ukwazi social advocacy group finds the site suitable for the development of social housing and supports its urgent development.

### 5.4.1 Precedent

The global need for high density urban social housing has spawned many useful studies. Certain qualities characterise examples that have created stable, liveable social environments. These include:

Lower-rise higher density:

- High density housing is not automatically high-rise. Lower-rise structures provide a liveable scale with some qualities of suburban living.
- Lower-rise avoids potentially alienating tower blocks.
- Large structures can be broken up into sub-blocks, clusters and small groups sharing communal and circulation space: more “neighbourly”, better safety and social support.

Mix of typologies:

- Mix of block height and size, apartment size, and appearance within the site helps to scale and individualise dwellings.
- Allows architectural legibility: identification of accommodation type.

Mixed use commercial/residential:

- Appropriate for urban social housing: combines residential, retail, live-work units.
- Shared community facilities: multi-use rooms, workshops.

Courtyard arrangement:

- Courtyards provides safe outdoor spaces that can be well surveilled.
- Provides respite from urban noise and environmental impacts.
- Structures built around courtyard space(s) can be shallower, allowing more natural light: contributes to quality of life and security.
- Form maintains the street grid and allows for pedestrian pathways.
- Allows a variety of communal outdoor spaces.



#### Brickfields and Legea Gardens, Johannesburg

- Mixed use: residential, retail units, live-work units and community facilities
- Mixed building typologies
- Arranged around communal outdoor space
- Balconies for safe outside space
- Visual access to courtyard
- Access, circulation individual to each cluster



#### Social Housing, Athis-Mons, France (Atelier VongDC)

- Front facade: busy street - ground floor small business/commercial
- Rear facade: communal courtyard
- Mix of apartment typologies reflected in varied facade treatment
- Variety for scaling device and individuality
- Balconies extend living space



#### 46 Social Houses, Sevilla, Spain By Gabriel Verd

- Maximum use of small plot
- Organised around a courtyard
- Apartments have visual access to street and inner spaces
- Balconies for safe outside space

## 6.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This social history study examines the potential social heritage significance and indicators associated with the site and the proposed development.

Erf 14888-0-1 is a brownfield site. Now vacant, it has been the location of storage infrastructure owned by the government of the day since the 18th century. It is located in a historic sector of town, with many nearby buildings and groups of structures identified as having heritage significance (predominantly architectural). However, the site itself has no apparent socio-historic characteristics of importance, and there is no indication of social memory or significance associated with it.

For administrative purposes the site is located in the Foreshore suburb although it is spatially separated by the railway. It occupies a location at the junction of the CBD, District Six and Lower Woodstock. For over 200 years, this has been a centre for financially marginalised families and much social support infrastructure is in place.

- Socio-historically it was part of the District Six urban grid prior to demolition (1968-1980s). Redevelopment of the urban residential precinct, to provide for homecoming families, is slowly under way. The site should be viewed in relation to this project.
- Woodstock is currently experiencing redevelopment and market value increase impacting its cultural and living heritage. This can be mitigated with the provision of appropriate, affordable family accommodation in the area. The site should be viewed in relation to this need.

The development project aims to provide units for households in the social housing income bracket. The site has been determined to be well-located with sufficient carrying capacity to develop residential apartment blocks around public space, with ground floor retail facilities.

Studies undertaken to inform the redevelopment of District Six have urged that the urban principles which first built District Six and Woodstock should be observed in reconstruction plans. These, which equally apply to the proposed development, are the patterns of city building that respond to the needs of extended families and social empowerment, such as:

- Human scale environment, fine texture and grain, easy access, permeability, variety, transitional spaces, and mixed uses.

## Recommendations:

The Newmarket Street site is well suited to a social housing development.

It has the capacity to bind the fractured precincts of District Six and Albert Road Woodstock and consolidate an area of accessible social infrastructure. However, if poorly integrated into the wider area, it risks becoming a social island.

The social components include:

- Social cohesion; sense of place; community and restitution; current vulnerabilities.

Opportunities to exploit include:

- Central location; access to facilities for employment, education, health, religion and recreation.
- Opportunity to re-invigorate the lower East City and knit it together with Woodstock and District Six for cultural and economic vibrancy.

Constraints to be mitigated include:

- Hostile pedestrian environment; hostile wind; freeway and railway noise.

Appropriate residential and support facilities should enable low income families to thrive. A socially enabling environment requires:

- Facilities for multi-generational families and extended family groups.
- Support network for single working parent families.
- Easy, low-cost access to work, health facilities, education, recreation.
- Low-rent, small scale, work from home and mixed-use facilities.
- Communal multi-purpose facilities.
- Outdoor safe, social, sport and play spaces.
- Small scale, neighbourly clusters for safety and social integration.



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