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House as a claim to citizenship in post-apartheid Alexandra



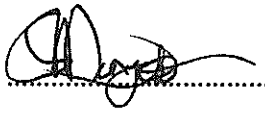
Seyco Manyaka

Supervisor: Dr Alex Wafer

A research report submitted to the School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental Studies, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Science in Geography

Declaration

I declare that this Dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Science in Geography, Department of Geography, and Environmental Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.



..... (Candidate's Signature)

Seyco Manyaka

24 Day of April Year 2019

Abstract

Questions of housing in post-apartheid South Africa were concerned initially with numbers (i.e. with building a million houses between 1994 and 2000), with the aim of overcoming the apartheid-inherited housing inequalities. More recently, since the Breaking New Ground housing Programme, which was inaugurated in 2004, the shift has been towards sustainable communities and the gradual eradication of informal settlements. However, questions of housing have seldom engaged with the question of citizenship, or with the question of how the 'right' to housing relates to perceptions of state legitimacy. This is despite the fact that the social contract of post-apartheid South Africa is premise on not only the legal and constitutional rights of citizens, but on the capacity of the state to connect its citizens into the infrastructural networks of a modern society, among which is housing.

One place where the issue of housing is most contentious is the former black group area, Alexandra, one of the few areas where black South Africans were able to own land before apartheid. Alexandra became an over-populated and under-serviced island of black urbanization in the middle of the wealthiest white neighborhoods of Johannesburg and residents of 'Alex' as it is colloquially called, were forced to endure a whole range of formally-imposed and informally-evolved forms of home-making: ranging from gendered hostels, to sharing houses and even rooms between families, to informal shacks in back-yards and later on vacant municipal land. Resolving the housing crisis in Alexandra has been seen as a political and civil priority, but despite the building of thousands of houses, the neighborhood remains characterized by over-crowding, informality, and social disaffection.

By investigating the experiences of Alexandra residents with accessing housing in post-apartheid South Africa, I aim in this dissertation to explore the empirical and theoretical linkages between the material object of the house (whether as informal shack, formal RDP house or something otherwise) and expectations of state legitimacy and civic participation among residents: proxies for conceptualizations of citizenship. I develop a typology of different housing to demonstrate how official conceptions of housing do not always coincide with lived experiences of housing needs. Ultimately, I show how this incommensurability

causes tension between the state and the urban poor, who express feelings of abandonment by the state - and whose commitment to the post-apartheid social project is severely tested.

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CHAPTER ONE: THE HOUSE AND THE CITIZEN

Introduction

A House is a structure that provides essential shelter, but it is also far more than that. It gives form to social and political relations. It is, for Heidegger (1971), an existential act of being in the world: "we attain to dwelling only by means of building" (10), by which he meant that it is in the act of constructing for ourselves our shelter that we enact our essential being. The house as material object represents and embodies the ordering of the social world (Bourdieu 1970), and in doing so, it also contains the uneven nature of these relations. Barigye (1996), citing Turner (1972), argues that the material object of the house determines the perspective an individual will have on other aspect of life such as employment, education, health etc. We need only look at the apartheid state to understand the ways in which housing and inequality were tethered together. A house is, in other words, an ontological framing of the world and ones place in that world (Bourdieu 1970).

In the post-apartheid context the object of the house is fundamental to understanding questions of citizenship. Unequal access to housing was one of the main ways in which the apartheid government spatially excluded black people from parts of the city. With the transition to democratic rule one of the first policy enactments by the new government was to recognise this unequal history. However, the South African Constitution recognized that citizenship needs to be premised on more than legal rights: it compelled the state to enact substantive rights in areas such as access to health-care, food, water, and housing among others The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the new democratic government committed to building 1 million homes in 10 years (Government Gazette, 1994). The RDP set in place a massive capital project of investing in infrastructure and housing backlogs in many of the former black group areas (Government of South Africa, 1996). This programme was superceded less than a decade later, but the legacy of that programme, in the form of the eponymous 'RDP house' is testimony to the remarkable success of the programme (Charlton, 2006). In fact, the one clear success of the post-apartheid regime is the housing Programme: between 1994 and 2014 over two million houses were built by the state, far exceeding the planned 1 million homes (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015). However, the RDP has nevertheless been critiqued for the poor quality of the houses, the delivery system that

leaves many communities still on waiting lists, and the reliance on cheap land, which has in many situations served to reproduce urban sprawl, with RDP settlements build on urban peripheries (Wessels, 1999).

In the early 2000s, in recognition of these criticisms, state policy shifted towards creating quality homes and integrated communities through the Breaking New Ground programme. More recently, there has been a shift towards so-called 'mega human settlements', which are intended to incorporate a diverse range of delivery agents and land-use activities as well as integrated social housing (Ballard 2017). Yet housing remains a major social and political issue in South Africa with many poor black South Africans living in environments that are regarded as adequate for human habitation. Although over two million houses have been built as part of the RDP and later the Breaking New Ground policies, many former township areas such as Alexandra still suffer from inadequate housing (Charlton, 2004). This has meant that the goal of creating citizenship through housing has not always been successful (Patel, 2015).

In many older communities, such as Alexandra, RDP homes have been built within communities where other, often informal, housing typologies exist. It is this intersection, between the uneven delivery of houses to poor communities, and the everyday practices through which these communities make home, that this research project is located. Specifically, I am interested in this research project to demonstrate the ways in which the object of the house (albeit unevenly) connects residents into circuits of citizenship in the post-apartheid context. The research project investigates the notion that citizenship is not merely a set of formal relations between state and subject, but that it is something that is materially experienced – what Holston (1998) calls substantive citizenship. The constitution and policy might guarantee access to housing, but it is the material object of the house that defines the relationship between the subject and state – it is through the object of the house that the subject 'sees' and engages with the state (see e.g. Corbridge et al, 2005).

This project takes the house as its object of analysis, and considers the ways in which the house as a material object connects people into or disconnects them from substantive experiences of citizenship: i.e. how the house locates its occupants into subjective encounters with institutions of the state (Isin and Nielsen, 2008). I consider the physical networks and circuits that are connected to the house, such as water and electricity, as well as the wider

infrastructures that come with having an address, such as safety and security, the means for family and intimacy, and schools, community centres, clinics and communities. I look also at the form and nature of the house, and consider how different articulations are embedded in these different forms.

1.1 Rationale and Problem statement

In 1994, African National Congress (ANC) government introduced a RDP white paper, aimed at providing basic needs to the people such as housing; sanitation; services and water (South African Cities Network, 2014). The RDP program states that access to housing is a basic right of all South Africans, thus forming the basis of the post-apartheid definition of citizenship. South African housing policy has been widely recognized as socially progressive legislation, and has served to maintain the issue of housing as central to the meaning of social inclusion (Charlton, 2006). However, there are also concerns about the progress it has made since it was implemented. The housing policy has evolved over the years into a complex, multifaceted entity with many components (Miraftab 2003). Since 1994, housing policy has adopted different approaches incorporating the constitution as the way to serve the people or the majority, which highlighted the importance of 'rights' to access housing. For instance "housing delivery has been important in demonstrating the distribution of tangible asset to the poor, and in this sense it can be argued to have played a key role in establishing a degree of state legitimacy among low-income households" (Charlton and Kihato, 2006:254). However, the continued inequality of housing access in the country has also managed to create a more complex discourse regarding house and citizenship. Charlton (2009) put it better when she said "the post-1994 South African housing programme has had a distinctly mixed success (...) this chequered track record suggests the need for a fundamental rethink [of policy]" (301).

South Africa's housing policy has definitely embedded housing into the ideology of citizenship in South Africa, but it has not always responded to the more nuanced and particular interpretations of what constitutes housing, driven by large-scale infrastructural logics. Specifically, there is no clear definition of what constitutes the house as material object, and that this is further complicated by the concept of "progressive realization" of that right (Huchzermeyer, 2001). For instance, Oldfield and Greyling (2015) state that: "although

specified in the South African Bill of Rights, for the majority of South African citizens the right to access housing translates in practice to the experience of waiting" (p 1100).

A house means different things for different people according to their respective norms, culture and experience. This research project seeks to unpack the meaning of 'house' beyond the government or scholars' perspective, to explore residents' experiences and expectations. In this research project I explore the relationship between the object of the house and emerging discourses of citizenship; the house here seen as a process of attaining, constructing and claiming citizenship. The objective is to extend this idea further in this research report, and look specifically at the ways in which the object of the house is understood, and how it constitutes experiences and expectations of post-apartheid citizenship.

There is a growing literature on differentiated housing typology as indicators of differential access to state services: the understanding of housing typology is about the relationship between social identity formation and the struggle for space in society (Bank, 2011). Aggarwal (2016) distinguishes the very rudimentary distinction between formal and informal housing as indicators of different substantive experiences of urban citizenship. However, beyond these distinctions, in a neighborhood like Alexandra the range of housing typologies suggests that experiences of citizenship are variegated. I will be investigating how various housing typologies produce everyday encounters with the state, and how these encounters - mediated through the object of the house itself - produce different experiences of citizenship.

1.2 Aim and Objectives

The broader theoretical issue within which the research is located is the intersection between infrastructure and state-society relations, specifically experiences of citizenship through material encounters with the state. The specific aim of this research project is to **understand the ways in which differential experiences of housing in Alexandra produce different understandings and expectations of post-apartheid citizenship.**

To achieve this aim, I have broken the research down into three discreet objectives, namely:

1. To categorize the range of housing typologies in Alexandra, with a specific sensitivity to the distinction between official definitions and vernacular definitions;

2. To document the various material encounters with institutions and representatives of state that are produced through occupation of each of these 'lived' housing types: e.g. access to basic services;

3. To explore residents' attitudes towards institutions and scales of government, civic participation and sense of belonging: proxies for a conception of substantive citizenship (which I will discuss in chapter three).

1.3 Study site

The research project was undertaken in Alexandra, an historic township in the northeast of Johannesburg. Alexandra is one of the oldest urban dwellings created for and occupied by back people in South Africa (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). As gold mines in Johannesburg were expanding people from the rural areas settled on, the outskirts and local farmers began to sell plots to people, giving them an opportunity to own land. This was immediately prior to the 1913 Land Act, which prohibited black South Africans owning land (Landau, 2012). Alexandra was proclaimed a "native township" in 1912, and by 1916, the Alexandra Health Committee was established to manage Alexandra, a settlement that now accommodated around 30 000 people (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). However, the Committee was not allowed to collect local taxes, nor was the Johannesburg City Council willing to take responsibility for an area that it claimed fell outside its jurisdiction, leading to a lack of resources and proper management. As it grew, with no tarred roads, rainwater drainage systems, street lighting or sewerage systems, accompanied by haphazard shack settlement, it took on the appearance of a ghetto (Matlapeng, 2011).

Alexandra was increasingly surrounded by areas in which white people lived or did business and black people of Alexandra owned the land they occupied, that did not sit well with the white community and the government of the time. Authorities initially sought to dispossess residents. According to Matlapeng (2011): "authorities always saw black Africans as a threat because in their mind they occupying space which is rightfully theirs even though Alexandra by law became a native 'township' in 1912" (4). Many attempts were put forward to try to remove the black Africans away from that area for instance they literally dispossessing Alexandra away from them. It is significant that Papenfuss established Alexandra as a black and colored township on the eve of the passing of the Natives Land Act of 1913 and as a

result, the birth of Freehold Alexandra became exceptional as Alexandra was established as a solution to a "native" problem in Johannesburg (Matlapeng, 2011).

