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Evaluating the Impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme on Landlords and Backyard Dwellers in the Area

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Evaluating the Impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme on Landlords and Backyard Dwellers in the Area



Upgraded units in the backyard of old council housing in Zola
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Lutho Hopa

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Sciences (Honours) in Urban and Regional Planning Degree.

Johannesburg, 2016

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the Bachelor of Sciences (Honours) in Urban and Regional Planning degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University.

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(Signature of candidate)

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Abstract

Backyard rental accommodation is increasingly receiving attention from the state, urban planners and policy makers as one of the solutions to the housing problem in South Africa. The state in their quest to achieving sustainable human settlements, has through various policies and programmes attempted to address some of the challenges experienced by people 'operating' in the informal housing sector.

The Gauteng Department of Housing's (now Gauteng Department of Human Settlements) Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme was one of these programmes, set up to revive dead capital in the township by ensuring that property owners in Zola get the maximum use value of their properties in a sustainable manner. The Department through the programme upgraded approximately 500 backyard shacks in Zola. The programme however, did not have the desired overall outcomes.

This study is centred on identifying the rationalities of both the state who are implementers of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme, as well as, landlords and backyard dwellers, who were the target group for the upgrading programme. The research argues that the phenomenon of backyarding in Zola is best understood and explained through the perspectives and experiences of those who supply and those who occupy backyard dwellings and that often top-down state attempts at controlling and regularising such a complex and relatively functional housing sector could have negative impacts on both backyard dwellers and landlords, most of whom rely on income generated from this housing process.

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Contents

Chapter One 10

Introducing the Research 10

1.1. Introduction and Background 10

1.1.2. Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme in Context 11

1.2. Problem Statement 12

1.3. Rationale and Research Aims 14

1.4. Research Question 15

Chapter Two 16

Reviewing Backyard Rental through Policy and Literature 16

2.1. Introduction 16

2.2. Evolving Perceptions of the Backyard 16

2.3. State Policy and Legislation 18

2.3.1. Formalising through a Top-Down Approach 18

2.3.2. Policy Shift in Relation to Backyard Housing 22

2.5. Towards a Conceptual Framework 24

Chapter Three 26

Research Methodology 26

3.1. Introduction 26

3.2. Research Design 26

3.2.1. Understanding the Case Study Area 27

3.2.2. The History of Housing in Soweto 28

3.2.3. Settlement Characteristics 30

3.3. Sampling Procedure 31

3.4. Methods of Data Collection 32
3.5. Data Analysis 34
3.6. Limitations to Research 35
3.7. Ethical Considerations 36
Chapter Four 37
A View from Beneficiaries and Backyard Dwellers in Zola 37
4.1. Introduction 37
4.2. The State's Rationale behind the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme 37
4.3. Rationale behind the Supply and Demand of Backyard Housing in Zola 39
4.3.1. Landlords 39
4.3.2. Backyard Dwellers 43
4.4. Overall Outcomes and Perceptions on Upgrading Programme 47
Chapter Five 52
Analysis of Findings 52
5.1. Introduction 52
5.2. Identifying the Rationalities of the State and Citizens 52
5.2.1. Rationality of the state 53
5.2.2. Rationality of Landlords 54
5.2.3. Rationality of Backyard Dwellers 55
5.3. Outcomes of Top-Down Policy Intervention and Conflicting Rationalities 56
5.4. Conclusion 59
5.4.1. Conflicting Rationalities 60
References: 62
Appendices 68

Appendix A: Guiding interview questions for Gauteng Department of Human Settlements 68

Appendix B: Guiding field interview questions for backyard dwellers (beneficiaries) 69

Appendix C: Guiding interview questions for landlords (beneficiaries) 71

List of figures

Figure 1 Locating Zola in the context of Johannesburg 11

Figure 2 Remnants of the past: old four roomed housing in Zola.....29

Figure 3 Graphic representation of housing typologies existing in Zola.....31

Figure 4 The materials used to construct the IBT backyard rooms seen above.....48

Figure 5 Seen above is the hazardous electricity connection and wiring extended from the main house 49

Figure 6 Cramped space inside the GDHS provided backyard provided with a hand basin which only supplies cold water 50

List of tables

Table 1 Summary Table of Landlords Interviewed 40
Table 2 Summary Table of Backyard Dwellers Interviewed 44
Table 3 Reasons for Choosing Zola and Housing Pathways 44

Abbreviations

20 PTP	20 Priority Townships Programme
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
GDoH	Gauteng Department of Housing
GDHS	Gauteng Department of Human Settlements
ZBUP	Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme

Chapter One

Introducing the Research

1.1. Introduction and Background

This research looks into the informal backyard housing sub-sector in South Africa. Crankshaw *et* al (2000) define this housing sub-sector as a uniquely South African phenomenon, although there are parallels with rental policies elsewhere that international literature provides. In South Africa backyard rental housing involves the erection of secondary structures on formally serviced sites for rental (for cash or kind) or occupation by tenants or extended family of the landlord (Watson, 2009). The backyard housing sector is one of the largest providers of alternative accommodation in South African cities for many local and internationally mobile groups who may not necessarily be looking to own property and are in search of affordable rental accommodation currently not provided by the 'formal' private market, as well as, those qualifying and non-qualifying households whose housing needs have not yet been addressed by government subsidy programmes (Tshangana, 2014).

This sector is increasingly receiving greater attention from the state, urban planners and design professionals as a solution to the current housing problem in South Africa (SA). Crankshaw *et* al. (2000: 854) recognise that in order to fully achieve sustainable human settlements in SA the conditions in the backyard accommodation sector need to be addressed. Previously in housing policy backyard accommodation received less attention and was categorised under the broad category of 'informal settlements' irrespective of some of the differences in characteristics and challenges (Lemanski, 2009). It was also often viewed as a housing backlog problem meaning that it was to be eradicated and eliminated in line with much of policy at the time which sought to "improve" the lives of urban slum dwellers.

Since 2006 the state has embarked on a number of backyard intervention programmes that seek to 'regularise' and 'formalise' this sector. These programmes have been viewed with great optimism by the state however, have had mixed attitudes from backyard dwellers and the general public which have often gone undocumented. Thus, the aim of this research is to

examine and document the lasting impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme (ZBUP) on affected backyard dwellers in the area.

1.1.2. Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme in Context

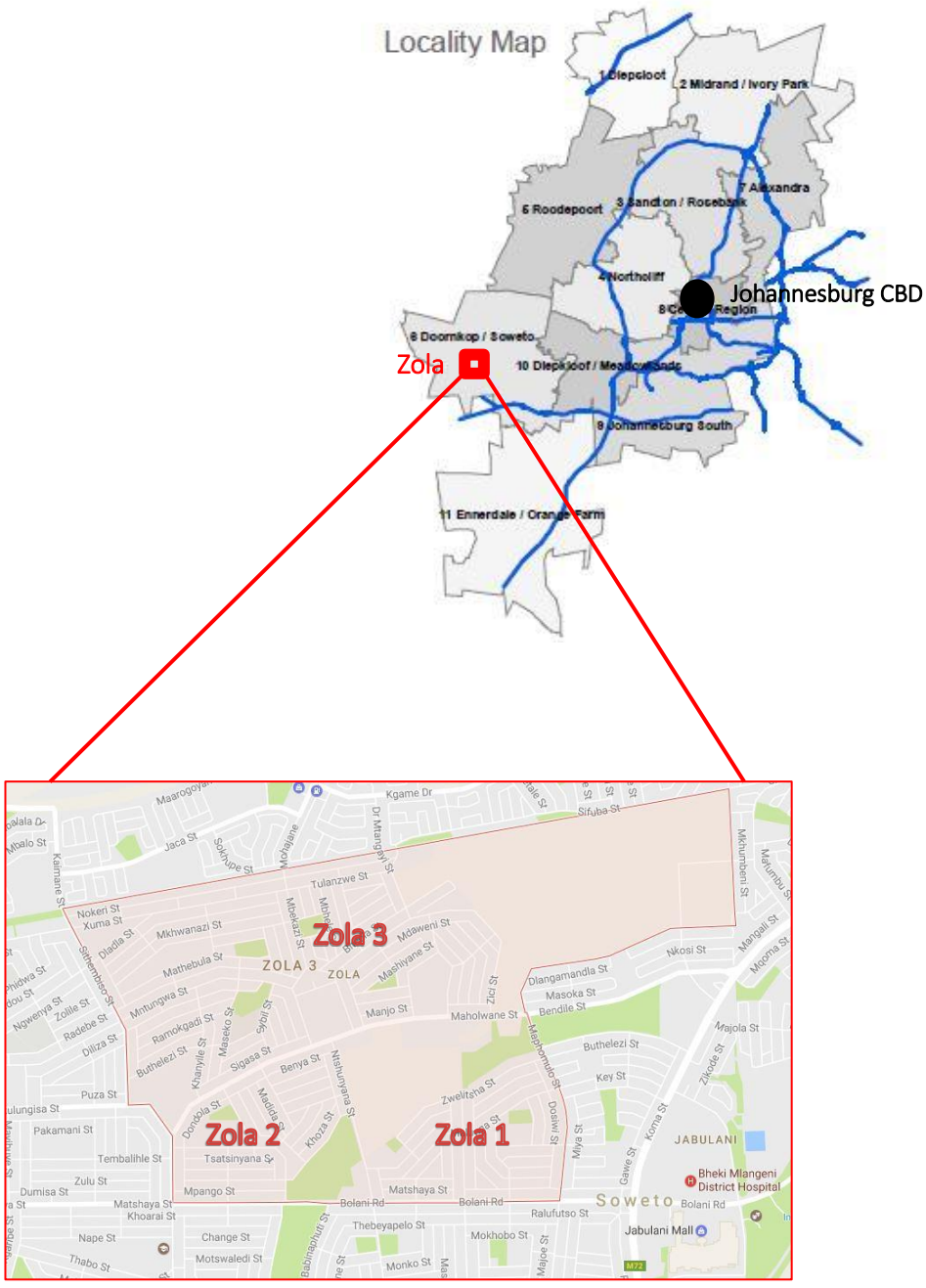


Figure 1 Locating Zola in the context of Johannesburg

Zola also known as 'Mzambiya' or 'Mashona' is located approximately 26km south-west of the Johannesburg central business district in one of South Africa's oldest townships, Soweto. Soweto Township lies within Region D of the City of Johannesburg's seven administrative regions with Zola administered under Wards 51 and 46 respectively. Made up of 11 496 households the township covers a total area of approximately 3.91 km^2, with a recorded population of 44 777 in 2011 (Quantec, 2016).

The township lies in the western part of Soweto and is bordered by the neighbouring townships of Jabulani, Moletsane, Tladi, Naledi, Emndeni and Dobsonville.

The Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme was a pilot project rolled out as part of the Gauteng Provincial Government's 20 Prioritised Townships Programme (20PTP) in 2005 under the leadership of then Housing MEC Nomvula Mokonyane. This programme was aimed at improving the lives of the people living in 20 identified townships by means of social and economic infrastructure. Other areas which benefitted from backyard upgrading interventions included other old townships like Atteridgeville in Tshwane, Golden Gardens in the Vaal and in Orlando which is also located in Soweto, Johannesburg (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2008).

At its core the backyard upgrading pilot project, under the 20 PTP sought to ensure that: informal backyard structures are eradicated and are replaced by more formal structures that comply with the provinces minimum norms and standards, to regularise landlord-tenant relationships through formal lease agreements, provide secondary services to service the backyard dwellings while also acting as an enabling economic tool to augment household incomes and ultimately testing backyarding as an alternative form of rental accommodation (Gauteng Provincial Government, 2008: 5).

