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Housing location and mobility: The impacts on livelihood strategies of the relocated communities in Braamfischerville

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

……..

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20th day of November, 2006

Master of Science in Development Planning

ABSTRACT

Peripherisation of new low-income housing developments is steadily continuing in South Africa. The major reason for this is limited budget of the government housing subsidy which does not cover the costs of land in appropriate locations. For this reason, finding well located parcels of land for new low income housing developments seems to be a problem. As a result the new low-income housing projects continue to be developed at the outskirts of the city where there are no services and far from economic activities.

The motivation for undertaking the study was due to realisation that it is not taken into consideration that beneficiaries of these housing projects engage in the form of relocations from previous places as such there could be disruptions on their livelihoods as a result of moving to locations which are assumed to be far from economic opportunities.

The aim of the research was to examine how housing location and mobility impact or have impacted on the livelihoods of relocated people in Braamfischerville. The focus has been on the two groups of relocatees. The first category was that of individuals who experienced displacement mainly as a result of being evicted from their places due to an urban renewal project that was about to take place in Alexandra, which in away was involuntary. The second type of people is those who changed their residence and resettled in Braamfischerville as a response to their housing needs and was out of free will.

Findings have shown that the impacts were not as severe as it was thought as people have been able to adapt to different coping strategies in order to restore their livelihoods in spite of location and transport being prominent and affecting the way people would make a living.

Conclusions were drawn based on the fact that the location of Braamfischerville is not so well relative to places of origin but there is hope that at a later stage services and amenities will be available and as the city grows businesses will decentralise thus giving opportunities to the people who are now at the peripheries.

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CHAPTER 1: GENERAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

"Low cost housing delivery in South Africa is largely occurring at low densities and urban peripheries where land is cheap, but where infrastructure and transport costs are often thought to be higher."
(Venter et al, 2004:1)

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Displacement and resettlement have affected many people across the world with social and economic implications at global, national and local level (Sorensen, 1996). He further shows that it does not matter whether people have voluntarily or forcefully moved. The main issue is that they have left their homes to settle down temporarily or permanently in a new area which may be different from their usual environment. It is further argued that in the process of uprooting and resettlement, a lot of changes in livelihood processes take place (McDowell, 2002).

A few writers have shown that access to well located land and urban or spatial integration still remains a challenge in South African cities and towns as much of housing delivered for the poor is not well located with respect to urban amenities (Charlton et al, 2003, Royston, 2003). This implies that most of the developments are at the periphery and at the locations which seem not to be favourable due to lack of infrastructure and long distances from the areas of opportunities and basic services.
The study focused on Braamfischerville which is situated in the southern metropolitan part of Johannesburg. It was established with the resettlement of the Marlboro 'transit village', Alexandra (Zandfontein) residents. It further grew as a result of other people who have relocated from Soweto and other parts of southern Johannesburg due to development of new Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing.

The present case study of displacement and resettlement concentrated mainly on development-induced relocation as a result of the Alexandra Renewal Programme. Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement (DIDR) is referred to as a type of forced migration, and refers to a situation whereby people have to move to make a way for infrastructural development projects (De Wet, 1994). However, other forms of relocation which were voluntary still involve residential change, hence they were also examined.

An assumption was that the location of Braamfischerville may perhaps be considered to be badly located for people coming from Alexandra and Boksburg as it is a separate area from their original places where they have established various means of survival. On the other hand it may be thought as a well located place for relocatees from Soweto and other areas in the south of Johannesburg as it is still within their vicinity. That is why the interest was on exploring the disruption caused by the process of relocation taking into consideration survival strategies, travel patterns and behaviour of the resettled communities in Braamfischerville.

This chapter serves as a starting point which indicates what the research report entails. It provides background to the problem and its setting.

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Although this was not the focus of research, first all of there was a need to have a view of the Johannesburg urban structure in order to understand why most developments have been and continue to be located in peripheral locations. The Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2003/2004 shows that the urban development is a result of Johannesburg's unique geological condition which is not stable and has divided the northern and southern part of the city, and the mine dumps, the slime dams and the mining belt has been hindering developments on the surrounding areas. Consequently, a mass of housing delivery is located some distance from the

main urban centres of activity due to geo-technical problems related to topography.

The basis of the argument was on the fact that mining lands can be regarded as one factor contributing to the peripherisation of developmental activities, including the low cost housing, so is Braamfischeville on the other side of the mining land. The mining lands are referred to as brownfields which are defined as “the vacant abandoned or underutilised property whose redevelopment potential has been compromised by the known or suspected presence of environmental contamination.”(Simons (1998:3). This area is seen to be unfit for human settlement or even if the land could be cleared of the mining dumps and the chemicals treated it would be more expensive to develop than the housing subsidy could afford.

Todes et al. (2003) add that there are other numerous constraints to well located housing projects. Among all the factors, high cost of land is the major factor constraining developments within the city. The land is not affordable for low cost housing thus the projects locate where the land is cheap. This is further exacerbated by the fact that subsidies for land costs are below the market value in well located areas. “Not in my backyard” (NIMBY) syndrome is another problem in the development of projects. Even when the land seems to be well located, it has been observed in many instances that the neighbouring residents oppose the location of low income housing near their areas basing themselves on the fact that the value of their property would be depreciated (Todes et al, 2003).

The assumption was that Braamfischerville is one such place which its location has been determined by the above mentioned factors. Since opportunities for social and economic contacts of the relocated communities from Alaxandra were in the northern part of Johannesburg it might be difficult for them to continue with their normal way of living due to very weak or non-

existing linkages between housing development and income generating activities. As a result they may become candidates for under-employment or unemployment. This was thought to be the case also for a relocatee from Boksburg, on the other hand a belief was that those who came from Soweto may have minimal disturbance of resettlement as Braamfischerville is near their place of origin.

As opportunities for social and economic contacts are geographically dispersed over the metropolitan area, there is a need to show that reasonable location is not just a function of proximity to employment, but also access to transport and transport routes and access to facilities (Venter et al, 2004). These being health, recreation, retail services, social networks as well as natural resources needed for the attainment of sustainable livelihoods.

The hypothesis was that the new location of housing does not meet the demands and expectations of the resettled communities from Alexandra and Boksburg as it is far and the opposite direction from their original place and does not have a diverse economic activities taking place. In this regard, the location is not suitable for those who have resettled to restore their livelihoods relative to the original places.

1.2 AIM

The aim of the research was to examine how housing location and mobility impact or have impacted on the livelihoods of relocated people in Braamfischerville. Mobility as defined by the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary is the ability to move or travel from one place to another. For the purpose of my study, mobility is taken to be accessibility, which according to Wheeler (1974:57) “refers specifically to ease of movement, or the ease with which one get from one place in the city to all others.” The study therefore

investigated ways in which locational factors and mobility may undermine or improve the quality of life of relocated people in Braamfischerville.

The purpose of the research was to further develop a better understanding of how relocated people in Braamfischerville make a living. The study focused on the relocatees from Alexandra, Soweto and Boksburg. It examined how households combine a range of activities to secure their livelihoods and to restore their livelihoods after displacement.

1.3 RATIONALE AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

People who have their existence or survival disrupted due to development projects constitute a significant category of displaced persons (McDowell: 2002). According to the Alexandra Renewal Housing Strategy 2002, residents had to be relocated to housing projects outside of Alexandra. Thus, over a thousand Alexandra families have been evicted to Braamfischerville settlement (Dale: 2004).

This was a development induced displacement as there was a renewal project taking place in Alexandra; Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP). Families had to relocate not out of their will but because they had to vacate the area because of the new developments coming to their area. McDowell, (2002) argues that displacement as a result of development projects has well documented impacts on institutional and livelihood processes as it has influence on people's access to and control over resources. Another group consists of those people who relocated due to desire to have improved housing and out of their will, which also was believed to have been affected in some way.

The study pointed that relocated people had been provided with houses as 'top structures' not taking into consideration that "housing is not just a house,

it is not even a neighbourhood. It is defined as including all the rules and processes which are involved in providing the everyday living environment." (Schlyter, 1996:6) and Moser, (1987) go on to explain that housing is not just the physical fabric of the house and the land on which it is built but also the wider area in which it is located. Housing is more than a house as it consists of demand for land in appropriate locations, infrastructure (access roads, water supply and sanitation), basic community facilities and houses.

Housing is the largest physical component of the city and is, as such, a powerful spatial organiser. Thus the location of housing and its relationship to the other components of the city such as centres of employment, education, recreation and transportation, directly affect the economic and social lives of the inhabitants of the city as well as its performance (Frayne, 1991).

It came to the realisation of the researcher that government is trying to respond to the housing needs of the society by providing as many houses as it can but does not look into the issue of the effects of relocation of these people to the new location on their ways of making a living.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION AND MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

Previous studies had focused on the analysis and evaluation of the impacts on displacement, but the experiences and the multiple strategies the relocatees employ in order to cope with the social and cultural impacts of the project and to rebuilt their lives following relocation have been inadequately researched (Sorenson:1996).

The intention of the study was therefore to develop more on the issues around the new location of the relocated communities and its accessibility to the previous locations and how these impact on livelihood strategies of those

displaced. It further explored on the diversity of strategies that the relocated people engage in order to adapt to the new environment.

The researcher was inspired by observations and personal communication made with some RDP housing beneficiaries when one was on various tours around Johannesburg and other parts of the country. The impression was that the location of RDP housing has some impacts on how people make a living especially if it is not easy to move around or between places. The assumption was that the housing location chosen for the receiving communities is not advantageous and would affect their way of living. This was supported by the fact that the researcher has an aunt who has just got a house in Braamfischerville who showed that the area she stays in lacks services as there is no electricity as such it has made her lose contact with the family that she has left behind as she cannot charge the battery of her cell phone**.** She also pointed out that she pays twice for the trips she takes to get to Soweto, because there are no taxis or even a train joining the two areas even though they are not far apart.

It was assumed that displacement and resettlement influences coping strategies and actions of the relocated communities as the believe was that some members had to give up their jobs when they had to move to a new place far away from where they used to stay. This might be due to high transportation costs which are dependent on the household's accessibility to various points within the metropolitan area. It was also found out that in a few areas some of the relocatees go back to the original locations as they find the new area not offering any opportunities for them. Thus the intention was to find if this was the case for Braamfischerville.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION(S) AND HYPOTHESIS

Considering the different spatial location of housing developments for uprooted populations and their connectivity to other parts of the city, the possibility was that there were some shifts in livelihood strategies in response to changes in the environment. These shifts may either be of benefit to some groups of relocatees while on the other hand they might be disadvantageous to others as people's needs and ways of making a living differ. The main question of the study was:

1. How has resettlement into the new housing location impinged on the day livelihoods of the relocatees?

1.5.1 Sub questions

The other questions dealt with in the study are:

2. What are the responses of the displaced and resettled populations to the new area?

   It entailed the following secondary question which helped clarify what was really needed in the research.

- How do households combine a range of activities to secure their livelihoods and to restore their livelihoods after displacement? What are the coping strategies pursued by uprooted populations?

3. What are the main travel movements performed by the relocatees and what for? Is there a relationship between travel behaviour/ mode preferences and neighbourhood location?

1.5.2 Research hypothesis

The first hypothesis proposed stated that a person's livelihood practices are closely related to where he/she lives, i.e. there is a relationship between people and space. This is emphasising that the way a person tries to make a living is influenced by the place/ location in which he / she stays.

Another assumption declared that inadequate transportation stands as a major barrier to many day-to-day activities perpetuating isolation and immobility.

The study further revealed that different groups of relocated population respond or cope differently showing different adaptations. This implies that relocatees have to adapt to the changes by making diverse longer-term shifts in livelihood strategies in response to changes in the environment.

At the end, the study discovered possibilities and came up with useful modifications for policy making to improve the situation of people that will be faced with displacement in the future.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

This part of the research has extensively been done in chapter 2. It is largely based on secondary literature. Different books, reports, articles, journals and internet materials which have dealt with issues of relocation, mobility and choice of location and livelihoods have been used. These assisted in building and having a more comprehensive study on the perceived impacts on relocated lives.

1.6.1 Theoretical and conceptual framework

For a better understanding of this study it appeared advantageous to give some major concepts that are used throughout. Some concepts are used interchangeably to avoid monotony. These are just introduced as the core concepts while more detailed explanations are dealt with in the next chapter. These have been explored in the report and have been used to shape the perspective.

- **Livelihood:-** (Livelihood strategies, livelihood practices, coping strategies, livelihood diversification)

- **Relocation:-** (Resettlement, replacement, uproot)

- **Mobility:-** (accessibility)

1.6.2 Theoretical framework

Several theories of location of urban residential activity have been developed and are collectively known as the urban rent theories (Menchik, 1973). For this study, Alonso Model of urban residential location and the Transportation-Oriented Theory were looked at, while for livelihoods the Vulnerability asset framework had been examined.

1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES OF DATA

The nature of research was an exploratory case study as it needed to gain insight of the effects of the location of Braamfischerville housing development and accessibility on the relocated communities. The study concentrated mostly on relocated people from various parts of Johannesburg to Braamfischerville as a resettlement area. Even though the greatest focus was

on people who have been evicted from Alexandra as a result of Alexandra Renewal Project, another group consisted of relocatees from Soweto and Germiston (Boksburg) as it was believed that in one way or the other had also engaged in the process of relocation. Although it was out of desire to move, the assumption was that there had been disruptions on their livelihoods. In view of this, a combination of research methods was used in order to gain more information about people's everyday life and experiences.

On the first day of my stay in Braamfischerville, which was on the 2nd of August 2006, I found my aunt with a friend whom I was introduced to. She was very friendly as a result managed to talk to her about the intention to visit my aunt. Out of our conversation she helped as she seemed to be familiar with the area and knew exactly which part to find people from Alexandra. She mentioned that the area is still named 'Jukskei' which was and/or is an informal settlement in Alexandra situated near river called Jukskei. It was therefore very fortunate as the researcher knew exactly where to start.

I familiarised myself with the area by doing a transact walk. This is whereby I walked across Braamfischerville to observe and record some issues. This contributed important information on travel patterns/behaviour and the way people make a living in the area. During my walk I started my semi-structured interview conversations with different members of the community. This helped reveal actual experiences and events that were not covered in the questionnaire and those that the respondents did not feel like bringing up. I, thus developed a better knowledge on how the resettled people in Braamfischerville make a living, enhanced my understanding of the way in which people try to restore their livelihoods after displacement and resettlement and got to be aware of their movement patterns.