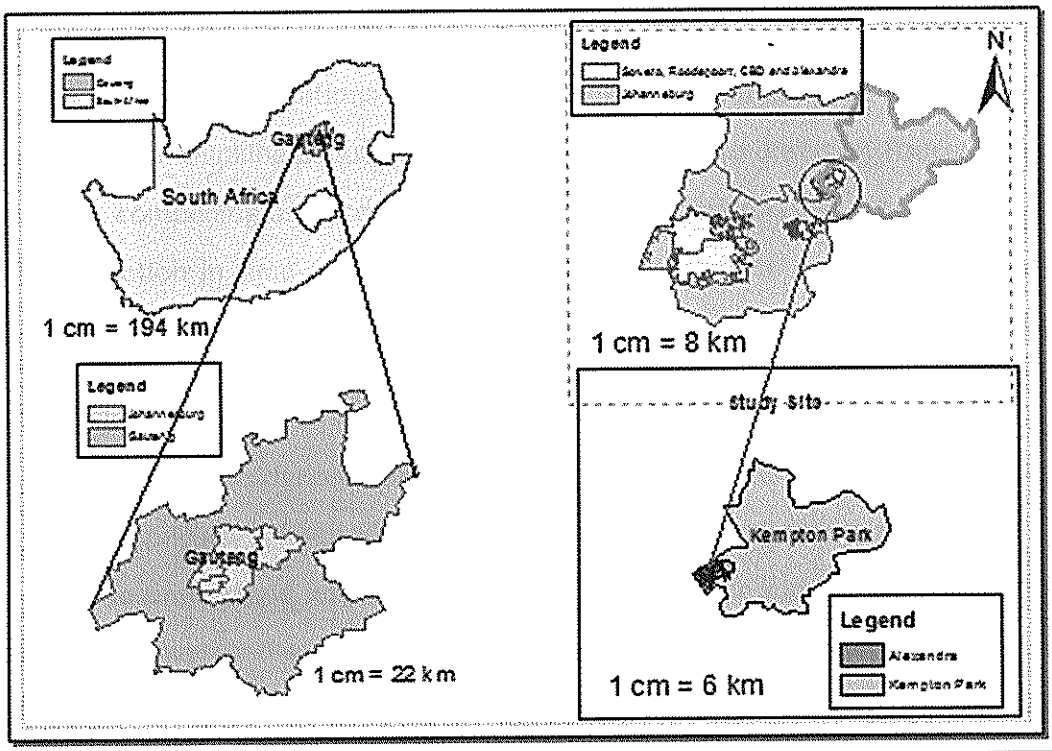


Figure 1.1: The location of the study site in Johannesburg

The area includes Old Alexandra Proper; the East Bank; the Far East Bank; Marlboro Industrial area; Wynberg; Kew and Marlboro Gardens.

Since the undertaking of Alexandra Renewal Project, not many interventions have been put in the area to uplift the township; however, the RDP program has been an ongoing project with little effect to the residents of Alexandra. The current situation illustrate that In Alexandra the historical urban problem is associated with renewing an old and outdated formal infrastructure which haven't been maintain in ages. Which is why there is very poor electricity supply in terms of stability and power failures – especially during winter – 'they cannot wash the children in winter – not good for our health' most of the participants said.

1.4 Outline of Chapters

In the first chapter, I introduce the main aim and objectives of the research, which is the intersection between the house as a material object from which individuals encounter the

world, and perceptions of citizenship among residents of Alexandra. This will be highlighted in more detail in chapter two, in which I discuss how a grounded-theory approach has enabled me to better understand the actually existing ways in which individuals' access and 'live' different kinds of housing. This is in contrast to the ways in which the state defines housing typologies – and their respective inhabitants. The chapter draws insight from Foucault, especially his conceptualisations of order and knowledge and the ways in which these frame the possibility of thinking about the world we inhabit. It also draws on Foucault's critique of knowledge, compelling us to contest and re-defined definitions and categories according to our own location in time and place. In this way I attempt to develop a more vernacular account of housing typologies that speaks to the ways in which individuals attempt to access and claim their place in the city.

In chapter three I consider a broader literature on infrastructure, housing and its relation to citizenship, especially among the urban poor. Especially in the case of South Africa, I was concerned to understand how housing has been one of the most visible manifestations of state policy towards the development of poor communities, and is embedded in the constitution as a key site of state obligation. At the same time there is an extensive literature from a more global context that looks at housing and infrastructure as the site for producing particular forms of social and political subjectivity: how different material encounters with infrastructures in particular may lead to very different subjective experiences. For example, accessing water from a communal tap produces a very different experience of social and political belonging than accessing water from a tap in your own bathroom. I link this to a literature on citizenship that considers the concept beyond legal and constitutional frameworks to think about the substantive enactments required to produce experiences of legitimacy and belonging.

Housing policy has not only housed over two million families, but it has also underpinned the establishment of class mobility through property ownership (Lemanski 2009). Under the apartheid regime, there were attempts to create a black middle class through property ownership, the so-called *bommastandi*[1]. These petti-bourgeoisies were able to use their property as collateral to get access to mortgages in order to build their houses, but the system

[1] This is a colloquial term for a landlord

also benefitted white capital: "the common practice appears to have been having white attorneys act as middlemen (...) this meant that *bommastandi* would be charged interest twice: first, to pay the interest charged by the bank, and second, the one charged by the attorneys" (Matlapeng, 2011: 204).

While the housing subsidy Scheme became the cornerstone of the post-1994 housing policy, aimed partly at promoting delivery by replacing the apartheid government's interest rate subsidy, nevertheless accumulation of capital in former township areas through property ownership and new property developments have benefitted by the logic of bulk infrastructure development. Nevertheless, that state legitimacy which housing delivery has established seems to be vanishing as time passes, especially as potential beneficiaries are asked to wait, while others move ahead of them. Poor communities especially in townships feel distressed about the promises the post-apartheid government have made and failed to deliver on and as a result, this challenges the ways in which citizenship is understood and articulated.

As a result, housing delivery in South Africa is no longer perceived simply as a question of rectifying previous disadvantages, but other challenges such as corruption, social status, financial capacity and political connections are now implicated into policy discussions about housing. This raises many questions behind the concept of 'the right to access housing', which is citizens' right and what it means in the post-apartheid society (communities, politicians). More than 50% of South Africans in cities fall into the low-income group and those citizens are not able to live up to the cost of living, some eventually resort to Informal settlements while others struggle to access any form of housing (homelessness) (Charlton and Kihato, 2006).

In chapter four I begin the discussion on housing typologies from the conceptualization of housing as articulated in housing policy in South Africa – which itself has changed and modified over the years. This is the foundation of the connection between housing and citizenship: the enactment of housing as part of the Bill of Rights. But as the concept of the house as a material object becomes contested – as the practices of ordinary South Africans in attempting to realize their right to housing take them from former townships, to RDP settlements to informal settlements, and many geographies in-between – so the concept of citizenship is also stretched and twisted, in the process perhaps losing its gravity. Citizens,

especially the urban poor, are becoming restless with the failures of society to realize their right to housing. The next section will focus on the rationale of the study, which helps in building up the aim of the study.

Aggarwal (2014) categorize housing in South African cities into two typologies formal and informal. The first category is the 'transformation of traditional housing' into informal settlement. In addition, the second category is the 'modern urban housing typology called formal settlement. He believes formal housing to be the one properly planned, built with conventional materials and with proper infrastructure etc. Moreover, informal housing is seen as the non-conventional planning without proper planning and structure using informal materials like corrugated iron. As that has been said chapter, four will look at the existing categories of housing and how they have been used to plan cities and my understanding of how categories evolve from a micro level. In the chapter I challenge the notion that housing can be understood only from these two categorized set forward. This chapter will use the data gathered through fieldwork done in the study area and observations to identify the existing housing typologies and how people of Alexandra understand them or use housing.

In chapter five I shift slightly, from the object of the house to the infrastructures that it is connected or implicated into: for the most part this includes networks of water and electricity, but also circuits of class, race and capital. I show how, in the particular case of Alexandra, housing and infrastructure are deeply imbricated. Accessing infrastructure is almost exclusively dependent on the type of housing one is connected to. Planned settlement has taken place within a legal land tenure framework, and is characterized by the planned provision of services and infrastructure. Under apartheid, planned townships were constructed on the fringes of towns and cities. The services were frequently basic, but in many townships, these services are far superior to those in the informal residential areas that have grown within and around them. Unplanned settlements evolved as people settled in areas that are closer to employment opportunities such as Alexandra. Townships like Alexandra occurred in a range of locations: within planned suburbs such as Sandton, on open land within an urban area, or in peri-urban areas. These unplanned settlements often lack services and have a range of housing (e.g. backyard shacks, freestanding structures). We have seen first-hand with Alexandra that the township and its people have been excluded from provision of

services and benefits of being a citizen. Therefore, this chapter will focus on how housing typologies affect the way residents in townships access infrastructure.

In chapter six, I will focus on how residents use housing and infrastructure as a political tool to communicate with the government. This chapter focuses on the reality of Alexandra throughout history and the injustice that forced certain circumstances upon the residents of Alex. For instance, various local social movements such as Marlboro Concerned Residents (MCR) were spawning during this period representing some of the most marginalized constituencies including people living in disused factories. They engaged in bitter struggles to gain access to housing and to be included as legitimate beneficiaries of the state development efforts in Alexandra. What the data reveal is that since the introduction of democracy and RDP programme things worsened, people are still fight for their right to access housing, which was promised to them in the first place, and as their legal right. Drawing from the existing data one can argue that housing and infrastructure have been critical tools in Alexandra to put pressure on the municipality. Briefly, pressure helps to understand the social, political, and physicality of a city as well as how it matter to those who live in it. This chapters draws on an understanding that the responses of the community to pressure the government in violent and non-violent way require an acknowledgment of their historical struggle that affected them both politically and economically since the establishment of the township.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter began by stating the significance of the link between housing and citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. I suggested that there has been little recent research done on housing in South African townships that focusses specifically on the experiences and expectations of citizenship (but see for example Rationale). This study is an attempt to reveal different aspect housing promises and delivers what it means to citizens of this country especially those residing in poor townships. There is a lot of literature that have highlighted the importance of the Reconstruction and Development Programme and how much it plays a role in the post-apartheid citizenship context. The South African society especially the poor has put a lot of faith to the Programme hoping they will bring their dignity and give them back that sense of belonging that they have been longing for over decades. This chapter was tasked

with lying how the research project will be conducted and why it must be conducted and I think I have provided the literature to support my claim.

CHAPTER 2: ACCESSING ALEXANDRA – METHODS FOR RESEARCHING INFRASTRUCTURES

2.1 Meeting the Residents

In the chapter, I discuss the methodological process that was undertaken in order to understand the dual concepts of 'house' and 'citizenship' in the post-apartheid context. Alexandra was one of the only places where black South Africans could own land. Initially this gave the residents access to urban modernity, but as the infrastructure declined, as more and more people moved into the area because of residential restrictions in other parts of the city, and as apartheid laws attempted to exclude black South Africans even from this small island of black urbanism, the living conditions in the area became increasingly difficult. Today, this has resulted in a diverse and heterogeneous form of urban housing options of people: ranging from some newer formal social housing to informal and precarious forms of housing. This has meant that for many Alexandra residents the promises of decent housing have not materialized. Despite more than twenty-year existence of democracy, the post-apartheid citizenship remains a dream to most South Africans and the concept remains contested (Miraftab and Wills, 2005). This does not give the idea that state power does not permeate society, however a notion that state power, infrastructure and citizenship has brought a lot of question in the table or in the eyes of the public. Therefore, Alexandra is a right study site to learn about how the state uses the resources to govern and improve the housing struggle in the townships.