1.2. Problem Statement

The state has been highly focused on formalising and regularising the backyard housing sector and informality in general through what Watson (2009: 20) terms the "stick approach[1]". This

[1] The stick approach according to Watson (2009) is a technocratic approach to policy interventions that seeks to regulate and control the informal sector through supressing its growth, without considering the impacts it would have on the daily lived experiences of those affected and the ability of municipalities to enforce such measures.

approach is aimed at regulating and controlling the informal backyard housing sub-sector even in areas where it is functioning well with very little need for state intervention beyond basic services and infrastructure. As noted by Shapurjee and Charlton (2013) backyard housing juxtaposed with formal state housing represents a contradiction to the state's aims of creating an orderly and acceptable formal housing environment. This is because backyard housing is generally perceived as representing disorder and often viewed as unacceptable by both the technically rational agents of the state and "middle-class anxiety" (Murray, 2008: 16).

Current state approaches to alternative housing in South African cities have a general tendency of being blunt technically rational instruments of an invasive nature in communities where they are implemented. Even though well-meaning these policy interventions are often untactful in their approach to the highly complex, sensitive and often fragile social and economic nature of communities in which these alternative approaches to housing occur (Watson 2009). However, these "unregulated" and "uncontrolled" alternatives appear to be critical in absorbing the large numbers of urban residents moving into and between cities, as well as, those who currently are not accommodated by state provided housing initiatives and those not catered for by the formal private rental market. Allen (1999) in his *Worlds within Cities*, highlights the importance of a hidden social logic in cities, he argues that cities are not reducible to the movement of state politics and capital and that a deep social order and character is embedded within the everyday life and lived experiences of city dwellers. He argues that spaces in the city which from the outside may appear chaotic or disorganised are often much more stable than they seem from an outsider's gaze, he further asserts that it is these embedded nuances and unwritten everyday routines that should be incorporated into policy and the everyday sociology of cities.

Scholars such as Crankshaw *et* al. (2000), Watson (2009), Gardner and Rubin (2013), Sharpurjee and Charlton (2013) and Tshangana (2014) have through their studies analysed and revealed the importance of the backyard rental housing sector to the lives of the highly mobile urban populations in South African cities in their quest for flexible, affordable and decent rental accommodation. The South African Local Government Association (SALGA) through their documents have exposed the complexities of the backyard housing sector, as well as, some of

the nuanced experiences of different groups that make up this sector of housing (Tshangana, 2014; Gardner and Rubin, 2013). Most importantly is that these documents provide a framework to national, provincial and local government on how to more appropriately intervene and better manage backyarding housing in South Africa.

Bank (2007) lauds the Gauteng Department of Housing for embarking on a programme that recognises the backyard rental housing market as a viable alternative accommodation they should intervene in through upgrading, but however cautions against a blanketing approach to this unique housing niche in cities. Bank discusses that the backyard housing sector is a nuanced sector of housing and that experiences and needs of 'yard dwellers' in Duncan Village in the Eastern Cape are different to the needs of those in another township located in Johannesburg. He stressed that we need to understand how these spaces are actually organised and how each site functions as a site of urban social reproduction on a day-to-day basis. Even though the state has changed its tune on eradicating the backyard housing sector, in spaces such as Orlando East where they have intervened, more tenant households were displaced than provided for due to lowering of backyard room numbers (GDoHS, 2013), landlords lost income they depended on for survival and a civic Backyard Dwellers Movement was formed by those displaced residents due to poor interaction between the state and backyard dwellers of Orlando (Gardner and Rubin, 2013). It is then that the study at hand seeks to evaluate the impacts of state-led backyard upgrading as it is experienced by urban backyard dwellers in the context of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme. This study hence is focused on exploring the rationalities that influence people to reside in and supply backyard accommodation to see whether the state in their quest to upgrading housing in this market adequately considers the needs, aspirations and the variety of resources that influence policy beneficiaries' residential choices.

1.3. Rationale and Research Aims

Broadly, this research explores whether or not the states attempts at formalising backyard dwellings through state funded upgrading projects aligns with the needs and aspirations of backyard dwellers. Emerging from this the aims of the study are:

- Understanding how the state conceives the needs and aspirations of backyard dwellers.

- Understanding how possibly well-meaning measures taken by the state diverge with the varying needs and rationalities of backyard dwellers and landlords
- And ultimately understanding the outcomes of state interventions on citizens and policy end users.

1.4. Research Question

What have the impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading pilot programme been on landlords and backyard dwellers in the area?

Sub Questions

1. What were the objectives of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme?
2. What are the motivations for the supply and demand of backyard dwellings in Zola?
3. To what extent has the ZBUP improved the lives of backyard dwellers and landlords in Zola?
4. At what point do the aims and objectives (rationality) of the state through the ZBUP diverge with the current practices and needs of backyard dwellers and landlords in Zola?
5. What lessons does this programme hold for future backyard upgrading interventions?

Chapter Two

Reviewing Backyard Rental through Policy and Literature

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the literature and debates around the phenomenon of backyard housing. The literature will set out the conceptual framework within which the research is positioned. The ultimate aim of the chapter is to frame the phenomenon of backyarding in the context of shifting outlooks, debates and policy responses to backyard housing in South Africa towards a conceptual framework which identifies that conflicting rationalities exist from the conceptual stages of policy making to when they are finally implemented and come into contact with communities.

2.2. Evolving Perceptions of the Backyard

In township yards of major cities in South Africa lies a category of urban-dwellers which has for decades remained almost invisible and low on the list of priorities for urban development planners, the state and those unfamiliar with the country's townships. This category of urban residents is often referred to as a backyard dweller. Bank (2007) along with Rubin and Gardner (2013) agree that the reason for this low level of concern could be attributed to the fact that backyard housing in South Africa has for a long time been viewed as 'transitional housing' and is often included in the definition of informal settlements. Furthermore, Lemanski (2009) explains that low-cost housing policy and the non-delivery of basic services to backyard dwellings in South African townships have reflected a refusal by the state to acknowledge the permanency of this housing sector.

The assumption has been that the provision of low-cost government funded or subsidised housing would naturally make this "informal" housing sector disappear as backyard dwellers would move from overcrowded backyards to RDP settlements and other alternative forms of accommodation outside of the township (Bank, 2007). According to Lategan (2012), this is a

problematic assumption of this sector as we see the number of backyard dwellers in townships growing steadily. Since 1998, the number of backyard households in Johannesburg alone has grown from 150 000 in 2001 to approximately 253 429 households in 2011 and potentially a higher number now in 2016 (The Human Sciences Research Council, 2016).

The informal backyard rental accommodation sector in South Africa can be traced to the 1950s when there was a shortage of accommodation in close proximity to economic opportunity nodes and central business districts. Under Apartheid, black populations were contained in peripheral townships where access to land and property was highly limited and controlled (Crankshaw *et* al., 2000; Morange, 2002). In this context where access to housing and land was limited, yard spaces became commodified by "property owners" in the townships, giving rise to the phenomenon of backyard dwelling/backyard rental accommodation. According to Carey (2012) and Naidoo *et* al. (2012) backyard dwellings still today remain a primary alternative form of accommodation across the country's townships, particularly in major metros like Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane in Gauteng.

In the earlier years of South Africa's democratic dispensation, many viewed the longevity of this sector with great uncertainty and pessimism. Scholars like Morange (2002) saw the South African government as being too tolerant of the extensive establishment of informal structures and saw this as the state trying to compensate for the housing delivery shortage. The state's lack of decisiveness to either address or eradicate this fast growing sector she claims, was negligent and has contributed to the further development of the informality.

The shelter provided by backyard structures has been described by some as insufficient, unsustainable and detrimental to the overall well-being of its occupants. Morange (1999) states that backyard structures mainly consist of one or two rooms and are generally hazardously constructed from wood, corrugated iron and even cardboard. Furthermore, she states that these rooms are used for all living activities which include dining, washing and sleeping which poses serious health risks to occupants. The growth of backyard accommodation has also placed a huge burden on the infrastructure networks already established.

Contrastingly, recent scholars such as Lategan (2012) view the backyard rental accommodation as a very critical housing sector that needs more attention from the government and various other interests including the private sector. Also echoed by Carey (2012), Gardner and Rubin (2013), these scholars are confident that this market has the capability of relieving pressure from the country's current housing backlog and providing alternative and affordable rental accommodation for many of South Africa's urban residents.

While Carey (2012) views the quality of life and living standards of those occupying backyard dwellings as generally better than informal settlement dwellers it is important to note that in certain areas backyarding can lead to slum-like conditions. It is these conditions that Gardener and Rubin (2013) voice concerns: access to services, the quality of materials used to construct the units, densities in yards where they are located, the legality and the overall health hazardous nature of the dwelling units. Just like in informal settlements those living in backyard units often have no security of tenure as most of the backyard rental market's tenant-landlord relationships remain verbal and are not secured through written lease agreements (as stipulated under the Rental Housing Act) or any form of binding contractual agreement, making this form of tenure a very precarious one and often tenants are taken advantage of because they are in desperate need for accommodation.

2.3. State Policy and Legislation

State housing policy and legislation in SA needs to be tracked in two different ways: conceptually and chronologically. The conceptual discussion offers insight into the various approaches and ideologies that have informed state responses to informality and then help to demonstrate the motivations for policy decisions that have been taken over time. The policy discussion shows how the state's response to informality, including informal settlements and backyarding has evolved over time and the different motivations that were prevalent in each moment.

2.3.1. Formalising through a Top-Down Approach

In the realm of urban management and poverty alleviation two main approaches have marked organisational processes to policy making and implementation. On the one hand has been a tendency to de-politicise and centralise decision making, as well as, increasing the role and

power of technically rational elements of the state (top-down approach) (Healey, 1996). This approach is concerned with comprehensive externally designed solutions to planning cities. On the other hand has been an approach which calls for participatory decision-making and the involvement of citizens in the numerous and changing dimensions of the urban, this is referred to as the bottom-up approach (Pissourios, 2014). This approach is concerned with collaboratively devised support based interventions which require accountability on part of politicians and officials while also questioning the role of technical experts. These two approaches which are arguably at odds with each other are used in developing countries at varying degrees to address issues of city planning, informality and generally poverty alleviation. For purposes of this research the 'top-down' approach will be discussed and analysed in terms of responses to backyard rental accommodation and informality broadly.

Under a top-down modernist approach, planners, architects, engineers and state policy makers are viewed as the sole experts with the skill and capacity to decide the physical and social structure of settlements under the assumption that through their skill and expert knowledge society will be improved 'for the common good' and reflect the best interests of the public, with limited involvement of politicians and communities who plans are intended for (Hobson, 1999).

Central to the top-down approach are deterministic control systems and zoning schemes intended to regulate and maintain clean, efficient and highly ordered cities (Rojas-Caldelas, 2015). Master plans are often drawn up based on a particular set of enforceable values and an ideal urban form. Contradictions to this envisaged urban form are often dealt with through regulations and by enforcing these zoning and control systems (Hobson, 1999).

In South Africa, we see the top-down approach being utilised by the state in their attempts at formalising the backyard rental housing sector. The development and implementation of backyard rental responses are largely driven by the state and focus on the formalisation of backyard structures by means of regulating and controlling the backyard sector through top-heavy strategies such as enforcing building controls (Tshangana, 2014). The state also attempts regulating landlord-tenant relations through heavy handed enforcement of formal rental market legislation such as the Rental Housing Amendment Act. In some instances this is done by

implementing standardised uniform rental agreements across the backyard rental sector through various state devised upgrading programmes with little to no collaborative efforts with communities.