Interviewing was desirable to obtain most of the content sought for a number of reasons such as the complexity of requesting different information from

different members of the community or society. A qualitative approach was applied, which covered 10 households around Braamfischerville. This composed of 6 households from Alexandra, 3 from Soweto and 1 from Boksburg (Germiston). 9 were females and 1 was a male. The actual data collection was done in two days but not consecutively as I had to come back to campus to attend some lectures. The first 6 households were interviewed on the 6th of August while the remaining 4 were done on the 9th.

I carried out my survey by means of structured questionnaires using a combination of open-ended and close-ended questions. The questionnaire was eight pages long and took between thirty to forty minutes depending on the comprehension of questions by the respondent as sometimes I had to repeat the question. These questionnaires were administered personally through face to face interviews which encountered reading questions to respondents and recording answers by writing.

As this was a hidden or rare population, meaning a small subset of the total population who knew each other; the researcher resorted to snowballing or reputational sampling. It is defined as a “non-probabilistic form of sampling in which persons initially chosen for the sample are used as informants to locate other persons having necessary characteristics making them eligible for the sample” (Bailey, 1994:438 cited in Penrod et al, Undated). This implies that a few members of that population were identified and asked to discover other members and so on. The friend to my aunt helped in identifying the phase number so it became easier to find any member of that community. The first household which was identified was not from Alexandra but very fortunately it was neighbours to the one from Alexandra and so the next visited referred me to the other and the process kept going.

The type of data that I collected covered the following units of analysis:

Demographic aspects (***Personal data):*** gender, marital status, occupation and household density. This information helped one to find out what type of people engage in different activities as coping mechanisms, whether locational issues affect these categories differently and also travel patterns and behaviour vary.

Financial aspects and livelihood strategies: sources of income, present and previous; and employment issues

Movement patterns (travel behaviour): mode and costs of transportation, travelling time and trip frequency. The information assisted me in finding reasons why people travel to different parts of the city and what for. I also found out the different modes of travelling and whether it was easy to move from the new location to the previous one in order to carry on with the activities which were being done before relocation.

Relocation experience and housing location: relocation history: date of arrival and motivation for resettlement, relocation process, and locational issues

Social and institutional aspects: (a) relation in the settlement area: friends and relatives with whom there was occasional or frequent contact, (b) kinship ties: contacts to home village, frequency and purpose of visits, (c) social networks: membership in formal community organisations and participation in voluntary organisations. This section helped out in finding whether the relocates still depended on the family members that they have left behind or whether they have managed to establish new relationships in the new area.

As it was difficult to get information that was accurate or correct and one would miss some important and inspiring ideas, it was necessary to complement what one learnt from the survey data, to interpret or to confirm them by conducting a participant observation. Likewise, my study included various aspects of community and personal life that would be observable by participating on social life so I stayed in Braamfischerville with my aunt for days amounting to a week. I had intended to spend at least two weeks but I could not do so as I was behind schedule so I had to compress my stay into a week.

This was a non participant observation in which I tried to observe the every day activities in a passive manner. The researcher was not really involved in the activities but recorded all the characteristics displayed by the observed that were of interest to her. This was due to limited time and resources.

Questionnaires and observations seemed to be a convenient way to gather information about people's experiences. However, another option of data collection was derived from public records and publications and other published and unpublished literature (books, journals, newsletters, internet and newspapers). Information from all these helped in knowing more about relocation process in relation to accessibility issues and location in other parts of the world (developing and the developed countries); how these affected the every day life of the communities.

In addition, an informal face to face interview was also done with one staff member from the Alexandra Renewal Project who dealt with relocations in that area, and one contractor who built and gave house keys to the beneficiaries.

1.7.1 Benefits and limitations of applying snowballing as a technique for identifying interviewees.

A successful application of snowballing is that members of a rare population know each other. This was the case for the population under study as they came from the same area before their relocation.

As the researcher restricted participants only to those persons acquired in a referral manner, the information obtained may be biased thus limiting the application of the findings and they could not be generalised. As such one might have got people who are part of a network of some sort in the new area. For example, they might be people who are of similar congregation or who are members of the same society.

As the case had been, access to people whom relocation process failed, that is, those who left the area for various reasons was not easy. To address this, the researcher interviewed some relocatees from Soweto and Boksburg to make the argument comparable and richer.

1.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The study relied on the co-operation of some members of the community. Fortunately the households that I interviewed were very accommodating. I believe this was because I made it clear from the start that I am only a student doing my study in their area and not an officer from any government department; especially housing department and so I am not promising anything in return. This gave the respondent the choice of doing the interview or not.

I explained to them that I am only interested in finding out how the new housing location has impacted on their livelihoods and movement around

various parts of the city. During interviews, some members asked questions and wanted more clarity on some issues which were not even part of the study. I therefore had to provide answers to pave for the coming interviews.

This does not mean that it was easy throughout to do the study. There had been some limitations.

1.9 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The following limitations of the study must be noted. First of all, as it has been pointed earlier on, the limitation of this study was the use of snowballing method. Although it was an effective and low-cost way of reaching targeted populations, it introduced biasness.

Second, language posed some misinterpretations and delays in conducting an interview. Interviewees were Zulus, Xhosas, Pedi and Sotho I am only fluent in Sotho and English. My questionnaire was written in English so I had to translate it when I did my interview which was not easy as I had to mix a little bit of Zulu I know with Sotho and English. An advantage I got was that people around Johannesburg are multi-lingual so it was not difficult conveying the message.

Third, because one dealt with some personal issues, for example giving a place of work some people did not want to say the exact place as they pointed out that nowadays people are not trustworthy they are not sure whether one might be spying something else. I was asked by one of the interviewees if I was not from any media company or whether there was not any hidden camera or tape recorder as they do not want to be seen on the newspapers or on television as people always said they were students yet they had their own hidden agendas. I had to convince the person that I did not have any of those even though I had a digital camera in the pocket which

I was also not comfortable to use around them. I also had my student card with me to prove that I was a student. Very fortunately when I was with this interviewee, one of my friends called wanting to meet me so I had to explain on the phone that I was away doing my research interviews. That is how she got even more convinced that I was telling the truth.

Lastly, I had to go to Braamfischerville and back as I started my field work later than it was planned so I had to come back to campus to attend some lectures. This also shortened my stay in the area as there was no time to waste.

The research report consists of six chapters organised in the following manner. Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter which states the problem and its setting. It shows what the end report is going to entail. Chapter 2 is the review of the related literature on the findings of the impacts of location and accessibility on the ways of living in various parts of the world. It further reconsiders that there might be similarities to the findings but then it should examine some significant differences that may apply to my study area. This chapter defines the major concepts that are used in the research.

The third chapter is contextual and the case study is presented and examined. In chapter 4 and 5 respectively, findings are presented and analysed while the sixth chapter and the last deals with conclusion and planning/policy recommendations.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE, AND CONCEPTUAL/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The three most structural elements of cities are employment, housing and the transport connections between them as they are critical resources for people. Access to these elements has effect on people's living standards (Turok, 2001). In this chapter, one reviews existing literature related to housing and relocation, housing location, mobility, and livelihoods both locally and internationally. Through the review of relevant literature an attempt is to summarise the results of the past studies and writings so as to identify relationships, gaps, contradictions and inconsistencies. This helps to discover and suggest the move towards answering my research question which reads as follows: How has the new housing location and transportation and/or travel movements impinged on the coping/livelihood strategies of the relocatees (in Braamfischerville)?

My concern is certainly that the new low-cost housing developments are far from the beneficiaries' previous homes and the relocation to these new places may involve short to medium-term disruption of households' livelihood strategies and patterns of movement. The study focuses on the relocatees from Alexandra, which has been considered a central location for the poor relative to Braamfischerville, which is hypothesised to be a peripheral location. The hypothesis further shows that these two environments may differ in terms of the types of houses provided, availability of infrastructure, accessibility with respect to employment and other economic activities, and social linkages.

The other group that has held my interest is the relocated populations from Soweto as I assume that impacts may not be as adverse as of those from

Alexandra, taking into consideration the differences in distance from the last residence. Thus the crucial issue in this study is the relation between changes in the spatial setting of housing in relation to location and accessibility to other parts of the city. It further examines the impacts on the households' livelihoods after displacement.

2.1 RELOCATION PROCESS

In order to enhance the holistic understanding of relocation, it is best to indicate that relocation is not simply a question of people moving voluntarily or involuntarily from one place to another but involves a temporary or permanent disruption of the usual pattern of making a living (Sorenson, 1996). Displacement has therefore been an important part of our lives and will still be.

The concept of relocation is therefore a very broad and all-encompassing concept which includes *displacement* and *resettlement*. First, displacement is a process by which development projects cause people to lose their land or other assets or access to resources. The second process, resettlement or rehabilitation is a process whereby those adversely affected are assisted in their effort to improve, or at least restore their incomes and standard of living (World Bank, 2001a).

House (1970) delineates relocation as a non-random, decision-making process involving environmental limitation of choice and consumer preference. She points out that the available housing is a fundamental field of choice for relocating families even though there are certain variables such as racial factors, financial factors and housing quality which affect the relocation process. For instance, the study done by House on the 'Relocation of Families Displaced by Expressway Development: The Case of Milwaukee' verifies that racial constraints were highly significant as it is indicated that

Negro families moved shorter distances than white families (0.95 miles-approximately less than 2km compared with 1.25 miles-approximately 3.5 km).

De Wet (1994) in the abstract of his article further confirms the issue of racial segregation by adding up the issue of politics. He argued that since 1913, at least 7 million South Africans, mainly Africans have been uprooted or actively resettled for predominantly political purposes. This implies that Apartheid has been a phenomenon of many countries in Africa. South Africa is one such country in which black townships/ homelands are located in the periphery of the cities/towns. Evidence has shown that the apartheid city is not only a South African phenomenon; urban areas in other African countries are frequently divided geographically by ethnicity, race and income (Sihlongonyane and Karam, 2003: 160).

It is further emphasised that there is a growing consensus that current development patterns tend to reinforce the older apartheid patterns or the new forms of spatial divide are emerging (Bremner, 2000, Schoonraad, 2000, Todes, 2000, Turok, 2000 cited in Todes, 2003). In this regard, housing projects have made little contribution to notions of integration, compaction and restructuring of the apartheid city (Charlton et al, 2003).

Todes (2003) reports that studies that have been undertaken previously affirm that households removed from the central locations showed the negative economic and social effects of relocation as some have been linked to peripheral locations. Dewar (1994) in his study argued that the creation of large dormitory townships on the urban periphery imposed considerable costs in terms of transport, time and travel costs and marginalised them in terms of urban opportunities. Thus, it resulted in sterile environments with poor services and facilities, and undermined small-scale business activity (Todes, 2003).

To sum up, the Thematic Committee (2001) verifies that as a result of the years of apartheid planning and development, human settlements in South Africa are characterised by separated spatial patterns of residential areas according to class and population groups, urban sprawl, lack of basic services and concentration of the poor in the urban periphery.

Several studies have shown that in the contemporary world, the populations of the Third World are generally more at risk of displacement than anybody else. It is in these regions that we find most of the main conditions or causes of displacement such as extreme poverty, environmental disasters, violent conflicts (Sorenson, 1996) and large scale development and infrastructure and/or urban renewal projects which force people away from their home (House, 1970, Sorenson, 1996, Tan et al, 2003, de Wet, 2003, Ying, undated).

In addition, Ying (undated) points out that experience of urban renewal in many developed countries shows that most renewal occurred in areas consisting of poor housing and low income families resulting in the disruption of low income residents' social networks and families through relocation. ARP is an example of an urban renewal project, although in a developing country (South Africa), whereby 5530 families who lived along Jukskei River, which was unhygienic and dangerous especially in rainy seasons have been relocated to new houses in Braamfischerville and Diepsloot (ARP booklet, undated). Accordingly, Baumann (2003) reports that as a result of relocation to RDP developments, households' disposable income declines as such increases vulnerability. Consequently one of the features of relocation is that the displacees are mostly likely to be impoverished (Sorenson, 1996, Sonnenberg and Munster, 2001,) and deprived.

According to Sorenson (1996) and McDowell (2002), the impoverishment perspective focuses primarily on involuntary community relocation caused by development projects. However, McDowell (2002:3) clarifies that "…evidence suggests that the same risks- though in different combinations, and with different intensities-are critical in other domains of forced displacement." He reports that Cernea and McDowell (2000) argue that there are some similarities in the risks refugees and other resettlers face when seeking to rebuild their lives and livelihoods.

Quite a few researches conducted show that the key components of impoverishment risks and components for involuntary resettlers' livelihoods are landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property resources and community disarticulation (Cernea, 2000 cited in Sorenson, 1996, Sonnenberg and Munster, 2001, McDowell, 2002).

It is useful to briefly describe the components of impoverishment which may be useful to my case study. It is also significant to note that the term impoverishment in this context refers to economic, social and cultural impoverishment since in reality the hardships that displaced populations face are often of this sort (Sorenson, 1996).

Firstly, many urban people lose jobs as a result of relocation. This also occurs regularly in rural areas through displacing landless labourers and service workers, artisans and small business men. Creating new jobs is as difficult as finding land, and resulting unemployment or underemployment remain long after physical relocation.

Secondly, marginalisation occurs when families lose economic power and slide downwards: middle income farm-households do not become landless, but become small land holders; small shopkeepers and craftsmen are

downsized and slip below poverty thresholds, relative marginalisation often begins long before the actual displacement; for instance, when lands are condemned for future flooding and are implicitly devalued, new public and private infrastructural investments are prohibited, and the social services is undercut.

Thirdly, forced uprooting increases the risk such as people falling into chronic food insecurity. Sudden drops in food crops availability and/or incomes are certain during physical relocation and hunger or under nourishment tend to become lingering long term effects.

Lastly, the dismantling of communities' social organisation structures, the dispersion of informal and formal networks, associations, local societies, etc., is an expensive yet unqualified loss of social capital. Such disintegration processes undermine livelihoods in ways uncounted and unrecognised by planners, and among most pervasive causes of enduring impoverishment and disempowerment. (Cernea, 1995, cited in Sorenson, 1996:37-38).