The methodology which this research used was an ethnographic approach in order to understand 'Alex' residents' perceptions about their housing context: the conditions of shack dwellers living in a congested space; the experiences of RDP beneficiaries with ongoing service delivery concerns the un-clarity of tenure of those renting from petty-landlords in former township houses. The ethnographic approach focuses largely on a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Straus 1965): it consisted primarily of documentary analysis, field observations, in-depth interviews, community mapping exercises and an iterative process of getting to know and understand the community dynamics in Alexandra. The use of grounded theory in this research deepens the depth of the study itself and provides another way of studying post-apartheid community development issue in Johannesburg (and beyond) for

other geography and environment studies researchers. I chose this approach because, I believe ethnographic approach allows a researcher to hear the side of the people he/she is researching on, instead of making assumptions about them. Therefore, I chose this approach because I wanted to hear the story of the Alexandra residents on their problem of lack of houses provided by the state and how it relates to citizenship. My objective was to adopt an ethnographic approach to compare and contrast the government policies (i.e. RDP), promises and what the Alex residents who have not benefited from these policies are actually experiencing. The aim of the research study is to develop a theoretical understanding of the link between housing provision and perceptions of citizenship, using Alexandra Township as a case study site. Furthermore, the research study aimed to understand how lack of housing makes people feel excluded from the state because according to the constitution it is their political right for the state to use whatever resources they have to provide them with houses. Moreover, when they do not have these houses people do not feel part of the political life of their state, they feel as though they are not citizens, and you will use Alex as your case study.

2.2 Ethnography and Qualitative research

qualitative research sees reality as a social construct and seeks to understand a phenomenon under study by critical and/or interpretive means. It has, as one of its central characteristics, the use of multiple research methods/procedures, which range from literature (academic journals, newspapers, internet articles, book chapters) to ethnographic research (case studies, participant observation) to interviews (Philip 1998; Creswell (2009); Mouton 2001). While ethnographic research extends the meaning further by believing that the research will be investigating culture, which is not a fixed entity or finite concrete thing rather, we engage in the complexities of everyday life within the medium or context. The use of multiple research methods results in the qualitative researcher yielding composite data open to interpretation/explanation; it also results in the researcher becoming more informed and analytical. I employed multiple research methods in order to unpack the main issues of the study. I was active in the community for over a year trying to understand their livelihoods. My choosing of this study site was not based on secondary research but on primary research. Part of the work I did was to observe, to conduct transit interviews as well as informal dialogues with the residents of Alexandra. Using ethnographic qualitative research in my project was a

strategy adopted in order to understand the socio-economic inequalities produced by emerging discourses between infrastructure and citizenship using the house.

Qualitative research, therefore, aims to provide information on what people say and understand as well as behave (Sarandakos, 2003). This means that the research I conducted obtained primary information directly from the participant- the subject of the investigation- and relating the data I collected to the actual events where the information was collected. For instance, the study site used in this research project consists of complex social environment and to ignore the complexity of the background is to weaken the evaluation of the significant social and economic context. The qualitative approach to collect data to able to cover the complexity of the study site was as follows:

- Contacting various participants or certain group of participants in the communities.
- Observing that particular group of participants, so that I can have a full understanding of the behaviors and attitudes of Alexandra's residents.
- In-depth interviews were conducted using tools such as notebook and audio recorder book to record data as well as camera with permission from the participants.

  The data generated from these multiple research methods was triangulated, assembled, analyzed and interpreted under different themes and descriptions (Creswell 2009). The methods used are outlined in the following sub-sections.

2.3 Research tools

Observations

I was fortunate enough to be part of the Alexandra community for over a year, living in the community as a resident first in a shared room and then in a house. During that year, I became part of the everyday life and livelihood of the community, experiencing first hand the impacts that poor infrastructure and housing has on everyday life. It was increasingly evident to me that housing was connected to experiences of citizenship, the ways in which it was used and the access that it gives to opportunities and how it can be used as a vehicle to voice out grievances.

Tedlock (1991) suggests that participant observation allows a far greater level of understanding of a community tan other forms of data gathering. The aim of this approach is to give the participant a comfort environment to adopt habits, physical aspects, attitudes and values while engaging in the subject matter. My observation of the environment was to try to understand, through personal experience and interactions with participants, the concept of the house through the post-apartheid citizenship context. In addition, I did not only observe people's livelihoods, I lived it, but I also used interviews as a way of talking and listening to people and collect data through conversation. Mapping was another method I used in order to understand which parts of Alexandra have been able to access housing also where is development happening and how.

My first time in Alexandra I was excited but scared at the same time since the area is known for crime and violence but after spending time with the residents of these different housing typologies I discovered it does not matter who you are, in Alexandra you are more than welcome. Hence why this township many call it a home they never had and a home they are willing to fight for any day. However, the 2009 xenophobia attack shows that Alexandra people are not as unified as they may look but I think they learn from their mistake and when they have an outcry, I observed that they use their infrastructure to exercise their citizenship. For instance in 2017 June between 4th Selbourne and 8 Selbourne in Alexandra the streets were blocked with burning tires as well as rocks to send the message to the government(municipality agents: councilor, district manager even the mayor) that they need electricity which was out for more than a week.

Interviews

According to Creswell (2009), interviews are a powerful research and/or data collection method for a multitude of reasons. Some of these reasons are that interviews allow for the qualitative researcher to have control over the line of questioning, as well as permit the qualitative researcher to obtain historical information from respondents (as they speak/narrate) about the phenomenon under study. In order to gain an understanding of housing provision and perceptions of citizenship, I used residents of Alexandra as my participants' for my research project to acquire what I needed. The reason is that residents gave me their own insight about their experiences and expectations towards post-apartheid

citizenship through the concept of the house. Secondly, I was able to learn about the promises made by those RDP policies about social justice. The Interviews conducted were able to give me more understanding about what it means to live in Alexandra. I used different types of interviews to able to engage with my participants. The interviews I used includes, in-depth interviews (detail information); semi-structured interviews trying to control what kind of information I need from my participants especially those who were members of associations; transit interviews engaging more of dialogues than interviews trying to get the participants to be comfortable and open to any information that could help me in this study. I attended meetings were I would experience different ideas about this concept of the house and challenges faced by the community. In chapter fours, I will engage the experiences I recorded from the participants and observations experienced while in the field.

Furthermore, I used both non-probability and random sampling simply because the sample of participants was based on both purposive selections of participants and size was not the issue. What I mean is that firstly I chose my participants according to all different types of housing typologies in Alexandra and after I did that, I did not have a set of system of getting a sample but I used random selection. The aim was to cover all the housing typologies but not limit the information gathered from them; so I did not choose a participant every third house in the area. Since I chose grounded theory, the information on the ground guided me. This meant I used whichever participants were available and those referred to me by others to answer the questions rather than strategically selecting from an entire population. Yes, the criteria for ideal participants were in mind but I ended up not using them. Same as the sample size, everyone always have one when going to the field but in my case I let the information that I gathered to determine how much I still needed. For instance some participants only gave information regarding their experiences but only to find out that it is not enough hence why I will go weeks after weeks to see if new information come up in conversations that I will have with some of the participants I have established a deeper connection. The initial sample size for this research was 40-45 participants both male and female. The only criteria I sought to believe was important was that participants should practically have been in the area for several years and have been through the process of infrastructure discourse and citizenship contestation for me to get the right information and I was ready to as far as I can to get the information but within ethics boundaries.

Documentary Analysis

I reviewed various types of literature – academic journals, book chapters, written policies in this research project and the following chapter will explore that literature into great length. Academic literature (journals, books, book chapters) was used as the way to provide ground me conceptual information about the concepts in this research project also provide theoretical background and understanding of concepts and issues pertaining to the study. Moreover, the academic literature enabled me to define and describe the core concepts relevant to the study.

Not only did internet articles and journals shed light on the context of citizenship, they also – to a certain extent - bring to light what the housing programs intend to do (what their role in townships are). The policy documents and internet articles provided me with useful data on what other initiatives – apart from previously mentioned policies implemented to manage townships as well as affect change. The information I used in this research situated the study in the "the larger, ongoing dialogue in the literature, filling the gaps and extending prior studies" (Creswell, 2009: 25). In as, much as reviewing and drawing from research/literature already conducted on the phenomenon is important, it should still be noted that a "literature review [I]s a means to an end, and [is] not ... an end in itself". This thus means that other research methods other than literature review were permitted and justified in qualitative research, and these are discussed below.

Desktop research to understand the theoretical approach underpinning housing and citizenship was a crucial concept especially in chapter three that brings about key elements of policy and the concept of housing from the inception of democracy to try to understand citizenship in South Africa. Sources of reference were scholars such as Huchzermyer (2001) who discusses housing policy as a foundation of the current successes and failures in the provision of housing in South Africa. Moreover, Charlton (2003, 2006) who state that RDP house is the visible manifestation of the housing programme in South Africa and since the formulation of the policy, the nature of the basic house has been contested. Other authors who discussed the housing policy and citizenship will be discussed in the following chapter in detail to inform a comprehensive understanding of the existing theories, concepts, and debates around housing.

2.4 Conceptual framework

Below, I quote in extended form one of the classic statements by French theorist Michel Foucault (1966) about the ways in which categories produce regimes of knowledge:

> "man, in fact, can be revealed only when bound to a previously existing historicity: he is never contemporaneous with that origin which is outlined through the time of things even as it eludes the gaze; when he tries to define himself as a living being, he can uncover his own beginning only against the background of a life which itself began long before him; when he attempts to re-apprehend himself as a laboring being, he cannot bring even the most rudimentary forms of such a being to light except within a human time and space which have been previously institutionalized, and previously subjugated by society; and when he attempts to define his essence as a speaking subject, prior to any effectively constituted language, all he ever finds is the previously unfolded possibility of language, and not the stumbling sound, the first word upon the basis of which all languages and even language itself became possible" (Foucault, 1966:379).

The white definition of the city created the category of what is known today as Johannesburg, and the township of Alexandra became the consequences of that exclusion. Conditions of accessing and being in the city were framed almost exclusively by the colour of a person's skin. Of course, for a time black South Africans were able to own property in Alexandra; a kind of heterotopic space of exception outside of the dominant logic of white domination in Southern Africa. Since then housing in South African cities have been shaped by apartheid design (the apartheid city model) that encouraged urban sprawl: (a) by the exclusion of black South Africans on the far outskirts of the city on the one hand, and (b) through the kind of 'manifest destiny' of ex-urban expansion and middle-class property ownership among white South Africans.

As Foucault (1966) makes clear, the category of 'house' – like any other category – is defined according to the time and place in which it emerges, and contains a certain identity and representation that speaks to a broader order of social organisation. But these categories stick, and persist into the future. In the South African context for instance shacks, townships, hostels and informal settlements are all part of a local vocabulary of housing which may or may not make sense in another context. These typologies were created by policies that shaped our cities back during apartheid regime, which is what Foucault is trying to explain. Housing typologies were created by these contested definitions and as a result, broader

definitions were created as a representation of how to identify certain objects. In this case, policies started accepting and defining housing typologies the way they understood them, but what Foucault tells us is that no definition is universal what government define as a house or typology of housing might not always be the same as the one is defined by residents in different areas (Foucault, 1966). So history, time and space changes the way we see and understand objects. But this does not make the possibility of comparison, or of attempting to speak the local to the universal, a wasted project. Saying that categories are contingent is not the same as saying that they are relative. Rather, Foucault proposes this process of unpacking the origin of meanings – a process he calls archaeology – not as an attempt to reach an ultimate truth, but as itself a methodology of critique. Developing a vernacular typology to explain the house in the context of Alexandra is therefore not about a revision or a correction of state policy. It is not an attempt to reformulate policy to be ever more responsive to the messy actuality of the field. Rather, it is proposed as a theoretical and material critique of attempts at making citizens through building houses. In other words, this entire research project is inspired by a Foucauldian orientation towards the formation of subjectivities in a place like Alex, and the material conditions through which meaning and belonging are forged.