According to Watson (2009) the backyard rental housing sector is a sensitive self-regulating sector and the use of a heavy handed top-down formal rental market tactics on a vulnerable sector that reacts sensitively to forms of formalisation leads to increased vulnerability and results in displacement and gentrification of urban spaces. Robins (2002) and Lemanski (2009), stress that formalized living comes with an increase in costs (both time and money) for backyard rental accommodation providers and ultimately increased rental prices for groups of tenants who already cannot afford. Scholars like Porter (2011) also argue that the use of a formal property based approach, is a form of enclosure and dispossession because it ignores the real property use rights already being exercised by those providing and occupying informal property.

Under Section 26 of the Constitution of South Africa Act 108 of 1996, every citizen has the right to have access to adequate housing. The state, on the other hand, has the constitutional obligation of taking reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to ensure that this right is realised.

The state, through its various public housing programmes, has embarked on numerous projects in keeping with their 1994 commitment and 1996 constitutional obligation of creating universal access to “decent” and “adequate” housing for all South African citizens (Mwau, 2013). With the widespread realisation and recognition of the state's plans and commitment to delivering mass housing being outstripped by the demand for decent and affordable accommodation by the rapidly growing number of urban residents, strategies such as Breaking New Ground brought to the fore the need for the different spheres of government (National, Provincial and Local) to support the backyard rental accommodation sector and broadly informal settlements. In this light, the state acknowledges that poverty alleviation and access are not solely dependent on quantitatively delivering housing but rather facilitating effectively functioning formal and informal housing markets. Some of the programmes which resulted from this realisation have been the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme, Gauteng Department of Human

Settlement's Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme and the "Western Cape Province's Support to Backyard Dwellers and Informal Landlords initiative" (Watson, 2009).

At the core of these programmes has been the need to "formalise" 'low-quality' informal settlements (inclusive of informal backyard dwellings) by means of upgrading. Translated into more operational terms formalising informality for the state means regulating and legalising informal settlements with aims of creating secure tenure, improving service delivery and regulating backyard dwellings to ensure that this sector keeps to legislated minimum building norms and standards.

De Soto's Influence on Upgrading in South Africa

Arguably, policy and discourse on upgrading in South Africa echo Hernando de Soto's (2000) claims that poverty alleviation in developing countries operating in a market-led global economy, lies in the exchange and capital asset value of property within the formal property markets. In his view, growing poverty in the developing world is a result of the mass exclusion of populations involved in the informal economy (property and business) from systems of legality. In his book *The Mystery of Capital* (2000) de Soto states that informal housing and businesses are essentially economic assets with an estimated value of $10 trillion US dollars in the developing world, however with the lack of legal recognition for the informal sector this value wastes away as "dead capital". de Soto thus, argues that reviving this "dead capital" is only possible through the formalisation and legalisation of informal settlements and informal property rights, stating that this will not only enable the poor to use their property to secure credit but will also give title holders enforceable legal rights to represent their property and also generate wealth from it.

The regularisation and formalisation programme of informal settlements and particularly the backyard rental sector through upgrading are clear examples of de Soto's influence. In 2005 Urban LandMark reported that in older black townships which house over 20% of the country's population lies an estimated R68.3 billion worth of "dead capital", referring to properties that cannot be sold for various reasons (Porteous *et.* al, 2005). At the top of the list of identified reasons for this "dead capital" were legislative and regulatory constraints. Following from these findings, a number of programmes were initiated in order to revive township economies and

assist property owners in township to generate maximum capital 'use-value' from their properties. One of these programmes being, the 20 Priority Townships Programme which sought to rehabilitate economic and social infrastructure in 20 of Gauteng's older townships, former Gauteng MEC for Human Settlements Nomvula Mokonyane highlighted the need to revive dead property capital in the townships through a mass regularisation programme:

> "The intention (of the Gauteng backyard upgrading pilot programme) is to regularise the erection of backyard accommodation for rental and normalise the landlord-tenant relationship as a means of providing alternative rental accommodation while at the same time changing the current context of shack development" Mokonyane, 2009.

Most land tenure regularization programmes have been structured around two intertwined objectives: to recognize security of tenure and to promote the socio-spatial integration of informal communities within the broader urban structure and society. The case in point is a clear indication of De Soto's influence on institutional approaches to property reform and good governance practices in South Africa.

2.3.2. Policy Shift in Relation to Backyard Housing

Emanating from the Reconstruction and Development Programme's (RDP) socio-economic policy framework introduced by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994 the primary focus of the South African government since then has been addressing the socioeconomic consequences of the Apartheid regime. One of the ways of going about this was through providing qualifying citizens with state subsidised housing and supporting infrastructure. The Housing Act (Act No. 107 of 1997) clearly states the role of each of the 3 spheres of government in this regard. With the above policy and legislation, however, it was clear that the focus was on providing free-standing fully state subsidised housing with no clear way forward for backyarding which was already a widely practised housing phenomenon.

Of late, the South African government has responded quite positively to the growing need for affordable rental accommodation through various policies and programmes such as; the *Breaking New Ground: A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements*. In the *Breaking New Ground Strategy (A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of*

Sustainable Human Settlements) of 2004 which reinforces the vision and goals of the RDP and its subsequent and revised policies, it was recognised that backyard rental accommodation is increasingly becoming a popular housing option for a large number of poor urban residents and plays a big role in the overall private rental sector and residential property market (National Department of Housing 2004). BNG was one of the first state instruments to identify the need for the development of appropriate policies that recognise this sector as having a significant role to play in the states broad vision of promoting an integrated society and bridging the economic gap and divide through the development of Sustainable Human Settlements and quality housing as one of the first steps, while concurrently reducing the housing backlog.

It is widely understood that this strategy, even though limited marked a turning point in South African policy discourse on "acceptable" forms of accommodation and acknowledged the role that "informal" housing plays in housing the country's urban residents. The strategy was a shift in policy maker's mind-set's from the "formal" rental market, housing financiers and the government as being the accepted mechanisms for the provision of housing in our cities to embracing and incorporating the informal housing market which has been an invisible alternative to South Africa's housing response.

The Gauteng Backyard Rental Housing Policy of 2015 is a recent policy which moves beyond BNG by officially recognising and laying down guiding principles for the backyard rental accommodation sector (Gauteng Department of Human Settlements, 2015). Under this policy, the state recognises the need to develop the backyard rental accommodation sector as one that provides alternative and affordable accommodation while also promoting the containment of urban sprawl as a form of densification which makes effective use of existing infrastructure investments. Although outcomes are still to be evaluated this policy claims that it will establish focused state interventions that will improve this sector and ensure that it is well integrated into the broader residential property and rental market, through formalising and regulating the backyard rental sector. Policies such as these are a good indication that policy makers and the state recognise that the backyard rental sector exists and that it is here to stay.

2.5. Towards a Conceptual Framework

This section will discuss the key concepts used in the research and attempt to give working definitions of the concepts and how they will be used in this research.

The State-Citizen Difference and Conflicting Rationalities

The term "government" is fundamentally a socially oriented term and is usually associated with the will to improve and ultimately create a better world, society and a way of doing things and living. This common conception of government and the state resonates well in current South African state discourse where 'a better life for all' is promised (de Satge, 2014). It is then peculiar that programmes presumed to enable the realisation of this 'better life for all' often trigger resistance and struggle by locals and beneficiaries of these state programmes. Scholars such as Watson (2006) term this interface between the state's plans or development projects and their reception by communities they are imposed on the 'state-citizen difference'. This difference arises as a result of what she and many others like de Satge (2014) and Harrison *et* al. (2008) term conflicting rationalities.

Conflicting rationalities as argued by Watson (2003), here is understood to refer to the disjuncture between the state's means to satisfying an end; means which are often not value neutral, and the more fact-based rational decisions made on the lived day-to-day experiences by backyard dwellers who occupy these backyard dwellings and landlords supplying them. A clash of rationalities in this research is seen through the interface between the Gauteng Provincial Government's modernist attempt at regularising and formalising the backyard sector (through the backyard upgrading programme) and the actual needs and practices of backyard dwellers and landlords (those intended to benefit from the programme).

According to Watson conflicting rationalities can be understood to develop from situations and contexts characterised by material and cultural differences. Watson (2003) argues that planning theory which seeks to respond to diversity, difference and alternative livelihood strategies is still

unable to comprehend the very real clash of rationalities that often occurs when plans or development projects touch the lives and livelihoods of communities and households.

Policy makers and generally public administrations often respond to backyarding as a negative housing process failing to harness its potentially positive impacts. Responses to this housing process usually focus on eradication, replacement or remediation rather than support. In the case of Zola, the state, represented by the Gauteng Provincial Government saw that the means to addressing the backyard dwelling phenomenon would be through controlling building norms and standards and reducing densities, based on limited assumptions as to why people choose to live in backyard housing.

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter will outline the methodological approach used and procedure followed in achieving the objectives of the research. The term methodology as understood in this report describes the rationale behind the use of specific procedures and techniques (methods) of identifying, gathering and analysing data to understanding the research problem (Kallet, 2004). In identifying the most applicable methods to obtaining the data and reporting on the processes and impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme, the researcher considered the ontological and epistemic nature of the subject that is being investigated. The chapter will thus explain the research design, the sampling procedure, research tools used and the general limitations encountered while conducting the research.

3.2. Research Design

Research design refers to the strategy used by a researcher to integrate the different components of a study to ensure that the data collected during the research process sufficiently addresses the research problem as unambiguously and as logically as possible. This process is said to be the blueprint that ensures that the collecting, measuring and analysing of data collected during the research process yields the most accurate and comprehensive answers to the research problem (Da Vaus, 2001).

I took a conscious decision to conduct the study as a process and impact evaluation, to assess the overall intended and unintended outcomes that the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme has had on property owners and the tenants living in backyard dwellings of households that have benefited from the programme. Process and impact assessments are used to track the implementation processes, as well as, to measure intended and unintended changes that have occurred to a population of interest and to determine what these changes can be attributed to (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2016). An impact evaluation is usually done 8 to 10 years after the implementation process of a project. The case

study of Zola appealed to the researcher as the ideal case study area because the programme was officially rolled out in 2008 and will therefore give a better indication of what the sustained long term impacts of sometimes instrumentally rational state interventions have been in areas where these kind of programmes have been rolled out. Yin (1994) mentions that case study research is the best at bringing us to understanding a complex issue and can extend experience or add strength to what is already known through research.

The impact study on Zola was of an exploratory nature and was undertaken qualitatively. Creswell (2009) defines qualitative research as interpretive research that requires the researcher to interact with the subjects of the evaluation or research intensively. Qualitative research according to Killam (2013) and Yin (2011) is based on a subjective and relativist approach to reality, which requires a researcher to interact with people and to find out what meanings they attach to real-life events and experiences. According to Yin, the most important sets of meanings are those held by participants in an event or case study. He draws this ability of qualitative research to capture this meaning as a strength and more desirable than the meanings imposed by a research investigator in quantitative research. The decision to conduct qualitative research was taken due to the fact that, in order to assess change and generally to gain comprehensive knowledge on people's perceptions, the researcher needed to engage with the people affected by the programme intensively.

3.2.1. Understanding the Case Study Area

This section of the research design provides a background on the chosen area of study, Zola. The data has been generated through in-depth interviews with respondents, a review of documents and through observation. This section will briefly discuss the history of housing in Soweto (Zola), followed by an overview of the housing situation in the area over time.