2.2 LIVELIHOODS

2.2.1 The perspective of urban livelihoods and responses to adversity

It is argued that in the process of uprooting and resettlement, institutional arrangements are basically changed, and the ways in which people behave and react to these differ as such the new dynamics influence people's access to and control over resources (McDowell, 2002). This part of the paper reviews literature on households and livelihood formation and its application to the urban context.

This will help me in answering some of my research questions such as:

- What are the responses of the displaced and resettled populations to the new area?
- How do households combine a range of activities to secure their livelihoods and to restore their livelihoods after displacement? What are the coping strategies pursued by uprooted populations?

For the purpose of this study, households are defined as people who eat together, share resources and live under the same roof. Nonetheless, there can be variations on the form and composition of the household whereby it may include grandparents, other relations, or children from other families who may be temporary or semi permanent households; and non resident family members working and living away from home. (Beall and Kanji, 1999, de Satge, 2002).

2.2.2 Complexity and diversity in urban livelihoods

Poor people in the urban areas of the industrialised northern countries tend to rely on cash income, whether wages or social security payments, as such much of their economic status is captured in cash income or largely cash based consumption (Chambers, 1995). Beall and Kanji (1999) agree with Chambers by pointing out that there is almost a dependence on cash income. Similarly Schutte (2005) emphasises the fact that access to cash remains crucial in the urban economy. They point out that livelihood crucially depend on access to employment and income earning opportunities and capital assets. The assumption in my case is therefore that similar conditions may prevail.

In this study, livelihoods are understood to be the means of gaining a living, including livelihood capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets (Chambers, 1995). Employment can provide a livelihood but most livelihoods of the poor are based on multiple activities, sources of food, income and

security. This implies that households depend on multiple sources of livelihood, thus livelihoods activities are not only activities that bring in money and food, they are all other activities that the household undertakes to survive and reproduce itself (Beall and Kanji, 1999, de Satge, 2002). These include gaining and retaining access to resources and opportunities, dealing with risk, negotiating social networks and institutions within households, communities and the city ((Beall and Kanji, 1999).

Livelihood activities can be divided into three types: first, productive, for example, brewing, baking, processing food for sale, construction, brickmaking, welding, spaza shop, tavern or shebeen, formal employment or casual work and many more. Second, reproductive activities include a range of domestic activities including child care, cooking, cleaning and fetching water and others; and third, community management activities involve attending meetings to plan, allocate or managed resources, resolve disputes and , attending church or cultural ceremonies (de Satge, 2002). The point of this list is to illustrate that often an individual or a household engages in many livelihood strategies such as these over a year in order to increase income, reduce vulnerability and improve the quality of their lives (Chambers, 1995).

Livelihood strategies in urban settlements can be complicated and confusing. Empirical evidence shows that household members employ complex and varied activities that not only enhance household income but also food security, health and social networks and savings (Chambers, 1995, www.carefrance.org, 1999(a), Shackleton et al, 2000). In view of this, it is clarified that the concept of 'livelihoods' has moved analysis away from narrow parameters of production, employment and income to a more holistic view which embraces social and economic dimensions, reduced vulnerability and environmental sustainability (Shackleton et al, 2000, de Satge, 2002).
Accordingly, Chambers (1995) adds that household livelihood strategies often involve different members in diverse activities and sources of support at

different times of the year. Moreover, de Satge (2002) emphasises that household security is often influenced by the ability of the household to diversify its livelihood sources. By livelihood diversification, it is meant that households attempt to reduce their vulnerability by having more than one livelihood activity. This means using a variety of livelihood strategies so that the household does not depend on only a few sources of livelihood (de Satge, 2002).

He illustrates that households may depend on a combination of cash remittances from family members who have a formal job, benefits from a range of informal trading and economic activities, using natural resources, livestock, pension benefits, insurances, burial societies, stokvels and other sources (de Satge, 2002:60). He adds that in a diversified household, if one method of productivity does not provide enough or fails completely, there are other sources of livelihood that the household can fall back on.

2.2.3 Responses to adversity

Change affects people in different ways, depending on their ability to adjust based on access to livelihood assets: natural (land and natural resources), human (skills, knowledge and ability to labour), financial (income, credit, claims and savings), physical (shelter and infrastructure) and social (social resources which people draw upon in pursuit of their livelihood objectives, social networks and organisations) (de Satge, 2002, Jaiyebo, 2003). Change of location, especially if it is to the worse than the original one can lead to disruption of livelihoods and economic change, hence the study intended to examine how the displaced and resettled populations respond to the complexities of the new area.

As it has been mentioned earlier on, urban people mainly depend on cash activities, and one assumes that due to change of location, relocatees

experience economic difficulty. For this reason, they have to respond to the declining income by adopting various coping and adaptive strategies. De Satge (2002: 351) defines coping strategies as “temporary adjustments to respond to change or a short term modification of livelihood activities in the face of a shock and stress” and refers to adaptive strategies as “longer term shifts in livelihood strategies to respond to changes in the environment.”

In the summary of household responses to poverty and vulnerability in four poor urban communities in the study conducted by Moser, it was found that the poor always face harsh conditions, but more importantly if there is economic stress and decline (Moser, 1996). As this might be the case for this study, one therefore needs to have a look at how other studies have come up with in relation to responses of people who have been affected by change of any sort.

Moser (1996:4) reports that “households respond to declining income by adopting a three- pronged “expenditure-minimising” strategy: cutting total spending, changing dietary habits, and cutting back on purchases of non-essential goods” In her findings she points out cases where adults walked to work rather than taking motorised transport, handouts for schoolchildren were reduced and menus were changed to poorer quality or cheaper food.

It is further clarified that households strive to maintain their living standards by protecting existing income and by developing strategies around assets that can generate monetary resources (Moser, 1996). Moser describes that as households become poorer, the most important response has been for women and children to join the labour force. Even so, Beall and Kanji (1999) add that although women’s involvement in the labour force can be a strategy, they have been involved in the informal economy as a response to change. They highlight that it is important to recognise that in many parts of the world, women have been involved in production and trade. This is supported by the

fact that Mitullah (1991) cited in Beall and Kanji makes the point that in most African cities, women play a key role in small market trade. She indicates that hawking in general and of fruit and vegetables constitutes a source of livelihood for high proportion of population in African countries.

2.2.4 Land tenure and housing

Jaiyebo (2003) in his study, found that majority of women mentioned land to be a major natural resource which no one can live without as everything is directly or indirectly derived from it. It has been shown that access to land gives access to cheap food and housing. This is emphasised by Beall and Kanji (1999) and Moser (1996) whereby they assert that even though the need for shelter is considered to be a basic right it is also considered a social and/or physical asset which people can use to restore their livelihoods. It is claimed that a house is a commodity that has market value and can accommodate income generating activities. Moser indicates that home owners use their housing as a base for enterprises or rent it out to raise income.

Moser (1996) through her findings, points out that although housing can be used to reduce vulnerability, it depends on the regulatory environment. She reports that where it is flexible, owners are able to sell part of their property or build new homes on their plot to expand the existing one to accommodate their children's newly formed families.

2.2.5 Social networks and institutions

As Patel (1999) cited in Barter (2002) indicates, displacement reduces access to social support and community-based mutual aid networks when communities are split apart. This is usually known as community disarticulation which is the tearing apart of social structures, interpersonal

ties, and all-encompassing social fabric as a result of involuntary resettlement (McDowell, 2002). The main elements of community disarticulation entail the scattering of kinship groups and informal networks of mutual help.

So, Schutte (2005) in his findings shows that using the relations one has is important for urban poor to secure their livelihoods. It is specified that in the absence of formal employment opportunities and difficulties in raising sufficient income to feed the family, resources acquired by virtue of effective social networks are crucial and often represent the last alternatives available (Schutte, 2005).

Schutte (2005) highlights that social relations and networking play a critical role in managing risk, gaining access to opportunities, or buffering shocks and crises for poor urban and rural populations throughout the developing world. Moser (1996) adds that household relations play an important part in a household's ability to adjust to changes in the external environment. Her study therefore found out that households are adaptive institutions for the poor, providing mechanisms for pooling income and other resources and for sharing consumption. For this reason, households act as safety nets in times of economic difficulty.

2.3 HOUSING AND HOUSING LOCATION

2.3.1 The core factors to adequate housing

According to the Built Environment Support Group (BESG) (1999), the right to adequate housing is widely recognised as the basic human right, thus access to adequate housing is an essential part of government's commitment to reduce poverty and improve the quality of people's lives (www.info.gov.za). In order to get a better idea of how to ensure that the right to adequate

housing is met, Shlay (1995) explains that definitions of adequate housing must go beyond minimum physical standards to include issues that are central to people's ability to become successful members of society.

It is indicated in the BESG that housing is more than a shelter as it gives its users benefits of urban life. Hence Shlay (1995) points out that housing can be an economic entity, a consumer item or a spatial location. A further emphasis is laid by Moser (1987), Schlyter (1996) and Charlton (2004) on the fact that there are also further dimensions to the physical aspect of housing. They indicate that housing refers to more than the actual house structure and includes the infrastructure that services that house, the nature of the water, sanitation, energy and access (roads and footpaths) that supplies the house and consists of demand for urban land in appropriate locations. As such housing is treated as a bundle of housing services yielded both by structures and also by the land or sites on which they are built (Muth, 1959). To this extent the selection of a location inherently involves a simultaneous section of the bundle of these attributes (Waddell, 1996).

In this context, adequate housing is measured by certain core factors: legal security of tenure, the availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability; habitability, accessibility, location and cultural social rights (The UN Committee on Cultural and Social Rights, 1991 cited in The Thematic committee,2001:2-3). As a matter of fact, South Africa's housing policy and programmes are aligned with this definition of adequate housing. However, it has been widely acknowledged that the right to adequate housing is currently not being fulfilled.

For this study, the interest is on exploring the impacts of housing location of the resettlement area and its accessibility on the lives of the relocated communities, both voluntary and involuntary.

2.3.2 Housing and Resettlement

The literature shows that there is a thought that resettlement is only about housing but Sonnenberg and Munster (2001) remark that it is evident that involuntary resettlement is about housing, but more than that it is about development of the displaced and reconstruction of people's lives. Hence the need to consider the 'asset vulnerability' or sustainable livelihoods framework', which is the approach focusing on the livelihood strategies employed by poor households (Moser, 1998, Rakodi, 1999 cited in Baumann, 2003). It is indicated that the livelihoods of relocated people are complex and dynamic and therefore will focus on a range of livelihood strategies that not only enhance household income but also food security, health, social networks and savings (Shackleton et al, 2002).

Given the fact that most resettlement is not only about government providing houses for the resettled the intention is to explore the impacts that have been felt by the relocatees especially on the locational and transportation issues regarding ways of making a living. The basis is on the piece of evidence provided by Scheiner, 2002 showing that there are changes in travel behaviour as a result of the relocation of the residence to the new area especially if the place is at the opposite direction (Scheiner and kasper, 2002). They give an example of Berlin whereby there has been a notable difference in spatial orientation in relation to spatial origin.

This may be the case for relocatees for Alexandra to Braamfischerville as my supposition is that people used to have their destinations mainly in the northern part of the city.

2.4 LOCATIONAL ISSUES ON HOUSING

According to Shlay (1995:701) location is a political, social and economic dimension of housing because housing is physically situated in a location or a neighbourhood contained in political jurisdiction, for example central city or suburb, while for my case is in the urban fringe. It is affirmed that location has various levels of accessibility to an array of goods and services, including employment, retail trade, entertainment, recreational activities, parks, public services, schools and transportation. Because location determines access to goods and services, it is a key ingredient for human capital development. That is why section 2.5.11 of the RDP (South Africa) states that land for housing must be suitable geologically, environmentally and with respect to economic opportunities and social amenities.

Even though location seems to be of importance regarding construction of housing, the problem of lack of secure affordable housing in accessible locations for the urban poor persists as the key issue for cities where urbanisation is continuing and large people live in squatter settlements characterised by poor security of tenure (Barter, 2002). This applies to South Africa, so is the study area.

Accessibility has long been identified as the central influence in urban theory of residential location, and the connection between home and the work place has been and remains a central part of theories of urban spatial structure. With Alonso (1964) among other theorists, the emphasis is on the trade off between housing and commuting costs and placed this trade-off at the core models of residential location(Clark et al, 2003). Alonso (1964) assumed that the classical rent theory of residential location is consistent with the observation that the rich locate on lower valued land at the periphery of the city while the poor are on higher valued land near the centre (Menchik,

1973).This implies that land in greatest demand has to be as near as possible to the market so as to avoid high transportation costs.

For this study, it follows that the classical theory has little applicability as it has been observed that most of the land that is in demand for low-cost housing developments under the RDP in South Africa seems to be at the periphery and in the 'greenfields', that is on the raw or previously undeveloped land (Baumann, 2003) where there is lack of infrastructure and services. Certainly this causes poor households to pay more for transportation costs. Thus Alonso (1964) model appears to be vague and is not appropriate for being applied in Braamfisherville.

This explains the observed regularities between household income and urban residential location. He comes up with the argument indicating the ambiguity of Alonso's assumptions, and shows that it is not possible to tell if the rich should or should not be located further from the city centre. The so-called Spatial Interaction Models (SIMs) seems to be applicable to the study as it describes the various spatial interaction phenomena such as passenger transport, migration, commuting, international trade, shopping behaviour and other travel behaviours between and/or among places. SIMs describe flows between cities, countries or regions as dependent on characteristics of the origins and destinations (de Vries et al, 2000).

2.4.1 Understanding the concept of 'well located land'

There is a tendency to see 'well-located' land/housing as centrally located, close to existing central business districts yet location of employment is becoming far less concentrated in the cities. This implies that there are various decentralised areas of employment (Mabin, 1999 cited in Todes et al, 2003) thus it needs to be to be drawn to attention that reasonable location is

not just a function of proximity to employment , but also to access to transport and transport routes, and access to facilities (Todes et al, 2003).

The international debate on urban form and urban development is characterised by an ongoing conflict between 'sprawl' and 'compact city' ideals. In South Africa this debate seems to have settled, at least at policy level in favour of the compact city. National policy relating to urban development, housing, land and transportation, explicitly promotes densification and compaction of urban areas and discourages sprawl in the interest of efficient, equitable, sustainable and integrated development (Venter et al, 2004:1).