Grounded theory

Strass and Corbin (1990) define grounded theory as a general methodology for developing theory that focuses on ground systematically gathered and analyzed data. This theory was used throughout my fieldwork research as well as my analysis, as my purpose was not to challenge an existing theory but to find one of my own through the data gathered. Grounded theory is all about discovering a theory or assumption in the field not coming with one but it does not really mean ideas would not exit on the point of entry. It is based on research experience of its users by gathering knowledge from data collected and analyzed from the field. Concisely, it is a development of a theory during fieldwork using interviewee experiences as your primary source of information. In other words, theory may be generated initially from the data or if existing grounded theories seem appropriate. For instance, one of my objectives was to understand different type of housing in Alexandra and grounded theory helped or guided me throughout the process of acquiring data to understand the typologies. When I was in Alexandra, I did not rely on the information I had but what I observed on the field and what I have been told by the residents of Alexandra.

Grounded theory says that we do not enter the field with pre-existing theories and concepts, but that we allow the field to define the categories and concepts through which the social world is organized. However, because I already have a research topic in mind it already dictates certain concepts to pre-exist but not assume the result or expectations. When I was in the field, I was fortunate to have few transit interviews that helped me to map out the area as well as guide me throughout my fieldwork. In my research, I attempted to develop a typologyof housing, between government categories and the lived realities of housing in Alexandra. For this reason, grounded theory offers a useful methodological framework when I go to the field. I believe that by doing that am allowing residents to create their own voice and pass on their everyday realities to me. My intention is to understand the residents' experiences of housing especially the typologies they created as well as the perception and expectation of the residents towards post-apartheid citizenship.

Citizenship can be defined as a concept which incorporates different rights that govern the state interrelationship with the civil society. Through the constitution these rights hold the state accountable to provide services that are essential to humanity. Therefore, I will use housing typology as a tool to understand citizenship in the post-apartheid context. Housing typologies in Alexandra has been influenced by time and social changes, the area has diverse housing typology, and some typologies are explained different from what we know or define. Grounded theory is more effective where people perspective is at the forefront of data gathering (Strass and Corbin, 1990). Going to the field has helped me understand what it means to develop your own hypothesis using observation participation method, which means engaging with your informants during their everyday livelihood, and observe closely how they survive on a daily basis (Strass and Corbin, 1990). Housing typologies in this research project are greatly the result of data gathered and analyzed crossed referenced with secondary data, however primary data was more vital to the success of understanding housing typologies. Note that some of these typologies throughout my research will be influenced by people's understanding of housing typologies in Alexandra not my own understanding. This is an example of how grounded theory works and how it influences my research project and my result, because the development of my hypothesis was the result of the data, I gathered and analyzed.

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My intention in this research study is to use housing typologies as a tool to unpack the relationship between the house as an infrastructure that connects people into circuits of subjectivity on the one hand, and perceptions and expectations of citizenship, understood here as a particular form of political subjectivity, on the other. What I mean is that I want to demonstrate the different experiences of the house and different expectations of citizenship they produce. Why then, is it useful to expand the typologies that the state uses? Because the state recognizes citizenship-claims only based on its own categories: i.e. are you an RDP recipient, an informal dweller or a bonded house owner. But in reality, people's expectations of citizenship is based not on these limited categories, but on the ways in which their own experiences of the house produce for them more complex and diverse needs and expectations of citizenship, and their own connection to (and demands of) the state – which do not always conform to the limited categories through which the state views its own citizens (Scott, 1998).

Interviews took 59-1:45 minutes, depending on responses. Interviews were conducted to minimize the time and impact on the residents, as their time is valuable. This was achieved by meeting some when they were not working on weekends and late afternoons or evenings when they were back from work. Other interviews were conducted randomly or just in a chilling sport field because people/residents in Alexandra love to hangout as those who are unemployed have not much to do (Figure 2.3, Figure 2.4). However, some residents gave me hard time, as they will believe I am disturbing their peaceful time while they are drinking.

Data Analysis

The raw data were put on Microsoft Word and from there the data was inputted into a Microsoft Office Excel (2007) database to analyze the data. The reason for imputing data first on Microsoft Office Excel was because I wanted to find way to develop my own concepts by the data gathered in the field and use that data to develop a theory/hypothesis and it can be difficult to analyze when data is not correctly organized. This method is the same as the Relational Database Management System, which is made up of files and has the capability to connect various data elements to form different relations resulting in a great flexibility of data usage (Haithcoat, accessed 2017). It can store large amounts of data; also, it is efficient in accessing this data and can easily be updated by various users (Bergholt et al., 1998).

Housing typology

Firstly, it is important to understand that information collected here is guided by objectives I developed through my proposal face. These objectives will be explained according to how they influence the research throughout and the table below illustrates all three objectives. South Africa's settlement problems are a legacy of the colonial, apartheid and modernist systems, which used housing as an instrument of separation, segregation and economic deprivation. Alexandra is a good example of how white supremacy was exercised to suppress black people in townships. The reason housing typology in Alexandra is so complex is because of different reasons but mainly is because of migration and job opportunities and accessibility. Alexandra as the mother to township like Soweto, Tembisa, and Diepsloot throughout history has been self-governed, which saw opportunity for lot of black people wanting to reside there. To understand housing typology one needs to explain how black people were able to reside in Alexandra. As mentioned before Herbet B. Papenfuss owned Alexandra with the purpose of sub-selling certain portion to the white minority for profit, however they were not interested. Then he decided to sell property to whoever can afford to buy especially black people, which led to certain black people owning property in Alexandra (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). So housing typology in Alexandra date back before government can even explain illegal shacks, which are what Alexandra people see as squatter settlement. However, the white paper on local government defines housing according to size, location, function and tenure (CSIR, 1999). Using grounded theory my purpose is to express residents' point of view on the issue of housing and how policy sometimes can overlook certain aspects of that is crucial to development in townships. It is clear that in reality residents are both classifiers and classified as they construct how housing typology evolve and how to engage them (Bourdieu, 1987). My observation in Alexandra especially with the property owners suggest that the residents are not happy because one important aspect was ignored when development started in Alexandra. Those who were dispossessed of their land and property feel it is only fair before any development commence, a wrong should be corrected (ALPOA Meeting, 2018).

Table 2.1: Data collecting Approach

Objectives	Data	Tools
To identify and define a range of housing typologies in the case study area (based on criteria such as access basic services, material and build quality, length of residence, tenure etc.).	A set of criteria to identify the types of housing options in Alex using both government definition and residential knowledge.	Mapping, GIS, Observation interviews, Pictures.
To understand and account for the differential housing experiences of Alexandra residents living in these different typologies.	Identify concept/themes that are relevant to my objectives e.g. sanitation, drainage system etc.	Semi-structured interviews, Observation participation, Table differentiating household experiences. Transit interviews, in-depth-interviews.
To understand the link between housing experience and geographies of belonging.	Data Analysis to determine the link or capturing the experiences that the data reveals for developing a theory based on Alexandra as a case study.	Transcript, Data collection Interpretation of data from perspectives and voices of the people interviewed.

Differential housing experiences

My recent visit to Alexandra has taught me a different understanding of housing regardless of how government-housing agencies explain it. In my visit to Alexandra, I had an opportunity to talk to one of the oldest residents of Alexandra and he provided me with a different version of housing. He argues that recently explanation of different types of housing is based on socio-economic status whereas back then it was based on racial difference and control over black people. He said to me one point that under apartheid, whites were allowed to own land and houses, whereas Africans were prohibited from owning either land or property in the city. They perpetually paid rent for government-built housing, lived in single-sex hostels, or illegally built shelters with materials they could find. For a time, Colored's were allowed to own land and a house, although this was later changed. Indians were allowed to own a house but not the land under it, until this loophole in racial segregation also was closed. Therefore, for those who already owned the land and property in Alexandra at first where re-located to places like Soweto and Tembisa. In addition, some were lucky to get government houses of the day to try to re-organize Alexandra, however since the township was self-government it

was difficult for the government of the day to do much. When the apartheid system came into play lot of re-location occurred and dispossession of property happened some were forceful. So briefly, my objective will best explain how to understand housing typology and what influence the range of housing typologies in township like Alexandra.

Link between housing experience and geographies of belonging

One thing Alexandra history tells us is that people in the area have been excluded from any government assistant in making their livelihoods better in the past regime. The only time the government intervenes is when they wanted to get rid of the residents. According to residents of Alexandra the township belongs to them, however they feel like they are excluded from government development plans, for instance Mamlambo (ARP06, 2017) told me that her mother has been in the list since 1996 and they have not given her a house even though people who applied later already have houses. *"U mama umhlali wa se Alex since 1956, wa bhalisa ngo 1996 kodwa aka fumani indlu na nguku"*[2]. She believes that being residents in Alexandra teaches you to fight for what is yours, however people use violence means to do so. The data I have collected showed me that government has no strategy into how to help people of Alexandra, what they know how to do is re-location but even their relocation is not a smooth transaction, as overpopulation remains a big issue. Townships around Alexandra and Johannesburg are developing while Alexandra remains in fact worse. Secretary of Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association, Jacky Segopa in our interview mentioned that they are fighting with the government on the issue of property dispossession that occurred during apartheid on the 2553 Bonafides who have not been given what is owed to them. This show how important is the feeling of belonging (citizenship) as these residents have been there since the beginning. However, those who have been dispossessed of their property still suffer the consequences of apartheid legacy.

Interviews were conducted among households in Alexandra which was used to augment articipant observation, living in the community among the residents and experiencing the realities of housing typologies in Alexandra (Tedlock, 1991). To go further I used in-depth interviews for data collection because with this issue of housing and citizenship I wanted to

[2] English translation: "I am a mother, resident of Alex since 1956, registered in 1996 but I haven't got a house yet"

explore people or residents' view on the matter, as to understand emerging discourses of citizenship in post-apartheid Johannesburg by using a house as a tool. The face-to-face interviews allowed me to ask questions and follow up on them. I used an interpretive approach because I was interested in finding out how residents understand the role of housing in their everyday lives



Figure 2.1: Map showing interview sites (Selbourne Street and Roosevelt Street via Rooth Street and Extension 7, 8 at Alexandra) in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality at Region E.

Before embarking on this research project an application was made to the Wits University ethics committee through the School of Geography, Archaeology, and Environmental Studies, which then approved the research as meeting ethical standards. According to Polonski (2004) the researcher must ensure safety for the interviewees/participants, people must be willing

to participate, they must also be told that they are free to terminate the conversation if they no longer want to continue and, most importantly, confidentiality should be assured to the subjects. Prior informed consent was obtained from the interviewees before the interviews took place. In addition, interviews were conducted on one on one basis and not as a group so that residents will be free to talk without the fear of other people around them because some of the questions were personal. To maintain anonymity, residents' faces in the photographs were not taken unless suggested by the interviewee/participant. Residents mostly did not like to share their family suffering in the communities they lived in, however as soon as we discovered that we stopped asking people about their livelihoods they tend to share and ask for help but when ask they turn to be defensive.