3.2.2. The History of Housing in Soweto

Soweto, an abbreviation used to refer to the South West Township developed by then Johannesburg City Council (JCC) under the Native Urban Areas Act, holds a high level of historical significance to housing the workforce for Johannesburg (COJ 2007). The existence of backyard rental accommodation is closely linked to the history and evolution of the township. The township began as a shantytown known as Klipspruit, housing the increasing migrant labour force that had arrived at the time of the Johannesburg Gold Rush to offer their labour. During the 1930s, the demand for housing by the large number of natives (black people) migrating to Johannesburg pulled by employment opportunities grew considerably, leading to the establishment of Orlando; another township of Soweto which benefitted from the Gauteng Provincial Government's Backyard Upgrading Programme (Stadler, 1979).

In the 1940s controversial movement *Sofa Sonke* led by James Mpanza galvanised people to unlawfully occupy municipal owned land, leading to many squatter camps sprouting up across the landscape of the growing township. Between 1944 and 1946 the squatter movement grew drastically in size forcing the National Party's Native Resettlement Board to intervene by clearing slums and facilitating the government's massive relocations and housing scheme that saw a number of townships being developed along ethnic lines (Stadler, 1979). By this the Native Resettlement Board sought to establish social and political control in which communities could not articulate their concerns as a unit. Zola, which was set aside for Zulu and Xhosa speakers, was one of these resettlement townships established in 1956. Zola Township was created under the National Party's administration through a R6 million loan to the state from Sir Oppenheimer. The funds were to assist the state to build more houses in Soweto that would accommodate those displaced by forced removals from the inner city and those evicted from freehold townships developed on invaded land across Soweto (COJ, 2007).

At its advent, the township was characterised by four roomed state provided houses, also known as, “matchbox houses” that dominated the Soweto landscape. These houses which came as either detached or semi-detached consisted of 2 bedrooms, a living area and a kitchen. Although the character of the township has changed slightly since the dawning of democracy, the “matchbox houses” to some residents of Zola are a painful reminder of their landlessness, poverty and their desperate everyday struggles for survival. As measures to bar black natives from owning property and land, as well as, to reduce and control population growth and migration, laws such as the Black (Native) Laws Amendment Act, No 46 of 1937, Proclamation R293 of 1962 and the Black Communities Development Act, No 4 of 1984, were put in place. In townships, forms of tenure were limited to “deeds of grant” and “certificates of occupation of a letting unit for residential purposes”. These forms of tenure were precarious and could be cancelled by the township manager if in their opinion the person was not fit and proper to reside in the township (Constitutional Court, 2000).



Figure 2 Remnants of the past: old four roomed housing in Zola
©Meldrum, Soweto, March 2005 and Hopa, Zola, August 2016

Even with these stringent regulations the number of people moving into Soweto grew considerably overcrowding the council provided “matchbox houses”. These high rates of urbanisation accompanied by limited access to housing and land; due to the state ending their

housing scheme, led to the proliferation of backyard shacks throughout the township, as well as, in other areas of Johannesburg such as Alexandra and Tembisa. By the mid-1980s land invasions resurfaced in the township and the state had also failed to curb subletting and the presence of backyard shacks (Crankshaw *et* al., 2000). The history of housing in Soweto as briefly summarised above has contributed to the backyard dwelling which is now prominent in many yards in Zola.

3.2.3. Settlement Characteristics

With increasing migration of people from different parts of South Africa and the rest of the African continent in search of economic and social opportunities, provinces such as Gauteng are faced with great pressure to respond to the growing population's needs. The province's ability to absorb this population is challenged by a growing housing demand and the proliferation of informal settlements and other non-regulated structures. A majority of those who migrate to Gauteng's three metros (Johannesburg, Tshwane and Ekurhuleni) are usually accommodated in these informal settlements with those who can afford "better" accommodation moving to backyard rooms and shacks.

Zola is one of Johannesburg's sprawled and densely populated settlements made up of formal old stock government housing (built in 1956) and some formal and 'informal' backyard dwellings. By virtue of being located in Soweto, Zola is a product of the apartheid state's segregationist spatial planning. Since its inception, the township has been characterised by poor and inadequate housing, overcrowding, acute unemployment and generally poor infrastructure amongst other issues. Thus, the settlement over the years has seen the growth of backyard shacks becoming a major part of its landscape (CoJ, 2007).

The township is divided into 2 sections, namely Zola South and Zola North. Zola South is further divided into two Extensions 1 and 2, while Zola North is also referred to as Extension 3. The township is made up of a total number of 11 496 households, out of those households there are 7381 living in municipal houses, 2011 backyard dwellings, 26 flats and 79 townhouses (Quantec, 2016), Figure 4.4.a. below represents these housing typologies in Zola graphically.

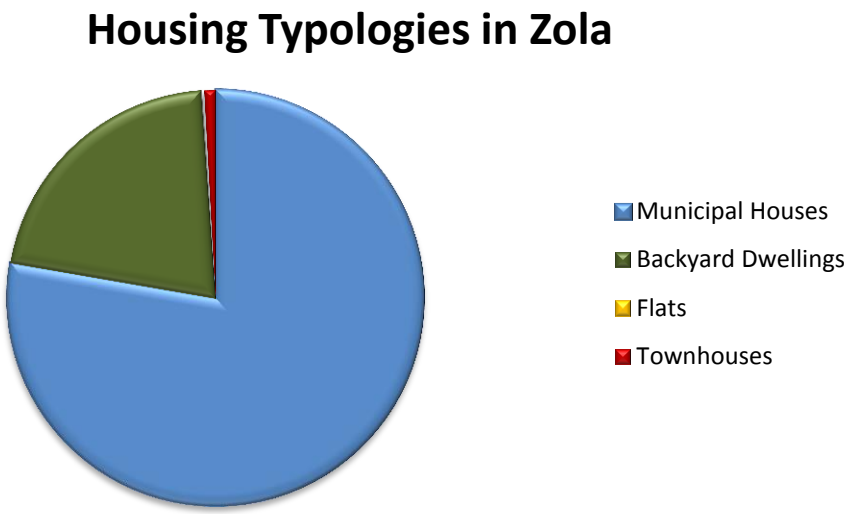


Figure 3 Graphic representation of housing typologies existing in Zola
Adapted from Quantec, 2016

Plot sizes in the area range between 220m^2 and 260m2, the main house taking up an average area of 83m2 with no improvements, GDHS Backyard units take up 29.92m^2 with each individual room taking up a total space of approximately 10.5m^2 (Gauteng Department of Human Settlements, 2015).

3.3. Sampling Procedure

A sample refers to a representative subgroup of a population whose experiences can be generalised to represent those of the rest of the population. In evaluative qualitative research this may include subjects with knowledge of the programme or topic being investigated, people responsible for initiating programme or those directly affected by it (Sarantakos, 2005). There are two initial approaches used in sampling, the random or non-random method. The approach used is determined by the research purpose.

During the course of the research, the researcher used the non-random purposive technique to sampling. Purposive sampling groups the participants or subjects based on preselected criteria relevant to a particular research topic or area of study. In this study, the non-random purposive sample was made up of officials, property owners and backyard dwellers who were all actors in

the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme. Non-random purposive sampling was used by the researcher because of its flexibility. This technique allowed the researcher to choose who to include and exclude in the sample and when the need arose more relevant informants were added to those who were enlisted in the initial sample (Yin, 2011). The added informants included landlords, a South African National Civic Organisation member who also served as a subcontractor to the construction company tasked with carrying out the upgrades.

The research sample was made up of policy actors and those affected by the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme. A total sample of 14 respondents were interviewed, this included landlords, backyard tenants and occupants, as well as two provincial government officials. The study was conducted through semi-structured interviews through which a series of open-ended questions were posed to respondents. The researcher adopted this approach because it provided both the respondents and the interviewer opportunities to discuss relevant topics in detail. Through the approach, the respondents were encouraged to engage in free flowing conversation and the interviewer had the freedom to probe respondents to elaborate on certain points they raised during the course of the interview. Semi-structured interviews according to Babbie and Mouton (2001) give the researcher an opportunity to establish trust, confidence and co-operation with respondents allowing them to probe even sensitive areas. Although an interview guide with set questions was used, the respondents were asked slightly different questions which all related to the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme and how the programme has impacted their lives and their experiences of living in or owning the upgraded backyard rooms.

3.4. Methods of Data Collection

Prior to visiting Zola, the researcher visited several websites, libraries and the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements to obtain primary information about the case study. Although very limited information specific to the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme was available online and in publications as the case study was part of the bigger 20 PTP, common grievances and issues were reported on the different areas where the programme was rolled out. This largely influenced what was then to be a second phase to familiarising the researcher

with the topic. This second stage was a comprehensive literature review the researcher did on the current state of backyard housing in South Africa, a policy review and review of relevant debates around the issue of backyard rental accommodation upgrading. This equipped the researcher with knowledge on the current state of this housing subsector as well as academic debates around the topics of conflicting rationalities between policy actors and the differentiated impacts of policy on diverse groups of policy beneficiaries.

Subsequent to the gathering of background information on the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme the researcher went on two site visits to Zola aided by a map, to familiarise himself with the culture of the area and to also identify sections where the backyard unit upgrading took place. On these two visits, the researcher attempted establishing rapport with the community by speaking to street traders and groups of locals who socialise on the street corners of Zola. Ebrahim and Sullivan (1995) argue that in order for a researcher to understand personal meanings and subjective experiences of the people being studied one needs to fully immerse them self in the culture and practices of the community at hand. As the saying goes "When in Rome do as the Romans do". The researcher attempted on these two visits to be as unobtrusive as possible and when asked what the purpose of their being there was, he was open and self-revealing. These, Ebrahim and Sullivan argue are the fundamentals of conducting research in an unfamiliar setting. They add that, this allows participants and generally the community at large to be at ease around the researcher. Familiarity can be advantageous in learning sequences and pathways that contribute to the meaning of a phenomenon as opposed to piecing together diverse clues about a people. Further, this allows the researcher to observe real and verbal behaviours of locals as well as allowing the researcher to acquaint himself with local slang, which can be used to formulate questions in a manner that resonates with the people being investigated.

After scoping the area on the two initial visits, the researcher went back to Zola on the 13th of August 2016 to commence interviews with the landlords and tenants of Zola 1. Interviews were carried out over five site visits to the area with a research assistant whom is also a fellow

researcher. Landlords were included in the study sample because they have knowledge on how the programme evolved and tenants because they currently occupy the structures.

3.5. Data Analysis

While data analysis to De Vos *et* al. (2005) is a process of bringing order, structure and meaning to a mass of collected information, Kerlinger (1986: 319) stresses the essentialism of interpreting the data collected, as this assists a researcher to describe the phenomenon and bring meaning to the final research product. Thorne (2000: 70) believes that, regardless of the approach, that qualitative research analysis involves the central tasks of "synthesising" common themes of people's accounts and descriptions of their experiences, "theorising" about why these common themes appear and finally "re-contextualising" or analysing your findings in relation to how others have theorised the phenomenon before.

During the initial stages of the vertical processing of data, information collected from individual interviews during the study was transcribed onto a computer software (Microsoft Word). In this software, a spreadsheet was created to synthesise and divide the data into common themes, where the researcher identified similarities and differences amongst the study sample relating to responses given during interviews as well as factors such as age and gender of respondents. Strict confidentiality was applied as the files could not be accessible to anyone else but the researcher unless legitimate circumstance arose.