More emphasis is laid by Todes (2003) where she asserts that the focus in South Africa has been on restructuring and integrating the city, making it possible for low-income people to acquire housing in well-located areas thus claiming access to urban opportunities that were lost under apartheid. However, preceding studies have indicated that there is extremely limited availability of areas suitably located for new housing developments hence most South African low cost or 'relocation' housing projects under the subsidy system are located on the raw or previously undeveloped land and on the outskirts of the city (ARP housing strategy, 2002, Baumann, 2003, Royston, 2003, Todes et al, 2003) in spite of commitments to develop 'efficient cities' with projects well linked to transportation and work areas (Todes et al, 2003). Likewise, Charlton et al (2003) affirm that much of the housing delivered for the poor is not well-located with respect to the full range of amenities and facilities

2.4.2 Factors influencing the location of housing

To help provide a practical understanding of the costs of sprawl and urban restructuring, namely, access to well located land for low-income housing projects; Todes et al (2003) have done studies on three major coastal cities in South Africa: Durban (eThekwini), Port Elizabeth (Nelson Mandela Metropole) and Cape Town. This study considered the extent to which it has been possible for local authorities in these cities to provide low-income housing in areas that could be defined as well-located-namely, close to areas of employment, accessible to existing nodes of economic opportunities and facilities, and in places which might help dismantle apartheid barriers. It has been concluded in the study that there are some powerful barriers encountered in accessing land and developing low-income housing projects on well-located land, hence the growing pattern of the sprawling city.

There are other numerous constraints to well located housing projects. These factors among others include the following: a considerable amount of well-located land is privately owned or if it is available the cost is too high and constrains developments within the city. The land is not affordable for low cost housing thus the projects locate where the land is cheap, which is in the periphery. This is further exacerbated by the fact that subsidies for land costs are below the market value in well located areas. “Not in my backyard” (NIMBY) syndrome is another problem in the development of projects. Even when the land seems to be well located, it has been observed in many instances that the neighbouring residents oppose the location of low income housing near their areas basing themselves on the fact that the value of their property would be depreciated (Todes et al, 2003).

As a result of all the factors, the literature indicates that low-cost housing delivery in South Africa is still growing in an old pattern of divided and sprawling city, that is, at low densities on the urban peripheries where the

land is cheap but where infrastructure and transport costs are often high despite the policy directives/ideals of ‘compact city’ and ‘integration’ (Todes et al, 2003).

On the other hand the findings from Venter et al’ study conducted in 2004 from eight case studies in Johannesburg (Alexandra and Diepsloot) and eThekwini (Cator manor, Quarry Heights, Westrich, Madiba Valley, Lovu and Waterloo, and Fredville)-Low-Cost Housing Location in Southern African Cites: Empirical Findings on Costs and Benefits; do not support the idea of compact cities based on the sustainable livelihoods approach. They report that considering all the costs and benefits of associated with low income housing location in eight case studies in Johannesburg and iThekwini, the empirical evidence did not indicate that more central locations have lower overall cost and higher livelihood benefits than ones located further away from the city. Their findings are supported by the fact that there are variations in terms of travel distances and expenditures, infrastructure and land costs, and types of benefits which are not related to the locality of the settlement.

According to this study, the benefits that different localities offer to their residents are higher in some more central locations; again more distant localities tend to be isolated from urban social networks, but offer higher access to other livelihoods resources such as land for agriculture. It is further pointed out that the type and magnitude of benefits may change overtime as the city expands outwards and more opportunities are located nearby (Venter et al, 2004).

Besides, Behrens and Wilkinson (2003) affirm that the location of poor households without means of private mobility on the periphery of cities has a major impact on their travel patterns, and on the utilisation of their time and financial resources. Admittedly there is a clear direction of effect between housing location and travel behaviour.

2.5 MOBILITY AND TRANSPORTATION

Mobility as defined by Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary is the ability to move or travel from one place to another. For the purpose of my study, mobility is taken to be *accessibility*, which according to Wheeler (1974:57) "refers specifically to ease of movement, or the ease with which one get from one place in the city to all others." Lowe and Moryadas (1975:7) clarify that accessibility may be defined "as the ease with which a specific location can be reached from a given point."

Transportation on the other hand is defined as the movement of freight (materials and products) and passengers (people) from one location to another. It is a means of conveyance or travel from one place to another (Bowersox et al, 1981). The study focuses on the movement of people more than the economic movement of commodities and products. This section of the study assisted in finding out if there is any relationship between travel behaviour or mode preferences and neighbourhood location.

The literature reviewed portrays that a common complaint about resettlement sites world wide is their lack of accessibility with respect to jobs, services, public facilities and public transport services (Keivani and Werna, 2001 cited in Barter, 2002).

2.5.1 Transportation and Travel pattern/behaviour

Transportation contributes immensely to our personal well being and to the society in general as it affects our lifestyles and our economic, social and political development (Bowersox et al, 1981). To survive, a person must be able to move around in order to access or consume goods and services. For this reason, we need transportation so as to sustain life hence accessibility to

employment and other services is an essential quality of cities (Srinivasan and Rogers, 2002).

2.5.2 Modes of transportation

According to Gilat and Sussman (2003), cities are growing very fast and many of the poorest people in the developing world live in the outskirts where they depend on expensive low capacity transit. As a result of this, they spend a greater percentage of their income on transportation as they do not own cars. The implication is that most of the poor people in the cities use public transportation which is not even subsidised as they live far from where municipalities could offer transportation services.

Behrens and Wilkinson (2003) like Todes et al (2003) once more brings up the issue of policies and strategies being contradictory and having the opposite effect to the one which was intended, being urban restructuring and the compact city approach; concerning the provision of subsidised housing and the provision of passenger transport facilities and services. They report that the tendency to locate subsidised low-income housing schemes on the peripheries of urban areas and often at considerable distances from employment opportunities and higher order commercial and social facilities imposes a major burden on the provision of subsidised public transport services to the inhabitants of such schemes. Other imposition is additional travel time and expenditure costs on these people.

These conditions therefore call for opportunities of Transit Oriented Development (TOD) and other methods of coordinated transportation and land use planning which can have beneficial socio-economic and environmental effects. Transportation-Oriented Theory of Land Use, according to Wingo (1961) considers the spatial relationship between home and work, drawing on the concept of accessibility taking into consideration

mode of transportation, the cost of transportation and the time spent in movement among different places in the metropolitan area (Chapin and Kaiser, 1979).

TOD describes that population should be concentrated along corridors so that they are served by highway capacity transit. This is thought to have lower operating costs resulting in charging transport users lower fares (Gilat and Sussman, 2003).

It is further indicated that because cities in the developing world are still growing, it can be easy to implement TOD on a citywide scale along significant part of the transit system because they are still being built. This concept can be applicable to South Africa and especially Johannesburg as it is still developing its corridors. TOD significantly increases the attractiveness of transit since it greatly increases possible origins and destinations that are accessible by a combination of transit and walking. Thus the combination of dense mixed land uses near stations and pedestrian-friendly areas on a citywide scale gives people who live near transit much larger choice of destinations.

From Greive et al (2002) point of view housing is considered in terms of its access to physical and social amenities as such they agree with Wadell (1996) that housing is a bundle of services. The location of poor households without means of private mobility on the periphery of cities has a major impact on their travel patterns, and on their utilisation of their time and financial resources (Srinivasan, 2002, Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003). For this reason they agree with the concept of TOD as it seems to be beneficial for low-income housing residents and provides incentives for developers to contribute to the construction of low-income housing in accessible locations. TOD also has an efficient bus rapid transit system that approaches the

performance of a metro system at a fraction of the cost (Gilat and Sussman, 2003:4).

2.5.3 Travelling patterns and behaviours

Travel pattern of movements are motivated by a combination of purposes. Daniel and Warnes (1980) indicate that many journeys are clearly and directly associated with a single activity or purposes, such as journeys to and from work, schools, and shops, places of entertainment or friends and relatives. The major human activities associated with personal movement may be grouped under five broad categories; economic, social, educational, recreational and cultural (Daniel and Warnes, 1980). Broadly, each activity group makes people to move from one place to another. van Wee et al (2002) adds that people travel mainly because they want to participate in activities such as living, working and recreating at different locations.

Srinivasan and Rogers (2002) specifically point out that for the poor to carry out all the journeys mentioned, they depend mainly on non-motorised transportation like walking and cycling as their primary mode of travel but are also forced to live on peripheral settlements on the edge of the city. The argument further goes on to show that this could reduce their employment potential in the cities as they could not afford to pay other means of transport.

Consequently travel can be regarded as the result of spatial and infrastructure patterns as people's movements are affected by the location in which they are. This implies that if the area is not easily accessible, people tend to reduce their number of journeys so that by the time they travel it is for different purposes at one time. For example, one would want to go to the bank at the end of the month when it is pay day and do some shopping on the same day.

2.6 CONCLUSION

The reviewed literature helped the researcher to have a clear idea of what the study really intends to achieve as it defined the major concepts that are used in the report. These being: relocation, housing location, mobility and livelihoods. The subsequent chapter aims at dealing with the history of housing and relocation in South Africa during apartheid and after as a way of positioning the study in question.

CHAPTER 3: HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION IN THE BROADER PERSPECTIVE

''As a result of years of apartheid planning and development, human settlements in South Africa are characterised by spatial separation of residential areas according to class and population groups, urban sprawl, a lack of access to basic services in many instances, and concentration of the poor on the urban periphery.''

(Thematic Committee: South African Housing Policy, 2001)

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Segregation in some form or other has been a phenomenon of many countries in Africa. South Africa is one such country. In this context it was a system of racial segregation that was enforced between 1948 and 1984. Under apartheid people were legally classified into racial groups and were geographically segregated, and forcibly separated from each other. Black townships and homelands also in deep rural areas were located in the periphery of the cities/towns (www.sahistory.org). The townships were from their origin a product of segregationist planning which Sihlongonyane and Karam (2003) indicate resulted from of the traditional model of town planning derived from the British and European foundation. This system/ tradition focused on regulatory control and spatial allocation that is hierarchical in fashion and lacking in community involvement. They further point out that this brought about disequilibrium in the economic development of South African population as blacks were denied the economic opportunities by being located far from economic activities and other social services and amenities.

It is also asserted that the system of public transport in South African cities has been a product as well as an instrument of apartheid as many public transport services were developed to link peripheral townships with employment centres (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003). Moreover, Behrens and Wilkinson (2003) claim that there is a continued peripherisation of low-income housing in the post-apartheid South Africa as the current land use planning and development initiatives are exacerbating the spatial legacy by locating new housing far from major business, and in most cases far from primary rail and road networks (Department of Transport, 1998a, cited in Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003).

It is the aim of this chapter to go back to the history of housing and relocation in South Africa, especially during apartheid years and the immediate post-apartheid years. The focus is particularly on Johannesburg taking into consideration Alexandra, Boksburg and Soweto as they are the places that have been the sources of relocations discussed in this study. This will establish the context of Braamfischerville as my case study.

3.1 THE HISTORY OF JOHANNESBURG

In order to understand the changing situation on the issues around housing, housing location and relocation in the city, it is necessary to draw upon the history of Johannesburg and its making. Chapter 1 has briefly described the making of Johannesburg, but it is of the best advantage to have a wider view of the Johannesburg's urban structure in order to understand why most developments have been and continue to be located in peripheral locations and why evictions and relocations still exist even after the apartheid regime.

The Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2003/2004 shows that the urban development is a result of Johannesburg's unique geological condition. This divided the northern and southern part of the city, and the

mine dumps, the slime dams and the mining belt has been hindering developments on the surrounding areas. Consequently, a mass of housing delivery is located some distance from the main urban centres of activity due to amongst other things, to geo-technical problems related to topography.

The city of Johannesburg grew very rapidly as a result of the mining industry also growing. Beavon (2004) shows that just like elsewhere in the world where gold has been discovered, large numbers of people from a variety of places and walks of lives were drawn together to seek employment in Johannesburg. As the economy of the Transvaal (as it was then called) adjusted to serve and prosper from the emerging market of Johannesburg, the population increased by a growing number of impoverished families who were landless (Beavon, 2004). As a result these strategies and policies, Beavon reports that black families were squeezed into small pockets of land and native reserves.

Consequently, Beavon (2004) asserts that reserves ended up not offering enough for subsistence food requirements for their populations, and men with families did not want to be forced to live in the males-only municipal hostels or compounds. But, as Mabin (1992) argues the state refused to build houses in sufficient numbers to meet the needs of the urban population so people moved to backyard shack accommodation which was expensive and also ended up invading any available land they could find around where it was near to their places of employment. Thus, squatting around Witwatersrand developed rapidly. However many of those attempting to create an urban life in these strictly illegal and unapproved circumstances faced defeat at the hands of the state as well as private landowners which is why eviction and relocation has been common in the past (Mabin, 1992).

The South African government then instituted a system of forced removals, which is moving the population of non-European descent into specified areas. Johannesburg has also been hit by the resettlement programme whereby the

best–publicised forced removals occurred in the 1950's when about 60 000 people were moved to the new township of Soweto. It is this system that created the sprawling town of Soweto, one of the areas where blacks were forced to live during the apartheid era (www.info.gov.za).

Housing was provided and used as an instrument of segregation. This was the case as there was no coherent national housing policy by the state as such the issue of housing became a political rallying during the struggle for liberation (www.unhabitat). The succeeding section focuses on the housing and transportation as is the aim of the study.

3.2 AN OVERVIEW OF HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE POST APARTHEID ERA

3.2.1 A general understanding of the housing policy

In South Africa the housing policy is based on the fundamental understanding that housing is a basic need. Housing is a central feature of human settlement. Even in the most primitive cultures, provision for shelter for families is of fundamental importance (www.planning.org). That is why the Constitution of South Africa in its Bill of Rights under section 26(1) includes the right to have access to adequate housing. Thus the government is under a duty to take steps and create conditions which lead to an effective right to housing for all (www.polity.org.za). It is indicated in the Constitution that the state, through its limited and/or available resources should realise this right progressively.

Huchzermeyer (2003:216) shows that housing policy should translate the transformative project of the Constitution into concrete mechanisms that lead to more equal society. Thus it is indicated in the national housing vision (The Housing White Paper, 1994) that the government strives for:

"the establishment of viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing for convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health, educational and social amenities within which all South Africa's people will have access to a progressive basis, to:

- *A permanent residential structure with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection against the elements; and*
- *Potable water, adequate sanitary facilities including waste disposal and domestic electricity supply*". (www.polity.org.za).