The most frequently encountered difficulty was that of respondents being unavailable or unwilling to participate. At first, I asked people living in the area if I could interview them concerning the area. Unfortunately, most of them were reluctant to be interviewed and this made it difficult to track them down and also having a specific target made things difficult since information needed could be provided by residents who have been living in Alexandra for years (decades). In other words, the residents that I wanted or end up interviewing gave me tough time because they are used to not trusting anyone so most of them did not want us to interview them due to their ethics they have. This problem is difficult because even if you make an appointment they still tell you on the day of arrival they do not have time to go through with the interview. When interviews were confirmed, it was sometimes difficult to communicate especially with older residents. It was not only an issue of language, but of pronunciation; older people do not always understand the practices of mixing words that are a common form of communication among the youth. Moreover, translating these coloquial ways of talking into academic language has also been difficult: the exact contextual meaning of phrases is often lost.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter began by giving a background of the area and giving us a unique perspective into how will this research unfold. I have stated that this chapter will use a grounded theory to develop a hypothesis by using resident's experiences into understanding housing typologies.

Conducting fieldwork has improved my skills as a researcher, particularly on the importance of careful planning fieldwork and the challenges encountered once in the field. Methods used in this research helped uncover the rich data that would otherwise have been impossible to uncover with other methods. Understanding the complication of space and property as well as citizenship is broader than we think especially in a place like Alexandra regardless of the history the township has. Reports backs will be carried out with the community centre that as soon as the report is finalized. It is also important for a researcher to clearly specify his or her purpose for conducting interviews as some groups of people might have higher expectations, which might cause distrust between the researcher and the communities when such expectations are not met at a later stage. So the aim of this chapter I believed it was achieved when all research methods and approaches were listed and explained carefully what will their purpose be in carrying out the research project. The next chapter focuses on literature review and how it has played a role in the concepts (House, Citizenship, and Infrastructure) I am focusing on.

CHAPTER 3: HOUSING, INFRASTRUCTURE AND CITIZENSHIP – A REVIEW OF KEY LITERATURE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the concept of the house and the theory base that has been fused into significant concepts or general notions of urban space as well as the notion of public space to provide understanding of infrastructure and the relationship it produce with citizenship. I review the current literature on housing and the literature will also look at the relationship between citizenship and infrastructure as well as the relation they have with housing. My intention is to look at how housing has impacted the post-apartheid citizenship context and the experiences people are living under as well as the expectations created by these concepts. However, this chapter will only draw on secondary sources to better understand this concept of the house as being more than an object as it is my main argument of my research project. Furthermore, I will draw on international literature to strengthen my view looking at theorist such as Heidegger, who is a German philosopher from the early 1900s. He argues that the act of building a house is the very definition of what makes us human and it is because the house is not just an object or a shelter, but it involves a mental process of 'making a place'. In other words, the house is never just a house but is always a social / human action that produces society in the same moment that it builds a shelter. This above statement is the foundation of why this research project was started as Heidegger's theory applies to our societies, however chapter four will put that theory into practice as my study was based on ethnographic research.

3.2 House as more than Shelter

Discussion of the house-Heidegger-building, dwelling and thinking theory

This research project examines Heidegger's account of dwelling, placing it in the local context of townships in South Africa. Heidegger's reflections on dwelling are of great influence to this project. He positions his theory on the basis that to dwell means more than inhabiting a place. Furthermore, Heidegger (2013) refer the word to dwell in a German context, 'bauen' meaning a structure that you stay in, but you cherish and care to such an extent you will protect by all means. This brings an understanding that the house is not just an object or structure; however

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This research project examines Heidegger's account of dwelling, placing it in the local context of townships in South Africa. Heidegger's reflections on dwelling are of great influence to this project. He positions his theory on the basis that to dwell means more than inhabiting a place. Furthermore, Heidegger (2013) refer the word to dwell in a German context, 'bauen' meaning a structure that you stay in, but you cherish and care to such an extent you will protect by all means. This brings an understanding that the house is not just an object or structure; however

a reflection of a human being's sense of themselves in the world. This allows people to preserve the lived experience and calls for seeing oneself as a being not an object inhabiting another object, but more than that. Furthermore, this gives a sense that Heidegger's concept of dwelling, living and thinking are inseparable.

Heidegger's concept of dwelling revolves around what he terms the fourfold and he emphasizes that everyone belong within the fourfold. Fourfold means the livelihoods that makes us who we are, for instance the environment; the community; experiences etc. (2013). Furthermore, he relates the fourfold with sky, earth, mortals and divinities, however he emphasize that this units cannot exist individually. In other words, the components co-exist with one another to have a meaning and he argues that the concept of the house is the same. Therefore Heidegger claims that "a man is not an isolated being in the world but part of the fourfold of the earth and sky, divinities and mortals. When one dwells, s/he is doing so in relation to the concepts within the fourfold" (Heidegger, 2013:147).

Rethinking Dwelling and Building

Jorn Utzon (2004) in his interpretation of Heidegger's theory, acknowledges that a structure is all about the human well-being. However, he further argued that the structure it is not as simple as it may seem. He critique that the planners and architects have lost the meaning or touch with the persons who inhabit the material reality of modern structures. This paper is not about entering into a discussion about who is right or wrong in this modern debate; however it about understands the concept of the house beyond the simple explanation irrespective who argues what. This paper reflects on German philosopher Martin Heidegger seminal text "Building, Dwelling and Thinking. The understanding is that the house is more than building if we take accounts the people inhabiting the structure. Little has been said about what Jorn Utzon adds to this concept of housing, as hinted in the title, the paper means to re-interpret Heidegger's text critically in order to rethink about the house within both architectural view and planning view. Heidegger's work has been the most influential since the last century and changed the architectural thinking of the 20th century. Mark Jarzombek states that "this rather simple historical fact this was the first time in over a century that a major philosopher had expressed himself directly on the subject of architecture" (Holst, 2014: 45). Looking at Heidegger's text the concept of the house is comprised of dwelling and building and the thinking being that creates the house. Utzon interpret Heidegger's work

further and argues that it is not the art itself or the beauty of art that create the house but the domain in which everything that belongs. To justify this argument according to Heidegger to belong in this context is traced back to the German word *"bauen"*which means to stay and dwell. To Heidegger of the phenomena lies hidden in language and to understand the meaning it is of important to dig out the original way because words and their meanings are without a doubt essential when trying to rethink about the house. Heidegger believes that the more we dig deeper to Greek and German history the further we understand the true meaning of the concept (Holst, 2014).

Bourdieu theory on housing

The concept of a house provides a useful entry point into thinking about a connection a house has with citizenship as the term represents a broader rationality of state power. There is an understanding that a house may mean more than just a physical structure, for instance it may have sentimental value such as history or origin or sense of belonging (Bourdieu, 1987). Architecture may see a house in a physical form such as rooms, spaces, direction and atmosphere, however Pierre Bourdieu describe a house from a cultural and religious significance. In other words a concept of 'house' vary from culture to culture, more so, the further away the cultures are situated geographically affects not only the varying range of practices that are carried out within the house and its significant value religiously (Bourdieu, 2003). Culture in our current state alone does not define the concept when including multi-dimensional factors such as the economy, status quo as well as demographics. The house is always linked to other social phenomena.

Bourdieu (1987) argues that just like housing typology, class is created by the choices we took to understand the standard of living and the social struggle the reality is forcing us into. For instance he believes that those who call themselves realist will argue that class is based on materialistic things such as the measurement of objective indicators of social and economic positions in the society, while in this day and age the theory of classifying housing typology is also based on value and location which relate back to social and economic positions of individuals in societies and where they are located. He centers his argument by stating that classes are always disorganized and fragmented, there is no definitive social order, furthermore housing cannot be organized to suit class if class itself is not organized. According to Bourdieu space is defined by more or less close correspondence between a certain orders

of coexistence (Bourdieu, 2003: 134-135.Here he means that housing operate as exclusive, fixed physical spaces and that space is relatively significant to that point other social and cultural fields enhances its relative capacity to convey distinction and thus is a fundamental part of the spatialisation of class (Bourdieu, 1987).

Turner believes that housing should mean people creating their own version of design, which adjust to their conditions. In other words, housing should be best provided and managed by those who are to dwell in it rather than being centrally administered by the state. As in the case of the South Africa, quality and design is still in question. In the self-building and self-management of housing and neighbourhoods, our societies will learn to be independent of the state and be creative (Turner and Fichter, 1972). Furthermore, the link between housing and state power is particularly relevant in the context of post-apartheid South Africa, where housing is a symbol for hope and culture as well as history ((Matjekane and Ndouvhada, 2009). Bourdieu (1992) argues that a house has a symbolic significance that further insight into the religious practices and differs from culture to culture. It is unknown when exactly to date South African history, but the one. In each continent, the importance or the effects of the industrial revolution came at different times. The discovery of minerals resources drew foreign capitals to invest. The mining industries of these mineral resources required enormous cheap labour to increase their profits. Therefore, the capitalist came with a way to force black people to leave their homeland to work for them. Industrialization meant black people lost their land to the whites and along with their freedom, so post-apartheid meant regaining the dignity and respect they once had through their ancestors by accessing RDP housing. My point is that modernization to Black South Africans came at a great cost, so defining the concept of the house must draw all aspect of everyday livelihoods endured in history through land and property (Isin and Nielsen, 2008).

3.3 The concept of the house

In 2004 Jorn Utzonstated that architecture is not about the beauty of the structure but the wellbeing of the people who use and stay in the buildings. He believes that the concept of the house can be defined by the causes and factors that involve human wellbeing such as light; sounds, stairs and walls as well as other surrounding things (Holst, 2014). Furthermore, Holst stresses the importance of these factors and state that "Heidegger is especially interested in

things as the center out of which everything else finds place and place in itself is important for a certain strand of modern architecture to which Utzon belongs" (Holst, 2014: 56). Heidegger and Utzon centers buildings and architecture with human beings in relations to the things of everyday life. A House can be defined as a multi-dimensional concept which has complex interaction with the economy, social factors, demographic shifts and the natural environment; it reflects wider systems and shapes them. So this means the meaning of the house is shaped by the livelihoods people live under as well as their dire need. According to Wesley (1998:119) a house cannot be defined the same way as a home, a "house means shelter, and implies edges, walls, doors, and roofs-and the whole repertory of the fabric". To my understanding a house cannot be defined according to one dimension or context. A house can be defined in different context, however in a South African context, settlements highlights that a house is a dwelling that holds a different meaning to different class in societies (Matjekane and Ndouvhada, 2009). Beyond that when it comes to different income groups in society as well as suburbs, so it is true to argue that it reflects wider systems and shapes them. The minute a meaning is applied to a house it can say a lot and define as well as create a relationship between citizenship and infrastructure. According to Wesley (1998) a house cannot be understood without putting a meaning in that space and when you do it co-exist with a home. A house cannot only be defined with the materials it entails but with the meaning it holds and Westgate (2007) argue that a house is a tool that is used to understand the communication the people have with their government.

To understand the concept of the house in South Africa one need to acknowledge the fact that those apartheid restrictions on black migrants settling in the city played a vital role in shaping some of the end result of the housing and policy. In 1994, the right to have access to adequate housing was articulated in the ANC's and later to the constitution in 1996. In addition, the constitution state that the right to adequate housing for all is the responsibility of the state, however Huchzermeyer (2001) state that there is a contestation regarding the concept of progressive realization of that right. For instance, Oldfield and Greyling (2015:1100) state, "Although specified in the South African Bill of Rights, for the majority of South African citizens the right to access housing translates in practice to the experience of waiting". The South African housing policy is recognized internationally and has paved an important path in Housing since its inception in 1994 (Charlton, 2006). However, there are

also concerns about the progress it has made since it was implemented. Charlton (2009:301) put it better when she said, "the post-1994 South African housing programme has had a distinctly mixed success. It is my knowledge that the concept of the house can be understood in the context of experiences and perspective of its subjects. For instance, my aim is to seek to understand housing through the lance of the everyday lives of residents of Alexandra. It is important to acknowledge both the literature we know exist in terms of understanding the house and the one the person defines themselves. Through my fieldwork, it has been my objective to unfold this concept using perspective and experiences provided by the residents.