The horizontal stages of processing the data involved a tabulation of the thematised and synthesized data along with a series of quotes from respondents. The researcher at this stage separated the relevant information, sought divergent perspectives and tabulated the relevant information into segments using phrases, sentences and quotes (Creswell, 2009). This stage was conducted in order to ensure that information relevant to the research question, sub questions as well as and overall the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme as experienced by respondents was adequately recorded to progress to the final chapter of the research.

Because qualitative research in its nature is conversational, it was important for this research to maintain clear boundaries between responses given by respondents and what is reported in this final product. To maintain the quality and accuracy of information reported without

compromising researcher-respondent confidentiality while also giving a personal feel to the research, respondents names used in the report are not the real names of participants.

3.6. Limitations to Research

The sample size to this research is a limitation because the information gathered is not a full representation of the case study. The size of the sample became problematic for me when I needed to allocate themes to the findings and ultimately coming up with conclusions from the themes.

A further limitation to the research was translating my questionnaires written in English to isiZulu. I attempted making the interview questions as simple as I could but however had to translate in most cases. The issue was that some terminology used was not easily translatable to isiZulu and in two cases I had to ask questions by giving examples. This may have constrained responses by participants because the questions had were leading the respondents to an answer.

Participants were reluctant to answer questions, being recorded and having pictures taken of their properties. Some were aware that erecting or constructing new shacks in their yards is in breach of their agreement with the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements, which stipulated that they should not construct backyard shacks once they are built units by the department.

It is also worthy to note that setting up meetings with officials and receiving clearance from the GDHS was a tedious process for the researcher as there was a lot of postponing, non-response to emails and on countless visits to the Region D CoJ municipal offices located in Jabulani two streets away from Zola none of the officials I spoke to had any idea of what was happening with the project. The researcher was referred to the Governance head in the region who attempted making calls to other officials, councillors were said to be attending at school and the only councillor who could assist was late. This is seen as a limitation because to gain an in-depth understanding of the case study the researcher needed to speak to officials who were directly involved with the implementation processes of the programme.

3.7. Ethical Considerations

As it is understood in this research ethics are morals, principles and norms which guide us when conducting research. I took into consideration that this study involved people who in some cases might be “deprived” it was assumed that this may have led to expectations by some of the respondents. I therefore during my research did not raise expectations of respondent households or promise them any form of compensation for participating. It was made clear that the purpose of the research was for an academic project.

The respondents’ rights to privacy and anonymity were respected and it was made clear that participation was voluntary and respondents could at any point end interview, if they felt uncomfortable with carrying on. Respondents were also given the option of signing consent forms which will serve as a record of their participation in the study. Where work that is not my own is used including photographs, written work and/or maps I have acknowledged the authors.

Chapter Four

A View from Beneficiaries and Backyard Dwellers in Zola

4.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces key findings that have emerged from the research process. The interviews were conducted qualitatively to explore the long-term impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme on backyard dwellers and property owners in Zola, as well as, to understand how state actors perceive and conceptualise the backyard rental-housing phenomenon.

The chapter presents the combined findings of three different groups of people, government officials, landlords and backyard dwellers. Findings from government officials along with Gauteng Department of Human Settlements project plans were used here to give a background of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme as well as to state some of the objectives of the programme. The findings also present information gained from backyard dwellers and landlords, who may not necessarily experience backyard dwelling the same but who have both been impacted by the upgrading programme.

4.2. The State's Rationale behind the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme

The Zola pilot project for upgrading and formalising backyard dwellings was initiated by the Gauteng Department of Housing, which has subsequently come to be known as the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements (GDHS), in 2009. The programme according to GDHS officials interviewed was part of the 20 PTP aimed at providing and rehabilitating social and economic infrastructure in twenty of the province's old and marginalised townships within all four major municipalities in Gauteng. Orlando East, in Soweto was the first area where the backyard rental accommodation upgrading was piloted, followed by Zola, Soweto; Atteridgeville in Tshwane and Golden Gardens in the Sedibeng Region. According to officials, the primary concern of the programme in Zola was to address the development of shack structures in backyards of council houses . There was also a concern that existing permanent structures built by residents infringed

on municipal bylaws and building regulations. The rolling out of the programme was also accompanied by the issuing of freehold title deeds to beneficiaries of old council owned houses in Zola. This meant that "their houses are now no longer owned by the municipality" (Official 1).

The programme involved the GDHS entering into an agreement with homeowners. The conditions laid out by the GDHS were that in order to be build, the new structures owners had to be a title deed holder and had to take down their existing shack structures before the contractors installed the new units. However, based on the researcher's observations this agreement was not abided by, as it was noted in one of the yards there were still three shacks filled the relatively small yard at both the front and back, two of the shacks flanked the structure built by the GDHS on both ends. This was not an isolated incident as I observed that many property owners continue to erect shacks in Zola. This is a reflection of the difficulty faced in enforcing highly technocratic restrictions on a self-regulating and highly complex housing sector such as backyarding.

Further, officials attributed the need to intervene and curb the growth of informal backyard dwellings because they infringe on municipal bylaws; the officials stressed that this applies to both brick and mortar structures and those constructed of corrugated iron, as well as, the issue of overcrowding bulk infrastructure systems and the electricity grid.

> "The challenge with backyard dwellings is that they don't follow municipal by laws and I don't want to draw a distinction between shacks and permanent structures. But, either one in most black townships don't follow by laws…where as you'd have certain requirements you need to satisfy before building. You would find that a space that would normally have accommodated two or three structures accommodating a lot more. When you look at old townships like your Zola, they were built under the apartheid system. Bulk infrastructure was to accommodate a certain population but with us putting all those backyard shacks, we overload and overcrowd the system. Even electricity, it was capacitated to cater for a certain population. When we put backyard structures as communities we don't take that into cognisance" (Official 1, 2016).

Underlying the intervention was also the need to stimulate economic growth and create a regulated but still profitable backyard rental accommodation market in Zola. People who were

beneficiaries of the programme were to use these newly built structures for income generation; this according to Official 1 was because the majority of people the department identified in Zola were pensioners living with unemployed family members.

> "Our rationale was that if we give 'uLutho' these backyard units and he rents them out, they serve as a source of income because one thing we discovered with our initial study evaluating Orlando East was that most of these people who had received titles from the department were either the elderly or most of the family members are unemployed. So this we thought would serve as a form of economic stimulation" (Official 1, 2016).

4.3. Rationale behind the Supply and Demand of Backyard Housing in Zola

All respondents interviewed and encountered in the research process recognise the need for low-cost backyard accommodation in Zola.

On the one hand, the research findings reveal two recurring reasons for landlords supplying backyard accommodation in Zola. Firstly being a need for additional space and to ease overcrowding in the main house and the other being a financial motivation of generating an income for sustain their families.

On the other hand backyard dwellers, gave three motivations for why they demanded backyard housing in Zola. These being; proximity to jobs and work opportunities, secondly the quality and affordability of the units provided and the third being a widely shared one, was that it is home (they were born and raised in the particular house).

4.3.1. Landlords

This section of the chapter presents findings from the sample of landlords that participated in the research process. Over the series of five site visits, the researcher managed to interview landlords from 6 single female headed households. Respondents were made up of first and second-generation beneficiaries of the old apartheid four-roomed council houses, with little or

no 'improvements'[2] done to the structures. It is interesting to note that the same families have occupied these houses since they were built in 1956.

Five out of the six landlords stated being unemployed and one respondent is employed as a domestic worker in Lenasia. Two out of the five unemployed landlords are pensioners aged 67 and 82. The first generation beneficiaries of these council houses stated that they were living with their children and grandchildren. The number of people in each household ranged from 2 to 6 adults and from 1 to 7 children. Second-generation beneficiaries are those who inherited the houses from their deceased parents or relatives and still occupy the structures. A summary of profiles of the sample of landlords interviewed can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Summary Table of Landlords Interviewed

Landlord	Age	Occupation	No of People Living in Household	
			Adults	Children
Gabisile	36	Unemployed	2	1
Sindile	48	Job Seeker	2	1
Mam'Nonhlanhla	53	Employed	6	5
Madlomo[3]	82	Pensioner	3	2
Florinah	32	Self-Employed	4	7
Mam'Maphumulo	67	Pensioner	2	3

[2] Many of the houses in Zola still maintain the apartheid style low-cost, four-roomed, forty-square-metre structures, with little to no extensions or improvements done. There is a variety of detached and semi-detached structures consisting of 2 bedrooms, a kitchen and a dining/living room.

[3] 82-Year-old Madlomo is a first-generation beneficiary of the four-roomed house the researcher interviewed her in, she moved to the area in the 1950s with her late husband uDlomo. Madlomo and her husband were one of the first people to be moved into the area from Moroka where they had been staying with her in-laws. This occurred under the Johannesburg City Council's resettlement strategy discussed in Chapter 4.

Accommodating Family Members

Property owners cited overcrowding in their four-roomed houses as well as privacy as their main reasons for accommodating family members in their backyard units. Second-generation beneficiary and landlord Gabisile emphasized the need for privacy for her and her daughter as well as, the fact that this was a family house. A family house to respondents, referred to a house that was inherited from first generation beneficiaries of the council housing programme in 1956, and the owner has since passed on. When probed by the researcher on who in her opinion should live in the upgraded backyard units, the respondent said:

> "Our parents left us the house. So, this is a family house and the units are in the family yard so, I think family should stay in them. My brother does not work so how will he pay rent? And besides my daughter and I need our privacy, my brother is an adult male who at times will bring his girlfriend over. The rooms also help us avoid fighting because there I can't tell him who to bring in or not to bring in" (Gabisile, 2016).

Another respondent and jobseeker, Sindile plans on evicting her tenant once she finds employment and allowing her daughter to move into the one room that she is currently renting out. A family member currently occupies the second room. When asked if she would carry on renting her backyard room out in future and why? Sindile argued:

> "No you see if I could get a job! I will allow my child to move into the one room. The money we make from renting out the room helps us patch up here and there, because my brother is the only one working in the house. But when I get a job there will be no need for that extra cash coming from renting our room out" (Sindile, 2016).

Amongst the reasons given by property owners was also the need for additional rooms needed to ease overcrowding in the main house where 53 year-old domestic worker Mam'Nonhlanhla lives with her three daughters, her younger brother, her nephew and 5 grandchildren. Mam'Nonhlanhla and her siblings; who now have their own houses, inherited the family home from her late parents. Before the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme, Mam'Nonhlanhla had two shack structures in her yard and since the programme has had to take down the shacks, where her younger brother and nephew stayed. The two males now occupy the newly built

structures. Nonhlanhla stated that it would be 'culturally' inappropriate for her brother and nephew to stay with them in the main house. She stated firstly that the brother and nephew are males in a household with many females. Secondly she mentioned that it is common for young males in Zola to move out of the house once they reach the age of eighteen and either find themselves a job and a place to stay or they are accommodated in backyard shack structures or rooms.

Generating Income

Renting out backyard rooms for Sindile and Madlomo, two out of the six respondents represents an income-generating strategy. For these two women renting out backyard rooms contributes to the general household income. Madlomo relies only on her old-age pension grant of R1 520 she receives monthly from The South African Social Security Services (SASSA) and meagre contributions from her late brother's daughters. Jobseeker Sindile has been forced by her economic vulnerability of not being able to secure a permanent job due to her low skills level to rent out one of the newly built rooms.

Increased vulnerability can also be a result of unexpected household shocks such the death of a breadwinner, which can ultimately affect decision-making and a household's livelihood strategies. This is the case with Madlomo who has been a landlord since 1983. Even though her reasons for renting out backyard rooms were as she stated:

> "I saw everyone renting rooms out. And I decided to rent out, and I built a shack" (Madlomo, 2016).