The housing policy shows that for the government to attack the housing challenge in the country there are some strategies that need to be pursued. Among the seven strategies that have been listed the key one for my study is on providing subsidy assistance to disadvantaged individuals to assist them to gain access to housing. The housing scheme targets mainly the South African residents who are considered poor. According to the housing policy those households whose joint monthly income is less than R3 500 are liable to get the subsidy. The interest is on the housing subsidy scheme as the intention of the study is to find how the location of this subsidised housing developments and the ways of travelling to and from affect or impact on the livelihoods of the relocated communities.

3.2.2 A general idea on transportation policy

The South African transportation system is inadequate to meet the basic accessibility needs (to work, health care, schools, shops) in many developing rural and urban areas (www.sahistory.org). Johannesburg is one of the major cities in the country which is also experiencing the same problem. It is growing rapidly just like any other cities in the world and is a sprawling city geared towards private motorists and lacks an effective public transportation system. Many of the poorest people live on the outskirts and do not own automobiles and depend on the limited and inefficient public transport that is

available (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003, www.sahistory.org). As a result government has recognised transport as one of its main priority areas as it plays a significant role in the social economic development. Transport is also seen to have the potential to act as a catalyst in correcting spatial distortions that have been created during apartheid.
The vision for the South African transport system is to provide for a:

"Safe, reliable, effective, efficient and fully integrated transport operations and infrastructure which will best meet the needs of freight and passenger customers at improving levels of service and cost in a fashion which supports government strategies for economic and social development whilst being environmentally and economically sustainable". (www.polity.org.za).

Even though the vision is clearly stated, Gilat and Sussman (2003) report that the current system of public transport provision in South Africa has been a product and instrument of apartheid. The following discussion deals with the legacies of apartheid in relation to housing and transport.

3.3 PERSISTENCE OF THE LEGACIES OF APARTHEID

Housing problems in South Africa are mainly a legacy of apartheid (Parnell, 1992, Knight 2001, Huchzermeyer, 2003, www.unhabitat). Notwithstanding the tremendous changes in the policies attempting to overcome inequality in South Africa, such as state involvement in financing low-income housing; the injustices of racial segregation and discrimination forged by the apartheid regime have not disappeared (Parnell, 1992). Many of the inequalities created and maintained by apartheid still remain in South Africa.

A number of writers have indicated that large numbers of housing units have been delivered and a sound policy framework has been put in place since 1994; but they affirm that the housing subsidy scheme is not an adequate

mechanism as long as the majority of the housing developments continue to be located on the peripheries of the South African cities and perpetuate the segregated urban form (Smit, 2003, Huchzermeyer, 2003, Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003, Charlton, 2003). This is due to the fact that the housing subsidy scheme has insufficient and uneven flow of funds. It is asserted that as a result of small national budget allocations, small housing subsidy benefits are also necessitated. As it has been mentioned in chapter 2 this, in turn has driven the need to build on cheap available land which is generally close to or beyond the existing townships, which have already poor access to employment and commercial centres.

Behrens and Wilkinson (2003) further point out that this view is shared by the Department of Transport where it is highlighted that current land use planning and development initiatives are exacerbating the spatial legacy by locating new low-income housing far from major business and , in most cases, far from primary rail and road networks. The Johannesburg Spatial Development Framework 2003/2004 stresses the point that the provision of new housing cannot be viewed in isolation and needs to be assessed in conjunction with infrastructure services, social services, transportation, economic opportunities/employment opportunities and the natural environment.

The next section deals with the historical background and general description of the areas from which people have relocated (Alexandra, Boksburg and Soweto). Braamfischerville as a study area is also described.

3.4 AN OVERVIEW OF ALEXANDRA, BOKSBURG AND SOWETO

3.4.1 Historical Background of Alexandra

Alexandra is regarded as the oldest township and one of the poorest areas of the region where lack of infrastructure, overcrowding and uncontrolled crime make living conditions extremely difficult (www.pptpilot.org.za). It is located on the north-eastern outskirts of Johannesburg at approximately 16 kilometres from the city centre (Alexandra Renewal Review Summit, 2004) (see Map 1). Nonetheless, this is debatable as Johannesburg is now extending considerably further north than this, although it may be close to Ekhuruleni boundary.

It was originally a farm owned by Mr. Papenfus who established as a township in 1905; which was named after his wife Alexandra. In 1912, the land was sold as freehold plots to black South Africans and 'coloureds' (Morris, 2000). Alexandra was one of the few areas where blacks were allowed to own land.

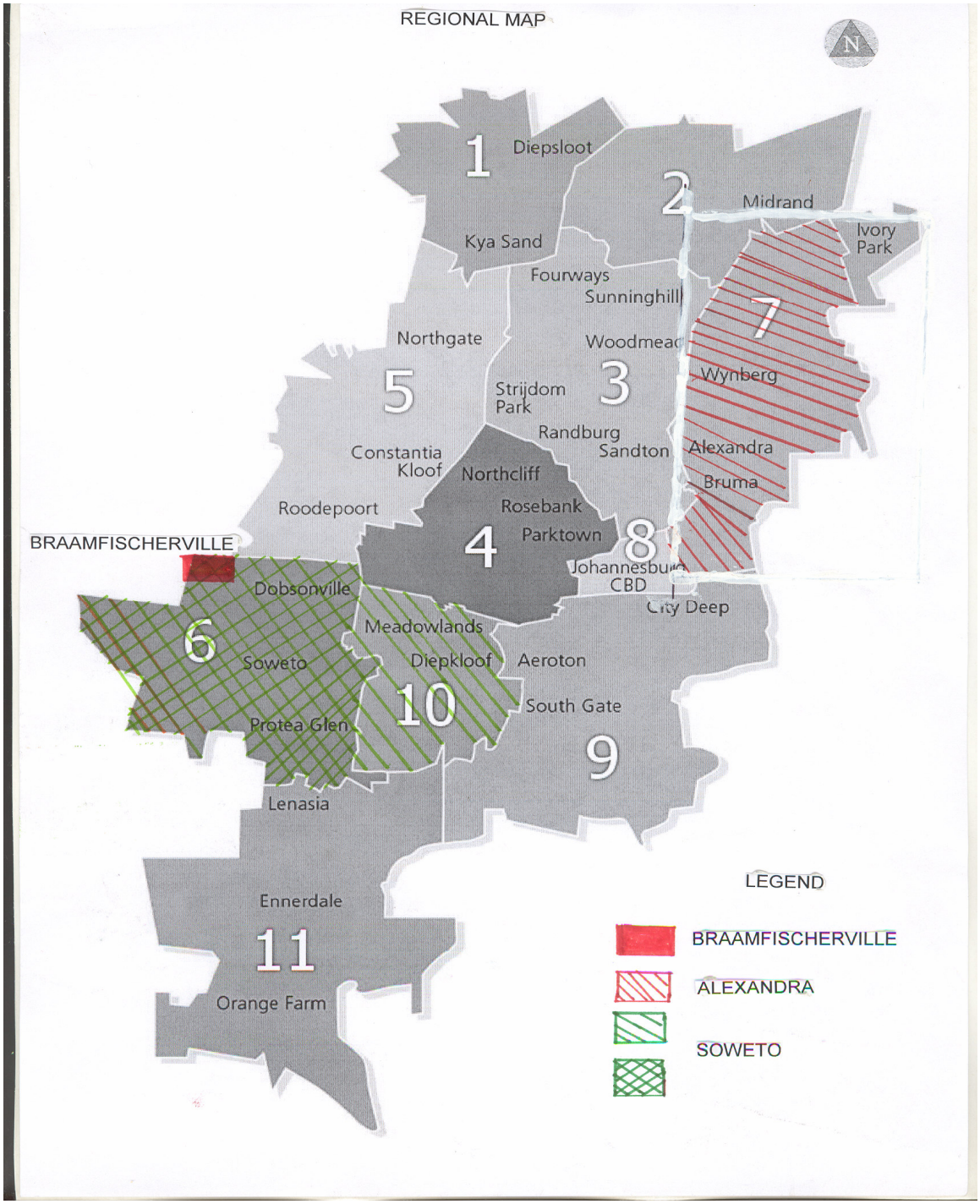
Alexandra was well located being adjacent to Louis Botha Avenue, the main link between Johannesburg and Pretoria. For this reason as well as freehold ownership played part in its popularity hence it became overcrowded and basic services deteriorated. The level of unemployment became high resulting also in increased crime rates. For this reason, Alexandra became a threat to the surrounding white middle class property owners.

Consequently, in 1948, under apartheid, the freehold title was abolished and some families were removed to the newly established townships on the outskirts of the urban areas such as Soweto, Daveyton, Tembisa and Vosloorus. It is indicated that majority stayed as tenants of the government as Alexandra remained the main attraction for its nearness to places of work

until in the 1960s when hostels were built in Alexandra. All men and women who were employed in areas to the north of Johannesburg occupied these hostels (Morris, 2002, ARP Review Summit, 2004).

Following the Soweto riots in June 1976, Morris (2002) shows that, social protest, violence and political violence increased in most parts of the city. As a result of the struggles and the declining economy, a softer approach towards urban blacks was adopted as the 99 year leasehold of urban land tenure was introduced. This resulted in a temporary ending of evictions and, removals and expropriations. Thus, in 1979, the government abandoned its relocation plan and decided to redevelop Alexandra as a densely populated black suburb (www.pptpilot.org.za). Alexandra was then to be re-planned for family housing and leasehold introduced. A new residential area was built on the east bank of Jukskei River. The living conditions in the core of Alexandra worsened throughout the 1980's and 90's until the attempts were made to solve the problems of overcrowding and lack of infrastructure. One of the attempts was the announcement of Alexandra Urban Renewal Programme in 2001 by President Thabo Mbeki (www.alexandra.co.za).

MAP 1 REGIONAL MAP SHOWING LOCALITIES



3.4.2 Alexandra at present

3.4.2.1 Location

As it has been mentioned Alexandra is very well located, being adjacent to key arterial roads and the main highway that links Johannesburg to Pretoria. It is also in close proximity to the economic opportunities of Sandton, Wynberg and other neighbouring industrial and commercial areas. For the urban poor Alexandra is the prime location (Presidential announcement: February, 2001).

It is the most densely occupied area in Gauteng. This is due to the fact that there is a general shortage of housing and also because of its central location between the Johannesburg Inner city, Midrand and the Johannesburg National airport (Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) Housing Strategy, 2002).This is regarded as the triangle of economic activity in Gauteng. The high residential density led to people encroaching on the roadways (CSIR, 2003) and along the Jukskei River banks (See picture 1). In this case, it goes to show that the importance of location to the urban poor goes some way in explaining the huge densities within Alexandra despite the difficult living conditions (Presidential announcement: February, 2001).

Picture 1 Jukskei Informal Settlement



Source: Author

Date: 07/08/04

3.4.2.2 Housing challenges in Alexandra

Up until April, 2005 the ARP housing strategy was to relocate residents to housing projects out of Alexandra, which is not the case now as the new policy direction is to find housing solutions for all Alexandra residents within the greater Alexandra area (www.alexandra.co.za).

According to the initial ARP housing strategy, Alexandra was or is still faced with the following challenges which were supposed to be responded to through the ARP:

- Low levels of affordability amongst Alexandra residents
- High residential densities
- Illegal occupation of land
- Insecurity of tenure, complex and confused housing rights and expectations
- Poor quality of existing housing stock and engineering services in old Alexandra
- Proliferation of backyard shacks
- Hostels which are overcrowded and in extremely poor condition
- Warehouses that are being used for residential purposes and are in the poor condition
- Limited availability of areas suitably located for new housing
- Non payment of rates and local government services and rentals (ARP Housing Strategy, 2002:3)

The intended outcome of the ARP housing strategy was "to provide a range of sustainable and affordable housing with secure tenure that is well regulated in terms of density and quality. In addition, the intention has been to facilitate the upgrading of existing housing stock and to provide housing to address special needs" (ARP Housing Strategy, 2002: 9).

The outcome of the ARP's initial housing strategy among other factors has been achieved through relocation of households living in informal shacks and other structures in dangerous conditions (refer to picture 1) or in land needed for development of public facilities and services and provision of new affordable housing stock. People were provided with new housing in areas such as Braamfischerville (ARP Review Summit, 2004).

The original strategy indicates that some 8500 households were relocated to either Diepsloot or Braamfischerville. This study therefore dealt with relocated people in Braamfisherville, and the estimated number of people

relocated totalled 4103[1]. The research explored the impacts of the new housing location and how people are able to access other parts of the city on the ways of making a living.

3.5.2 Historical Background of Soweto

3.5.2.1 History of Soweto

Soweto comprised of only temporary living quarters for the mine workers, before Soweto was declared a ghetto for the black population of Johannesburg by the infamous "Urban Areas Act" in 1923 (www.joburg.org). It was created mainly to house black labourers, who worked in mines and other industries in the city. The inner city was later to be reserved for white occupation as the policy of segregation took root.

As it has been pointed out earlier on, the National Party gained power in 1948 and began to implement apartheid. This was the period when the pace of forced removals and the creation of townships outside legally-designated white areas increased. In 1954, the Johannesburg Council established new townships to the southwest for black Africans evicted from the city's freehold areas of Martindale, Sophiatown, and Alexandra. Some townships were basic site and service plots in areas such Tladi, Zondi, Dhlamini, Chiawelo, Senaoane, while at Dube middle class residents built their own houses. The first hostel to accommodate migrant workers evicted from the inner city in 1955 was built at Dube. The following year houses were built in the newly proclaimed townships of Meadowlands and Diepkloof (www.wikipedia.org).

Again, following the Soweto riots in June 1976, the apartheid state started phasing out financial support for building additional housing and provided electricity to more Soweto homes.

[1] The estimated figures were obtained through a semi structured interview held on the 7th of August, 2006 with one of the officials in the ARP offices.

3.5.2.2 Soweto at present

Soweto is the most populous black urban residential areas in the country, and is no exception from other townships as it is a product of segregationist and British colonial planning (See picture 2).