The house as a concept in South Africa

A House can be defined as a multi-dimensional concept, which has complex interaction with the economy, social factors, demographic shifts and the natural environment; it reflects wider systems and shapes them. Therefore, this means the meaning of the house is shaped by the livelihoods people live under as well as their dire need. According to Wesley (1998:119), a house cannot be defined the same way as a home, a "house means shelter, and implies edges, walls, doors, and roofs-and the whole repertory of the fabric." To my understanding, a house cannot be defined according to one dimension or context. A house can be defined in different context, however in a South African Context a house is a dwelling that hold a different meaning to different class in society (Matjekane and Ndouvhada, 2009). Beyond that when it comes to different income groups in society as well as suburbs, so it is true to argue that it reflects wider systems and shapes them. The minute a meaning is applied to a house it can say a lot and define as well as create a bond between the individual (citizenship) and his/her surrounding (infrastructure). What you see as a mere building someone else can see it as beyond an object as Heidegger put it (1971). Furthermore, a house cannot be understood without putting a meaning in that space, so in other words the object becomes more as humans put meaning and it changes from a house to a home (Wesley, 1998). A house cannot only be defined with the materials it entails but with the meaning. However Westgate (2007) argue that a house is a tool that is used to understand the communication the people have with their government.

After 10 years of insufficient delivery and widespread complaints about the product and process the government was forced to re-assess its housing policy and as a result Breaking

New Ground was formulated (Patel, 2015). The new document was set out to respond to issued that aroused since the formulation of the housing policy in 1994 and address the housing backlog (Tomlinson, 2006). The new document entitled Breaking New Ground was a comprehensive plan for the development of a sustainable human settlements plan and it is not meant to replace the 1994 housing policy but rather to enhance it.

The approach is seen as a way to use housing delivery as a bridge to achieve a set of broader socio-economic goals. In other words "the new plan makes clear in its objectives that housing provision should address poverty alleviation, economic growth, improving the quality of life of the poor, creating an asset for the poor and ultimately developing sustainable human settlements" (Charlton and Kihato, 2006: 257). The new document suggest that funding should be put in well located land for low income housing, new housing projects should incorporate urban regeneration as well as in situ upgrading of informal settlements in desired locations. As a result, the fundamental plan of this approach is to upgrade the original housing plan so that it can able to understand the complexities around poverty and housing backlog. However, the question asked after 20 years is weather the housing policy understand what a house means to South Africans and what is slowing the implementation process (Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2015. For instance, "In 2010, there were some 2,700 slums, accommodating over 1.2 million households" (Habitat for Humanity Great Britain, 2017: 1).

Waiting in a backyard shack in an already overpopulated neighborhood has been a culture for many South African townships. According to Oldfield and Greyling (2015), this state of temporary has turned into permanent state.. Auyero characterizes this type of waiting as "uncertainty and arbitrariness ... dominated by persistent confusion and misunderstanding" (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015: 1100). Across cities, people still have hope that one day they will own property; however, the system still takes them for granted every day.

Housing in South Africa is seen as a way to access ownership, which in return gives priority to government to pay attention and provide services. After 1994, housing was seen as a tool that can bridge a gap between the urban poor and the privileged. "Post-1994 housing programme has been highly significant in a number of ways. Housing delivery has been important in demonstrating the distribution of tangible asset to the poor" (Charlton and Kihato, 2006:252). It is known that RDP amongst other social housing programme is one of a

few state interventions that give urban poor a power to own property in a dignified way, so the concept of the house is drawn from polices as well as frameworks that govern all the programs put in plays to engage in housing. The understanding of the concept go further than that since I have been collecting data in Alexandra because even though I have existing data on the concepts on the point of entry , the purpose always was to allow the field to define the concept of the "house" which the social world is organized.

Housing Typology

It would be easy and tempting to argue that housing typologies can be defined according to planned, unplanned or formal and informal classifications, but if you will allow me one criticism of the way, it formulates the question of spatial exclusion and social injustice. My study site is bringing an opportunity to understand a wider range of housing typologies and a new opportunity of how to define as well as understand them. It cannot go un-noticed that every housing typology has its own characteristics and if not payed attention, policies became ineffective in improving them or the socio-economic environment. One thing South African literature has taught us on housing is that definition of housing typologies are dependent on particular local context in which development is taking place. In addition, through Alexandra Township we shall unpack and understand all the housing typologies; however that will be discussed in chapter four. But local government since given the responsibility of development of human settlements they have defined types of settlements or housing according to topography, location, size, proximity and management structures. Moreover, logically it makes sense to do so if development of human settlements in cities were not unorthodox. Take Alexandra for example most participants I met will tell me a different version of the township but as the city grew, more typologies were created as well. So this provides difficulty now and then in terms of understanding housing typologies and how to categorize them? South Africa is no exception it has a settlement hierarchy that comprises settlements of varying sizes and geographic locations; places that are urban and rural, planned and unplanned (Kilian; Fiehn; Ball and Howells, 2005).

To understand the term home in townships is very complex as "the temporary nature of their urban stay exposes the contradiction in the bommastandi concept of "home" (Matlapeng, 2011: 159). This comes back to what Heidegger argues that a house is not an object (1971). The history of informal housing in South African Townships History dates back from the

concept of bommastandi (Bonafides) and as noted by Abueng Matlapeng (2011) they see this place as hope of better future not necessarily home, however it has a significant meaning to them.

History in South African cities has influenced the emergence of different housing typologies. In Alexandra, bonded housing started to exist as early as the 1940s and later around the 1960's informal settlements emerged. The influx of black people in search of job opportunities gave rise to these different typologies in Alexandra (Matlapeng, 2011). In the early years of apartheid, it was easy to distinguish housing typology, but migration gave black property owners opportunity to create a new typology called stand-alone structure or back yard rooms. This typology grew with time and space and gave opportunity to new forms of housing like squatter camps. Until now, there has been no single concept that brings together the material that reveals the unfolding geography of spaces and spatial formations in Townships. This category describes the history of the townships from its days as a beacon for hope for migrants to its position as overpopulated uncontrollable planning with a potential to be great again.

The scheme of housing typology differs from the macro level to micro level and person to another depending how and where policies are implemented. According To Urban Development Strategy, housing typology is distinguished based on size and location. In addition, by size they identify them into four classes: large metropolitan areas, large cities, medium sized cities and small cities and towns. Furthermore the White Paper include differential of settlements types according to size, location, function and tenure type. The document also highlight that types can be referred to where they are located within that area meaning an informal settlement should be more than 5000 people or if they are less they are seen as unplanned dispersed settlements, however the document does point out that the criteria for categorizing housing typologies is not always consistent (CSIR, 1999). For instance, Aggarwal (2016: 2) state, "traditionally, formal and informal settlements were distinguished based on administrative definitions or socio-economic indicators (Divyani Kohli et al, 2012) such as 'the number of people who live on a dollar a day"; however that data was proven to be inaccurate and inconsistent. As far as the policy is concerned there is a lack of direct definition of informality for instance squatter, illegal, informal, ghetto etc. it seems there is

evidence of imprecise connotations. In addition, every sphere of government has understood housing typologies in that manner. Not to say that is incorrect some categories may defy the laws of nature or urban planning. For instance, Alexandra is a study site, which shows different housing typologies, which makes it difficult to define as formal or informal.

South African understanding of housing typologies is highly influenced by geographic location and distribution, for instance a settlement is defined by its relative location of the core to the city (CBD) and economic status (Kilian et al, 2005). In doing so, housing started being categorized according to planned and unplanned which gave rise to these concepts of formal and informal. Papers written since the 1990's even earlier than that have only seen unplanned housing as informal and as a problem which in turn created more demand into subsidized housing (Karam and Rubin, 2010). The concept of the "house" is understood from that perspective, if something is not formal then it must be informal, however it is becoming difficult to define and distinguish lately as new housing typologies are rising conflicting the whole idea of formal and informal. For instance, look at Alexandra: in one area you will find bonded houses, red brick houses, stand-alone structures, backyard rooms, flats etc.. Kilian et al (2005) states that formal settlement are those planned within a legal framework with provision of services and infrastructure, but informal settlement might be illegally established but the state do recognize that they exist hence why certain services are provided and infrastructure. Therefore, the evolution of housing has always been there, but the question is that can we afford to ignore it any longer!

Kilian et al (2005) state that housing typology has a way of evolving and changing the way we define them in the first place, for instance in the literature it is stated that they are informal settlements which are planned and within legal secured land for settlement. Therefore, what makes them informal is it because they use certain material, which is not recognizable to be formal, or is it because the people who reside within such settlements fall in the disadvantaged category or urban poor.. For instance, Aggarwal (2016) state that informal settlement, slums or shacks actually is not the same as we thought. For instance, those who resided in the stands that used to be owned by the blacks who were dispossessed by the apartheid regime define their households as stand-alone structures regardless of the material they have used. From a textbook point of view when you look at the places these people reside in one thought might come in mind slums. Slums are highly populated urban residential

area consisting mostly of closely packed, decrepit housing units in a situation of deteriorated or incomplete infrastructure, inhabited primarily by urban poor. Matlapeng (2011) point out that in Johannesburg informal settlement aka shacks as we know it started with backyard rooms using whatever materials they could find, but Kilian et al (2005) started that due to housing evolution these typologies eventually changed in a way that informality became contested challenging the very nature that defined it. Housing is a debatable concept in the country since post-apartheid, because not only people have not received their houses yet,but also it is a way to end the social injustice and bring economic freedom. House is more than a home to accommodate a family but it can be used as advantage to get a loan for a business even use the space for business. People in dire needs are forced to be creative for their survival sake and as a result, we have witnessed throughout South African cities that people use spaces for different reasons at a different times just like in Alexandra (see Matlapeng, 2011).

Matlapeng (2011) did state that property ownership meant a lot back then to the residents of Alexandra, it gave them power and dignity also a business opportunity, which became a South African tradition. Therefore, the type of houses started evolving because of the ambition of the 2554 residents who owned property but with the debts owing the bank they had to resort to sub-renting their land (Matlapeng, 2011). Therefore, some urban poor remain in those properties; however, it is most likely to happen that a few still have ownership over them and still rent out their place. This form of a market has created problems for the state as officials saw an opportunity to use that market for their own self-benefit. With migration still a factor that pressure the city, it's even more difficult to house those promised for housing, so as a result people resort to townships and more housing typology are created.

Historically housing typologies in South African cities have always been shaped by colonial and apartheid rule and they still influence some part of it, however as time changes economic conditions have much of a bigger role to play. During apartheid, people had little choice about where they could reside but post-apartheid society have to deal with economic exclusion which force people to seek cheaper accommodation in townships for them to survive and still be closer to job opportunities (Kilian et al, 2005). This has given rise to all sorts of housing

typologies wish cannot be understood without the residents' livelihoods and as a result, it brings the question of citizenship in the forefront in the post-apartheid context.

3.4 Citizenship

Throughout history, the use of rights and citizenship has exploded with groups of different types and new citizenship, which includes social and political recognition, came to being. Many developed democratic countries have at least managed to cover all their people with some political and social rights; however, in South Africa citizenship remains highly debatable. Citizens always demands rights, but their success depends on the distribution and use of power from the ruling party or parties. The concept of rights has become one of a few way of understanding the relationship between a state and its people as well as political theory (Janoski, 1998). However, in many cases positions differ widely on the status of rights and obligations, which might be the reason, why it is difficult to define citizenship and practicing the ideology behind it. South Africa is driven by one particular force of rights the constitution, but it is difficult to monitor whether the state have used those rights accordingly.