The death of her only son who was the breadwinner has negatively affected her household and as a result, she is considering building a new shack structure to rent out in her backyard. When the researcher asked Madlomo if she would carry on renting her rooms out she responded by saying:

> "Ewe tyhini (Yes of course)! I have no mother or father I am alone. I am worried about my son who passed away because he was the provider. We buried him recently, two weeks back. He was involved in a car accident in Mpumalanga. Now I am left with my brother's children he also passed away, he stayed in Molapo. Its three girls, my brother gave them to me to raise. I will get that R1000 even

> though I do not see where it goes it patches here and there. Even when I die they should carry on renting out" (Madlomo, 2016).

As the findings reveal, the provision of backyard accommodation in Zola is mainly a response to household circumstances and as an income-generating strategy for some households, while for others it can serve other uses. In one household consisting of two backyard structures, one provided by the GDHS with the 2 rooms, a toilet and a shower while the other is a newly built permanent structure by the property owners. As a means of capitalising on income generation, the household trades in alcohol and offers entertainment. According to the property owner interviewed, the self-built permanent structure is used as a "beer hall"[4] where customers are served their beverages. The GDHS rooms take on two uses, where one of the rooms is occupied by a family member the other is used as a storage for beer crates. In the room the researcher also observed two large fridges where the beverages are stored, meaning that the room also serves as a storage unit.

4.3.2. Backyard Dwellers

This section presents findings from the sample of backyard dwellers currently occupying the GDHS provided backyard units in Zola. The sample consisted of six female backyard dwellers; not from the same yards as landlords interviewed above. Two of the respondents mentioned that they come from other areas outside of Zola while the other four respondents are family and extended family members of the property owners who have stayed in the area for extended periods of time.

The sample of backyard dwellers was made up of females aged 20 to 43 years-old; it should be noted that the researcher did not purposively select female backyard dwellers as the sample. Four out of the five respondents are youth between the ages of 20 and 30, while one respondent, Khetha is 43 years of age. Of the total sample of backyard dwellers interviewed four stated that they were unemployed and two of the unemployed respondents mentioned that they are dependent on their partners, one being a construction worker and the other self-

[4] In black South African townships, a "beer hall" is a large room or building where beer is served and sometimes, offering entertainment (Merriam Webster, 2016).

employed, doing odd welding jobs around Soweto. The profiles of the sample of backyard dwellers can be seen in Table 2. below.

Table 2 Summary Table of Backyard Dwellers Interviewed

Backyard Dweller	Age	Occupation	Number of Dependants	Relation to Landlord
Lungile	27	Self Employed	2	Tenant
Ntombi	30	Unemployed	3	Tenant
Khetha	43	Employed	2	Family
Nomzamo	20s	Employed	0	Tenant
Jeanette	25	Unemployed	2	Family
Phumlani	29	Unemployed	0	Family

As stated in the introductory part of the section, the decision to live in backyard accommodation in Zola for the respondents is influenced by a number of household choices. The table below (Table 2) summarises the housing pathways of the respondents, as well as, their reasons for choosing to stay in Zola which will be discussed in detail below.

Table 3 Reasons for Choosing Zola and Housing Pathways

Backyard Dweller	Housing Pathway	Reasons for choosing Zola Backyard Accommodation
Lungile	**1989-2009** Home in Mpumalanga **2009- 2016** Zola Ext 1	• Partner found a job • Employment opportunities

Ntombi	1986-2012 Mnambithi in Ladysmith 2012-2013 Home in Zola Ext 1 2013-2016 Renting ZBUP Unit in Zola Ext 1	• Employment opportunities • Relatives • Starting a family • Partner found a job
Khetha	1973-2016 Home in Zola Ext 1	• It is Home • Overcrowding in main house • Privacy
Nomzamo	1990s-2015 Home in Protea-Glen, Soweto 2015-2016 Renting ZBUP Unit in Zola Ext 1	• Affordable Rental Costs • Quality of accommodation
Jeanette	1991-2016 Living at home in Zola Ext1	• It is Home • Overcrowding in main house • Privacy
Phumlani	1987-2016 Living at home in Zola	• Its Home • Overcrowding in main house • Privacy

Reasons given by respondents residing in the GDHS provided backyard units in Zola for choosing the area are a result of both social and economic factors. Table 5.3.2.1 reveals that for two of the respondents Khetha and Phumlani, Zola is home and because of reasons similar to the ones stated above; overcrowding and the need for privacy, these two respondents now occupy the backyard units in their respective homes.

Quality and Affordability

Tenants associated backyard dwelling with better access to services and generally better integration into the urban fabric than living in informal settlements and ongoing RDP developments that are located on the peripheral land. All tenants agreed that staying in backyard accommodation in Zola was more desirable than staying in an informal settlement or in a peripheral township like, “Orange Farm”. Tenant, Nomzamo, who moved from her parent’s

home in Protea-Glen to Zola mentioned that she chose to come reside in the area because of the decent quality of accommodation and affordable rental costs offered by backyard accommodation providers in Zola. The three tenants who were interviewed mentioned that they pay between R350 and R400 per month in rent.

> "I've been living here for 5 months. I'll tell you the real reason 'nna'…it's cheaper this side that why I decided to come this side. Other places like Glen where I am from I would pay R800 while here I pay R400.But any way its small." (Nomzamo, 2016)

For one respondent and backyard dweller Ntombi, the choice to reside in backyard accommodation in Zola was influenced by the need for a decent quality and "safe" environment to raise her three children in. According to Ntombi, living in a yard there is more vigilance and the responsibility of looking after her young ones is shared between her, the landlord and another backyard tenant who occupies the second backyard room in the yard. For Ntombi, starting her family meant that she had to leave her home, which is also in Zola, to go look for her own place to stay with her family, rather than to move to an informal settlement.

Proximity to Employment Opportunities

The findings further reveal that employment and job opportunities are a pull factor that brings people to urban areas and ultimately influences where they choose to reside. For Lungile and her partner the choice to relocate to Johannesburg was influenced by a lack of job opportunities in their home province of Mpumalanga. The location advantages of residing in Zola for her partner who is a self-employed welder are that he now has access to wider customer base. She stated that ever since they relocated her partner now does twice the number of jobs in a month while she also runs her hairdressing business from her backyard room, contributing to their monthly household income. Lungile's story is also interesting because moving to Zola has not only expanded her partners reach to more customers but has also given her access to new economic opportunities and income-generating strategy to support the households overall income.

4.4. Overall Outcomes and Perceptions on Upgrading Programme

The theme on perspectives on the upgraded units relates to the primary beneficiaries' experiences of the newly upgraded backyard units and their current living environment. All the landlords and some backyard dwellers interviewed in Zola expressed a degree of contentment with the overall GDHS backyard upgrading initiative. For the respondents the units represent a measure of goodwill from the government in improving their living conditions, while landlords also stated that this has given them the opportunity to provide decent and affordable backyard rental accommodation in the area. The programme has provided a degree of financial security for those who are unemployed and dependent on social grants. Landlords also mentioned that the programme has managed to restore their dignity and pride in being freehold owners of their council provided houses, as a result of the GDHS issuing title deeds along with the upgrading of their backyard shacks.

The landlords further cited that the Zola Upgrading Pilot Programme has allowed them to get a second housing subsidy and has given the opportunity to poorer households who could not afford to build their own formal backyard structures decent backyard rooms that they can rent out at a better price to supplement their overall household monthly income. One respondent had this to say when asked whether in her opinion she thinks that government should upgrade backyard shacks.

> "To be honest it really helps. Especially for people who cannot build for themselves. They're not too bad it's better than a shack. But let me say for those who feel they can't afford they should upgrade for them. But those who can afford should do it for themselves" (Madlomo, 2016).

Backyard dwellers mentioned that they support the state initiative to upgrade backyard accommodation in Zola, but some were quick to indicate that upgrading the backyard rooms has not satisfied their need to own houses. Many of the tenants indicated that they would like to own their own houses in the near future.

Innovative Building Technologies

As mentioned above, the GDHS substituted traditional brick and mortar building materials with what they term, Innovative Building Technology (IBT) materials (also referred to as Alternative Building Technologies) in constructing the overall structures. It emerged during the interviews that some respondents are dissatisfied with the quality of the upgraded units, as well as, the materials used in constructing the structures. There seemed to be a low-level of acceptance for these alternative building materials from both landlords and tenants. Respondents pointed out that they were unfamiliar with IBT materials and were not made aware of the benefits of the product when they were installed; this has resulted in many feeling as if they have received a sub-par product. Additionally, defects with the structures were pointed out by a number of respondents, these included plastering which chips off when it rains, a lack of ventilation in the rooms and the fact that the structures became too hot in summer because of the insulating aluminium sheets used. Backyard dweller Lungile had this to say:

> "The problem is the materials they've used, the silver thing that looks like foil make it very hot in summer and the material used to make the walls (polystyrene) bring ants. Then okay they installed only one window and there aren't any ventilators. But for these rooms the toilet piping was not done properly so we couldn't use it hence we carry on using the outside toilet and the shower has not worked since it was installed" (Lungile, 2016).



Figure 4 The materials used to construct the IBT backyard rooms seen above
©Hopa, Zola, 2016

Another issue raised by participants was that no electrical wiring connecting the main house and the backyard dwellings was done by the GDHS. According to Official 1, the provision of services like water meters and electricity metres was the task of the City of Johannesburg but was not implemented. This then meant that landlords had to provide their backyard dwellers with electricity themselves via multiple extension cables extending from plugs in the main house to the backyard units outside; all sourced from a single prepaid electricity metre within the house.



Figure 5 Seen above is the hazardous electricity connection and wiring extended from the main house ©Hopa, Zola, 2016

Unit Size

Amongst the issues landlords raised was that the size of the upgraded units are too small for them to rent out. The GDHS built backyard units are 30 m^2 including the bathroom, shower and the two individual rooms; and the size of each individual room is 10.5 m^2. According to the participants, potential tenants in Zola are discouraged from renting by the size of the rooms. In one of the units (shown in Figure below) the researcher observed that a queen sized bed with a dressing table fill up the whole room. Backyard dwellings serve a number of uses for their occupants these include cooking, sleeping and other activities such as bathing, which the units do not have sufficient space for.