Picture 2 Colonially Planned Settlement



Source: www.joburg.org.za

Greater Soweto Area falls within region six and ten and consists of around 33 townships if one does not count different extensions and zones (see map 1). Soweto is located approximately 15km south west of the Johannesburg Central business District and approximately 10km south of the Roodepoort Central business district (Refer to Spatial Regional Development Framework, 2003)

Although the post apartheid government had a housing program to build hundreds of thousands of plain two-room houses here, the illegal squatter camps kept on growing and spreading. Still Soweto is by no means only an accumulation of tin shacks. There are also now better middle income suburbs and a number of more or less functioning social institutions like schools and hospitals. The main impression though is that of great crowding and poverty.

Picture 3 Informal settlement in Soweto



Source: www.wikipedia.org

Many parts of Soweto rank among the poorest in Johannesburg; although individual townships tend to have a mix of wealthier and poorer residents (www.wikipedia.org). Braamfischerville is one of the townships in Soweto whereby majority of the households have lower incomes or nothing at all. It has been chosen as a case study as it is inhabited by voluntary and involuntary relocatees who had no real alternative but to change the location to the assumed fairly peripheral location with little opportunities relative to the original ones, which are Alexandra, Soweto and Boksburg. The aim has been to examine how the change of location has impacted on the livelihood strategies, taking into consideration the issue of mobility and/or accessibility in the city on the relocated communities.

3.5.2.3 Boksburg in brief

Boksburg is a town on the East Rand and falls under the Municipality of Ekhuruleni. Gold was found in 1886 and as a result Boksburg developed and served the surrounding gold The Main Reef road linked Boksburg to all the other major mining towns on the Witwatersrand. Economically, Boksburg is doing well as there many industries in the area. It is no exception from the other towns as there are still some housing problems.

3.6 DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AREA-BRAAMFISCHERVILLE

Braamfischerville is situated in the southern metropolitan part of Johannesburg and in the north-western part of Soweto. It is within region six as shown on map 1. One of the reasons to develop Braamfischerville was the relocation of families in the Alexandra Township Renewal Program from local government. It was established as a resettlement area for people who have been evicted form Alexandra (www.apf.org.za). It further grew as a result of other people who have relocated from Soweto and other parts of southern Johannesburg due to development of new Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) housing.

It is only a few years old (plus or minus five years as the findings show that the first people to be allocated houses arrived in 2001) and has mainly newly built houses (Refer to Chapter 4). This consists partly of small RDP houses which are sponsored by the government and meant for those who are financially not strong enough to buy anything. To a certain extent also there are bond-houses for the better situated where people mostly start off with a simple four-roomed house to extend it in future according to their needs and finances.

3.6.1 General description of transport infrastructure

Braamfischerville is located adjacent to Roodepoort and to one major motorway from Johannesburg to Randfontein, the Main Reef road west (R 41) joining Randfontein road (see map 2).

The public transport is dominated by taxis, although trains provide a small service as there is no railway joining straight to Braamfischerville. Taxis facilities are generally overcrowded and insufficient during rush hours and month ends. There is no established taxi rank within Braamfischerville.

3.7 Conclusion

It should be concluded that Braamfischerville has made relatively little contribution to notions of integration, compaction and restructuring of the apartheid city as it is located at some distance from the main urban centres of activity and where time and transportation costs have increased. In this regard it replicates the housing and transportation situations during the apartheid era, although it is in a different way. As a matter of fact there are some impacts on the livelihoods of the relocated communities.

The next chapter is going to present the data findings through personal visit to Braamfischerville and must disclose the actual impacts on the livelihoods in relation to change of location, transport movements among different places in the city and the housing situation in general.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF THE FIELD WORK

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter conveys the findings relating to Braamfischerville as a resettlement area of the relocated communities. In the present study, I have focused on two categories of people and their experiences of relocation in relation to location and accessibility. Indeed, it has been stated in the introduction that the principal aim of my work is to examine how housing location and mobility impact or have impacted on the daily life of relocated people in Braamfischerville.

The first category is that of individuals who experienced displacement mainly as a result of being vacated from their places due to the renewal project that was about to take place in Alexandra. The second type of people is those who changed their residence and resettled in Braamfischerville as a response to their housing needs. This is regarded as a group of people who have relocated due to housing alternatives at subsidised rate. Admittedly, they had a choice to move and thus made their own decision to move.

The chapter expresses general findings about Braamfischerville and brings together 10 household cases that have been dealt with from the area. It presents data collected to support the analysis, which will be in the next chapter. Additional information has been obtained through daily conversations with some members of the community, informal face to face interview with one staff member from the Alexandra Renewal Project who dealt with relocations in that area, and one contractor who built and gave house keys to the beneficiaries.

4.1 GENERAL FINDINGS WITH REFERENCE TO BRAAMFISCHERVILLE

4.1.1 Physical description of Braamfischerville

The area in which the field research was carried out consists of three extensions, even though residents are used to differentiating their areas according to phases. For this reason, Braamfischerville is known to be having four phases of housing developments. Interviews have been done in phase two and three respectively. During my first visit to Braamfischerville, I got fortunate enough to find a friend of my aunt who happened to know where people from Alexandra could be found. Majority of them have been allocated houses in phase 2, which has been named Jukskei, which is a river in Alexandra. According to the villagers this name was first used by taxi drivers at the Johannesburg taxi rank (Bree) in order to differentiate where people are going. Moreover the naming of that area is due to the fact that the majority of people residing there were from Alexandra and particularly from the Jukskei informal settlement. The other part of Braamfischerville is named Ntaba-Mhlophe (White-mountain) because of the mining dump.

The structure of the settlement indicates mainly central planning and management and a desire for privacy. As stated by one contractor who was involved in building the houses, the residential area is divided into plots between approximately 220 square metres (12.5 by 17.5) and 440 square metres (20 by 22) in size (refer to figure 1).

Figure 1 Plot Layout



Houses are situated along gravel streets that intersect the settlement and create a squared pattern. Residents complain of the streets being muddy when it rains making it difficult or even impossible for cars to travel thus

people who are working and school children miss work and school on those days (see picture 4).

Picture 4 Gravel Street with houses alongside



Houses are generally placed at the end of the plot with a garden in front or at the side to cultivate vegetables or do a landscaping (see picture 5 and 6). The extra space also allows people to extend their houses when they have money. One of the things that one noticed when walking around in the area was that people extended their houses and constructed backyard shacks to use for different purposes.

Picture 5 Cultivated space on the side

Picture 6: Landscaped Space



Picture 6 Landscaped Space



Picture 7 Extended house with an outside wall and a backyard shack



Looking at other infrastructural services other than streets, one found out that not all the phases are provided with electricity. Residents from phase 2 (Alexandra relocatees) indicated that they spent almost two years without electricity. Phase 3, which is inhabited by people from other parts of Johannesburg (Soweto and Boksburg) other than Alexandra, is not electrified but electrification is underway. It was observed that poles are being installed which will feed power to the houses.

As it has been stated in the introductory chapter, the data collected is developed around the following themes:

- Financial aspects and livelihood strategies*:* sources of income, present and previous; and employment issues
- Movement patterns and travel behaviour: mode and costs of transportation, travelling time and trip frequency
- Relocation experience and housing locational issues*:* relocation history: date of arrival and motivation for resettlement, relocation process, and locational issues
- Social and institutional aspects*:* (a) relation in the settlement area: friends and relatives with whom there was occasional or frequent contact, (b) Kinship ties: Contacts to home village, frequency and purpose of visits, (c) social networks: membership in formal community organisations and participation in voluntary organisations.

Respondents were not willing to give out their names for various reasons; letters of the alphabet are therefore used to represent the names of the members of the households who were interviewed.

4.2 FINANCIAL ASPECTS AND LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Most of the interviewees showed that they are not employed as such they do not have any regular source of income. For most of these households, occupations in both the formal and informal economy are not often secure and reliable. Mrs 'A' showed that she relies on part-time jobs. She said,

"*in order to make a living, I engage in different piece-jobs. For example, I am currently having one that I only go on Tuesdays and Thursdays."*

Miss 'B' indicated that she takes care of the children of one person who is a teacher. There are two respondents who indicated that they are full time employed, one as a garden designer somewhere in Roodepoort while the other is an office clerk at Johannesburg Metropolitan (Braamfontein). Mrs 'E' asserted that she tried selling vegetables but they could not be bought and ended up rotting. For this reason she is stuck and does not know what to do as the area does not have opportunities for them to 'market'[2].

Mr 'G' described that if he is not holding any part-time job, he walks to Main Reef Road and wait for any possible employer. He says it is not easy to get employed as one can spend the whole week or even more without being picked up. Miss 'T' showed that she makes a living through selling clothes. She sells them in Soweto as she already had customers.

Other sources of income are through grants. Of the interviewed households, 4 receive grants. One is pension while 3 are children grants. These have been found to boost in the families even though it is not that much. Miss 'T', other than selling clothes showed that she has what is called 'mokholisano'

[2] By 'market', it is understood to be when people go out to places where there are economic activities taking place to search for job opportunities.

which is a way of each individual contributing money and then giving to 1 or 2 people in a month and keeps circulating until it reaches to the last person. She explained that this helps her a lot as she always finds it at the end of the year, so she manages to shop for Christmas.

Even though most of the households under study showed that they did not have any means of survival, as one was walking around, it was observed that significant income sources are derived from self employment activities. Most prominent among these is running very small grocery shops commonly known as ‘spaza shops’ (see picture 8). Apart from running ’spaza shops’, selling cooked food prepared in the home, like fat cakes, cakes and ‘ditlhakwana’ (cow, pig, and sheep heels and chicken legs) (see picture 9) is the second most important self employment activity among households. Other activities that one noticed are: running public phone shops, brick making, shoe repairing, running barber shops and hair salons, day care centres, plant nursery and electric work. (See pictures in the appendix).

‘**Spaza shops**’

Picture 8 Spaza shop



Picture 9 Spaza shop



According to the literature, housing is claimed to be a base for businesses as a way to raise income. This has been noticed to be the case in Bbaamfischerville as pictures illustrate.

Relocatees from Alexandra reported that they had to leave their jobs when they relocated as they could not afford to pay double the amount to get to the north of Johannesburg. One resident said

"It was really hectic when we reached here because we were used to having many piece-jobs when we were in Alex. So there was no other way we could still hold on the jobs because transport is expensive. One would be working for transport fares only as we are not paid high amounts."

Mrs 'C' is from Soweto and works in Braamfontein. She did not leave her job because there is transport to Johannesburg from Braamfischerville. She indicated that even when she was living in Soweto before moving to Braamfischerville she walked to her office from Bree taxi rank, so she still does the same.

4.3 MOVEMENT PATTERNS AND TRAVEL BEHAVIOUR

4.3.1 Modes of transport

The mostly used mode of transport is taxis (see picture 10) and train. Even though there is no rail network, residents reported that they take taxis to Kwezi station in Dobsonville, whereby they are able to catch a train to Johannesburg and/or Soweto. Residents stated that there are also buses that have been provided by government to take children to school for free as there is only one school (Julias Sebolai) in the whole of Braamfischerville and cannot accommodate all the children in the area.

Picture 10 Taxis as a mode of transport



4.3.2 Frequency of travel and common travel destinations

It has been found that majority of residents make journeys to and from work, schools and shops on a daily basis. Once in a while when a person is sick he or she will be taken to the clinic. Sometimes residents travel to churches, though they complain of having to pop out money for taxi fares. The main areas people travel to are for shopping purposes in Dobsonville, Roodepoort, and Johannesburg city centre. For health services and banking facilities they travel to Dobsonville and sometimes Roodepoort. While the two respondents who are employed travel to Johannesburg and Roodepoort, and a husband to the respondent from Boksburg travels to Germiston. The destinations are mainly outside Braamfischerville indicating that people spend more money and time on travelling.

4.3.3 Transport costs and commuting time

Majority of households complained that they spend more money than they used to spend before relocation. They pointed out that due to lack of services such as shopping centres, clinics, churches and even banks in their

settlement area; they always have to travel, meaning that they have to pay taxis to get to their destinations. For example to get to Dobsonville to do some shopping or see a doctor one has to pay around R4.00 per trip which one was not paying before relocation as they used to walk to the places of interest.

Even trips to work have added some costs to travelling. In Alex, this was less of an issue because people lived near places of economic activities so they only walked to their destination places. Also a respondent from Boksburg showed that the husband took only one taxi to work as opposed to Braamfischervlle where he has to take a taxi to Johannesburg, then a train to Germiston. She pointed out that her husband pays R6.00 per trip to Johannesburg and buys a monthly train ticket for R88.00.

The average commuting time has also increased. One respondent from Boksburg said that the husband, as he is the one working, is now waking up two hours before the time that he used to when he was still in Boksburg. This is due to the fact that he has to catch a taxi early from Braamfischervile so that he can get a train from Johannesburg to Germiston. Thus their spending on transport and commuting time has increased as a result of change of location.

4.4 RELOCATION EXPERIENCE

4.4.1 Relocation history and the process of relocation

As reported by one of the officers in the ARP[3] offices, an approximated number of people who have been relocated from Alexandra to Braamfisherville is 4,103 and are the first ones to be allocated houses. Among the 10 households who were interviewed, 6 are living Phase 2, known

[3] An ARP officer interviewed informally.

as Jukskei and have been found to all come from Alexandra. According to this officer, people who were to be relocated had been informed in writing by the office (Alexandra Renewal Project) that they would have to move within 7 days. He pointed out that because the project had to commence before the houses in Braamfischerville were finished, people were then moved to Zandfontein Transit Village/camp whereby the stayed for 4-6 months or until the subsidy was approved.

From the interviews one found out that not all the respondents remembered the exact date of relocation, but they knew that it was in June, 2001 and it was on a Friday. As one went on with the interviews it was found that almost all the people interviewed relocated on the same day, which was on the 22nd of June 2001. As this was during the week, there were some inconveniences especially for those who were working at that time. Mr. 'F' indicated that bosses did not listen to them when they wanted a day off in order to relocate as they wanted their work to be done. He pointed out that he had to pay the day he took off.

It was found out that certain kinds of assistance were available to the relocatees. According to this official, relocatees were offered a R500 voucher donated by Checkers Supermarket to allow people to buy necessities such as food and paraffin as they reached a place with no electricity. Basically the voucher was a way of restoration in the short-term after resettlement. They were also offered transport to carry their possessions to the new area. Mrs. 'E' said that,

"we were happy because government provided trucks to transport our belongings. We were waiting happily for the day to go to our new houses. It was very nice in the truck as it took about four families together and so we even helped each other to offload the stuff when we reached here."