The right to adequate housing is one of the most important basic human rights as it restores the dignity of millions of South Africans who have been marginalized for centuries and who still suffer from the legacy of apartheid even as we speak. The constitution was created to provide a legal foundation to the existence of the republic of South Africa and set out the rights and duties of all citizens to make sure that everyone is treated fairly.

Definition of Citizenship

Citizenship is a multi-faceted concept, which acts as a tool that defines the relationship between different social actors in society (Miraftab and Wills, 2005). Citizenship can be defined as a concept, which incorporates different rights that govern the state interrelationship with the civil society. Through the constitution this rights hold the state accountable to provide services that are essential to humanity. According to Lalloo (1999) the concept defines how a society should function and put in check the duties, responsibilities, rights and privileges all the different social actors exercise. The concept exists because all humans have a right to adequate livelihood and environment. Citizenship comprises of three components namely political, civil and social (Patel, 2015). Political, civil, and social rights empower and sustain the basic needs of life, which is what citizenship stands for. However, it

is not easy to capture and understand citizenship in a context of a city. For instance, a city as arena for the actions of citizenship, property, and place defines the status of citizenship. Patel (2015:2) argues that citizenship "can refer to the legal terms and conditions of membership to a nation-state; or it can refer to claims, based on moral or social rights, to membership to society and the practice of these claims". Citizenship in different ways can be understood as formal, substantive, and inclusive. Inclusive citizenship suggest that the concept need to be understood beyond being a political and civil right to a social and economic that gives substance to civil and political rights. In addition, in the context of this research project citizenship affect the role of housing policy in advancing. According to McEwan (2005) state provision of social welfare, especially housing is essential in understanding what it means to be a citizen and how to define citizenship. However, she argues that can one truly define the concept and question the fact that citizenship can ever be properly practiced. Substantive citizenship supports the notion and Patel (2015:3) state that

> "In recent years the practice of moral or social rights to housing has been theorized as a substantive citizenship where, for example, informal settlement is understood as the actions of citizens that simultaneously realize their right to housing and in some way contests the state's monopoly on determining the legitimacy with which people stake claims to space and belonging".

However, with the government promise of recognizing all different housing typology and supporting their development township like Alexandra felt it is then they can fully embrace the idea of being a citizen. From my understanding is that citizenship is not (merely) a set of formal relations between state and subject, but that it is something that is materially experienced and in this case housing is seen as that tool they can claim it. Citizenship cannot only be understood as a right and responsibility, but also as the everyday experiences people acquire. For instance, the shared experiences of everyday life legitimize citizenship in most cases as people might share a common need like water, electricity, or shortage of houses. Since there are civil, social and political rights claiming those rights only means there are many questions that would seem hard to deny. Such as understanding what does political rights mean and when we can use our rights to communicate with the state or hold them accountable. Since Marshal introduced citizenship, the theory has developed over time and has incorporated many issues that societies faced in early years of civilization (Janoski, 1998). Janoski believes that even though marshal explanatory framework of citizenship seem to be

working, however there are gaps that cannot simply be explained because time changes and he wants to raised them so that we understand citizenships rights to full length (1998). However, Janoski (1998:4) concludes that "citizenship can be treated simply as a concept measuring rights and obligations". However, issues that arise are how to balance rights and obligations and formulate those citizenship rights at a macro and micro level. From my understanding, macro may mean everyone has a right to vote but the obligation takes over, as it is everyone's responsibility to do an identification document. Micro level may mean everyone has a right to adequate housing, but that does not mean everyone qualifies. Therefore, citizenship without obligations may be hard to carry out, as it is the state obligation to provide all sorts of services to its citizen. Therefore, it is my understanding that discourses is bound to happen, as there is not definitive explanation of citizenship rights. There is no one way to define citizenship but the constitution guides the state into how they should interact with their people same as the civil society. In Alexandra Township, the residents are not happy with how the state conducts their affairs especially those involving their well-being. Participants interviewed in the area all share a common complain corruption and poor service. They ask how they are supposed to embrace being a citizen in a post-apartheid society while they are still suffering the social injustice of apartheid government.

Infrastructure and Citizenship

The post-apartheid South Africa saw infrastructure capacity and emergent articulations of citizenship as important tools to rebuild the country. Scholars debating post-apartheid South Africa's housing challenges have linked nation building to political inclusion and racial reconciliation as ways to overcome past injustices. According to Wafer (2012) infrastructure has always been central to the urban politics, social justice especially in everyday life of townships in South Africa.

> "The post-apartheid state has attempted to re-frame citizenship of South Africans, especially in townships, through the provision of housing and basic services. The emergence, therefore, of service delivery protests in townships and informal settlements in the early 2000s marked the possible limits of a post-apartheid citizenship" (Wafer, 2012:233).

The concept of infrastructure in a South African context has always played an important role in understanding the relationship between the state and the civil society. For instance, RDP policies were meant to rectify the apartheid infrastructure segregation, which even today the majority of the population, is still suffering (South African Cities Networks, 2014). Infrastructure have always been an important part of urban policies and everyday life from contested production in apartheid era to the indexing as a post-apartheid economic free country and to the contemporary city debates surrounding the failures, vulnerability, inadequacy, maintenance, control and use of policies (McFarlane and Rutherfold, 2008). However, infrastructure has "often remarked as a historically important part of the modernist ideal of the uniform, integrated, equally serviced city, which have become increasingly fragmented through processes of industrialization, privatization, and the reallocation of state resources" (McFarlane, 2008: 417). Scholars such as Huchzermyer (2001), Lalloo (1999) argue that post-apartheid South Africa has yet to see that social justice and democracy especially in housing infrastructure as citizenship is highly contested.

Recent work on cities in South Africa has emphasized the interrelationship between urban infrastructure and citizenship discourses into detail. It is important to reflect back in order to understand the relationship that is created by urban identities and the spatiality of colonial and post-colonial power and discourse (Kooy and Bakker, 2008). For instance "it is often remarked that infrastructures, as a historically important part of the modernist ideal of the uniform, integrated, equally serviced city, have become increasingly fragmented through processes of industrialization, privatization and the reallocation of state resources" (McFarlane, 2008: 417).For more than the country's democratic life span, South African townships as well as informal settlements have presented spaces for economic activity, social development that fail to fully serve residents. In a South African context, infrastructure have always been an important part of urban policies and everyday life from contested production in apartheid era to the indexing as a post-apartheid economic free country and to the contemporary city debates surrounding the failures, vulnerability, inadequacy, maintenance, control and use of policies (McFarlane and Rutherfold, 2008).

Infrastructure is critical for ensuring the effective function of an economy by stimulating economic growth and promoting employment in any country. Moreover, in South Africa during the periods of high unemployment and depressed economic growth, the government

tends to fund infrastructure projects that are labour intensive, however there is a growing debate around the fact that infrastructure projects or any projects based on social justice at the end it fails to serve the people and alleviate poverty. This is why my research project intended to focus on understanding the interrelationship between infrastructure (housing) and citizenship because the question is who benefits and what about social justice. Infrastructure is a complex concept, which needs to be carefully investigated and understood so that some question can be answered and some raised (McFarlane, 2008). According to Provincial Treasury infrastructure can be defined as a "the backbone of any economy and when extensive and efficient, it is critical for ensuring the effective functioning thereof. (Quarterly Bulletin, 2012: 4-5).

Infrastructure plays a significant role in political expectations in post-apartheid South Africa and the attempts by the state to re-frame citizenship in townships through the provision of housing and basic services it is because of polices such as RDP. Even though some attempts have failed, however the state realizes that economic development and social justice can be realized through infrastructure (Wafer, 2012). In other words, infrastructure is the most powerful entry point into thinking about the connection between cities, states and civil society and the materiality of infrastructure (Mann, 2008). Infrastructure is very critical in understanding citizenship because it can shape it or destroy it. In Alexandra infrastructure has not played much positive impact by the state, instead the residents on numerous occasion have used infrastructure as both socio-economic and political tool to create their own citizenship or demand it. Politically when electricity or water is cuts of by the municipality the community of Alexandra will rally in the street blocking main roads as a way to communicate with the state. In addition, economically sub-renting spaces seem to be a major source of income for property owners. So this sort of actions tells you that to understand citizenship you need to live it (experience it). For instance Wafer (2012:234) referencing Kooy and Bakker (2008) points out "infrastructure can be used as a way of excluding certain forms of citizenship and can also be used as a way of including.

Citizenship and infrastructure are two concepts that coexist with one another as the development of infrastructure affect citizenship directly. What this means is that rights that are called citizenship, which makes the residents of that country citizens, measure civil society. To be clearer when development of infrastructure happen it can make lives of citizens

and the country better which is the responsibility of the government. The rights, which are called citizenship, hold government accountable into doing what is needed for its people for better livelihoods. This means that not only is infrastructure critical for ensuring the effective function of an economy by stimulating economic growth but also social growth. Concisely, Citizenship is a multi-faceted concept, which acts as a tool that defines how government expenditure is spent and how the people experience it in that country to claim their citizenry (Miraftab and Wills, 2005). In a South African context as our research is based on, it is skeptical to argue that citizenship is the tool that drives socio-economic improvement. The concept of infrastructure in a South African context has always played an important role in understanding the relationship between the state and the civil society; however, literature has raised a lot of question such as whether infrastructure is still an agent that binds the state and the community and re-assuring good citizenship.

Link Between housing and citizenship

The importance of a house I have spoken about in South Africa in this chapter links to the international literature I have looked between infrastructure and citizenship. What I want to do now is consider how the house might be understood in relation to experiences and expectations of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. During apartheid era housing was used as a way to exclude people racially, for instance white people could own property and land in the urban areas whereas African people can own land and property in the rural areas or designated areas such as Soweto ((Nkambule, 2012). Therefore, in a South African context black people to stay in the urban areas they were can only to relocate to the periphery of the city boundaries far away from job opportunities as the land is cheap there or force their way using illegal settlements within city centre. Housing has been used by the apartheid government as a tool to segregate people. When the ANC government resumed office, citizenship was at the centre of contemporary South African politics. This concept holds the promise of 'better life for all' South African whereas housing became the glue that make sure that the promise is fulfilled, furthermore "South African citizenship act as a destigmatisation from apartheid as the social democratic welfare" (Nkambule, 2012: 1).

By enriching and challenging existing literature on the subject with regard to forms and strategy of community development in a post-apartheid Johannesburg, one need to

understand how people view and understand citizenship, what it means to them in relation to housing and state power. Moreover, by doing so, investigate perception of citizenship (sense of belonging) among residents of these different housing typology in Alexandra. Citizenship has changed over the years or more that how it used to be understood and it is my responsibility as a researcher for this research project to understand the relationship it holds to the subject matter. For instance, Citizenship is a tool that combines both the state and the people in one common understanding, however in paper it might seem that way but in practice, there might be conflicting ideas. Alexandra is a good example of how the state and its people have been in conflict over the concept of the 'house' which act as a lance that supposed to be used to measure social justice. In addition, social justice is a way that people believe they can have or feel a sense of belonging ever since the constitution was implemented as a framework that will guarantee and restore their dignity (Miraftab and Wills, 2005).