"Well for me the only issue is the size and obviously the toilet and shower issue but otherwise the rooms are very helpful to us. But I have heard that they are rebuilding new rooms now using brick in Zola 3. They told me they would comeback demolish these ones and build new ones from scratch. So I signed up for it. I also hear people complain about cleanliness and ants but I think it depends on how clean you as a person are" (Mam'Maphumulo, 2016)

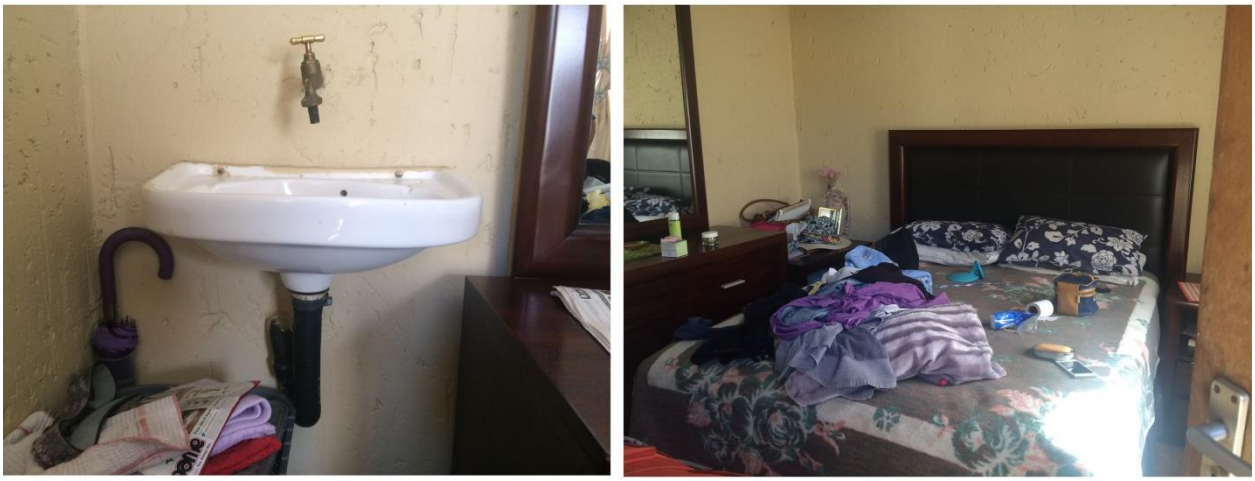


Figure 6 Cramped space inside the GDHS provided backyard provided with a hand basin which only supplies cold water
©Hopa, Zola, 2016

Community Engagement

Another emerging issue that surfaced from the interviews conducted was poor community engagement and participation in the implementation process of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme. Five out of the six landlords interviewed mentioned that they were not made officially aware of the project with one respondent stating that they heard from their neighbour who is a municipal worker that the 'government' was giving people second subsidies for the construction of backyard rooms and that if they wanted to be allocated one they would have to go sign up at the Zola Projects Office. Beneficiaries also stated that they were not aware that these new rooms would be constructed from alternative building materials, the benefits of using IBT and how one goes about maintaining the structures and or extending it for additional space. Two of the landlords had this to say when asked by the researcher: "How did you get these backyard rooms? What processes did you follow?"

> "They came here and said they wanted title deeds and we gave them and they also took a copy of my ID. They did not tell us why they were building us the rooms" (Nonhlanhla, 2016).

> "Our neighbours told me that if we wanted a backyard rooms that government was building; it was a second subsidy, we could go and sign up for it at the projects office. They then had a show house we could go view but it even has a 'braaing' place which as you can see none of our rooms have. The doors here are even different from the show house" (Khetha, 2016).

Maintenance Issues

Another issue raised was about the low quality of finishes in the units such as the shower and toilet. All of the landlords interviewed mentioned that the toilets leaked from when they were installed and as such many have stopped using them. Landlords further mentioned that complaints are lodged at the Zola Projects Office and for more minor issues like the shower there is an emergency number that the landlord or tenants can call. Landlords and backyard dwellers mentioned that the emergency number is often unreachable and requires them to have airtime to call. To verify this, I attempted calling the number which on two occasions was unreeachable. Landlords further mentioned that they often have difficulties reaching the number and that after technicians fix the showers after 2 or 3 days they stop working again, and as such many landlords and backyard tenants have resorted to not using the shower and would rather use the basin or a dish to bath.

Chapter Five

Analysis of Findings

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the findings that have emerged out of the research process. The research objective has been to explore whether or not the state's aims at formalizing backyard dwellings in Zola through state subsidies aligns with the needs and everyday household choices made by landlords and backyard dwellers in the area.

In South Africa, there appears to be a gap between housing policy rhetoric, literature and actual implementation characterized by inconsistencies, tensions, and problems. Amidst claims of housing policy taking a people-centred approach and being driven by communities they are implemented in, state policy interventions still seem to take a top-down approach. This is often seen through the disjuncture between objectives of these policy interventions and the needs and everyday choices of communities they are implemented in, revealing a conflict of rationalities between the state and the urban poor.

5.2. Identifying the Rationalities of the State and Citizens

This section of the chapter aims to draw out the differing rationalities that exist between the state and the landlords and backyard dwellers (citizens) of Zola. The rationality of the state here is analysed through the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme (ZBUP), while the rationalities of landlords and backyard dwellers are looked at through their varying reasons for supplying and demanding backyard accommodation in the area. Rationality can be defined as one's ability to be rational, being rational means that one can make decisions based on reason or logic (Flyvberg, 2009). For the state in this context, the ability to reason the means to achieving an ideal housing environment while for backyard dwellers and landlords the reasons behind their means to survive and make the most of the resource available to them.

5.2.1. Rationality of the state

The rationality underlying the states need to upgrade backyard rooms in Zola were claims of stimulating economic growth in the township, as well as, the need to regulate, control and curb the development of backyard shacks. The GDHS's assumption and that generally of South African housing policy discourse has been that people operating in the informal housing sector are an untapped group of economic actors and that by involving them in the formal market system through spatial means (such as backyard upgrading or delivering them state housing) will facilitate their integration into these formal markets, as well as, allow the state to monitor and control the growth of informality.

The GDHS assumption through the ZBUP has been that if it upgrades people's backyard units, property owners would naturally assimilate into the formal rental housing market and that the signed agreements between the GDHS and landlords would curb the growth of backyard shacks in Zola. The pilot project was aimed at formalising and "increasing the supply of backyard dwellings" by providing qualifying households with a grant to demolish existing shack structures and build new structures that comply with the provinces minimum building norms and standards. In order to qualify landlords were required to possess title deeds and to enter into an agreement with then Gauteng Department of Housing (GDH) committing to the following conditions (Watson, 2009) :

- To demolish existing backyard shack structures and not to build any further shack structures on their properties,
- To stay on their properties for five years before possibly selling them off and should they wish to do so, the GDH would have first right of refusal,
- To have their relationship with their tenants regulated under the Rental Housing Act of 1999,
- Should the landlord decide to cancel the lease agreement with a tenant then he/she would be forced to enter into a new lease with a tenant relocated from elsewhere.

5.2.2. Rationality of Landlords

There are two dominant reasons that have compelled landlords in Zola to provide backyard accommodation, firstly the need to accommodate family members and secondly as a small-scale subsistence strategy to generate an income.

Generating an Income for Subsistence

It has been identified in backyard rental housing literature, as well as by the GDHS, that landlords providing backyard accommodation are often women older and poorer than their tenants, providing rental at a small-scale as a survival strategy rather than as a profit maximizing one (Watson, 2009; Lemanski, 2009: 480). Gilbert et al. (1997: 140), Crankshaw et al. (2000) and Morange (2002) have shown through their research that rents charged by landlords supplying backyard housing are merely a representation of the costs to the landlord rather than a capitalist income generating strategy that seeks to maximize profit. This is the case in Zola where rents have stayed relatively the same in real terms considering inflation. One respondent interviewed mentioned that her rent has gone up by R100 since the ZBUP from R350 and to R450 (between 2010 and 2016), the increase was because of the improved structure and increasing costs of water and electricity rather than it being due to the landlord trying to maximize profit because of market-related factors.

Further, the need to generate an income for landlords as seen in the case of Zola is also a result of their economic vulnerability. According to the Gilbert (2003) landlords operating in the developing world are compelled by various reasons to rent out, some of these being a result of their economic vulnerability and renting for these landlords serves as a safety net against precarious employment, as a form of pension after retirement and old age, as well as a guard against sudden and unexpected household shocks such as the death of a breadwinner, which can ultimately affect decision-making and a household's livelihood strategies. In the case of 82-year-old Madlomo, the death of her son has impacted her household negatively and resulted in her wanting to build additional shacks in her yard to rent out.

Accommodating Family Members

In Zola, family size and the need for additional space appear to be of particular importance in determining when people move out to occupy backyard dwellings in family yards. The findings reveal that landlords are compelled to provide backyard housing by the need to ease overcrowding in their main houses. The average number of occupants living on council stands in Soweto, excluding backyard dwellers, is 7.4 and according to Gilbert (2003) one in five council house stands, averaging 220m^2, contains more than 10 people in them. Space offered by the 80m^2 in Zola is insufficient to accommodate many family members resulting in some members of the household sleeping in the kitchen or lounge. This can have negative impacts on family life and privacy raising the need for additional space (Lemanski, 2009). Given the high rate of unemployment in the township, the cost of extending the main house for landlords are far too high compared to building backyard shacks which landlords in Zola have ultimately done.

Becoming of age according to Gilbert (2003: 63) is also often an important trigger for residential moves. In Zola, it was revealed through the findings that once male family members reach a certain age it is no longer "culturally appropriate" for them to share their space with their female family members in the main house. Because many of them are still young, unemployed or are not financially stable enough to get their own place they are housed in backyard rooms at home where they do not have to pay rent as many still rely on their parents or in the case of ones who are working by augmenting family income through monthly contributions.

5.2.3. Rationality of Backyard Dwellers

Lemanski (2009) states that tenant /backyard dwelling households demand backyard housing for a number of reasons that range from agency factors such as; affordability, access to services, its locational advantages, tenure security and its flexibility, to more structural reasons such as the failure of national housing policy to deliver and meet the housing needs of growing urban populations. The findings revealed three agency factors in Zola, namely relations to landlords, access to services and affordability, as well as, employment opportunities and prospects (locational advantage).

Quality and Affordability

Backyard housing is often described as inadequate and generally being in a bad condition when compared to formal alternatives of rental accommodation, however, in most cases better quality and access to services than accommodation found in informal settlements (Lemanski, 2009). The findings reveal that the demand for backyard accommodation by tenants in Zola has been motivated by the need for an affordable and good quality living environment, with good access to services for people like Nomzamo who is in her twenties and for mother of three, a safe environment where she can raise her children.

Need to Save

As stated above some backyard dwellers in Zola revealed that they stay in backyard accommodation in Zola because they are related to the landlords. Resulting from overcrowding or the need for privacy, family members need to move out of the main house into secondary structures located in the yard. The benefits of residing in backyard dwellings at home for these backyard dwellers are fairly obvious. They often do not have to pay rent and therefore can save money to buy or rent property later or as was in the case of Khetha, to save up for her children's education.

Locational Advantage

The need to be closer to economic opportunities Lemanski (2009) identifies as one of the main reasons why many people choose to reside in backyard dwellings. She states that for new arrivals to the city requiring cheap accommodation close to employment opportunities are attracted to backyard housing. Although this she suggests indicates the temporary nature of backyard dwelling in Zola, it has provided a permanent base for some backyard dwellers like Lungile who has established a great bond with her landlord and has built her customer base in the area her partner can still use public transport which cost around R10 to move around the township seeking customers or doing his job as a welder.

5.3. Outcomes of Top-Down Policy Intervention and Conflicting Rationalities

Rationality in the context of planning, policy making and public administration overlaps with power; the power to decide whose rationality matters the most (Jonsson, n.d.). In devising

solutions and policy interventions to informality, 'power' often decides whose rationality is considered to be useless or marginal, in this case it is often that of people practicing informality. In top-down policy making planners and policy makers hold centralized decision making power, their reasons for their practices are often sidelined or not taken into consideration.

The top-down approach as discussed in the literature is the centralization of decision making and the external design of policy and interventions aimed at alleviating poverty and addressing challenges faced by the urban poor (Healey, 1996). These policies or interventions are devised and implemented by technically rational agents of the state who are perceived to be value-neutral experts in reasoning and deciding the needs of the recipient communities, as well as, the physical and social structure of settlements they live in, with little to no engagement with these communities' or their needs. The findings reveal that this approach was taken by the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements (GDHS) in their conceptualization and implementation of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme (ZBUP). Interviews with landlords and backyard dwellers in Zola revealed the lack of adequate community engagement and collaboration efforts in developing the backyard upgrading strategy.