It was indicated that schools were arranged for the children. One of the interviewees, 'B', confirmed by saying that;

"even though we relocated in the middle of the year, it had been arranged for our children to get into the schools this side." She went on to say that "I am saying that transfers from the old schools to the new ones were there for our children so it was ok."

Of the remaining 4, 3 households which were interviewed were from different parts of Soweto (Naledi, Moletsane, and Meadowlands) while 1 is from Boksburg. These are the households who relocated out of choice and desire to own houses as such the relocation process was found to be different from those who came from Alexandra. They moved to the area on different dates. Those who were interviewed moved to Braamfischerville from September 2005 to March 2006 respectively. They moved at their own pace because they were not forced out of their old location. They did not receive any support in relocating by government. That is, they had to find their own way of getting to the new settlement. One of the residents who was not interviewed but whom I chatted with, remarked that for her to get their possessions to the new area, she had to find a ride from one person whom she knew and very fortunately they got houses not far from each other.

It has been found that almost all the people were motivated to move to the new area due to the fact that they were going to have their own houses. As such they considered this as an improvement in their lives as they now had places to call their homes.

4.5 HOUSING AND HOUSING LOCATIONAL ISSUES

4.5.1 Allocation of housing

As it has been stated earlier on, people from Alexandra were the first to be allocated houses and they were settled in one area. They filled the form at least 2 to 3 weeks before relocation which indicated that they have been allocated houses in Braamfischerville. By the time they got to the area they already knew where they were allocated.

Those who came from other parts of Johannesburg other than Alexandra were called to the office in Roodepoort to collect their keys and given house numbers. Even though these people got houses they complained that they have been waiting for a long time before getting houses and that people from Alexandra got houses even before them. Mrs. 'H' from Moletsane in Soweto said that

"I have applied for a house in 1996 and people who applied afterwards got houses before me. This is not fair because they even got houses at much better locations than this, Any way, I am happy because I finally got a house because there some people who are still waiting for them."

4.5.2 Locational issues.

All households interviewed were not given any choice of location. Relocatees from Alexandra were just told that they have been allocated houses in Braamfischerville and because there had no where to go they had to accept the offer. Mrs. 'A' showed that there was no choice given. She said

"I was happy to get a house because many people have registered for houses long time ago but have not got them as yet. For example Soweto people have long registered for houses but we people from Alexandra got them before them."

Contrary to this, the 3 interviewees from Soweto and 1 from Boksburg showed that when they were applying for houses they had indicated the areas which they wanted to be given houses. That is, they were given choice of location when they registered for houses unfortunately when they were allocated houses they were just placed where houses were available at that moment. Mrs. 'H' from Moletsane in Soweto pointed out that

"*I had no choice but to take the house because if I did not take it I thought that I would be put back into the waiting list or 'flop' the house at all. I do not like Braamfischerville because it is far from everything."*

Concerning the new housing location, findings show that there are some issues that make inhabitants feel satisfied or not satisfied. Mrs. 'E' reported that

"there are no shopping complexes; one has to go to shoprite (Dobsonville) or Roodepoort. If one does not have a lot of money to do larger grocery, you have to buy at the 'spaza shops' which are very expensive."

Mrs. 'A' added by saying that there are no piece-jobs in Braamfischerville. She showed that Alexandra was better because there were lots of economic activities taking place as it is near Sandton and Rosebank where they could even walk to 'market' themselves.

On the issue of commuting and access to public transport, generally inhabitants are not satisfied as they have to connect at least twice before they reach their destination. Most importantly, it has been indicated that there are taxis from Braamfischerville to Johannesburg via Roodepoort, thus makes it better for them to access the major city centre easily. However, most people need to catch an additional taxi to go further out from the city centre.

Another level of (dis-) satisfaction is connected with neighbours. It has been found out that there is a strong attachment with neighbours. Miss 'C' reported that

"my neighbours are very friendly and we help one another if one has something to offer."

She further said,

"This does not mean that all neighbours are good. Eish! There is one who stresses me. I do not like that one."

4.5.3 Evaluation of Neighbourhood and Housing Premises

A number of residents were very happy to have moved to Braamfischerville because they were going to own houses. They indicated that the settlement is very nice as there are clear boundaries so there is no one encroaching into someone else' property. One resident remarked that they are able to clean their gardens and plant flowers. He showed that he always gets part-time jobs for cleaning 'white' people's gardens as such he emphasises that when he has cut plants in those gardens he now takes them to his home as there is space for them to grow. Mrs 'E' clarifies that there is more space for their children to play. They also have privacy because they used to stay in the shacks which they even shared with other families.

There other respondent indicated that, the area is very clean and healthy compared to their original places. She said,

"There is no one who is just throwing dirty water in front of someone's house. We are no longer worried about our children getting contaminated because it is clean around here."

However, there are other negative perceptions about the area:

"*Braamfischerville is like a desert. There are no activities taking place. There is no work."*

Said one of the respondents when asked about what she dislikes about the neighbourhood. Mrs. 'A' pointed out that she hates most when she has to go to the clinic in Dobsonville because there are long queues. She said,

"If there are too many people on the line, we are cut and have to come again the following day. This is really depressing and a waste of money."

4.6 SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ASPECTS

One lady from Alexandra indicated that they have been lucky to have been allocated houses in one area as they have good relationship with one another. Thus they help each other when one is in need. This may be due to the fact that they arrived in large numbers within a relatively short period of time. Those that came from other areas other than Alexandra also showed that they have good relations with their neighbours. One said,

"It is like we knew each other from years ago."

About friends and relatives they left behind, it seemed it does not matter whether they are far away or nearer as they have established good contacts within the new area. Miss 'C' said:

"if I do not have anything to eat I do not have to go home to ask for food, the friend that I made here gives me maize meal and I do not sleep with a hungry stomach."

Mr. ‘F’ further showed that he does not want any extended family near him; as long as his cell phone works he can contact them if there is any problem. He went on to say that they as neighbours help each other even at funerals.

4.7 CONCLUSION

Judging from the data presented here the impacts of relocation on livelihood strategies are not as severe as it was thought. The issues on location and transport seem to be the most prominent ones that affect the way people would make a living. It seemed to relocatees that being provided with houses is the major thing. For this reason, when one has somewhere to stay it is easy to think of coping strategies. The following chapter on analysis will further reveal if there has been a major disruption as a result of relocating to the area which is assumed to be badly located as compared to the previous places of stay.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The present study concentrates on the impacts of housing location and mobility on livelihood strategies of the relocated communities. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to do an analysis of the findings of the study on the impacts of housing location and mobility on the resettlers. The outcome of my visit to Braamfischerville is used as an extra source of information to come to an understanding of the actual impacts of the resettlement on the livelihoods and social relationships of the relocatees. During the visit, the main focus of the field work laid upon the livelihood issues: how do people make a living (before and after relocation)? How have people derived coping mechanisms after relocation? How are the travel patterns, and have they changed as a result of relocation? In this regard, the general discussion on findings is relevant for this analysis.

Next to the literature and the data findings, personal observations disclosed whether locational and mobility factors have undermined or improved the quality of life of the relocated people in relation to housing situation and the surroundings of the area. A few days that I spent in Braamfischerville made one aware of many activities that people engaged in and revealed those that the households did not want to mention.

As previously mentioned in the literature review, households displaced by relocation programmes tend to be the most vulnerable as to start with. They live in the conditions that can cause them displacement. Seemingly the most deprived groups are the victims of relocation because many of the displaced settlements are found in particularly unstable and insecure locations or on the land reserved for infrastructure including road expansion or alignment.

This appears to be the case in Alexandra and in some parts of Soweto. In Alexandra, all urban renewal project related-displacement has been of the so-called squatters with very weak housing tenure. People who have been relocated were the ones living along the banks of Jukskei River and on the London Road reserve. On the other hand Sowetans who relocated to Braamfischerville also came from the backyard shacks and others form the squatter settlements which also do not have a secure tenure, though this category of people moved out of free will. This seemed to be the case for the person who came from Boksburg as she showed that she stayed in a shack and worst of all she was renting.

5.1 RELOCATION PROCESS

The literature showed that relocation is a non-random decision making process involving environmental limitation of choice and consumer preference (House, 1970). This is applicable to my study as it has been observed that whether the type of relocation has been a forced one or a free-will type of relocation, there was no choice of the area to be relocated to. This was due to the fact that people have been in the waiting list for years so when their turn came up they were offered Braamfischerville as the opportunity.

This supports the literature whereby it has been indicated that the available housing forms a basic field of choice for relocating families. In this case people had to relocate because they have been provided with housing, which they felt it was better compared to the situation where people are just chased out of their so called homes and not given any alternative.

The analysis on this point, especially for relocatees from Alexandra, is that they were willing to move because they considered that there had been fair arrangements made for them to relocate. It has been specified that they

were offered transport and a R500 voucher in order to assist with up a few issues when they reach the new place. For this reason, the process of relocating was not as bad as in other areas where people have to find their own means to get to the new place regardless of distances between a place of origin and the resettlement area.

5.1.1 General costs and benefits of relocation

5.1.1.1 Increasing Family expenditure

It seems that monthly expenditures have increased significantly for families who have to travel everyday to work and school. Even though most of residents are not employed a few that work remained in the same job after moving. Most of these jobs were in the vicinity of Alexandra. Also it has been found that transfers for children to attend schools at the side of the new settlement have been processed but because there are no schools around Braamfischervile. Some residents left children in their original places. This also increased the expenditure as the elderly have to ensure that the children are well taken care of where they are. Even those children who moved together with parents to the new area still go back to the old school. Thus there needs to be money for transport for both working parents and school going children.

5.2 HOUSING AND HOUSING LOCATION

From the findings one may point out that when people are being relocated from their places the choice of housing location is restricted by their affordability and what they are offered in terms of government funded housing. The government housing subsidy is always limited, influencing the location and range of options. Thus, relocatees do not have the choice of

housing location after their personal priority but have to follow the decisions made by government.

In summary the study revealed a mixture of picture as people showed that the location is bad relative to places of origin as it lacks services and utilities. On the other hand they also pointed this might be a temporary thing as this area is still new, so they hope that things will change as time goes on. The implication is that, people believe that as infrastructure and all other services are in place they will have access of the basic needs as such livelihoods will be improved.

5.2.1 Housing costs

To my surprise the cost of housing has decreased because people are no longer paying rent. The other thing is that they have not yet started paying for services such as water and refuse collection. One would have thought that costs should rise as a result of rates and taxes but it has been found that there is nothing paid except for R115 which is paid once when a person enters the house and a R100 for installation of electricity. It has been found that majority do not pay electricity installation amount. This is why most areas stay for a long time without electricity because there is not enough contribution from the residents to electrify the area and the individual houses.

Considering the issue of maintenance, again, very surprisingly, many of the houses still remained in good condition. This implies that they are being maintained, but one wonders where these people get money as they complained of high unemployment rate. A lot of houses were installed of steel burglar proofing and a few that one got into have been plastered and painted on the walls.

5.2.2 Improved housing conditions

In all the areas (Alexandra, Soweto and Boksburg) that the interviewees came from, households did not own houses as is to be expected in order to qualify for government assitance. Some owned shacks, while others had rented them or lived with parents in the old houses. This highlights the fact that these people were insecure of land and so there was no way they could improve their housing conditions, let alone the living conditions. This implies that the sense of insecurity discouraged people from improving their housing. From this perspective, one can point out that recipients of the houses in Braamfischerville feel that their housing conditions have improved, mainly access to water and now having security of tenure, as previously they were living in fear of being evicted all the time.

The new settlement has given them a sense of belonging to a space and owning property and as such one might say that their wealth has increased. However the new settlement has not gone beyond fulfilling basic needs to promote survival strategies as people are now struggling to make a living as a result of 'poor location' in relation to economic opportunities.

*5.*3 LIVELIHOODS

5.3.1 Diversification of livelihood strategies as a response to change caused by resettlement

The assumption has been that a person's real livelihood practices are related to where he/she is, meaning that the way the person tries to make a living is influenced by the place or location in which she/ he stays. The findings have revealed this to be true as it has been found that people who left their jobs when they relocated found other means of surviving when they reached the new place. However the literature reviewed also indicated that

people depend on multiple sources of livelihood, not only those that bring in money and food to the family but all other activities that the household can undertake to survive and reproduce itself (Beall and Kanji, 1999, de Satge, 2002).

Likewise, the findings have disclosed that people in Braamfisherville engage in a lot of diversified livelihood strategies ranging from self employment, casual labour, and regular labour and using housing as business entity in order to raise income (Moser, 1996). (see pictures on the chapter on findings).

Even though people interviewed seemed not to be having other strategies, through personal observations one found out that this is in fact the case. For example in areas where there is no electricity, particularly phase 3 where I interviewed 3 people from Soweto and 1 from Boksburg; people went to a nearby area where there are many trees to collect wood for cooking. This therefore shows that people can do other things that do not bring in money or food to the household but which still contribute to making a living.

5.3.2 Social networks and institutions

Even though the literature showed that in many cases displacement causes communities to split apart and reduces access to social support and community-based mutual aid networks; it has been found not to be appropriate to my study as people have indicated that they found new neighbours who are understanding and offering help to those who are in need. The other issue is that relocatees, especially those who come from Alexandra and Boksburg did not have many relatives around their original places as they had only stayed in the areas for work purposes.

It is very true as Schutte (2005) has specified that in the absence of formal employment opportunities and difficulties in raising sufficient income to feed the family, resources acquired by virtue of effective social networks are crucial and often represent the last alternatives available. The findings correlate with this point, but it is highlighted that if at all one can establish contacts in the new environment, life will still go on.

On the other hand, respondents from Soweto also seemed not to care very much about the left behind family members as they claimed to be having good hearted neighbours and have made new friends in the area. However it is clear that there are still some important connections to the previous place as one lady (Mrs 'T')[4] from Naledi went home almost every weekend. Even if she does not spend the whole weekend, she would at least have gone for some of the time. This is because she also left her children behind with their grandmother because there is only one school in Braamfischerville (Julias Sebolai) so it cannot accommodate all the children. Even though there are schools in Dobsonvilee where children could go, it would cost the family to pay for transport as it was found that the buses that have been provided by government to take children to school are not reliable.