Watson (2003) posits that a clash of rationalities is revealed through resistance and struggle by beneficiary communities, as well as, other negative outcomes such as the displacement of tenant households, which is revealed, took place in Orlando where the Gauteng Department of Housing's backyard upgrading programme was first piloted (Watson, 2009).

Although the ZBUP is well received by landlords and tenants in Zola the outcomes of the programme reveal a disjuncture between the rationalities of the GDHS and the landlords and tenants in Zola. The state's focus in upgrading Zola was on creating a controlled and regulated backyard housing environment by putting in place strict contractual and legislative obligations for landlords and property owners who benefitted from the programme. Community members have resisted these set conditions by the GDHS by continuing to build shack structures in their backyards despite going into an agreement with department which bars them from building any further shacks.

Contrary to the initial assumptions by the GDHS; a majority of property owners in Zola provide backyard housing to accommodate family members. According to GDHS officials, the department's initial assumption was that, because property owners in Zola are mainly pensioners, the backyard housing they provided would be used for rental purposes and that the structures would stimulate economic growth in the area and serve as a much more sustainable and decent form of backyard rental accommodation. This was however not the case, four out of the six 'landlords' interviewed mentioned that their children and in other cases grandchildren and extended family members occupied the old shack structures, and as a result they now occupy the newly built backyard rooms by the GDHS. Landlords in Zola have also made alternative use of the upgraded rooms and turned them into business premises. This is an indication of poor or nominal community engagement by the GDHS in identifying and engaging with the place specific needs and rationalities of backyard dwellers and landlords in Zola.

Further, the backyard upgrading programme has resulted in a reduction in the landlords' ability to maximize the amount of income they receive from renting out backyard accommodation. The landlords revealed that they can no longer rent out backyard rooms because the GDHS provided backyard units are too small (10.5 m^2). As a result those that are desperate to generate an income from renting out rooms are forced to keep rental prices at a very low amount to attract tenants (R350-500 as opposed to +/-R700 that other landlords in the area). The lack of beneficiary education on Innovative Building Technologies (IBT) has also left residents unable to extend their structures meaning they lose out on potentially increasing their rental income for those who want to or are already renting out. This can be seen as a negative outcome of the programme because property owners are also restricted by the contractual agreement with the GDHS from building any further shack structures. Beneficiaries had also made me aware that they were not taught or informed about the benefits of using IBT and how to maintain the structures.

Contradictions in the states rationality have also surfaced, the first being the claim that the programme will increase the supply of backyard dwellings in the area, the programme has in fact de-densified the area where landlords claim they had three backyard shacks and are now limited to the two-roomed units provided to them by the state. Secondly, GDHS was successful in

securing tenure for landlords of old council houses through the issuing of title deeds but has not enforced measures that ensure that tenure rights of backyard dwellers are secure. The GDHS failed to facilitate the process of formal landlord-tenant lease agreements that, is stipulated as a requirement by the Rental Housing Act which backyard housing is now "officially" regulated by. The Rental Housing Amendment Act 35 of 2014, regulates relationships between landlords and tenants. The act prescribes for the resolution of disputes to be handled by Rental Housing Tribunals set up in all provinces (South African Government, 2014). The act sets out a number of legal obligations for both the landlord and the tenant which are arguably unenforceable to the backyard rental housing sector which functions off verbal lease agreements and where both landlords and tenants are unaware of their rights and obligations. According to Watson (2009) providers of backyard rental accommodation share the sentiment that Rental Housing Tribunals and effectively the Rental Housing Act do not work for them and seen to not have 'teeth'. A third inconsistency is that no additional services or individual electricity metres were installed as was layed out in the plan.

5.4. Conclusion

This research report sought to evaluate the processes and impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme on landlords and backyard dwellers in the area. This section will reflect on the research project and will draw conclusions based on literature and lessons from the case study.

The research begins by problematizing the state's responses to the backyard housing subsector and posits that even though the state now officially recognises this subsector of housing as having the potential of contributing to the National Department of Human Settlements' aims of creating "sustainable human settlements", approaches that are taken by state policy are often top-heavy, technocratic and unresponsiveness to the actual needs and context of the policy beneficiaries.

Based on findings from the field and a review of literature and policy pertaining to backyard housing the research report has revealed that there exists a gap between housing policy rhetoric, literature and actual implementation. This gap has been identified to be the result of a

conflict of rationalities between state actors and those involved in the supply and demand of backyard housing.

In sum, the approach taken by the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements neglects to comprehend the intricate and unstable nature of informal backyard rental. Furthermore, it attempts to make it fit in with principles of rental accommodation occurring at a much larger-scale and for more formal landlords. The results of the pilots could have been anticipated ahead of time. Certain property owners benefitted twice from state subsidies (double dipping) and also raised rents used the structures to conduct business activities (Watson, 2009).The upgrades also left landlords with less rentable units meaning they were forced to raise rents to maximise their income. Extra shacks will most likely be built, agreements with tenants will remain being verbal, and houses will be sold casually should the landlord wish to move.

5.4.1. Conflicting Rationalities

The research identified that there are conflicting rationalities between the citizens and the state (state-citizen difference). Firstly the emergence of backyard dwellings in backyard yards of council provided housing is problematic to the state because it is unplanned, unexpected and poorly understood. The findings however revealed that this backyard housing plays a beneficial role in the lives of backyard dwellers and landlords. Secondly in developing and implementing the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme the state had intentions of creating an ordered backyard rental accommodation environment that could be controlled through state mechanisms while the community in Zola were merely making use of resources they have at their disposal to provide much needed accommodation to family members or tenants to help sustain their families and generating an income.

By analysing the needs and lived experiences of backyard dwellers and landlords in Zola the research advocates for greater understanding and engagement with the people who are planned for. Housing policy and practices need to be carefully and collaboratively designed from their perspective. The existence of backyard housing assists the state by increasing dwelling and population densities as well as providing cheap housing and stimulating “economic growth” in the townships. State policy and planning need to acknowledge household needs and in the

backyard rental sector and by supporting initiatives by households to provide housing for themselves and those whose needs have not been met through state housing programmes (Watson, 2009). Engaging with individual household needs can benefit planning in achieving its broader goals of social justice and planning for the public good and encouraging a more participatory and context relevant form of planning in low-income housing delivery.

This report does not attempt to give solutions for the persistent growth of backyard dwellings in township yards because of the complex nature of the problem. The report rather posits that by acknowledging the role that backyard dwellings play in the lives of landlords and backyard dwellers and in meeting their needs, more responsive policies could be devised to support the sector which will ultimately mean that the everyday challenges faced by those operating in this sector can be adequately addressed and implemented on the ground.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Guiding interview questions for Gauteng Department of Human Settlements

Project background

1. When did the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Project (ZBUPP) begin?
2. Could you please take me through the stages of how the programme evolved/was rolled out…?
3. Who were the parties involved in the rolling out of the programme?
4. What was the role of your department/municipality in the project?
5. What are the settlement characteristics of Zola?
    - Plot size
    - House sizes
    - Settlement layout
    - Services
6. How do you as a government entity that deals with housing view backyard shacks and generally backyard housing?
7. What were main issues in Zola the programme sought to address?
8. Please tell me about the beneficiaries of the ZBUPP. Who are they? How were they selected for the programme? What type of backyard housing structures did they previously occupy/own?

9. In your opinion does the ZBUPP and generally policy on backyard dwelling reflect the needs of backyard dwellers and how?
10. How did the state go about determining the needs of backyard dwellers in Zola?
11. How did the department ensure that the community was involved and informed throughout the project?
12. What was the reason behind state subsidised upgrading as opposed to regulating the sector?
13. What challenges have you encountered so far as GDoHS with the Zola Backyard Upgrading Pilot Programme?
    i. Immediate and long term
14. Soweto has a rich history of rental housing; has the GDoHS intervened in any other way towards backyard housing and backyard shacks in the area?
15. What lessons does this programme hold for future backyard upgrading interventions?
16. What do you think is the way forward to addressing the housing problem in Gauteng? And what do you think can be done to respond to the backyard-housing sector in future?

Appendix B: Guiding field interview questions for backyard dwellers (beneficiaries)

Name (optional):

Age:

Place of birth:

Employed or unemployed (optional):

<u>Background Questions</u>

Can you tell me a bit about yourself?

1. Where do you come from, where is home?

2. How long have you lived in Zola?
3. Why did you come stay in this particular area?

Housing choice

4. How long have you stayed in this particular unit?
5. Where did you live before?
6. Do you pay rent?

   How much rent do you pay?

   Has the rent amount changed since you came to live here?
7. What is your relationship to your landlord?
8. Are you staying here temporarily or on a semi-permanent basis?
9. Do you have a signed contract with your landlord? (lease agreement of any sort)
10. Do you have access to water and electricity? A toilet? Showering or bathing facilities?
11. Does your rent include water and electricity?
12. What amenities do you and your landlord share?
13. Why do you stay in this backyard unit and not somewhere else?
14. Are you aware of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme (ZBUP)?
15. Were you residing in the area when it happened?
16. Are you aware if this unit was upgraded or not?
17. Have improvements made to this unit affected your choice to come live here as opposed to any other backyard unit?
18. How have upgrades by the ZBUP improved the way you live? (For people who have stayed there before the ZBUP)
19. How much has your rent increased since 2008? (For people who have stayed there before the ZBUP)
20. How long do you intend on staying in this room for?
21. If given the opportunity to live elsewhere (in an RDP house or other accommodation) would you be willing to move?
22. Would you like to own this structure and if so, would you pay for it?
23. Do you think the government should upgrade backyard shacks?

Appendix C: Guiding interview questions for landlords (beneficiaries)

Name (optional):

Age:

Place of birth:

Employed or unemployed (optional):

Background Questions

Can you tell me a bit about yourself?

1. Where do you come from, where is home?
2. How long have you lived in Zola?
3. Why did you come stay in this particular area?

4. Are you the owner of this property?
5. When did you move into this house?
6. How long have you lived in this house?
7. Whom do you live with?

8. How many backyard rooms do you currently have?
9. Who built the backyard rooms?
10. What are the rooms currently used for?

11. Who currently lives in or makes use of these rooms? (based on answer to previous questions)
12. Who should live in these rooms, how many families or households?
13. What amenities do you and your tenants share?
14. Do the people using the rooms currently pay rent?
15. How much do your rooms go for?
16. What rules do you have for your tenants and how do you regulate them?
17. Do you have any signed contract or agreement with your tenants?
18. When did you start renting your rooms out?
19. Why did you decide to start renting your rooms out? Or why not?
20. Are you aware of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme?
21. What do you think of government upgrading backyard rooms?

    Does it work?

    Is it helping?

22. How do you make an income?
23. Where do you work?
24. How do you get there?

25. What issues do you face with backyard rooms?
26. What is good about backyard rooms?
27. Do you plan to continue renting out backyard rooms?
    a. Why?
    b. For how long?
28. How has renting out backyard rooms helped you?

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP73/24/06/2016

PROJECT TITLE:	Evaluating the Lasting Impacts of the Zola Backyard Upgrading Programme on Backyard Dwellers in the Area
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Lutho Hopa (Student No. 714089)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	BSc Honours Urban and Regional Planning
DATE CONSIDERED:	18 July 2016
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	APPROVED
EXPIRY DATE:	18 July 2017

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 18.07.2016

cc: Supervisor/s: Margot Rubin and Alexandra Appelbaum

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS
I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to endure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

_____ 20-07-2016
Signature **Date**

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