During our conversation she also showed that she has volunteered to clean the surroundings around Braamfischerville settlement as service for garbage removal is not available. This shows that the settlement really lacks services.

One did not think of collecting wood and doing some community work as livelihood activities, but after reviewing some literature one has been brought to light that these fall under reproductive and community management activities as it has been highlighted by de Satge (2002). This therefore

[4] Mrs. 'T' did not mention these points during an interview. She happened to be close to my aunt, so I got this information from chatting with her.

shows that relocated communities in Braamfischervile have multiple sources of livelihood as a response to the change of location.

5.4 MOBILITY AND TRANSPORTATION

5.4.1 Frequent movement

From the findings it shows that regardless of increased transportation costs and increased commuting time, there still existed a flow of people back-and-forth to places of origin and other parts of the city for economic and social reasons. This is supported by the fact that respondents complained of having to spend more money for their trips but they did not consider stopping movements to their different destinations.

More detailed attention has been given to the activities and travel of two broad groups of people, these being working people and school going children. This is due the fact that the connection between home and work is viewed to be important than any other activities. However there are other groups which still move around the area to do some activities which contribute to the livelihoods which need to be considered. As it has been mentioned, there are some reproductive activities being performed by women such as taking care of children. For this reason, housewives are another group with distinctive travel patterns. Their trips, though not as time consuming as the journey to work, are numerous but short distance, are not made by car and are usually demanding. This is because many of their activities are structured around serving the needs of other members of their family. They are mainly the ones doing shopping, accompanying children to school and medical facilities; as such they are also affected if the location of housing is not accessible to their needs.

5.5 CONCLUSION

Impacts of relocation appear to be similar whether it is the result of voluntary or forced evictions. What one has observed in the Braamfischerville case study is that as long as people are provided with an alternative housing and secure tenure, the displaced are tied to the area despite the relatively poor location. They in turn help to restore their livelihoods using resources that are available. This does not mean that the new housing developments should continue to be located at the peripheries. There needs to be some recommendations on what can be done in order to curb the continuing peripherisation of low-cost housing developments.

CHAPTER 6: GENERAL CONCLUSION AND PLANNING/POLICY IMPLICATIONS

6.0 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The study examined how housing location and mobility impact or have impacted on the daily life of relocated people in Braamfischerville. The research further developed a better understanding of how relocated people in Braamfischerville make a living. The study focused on the relocatees from Alexandra, Soweto and Boksburg respectively. It examined how households combine a range of activities to secure their livelihoods and to restore their livelihoods after displacement.

A framework was presented which drew attention to four main aspects (although others were mentioned): firstly the understanding of the process of relocation, secondly the issues on housing and housing location, thirdly mobility and transportation issues, and lastly the perspective of urban livelihoods and responses of the communities as a result of relocation to the new location. The discussion then focused on those of the framework those aspects that are most relevant to housing location, mobility, and livelihoods. Most attention was devoted to the impacts that have been brought up by the changed location and movements of the relocated communities.

In order to understand why the location of the housing developments, such as Braamfischerville as a resettlement area continue to develop in inaccessible and not so ‘well located’ places; a brief study was made on the history of Johannesburg in relation to the issues of housing, transportation and relocations during apartheid era and immediate post-apartheid era when the housing policy was introduced.

These ideas have been examined in the context of Braamfischerville as a resettlement area. The framework helped to enable a clearly understood discussion of the case study. The case study confirmed many observations and expectations of the framework even though the impacts were not as severe as they were anticipated in that time. It was therefore noted that Braamfischerville made a limited contribution to notions of integration, compaction and restructuring of the apartheid city as it is located at some distance from the main urban centres of activity and where time and transportation costs have increased; thus replicating the housing and transportation situations during the apartheid era. The settlement does not align with the Johannesburg Integrated Development planning (IDP) specifically through its Spatial Development Framework (SDF) as it does not support containment and compaction of the city and strategic location. Frayne (1991) affirms that generally the spatial planning of the city with regard to future residential expansion should be guided by a policy of urban consolidation as a means of increasing densities and in the city as well as controlling the extent of horizontal expansion.

The study focused on two groups of relocatees: the development-induced relocatees in the form of an urban renewal (involuntary) and the free will relocatees. One has come to realise that they experience the different processes of relocation because those from Alexandra got assistance from government while the other group found its way out to get to the new area. Despite the different processes of relocation the impacts appear similar. Besides the fact that livelihoods have been disrupted, largely families seemed to be very happy to have found houses. One would therefore point out that generally people benefited from relocation at least in physical terms, especially those from Alexandra as the Alexandra renewal programme re-housed those displaced in decent, safe and sanitary dwellings though not in a conveniently located area in relation to economic opportunities.

However, the case study brought to light the fact that impacts seem to be the same to both voluntary and the involuntary relocatees as they both have changed the place of origin to a very new environment where they have to adapt and learn new strategies to make a living. As such one of the concerns of the relocated people is the construction of identities which establish a sense of belonging to the new area.

Findings of the study showed that there is a relationship between housing location and mobility with respect to livelihoods of the relocated communities in Braamfischerville. For example, to survive, a person must be able to move around in order to access or consume goods and services. Clearly, location appears to be significant in travel behaviour, even for relocatees in Braamfischerville as commuting time and transport costs have increased so it is not easy to access the services.

The study highlighted that the choice of housing location is restricted by relocatees' affordability and the limited government housing subsidy, which is why new low- income housing developments continue to contribute to sprawl. This implies that relocatees do not have the choice of housing location after their personal priority but have to follow the decisions made by government.

In conclusion, therefore one has to point out that the impacts of relocation on livelihood strategies were found to be not as harsh as it were first thought. The issues on location and transport seem to be the most prominent ones that affect the way people would make a living. It seemed to relocatees that being provided with houses was important. For this reason, when one has somewhere to stay it is easy to think of coping strategies.

6.1 PLANNING AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The need to meet the housing in many African countries, including South Africa is a dilemma shared and facing the housing industry, the government and people who need housing. As planners therefore, we have the responsibility to understand the problem and contribute to meeting the need, taking into consideration livelihoods of the people.

The history of South Africa and many other developing countries shows that the apartheid policies together with the past colonial planning made the city not to cater for adequate use of the open spaces as this created city sprawl through buffer zones, resulting in inefficient use of land and segregation of people. As it has been discussed in the text, housing is the largest physical component of the city, and is, as such a powerful spatial organiser. Thus the location of housing and its relationship to the components of the city such as centre of employment, education and recreation, directly affect the economic and social lives of the inhabitants of the city as well as its overall performance .The wise location of a scheme is one of the most important factors in determining the economic results by which the success or failure of the undertaking finally be judged.

It would be recommended that the town planning and building regulations be revised and reviewed to allow variety of land uses. For example, businesses should be allowed to operate within residential properties as this will alleviate poverty and improve Local Economic Development (LED). The buffers can be used may be as gardens to produce vegetables or to plant flowers which will enhance the beauty of the area. The only problem is that there are no laws and regulations allowing for multiple land uses so people might have problems with their businesses; but this is not a limitation in Braamfischerville because people are doing it any way.

The value of land is often costly and takes a larger portion of the fund that is supposed to be used for housing itself. This becomes a problem as the money that is left cannot accommodate all the requirements that are important or necessary for a quality house that should be part of the sustainable human settlement. It is therefore suggested that funding for the acquisition of land should be separated from the housing subsidy as it is suggested in the Breaking New Ground. In essence, the acquisition of land must be funded through a separate-funding mechanism which will at list lower the unnecessary costs of subsidy. Frayne (1991) adds by arguing that the possibility of subsidising land might have some potential in this regard, and as such should be considered.

It should also be suggested that people be offered assistance in relocating as many people have problems of transporting their belongings from the places of origin to the new area. ARP has set a good example so it should be replicated to all other kinds of relocations.

The issue of schooling should also be taken into consideration. It has been observed that in almost all the new low-income housing developments, there are no schools. The recommendation made is that schools should be built concurrently with the houses. This should be so because when people relocate they leave behind children thus causing more responsibility to the household. This also contributes to more shacks being constructed in order to accommodate the left behind children. Government would never achieve its objective of ‘eradicating’ poverty.

6.2 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The suggested recommendations are intended to come up with useful modifications for policy making to improve the situation of people that are still going to be faced with evictions and displacements as there may be more renewal projects that will be undertaken in the future. This does not leave behind the fact that many people still live in squatter settlements, meaning that more houses are still going to be built and people are still going to relocate out of free will. This therefore applies to both categories of relocatees: involuntary and voluntary.

It is important to think holistically about housing in order to bring about balanced development. Housing is a multi-sectoral activity which needs various departments to work together to ensure sustainability. As such government should set up integrated policies ensuring that housing is properly planned and managed in such a way that will minimise the adverse impacts; economically, environmentally, socially and culturally. The crux of the matter is that for housing to be considered an effective tool for development, as planners, we should find the means of providing solutions for the housing challenges that have been outlined in the course of the report through implementation of policies that have been provided

These will help to develop better structures driving to the use of housing as a poverty reduction strategy.

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Appendix 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of an interviewer: Lindiwe Makaya

(A master's student in the field of Development Planning at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)

Topic of the research: Housing Location and Mobility: The Impacts on Livelihood Strategies of the Relocated Communities in Braamfischerville.

Location of interview: …….....

Date: …….....

Time: ……..

Initials of the household member ……..

Section/ phase and Street name: ……..

Please tick the appropriate box.

Section A: Demographic Aspects (Personal data)

1. Gender: Male [ ]
   Female [ ]

2. Age: <20 [ ]
   20-29 [ ]
   30-39 [ ]
   40-49 [ ]
   50-59 [ ]
   60-69 [ ]
   70+ [ ]

3. Marital Status: Single [ ]
   Married [ ]

Divorced [ ]

Widowed [ ]

Separated [ ]

Other [ ]

4. Relationship of the interviewee to household head ……

5. Language spoken at home…….. ……...

6. Occupation: motor mechanic [ ]

Shop assistant [ ]

Bar attendant [ ]

Taxi driver [ ]

Hawker [ ]

Teacher [ ]

Nurse [ ]

Other (specify) [ ]

7. Household Size……..

8. Children under the age of 18……...

Section B: Financial Aspects and Livelihood Strategies

Did you earn income when you were living in the previous place, in what way and where? .....

……

……

Are there some people who bring in money to the household? Which members of the family and how are they doing it?

.....

.....

.....

...

Do all members of the family work at the same place?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

If it is the different work place, what are the factors that made them (including you) change the job?

……

……

……

If you quit what is the reason for that? .....

……

……

What were your previous sources of income?

……

……

……

What are the current sources of income?

……

……

……

What coping strategies did you use before relocation and how are you coping now? .....

……

Are there any other means of living (other activities) that the household engage?

Yes [ ]

No [ ]

If yes, what are they?

……

……

Does the family receive any grants and what type?

……

How do you get this grant? Do you still have to collect your money from the previous location?

……

……

How does this affect you and the family?

.....

……

Section C: Movement Patterns and Travel behaviour

Do some members of the family travel on the daily basis?

……

For what purpose?

.....

Where to? (Name and location of the place)

.....

What are the major means of travelling that you use?

Taxi [ ]

Train [ ]

Bus [ ]

Bicycle [ ]

Other (specify) [ ]

How much do they pay per journey? .....

How long does it take to reach the destination?

.....

Is the transport reliable and efficient? How long do you wait in the queues for taxis, buses, train etc. to arrive? .....

Compared with the previous situation (before relocation) has travel time and costs for each trip increased/decreased? (Explain why you say this).

……

……

……

Section D: Relocation experience and Housing location

When did your family move into Braamfischerville and where from?

……

……

.

Was/ is there any assistance that you and the family got when relocation was undertaken and how? (e.g. transportation)

.....

……

……

Did you and your household feel evicted or pushed out of your previous place? Why do you say so? .....

……

……

Was the family required to vacate the place at a particular time or did you move slowly overtime to the new place? .....

……

……

What time of the year and/ or day of the week did relocation take place?

……..

Were there any events or other issues going on in the lives of the household members that made it convenient or inconvenient to move? (e.g. schooling, jobs etc.) ……

……

How did you respond to the inconveniences?.....

……

……

What finally motivated you to move to this new place?

……

……

Was allocation done in the order of arrival or according to kinship or residential groupings prior to relocation? ……

……

During the process of resettlement, did you encounter any problem with respect to allocation of housing unit? What was it?

……

……

……

Were you offered a choice of any location other than Braamfischerville by the housing department? .....

If you were given choice of a place to resettle, where would it be? What would be the most important reason for that?

.....

……

……

Concerning this new housing location are the issues that make you satisfied or dissatisfied and why? (e.g, employment centre/work place, food and clothing shopping, commuting/ access to public transportation, friendly/ unfriendly neighbours etc)

……..

……

……

Compared with the original housing premise, in which aspect is the present premise better or worse? …….

……

……..

How do you feel about the 'new neighbourhood' as a place to live?

- What do you like about it?

……

……

……

- What do you dislike about it?

……

……

……

- What problems are you experiencing? (Explain)
- What is assisting you and the family to deal with these problems?

If you were to get a new home, where would it be? What would be the most important reason for that? .....

……

……..

Section E: Social and Institutional aspects

Before moving, did you have access to extended family (friends and relatives)? Yes [ ]

No [ ]

If yes, what are the advantages of staying with/near friends and relatives? How important is it to live near your parents or other close relatives? (Explain)…….

……

……

What is the situation after moving? (Explain)……

……

……

Were you or anyone in the family a member of any Community Based Organisation (CBO) and/or any association before rolocation? (e.g.church, savings group, stokvels etc.)

.....

Did this organisation /association help in any way in order to survive or carry on with your live? (Explain)

……

……

……

Is the family still holding to the previous CBOs/organisations or have joined the new ones in the new place?

.....

How do you maintain meetings and contributions at this new place if you/ any member of the family still have connections with those organisations?

……

……

……

Does this affect the household/ family in anyway? .....

……

……

Does change of location has any impacts on the household in terms of social integration? Did the household find any difficulty in trying to incorporate into the host community? How?

……

……

……

Was/ is there any assistance that you have got after relocation has been undertaken and how? .....

……

……

In your own opinion the attitude of the government towards relocation and resettlement is (restrictive, encouraging or one of neglect). What is the reason for the above opinion?

……

Appendix 2: Livelihood diversification

Brickworks



Public Phone Shop











Plant nursery