According to Lalloo (1999) the concept defines how a society should function and put in check the duties, responsibilities, rights and privileges all the different social actors exercise. Citizenship comprises of three components namely political, civil and social. Political, civil, and social rights empower and sustain the basic needs of life, which is what citizenship stands for. However, it is not easy to capture and understand citizenships in a context of a city. For instance, a city as arena for the actions of citizenship, property, and place defines the status of citizenship. Therefore, this means that citizens of this country believe access to housing gives them the sense of belonging to this idea of a new democratic regime. Furthermore, through the Reconstruction and Development Programme housing was as bridge to close the gap between the excluded and then the privileged and I that way housing was seen as a tool to rectify the sins of the past and give the urban poor social justice.

3.5 Conclusion

However, the point that I have tried to establish in this chapter is that these laws and policies are meaningless if they are not actually enacted: in other words, if they are not put in practice. The contention that I make in this thesis is that citizenship is not (merely) a set of formal relations between state and subject, but that it is something that is materially experienced. In other words, the constitution and policy might guarantee access to housing, but it is the

material object of the house that defines the relationship between the subject and state – it is through the object of the house that the subject sees and engages with the state. My literature suggest that housing act as a tool that keeps the hopes of the urban poor and holds the state accountable of its people by delivering houses for the poor. My intention in this chapter was to highlight the importance of the concept of the House and why it is seen as a claim to citizenship in the post-apartheid communities. This chapter has provided the arguments behind the concept of a house. One highlighted that housing is a critical tool in understanding the post-apartheid citizenship context, however also pointed out that it is not as easy as it may sound as they are other forces that also housing impacts on and others that affect the end product of how housing is experienced and expected in cities especially in townships. This chapter was able to provide different contesting ideas on what actually what housing means in both local and international literature of different. The following chapters will the concept in the centre of the primary data collected as well as observations done. Furthermore, the chapters will position the concept thoroughly from a township perspective and develop a theory that will provide either answers or more questions.

CHAPTER 4:

THE EVOLUTION OF HOUSING TYPOLOGIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES

In this chapter, my intention is to highlight the importance not only of housing, but of attention to different housing typologies, to the understanding of citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa. The basic argument is that the everyday practices, and the everyday engagements with the material form of the house, produce political subjectivities that frequently exceed those understood by agents of the post-apartheid state. In the previous chapter, I considered how post-apartheid housing policy has understood – and subsequently framed - the object of the house. A particular imaginary of post-apartheid citizenship is deeply implicated into this material formation: the object defines and delimits a whole range of relationships between subjects and authority. In this chapter, I want to consider what happens on the ground: when policy is imperfectly implemented, and when individuals claim political subjectivity in ways which are not immediately provided for.

In this chapter I have focussed on the actual material conditions and qualities of the object of the house. Borrowing from Heidegger's object oriented ontology, it is my contention that the materiality of everyday life frames the possibilities for meaningful and durable life. In this regard, I have attempted to develop a 'grounded' or 'vernacular' categorization of housing as I have observed it and as local residents have helped me to understand it in Alexandra. I have organised these categories by location, building material, durability, ownership and tenancy type, as well as observable conditions of living. But from my observation as well as the qualitative interviews I conducted it was quickly evident that even these might not fully capture the meaning of the house for the ordinary urban poor. Crucially, housing to the residents of Alexandra is primarily important because it means presence. This is not unlike Bayat's (2007) concept of quiet encroachment, although I would argue that whereas Bayat was concerned with presence as resistance, the overwhelming observation in the urban slums of Alexandra is of presence as survival; less a claim of rights and more as a claim of endurance.

Malpass and Murie (1982: 22) argue that "housing is a subject in which history is particularly important, most obviously because houses have a long life". In the context of Alexandra, this statement is both true and not true. Many of the actual houses have very short lifespan,

suffering fires and flooding or demolition by periodic government slum clearance programmes, leaving no trace of the rich social and material histories of people. Recent demolitions in Kibera slum, in Nairobi, have attracted similar accusations of not only physical but also cultural violence. Other structures are changed and adapted; cyborg assemblages that may retain their basic form but the materials of which are constantly renewed and replaced (Gandy 2005). But it is true in the sense that some of the houses have been there for decades, slowly sinking into the earth. And even where individual structures may be new or gradually remade, the forms of abode persist over years. Particular discourses and practices persist into the present: even terms like township, shack and RDP house are misnomers that nevertheless continue to not only be used but have valance.

This chapter is not an analysis of policy implementation. It is not intended as a critique of the ways in which the state 'sees' its subjects (Scott 1998), nor is it intended as a corrective by analysing the ways in which subjects 'see' the state (e.g. Corbridge et al 2005). In the previous chapter we considered how Heidegger located the meaning of the house not in its practical or even political function but in its 'ontological' function: i.e. as the base from which people move out into and make sense of the world. The aim of this chapter is to show how the object of the house in Alexandra frames the ways in which local residents make sense of their position in the world.

4.1 Formal versus informal: an un-helpful dichotomy

To understand Alexandra as a study site it is necessary to understand the complexities of urban space in the post-apartheid context. From the beginning of urbanization in 1900 to post-apartheid society in South Africa, citizens have participated in movements that desire to change and guide the fluid growth of the urban form (Landau, 2012). My research project is more than a compilation of experiences but it is a unique insight into the lives and beliefs of urban life; this research serves as a narrative, giving voice to the different heroes who strive for and drive urban change in our daily urban townships.

As with many post-colonial cities, housing reflects colonial (and apartheid) rationalities. Central to this was a distinction between modern (i.e. European) and traditional (i.e. African) social and material forms (see e.g. Mbembe and Nuttall 2004; Mamdani 1997; Bourdieu 1970). Colonial, and later post-colonial, cities were organised around the separation of these

two imagined traditions. In South African cities, the urban poor were often forcibly removed from urban areas on the pretense that the condition of their living environment was not conducive to the modern city. This rationality has long underscored a distinction between the formal (i.e. the modern, the European, the hygenic, the proper) and the informal (i.e. the traditional, the African, the unhygenic, the improper). But as Ananya Roy (2005) has argued, this distinction also serves political imperatives that justify the lack of service provision and extending of rights to groups on the basis of their 'not being ready'. As such, revisionist histories of these cities have often attempted to reclaim the 'vernacular' material forms as an attempt to reclaim the agency and belonging of the urban poor.

The stories of Alexandra have been largely about reclaiming the stories of the urban poor as productive of the urban form as much as the political and economic elites. Alexandra represents an interesting corrective to the distinction between the modern and the traditional or the formal and the informal. Alexandra did not begin, as some other townships in Johannesburg, as a destination for those forcibly removed from the urban area, but has a particular history of African freehold. Matlapeng (2011) states: "The birth of Alexandra freehold is exceptional in that Alexandra was established as a solution to a 'native' problem in Johannesburg. During this time, there was a demand for the acquisition of land by Natives and Coloured in Johannesburg" (p 4). Due to apartheid policies, these rights were progresively stripped from landowners, and as the city grew more and more people moved to this enclave of black group area in the midst of some of the most elite white group areas. The outcome was the progressive underservicing of the neighbourhood, as well as the densification and impoverishment thereof. The reality is that there are a multitude of different housing and tenure conditions that pertain in the area, even if these are not recognised by municipal officials, who see their task as attempting to redevelop the neighbourhood.

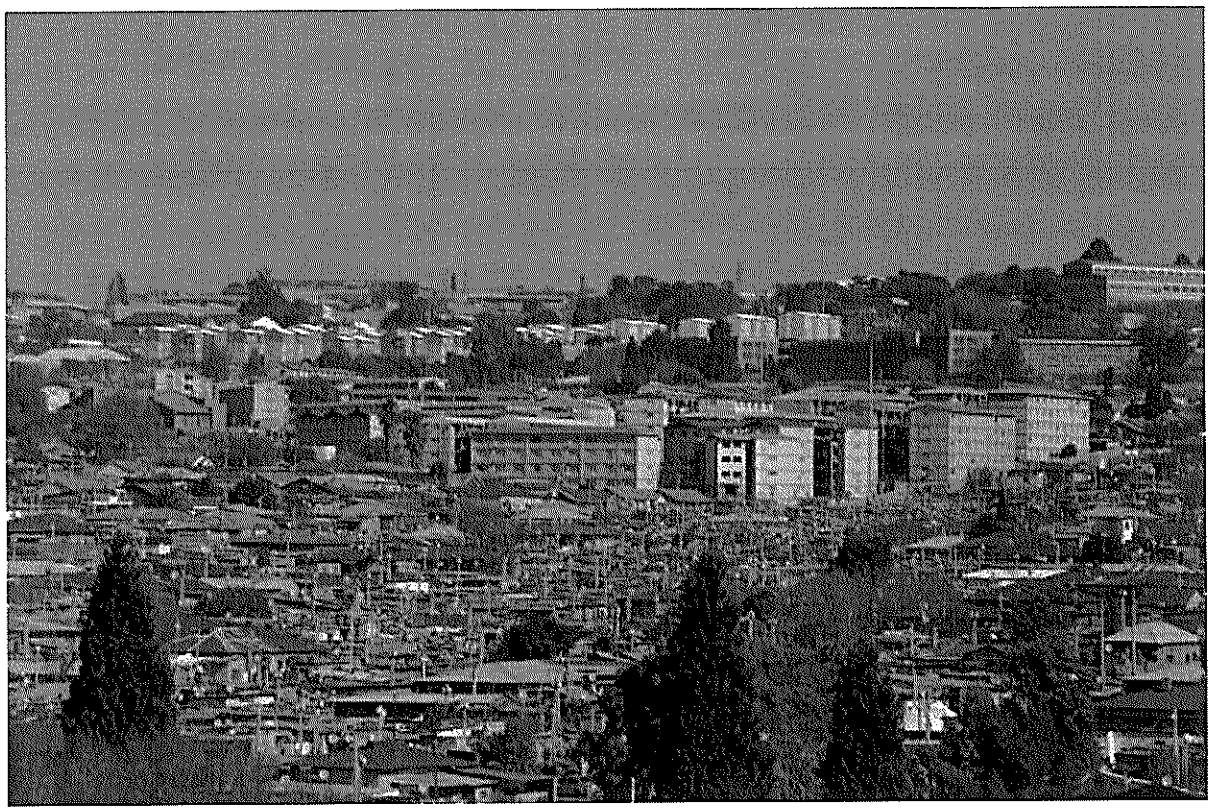


Figure 4.1: Alexandra (Google.co.za, accessed 24/04/2017)

Officially, there are two primary typologies that are recognised in Alexandra: the first category is the historical transformation of 'traditional housing' into informal settlement. The second category is the 'modern urban housing' typology called formal settlement (CSIR, 1999). By definition, informal settlement means a type of non-conventional low cost housing. Mostly it is constructed with non-conventional building material that is obtained in an informal way" (Aggarwal, 2016: 3). While formal settlement can be defined as planned conventional housing with proper building material and electricity as well as sanitation. However, in a context of Alexandra housing typology can be identified according to the history of the area, which is a reason one needs to understand housing in Alexandra. Housing policies have accepted all the non-conventional and conventional housing typologies but the difficulty it is how to implement such policies effectively in townships or on a micro level. My point in this chapter is that conventional definition of housing typologies can be useful in understanding planning on a macro level; however, on a micro level I believe that those two categories have failed to understand how residents of Alex use space and spatial forms. For instance Huchzermyer (2008) states that the definition of a typology like informal settlements only define the physicality of the structure, whereas in practice it may actually mean more than that.

Aggarwal (2016: 2) state, "traditionally, formal and informal settlements were distinguished based on administrative definitions or socio-economic indicators (Divyani Kohli et al., 2012) such as 'the number of people who live on a dollar a day"; however that data was proven to be inaccurate and inconsistent. The two categories are the basis of my argument but I will not focus on those distinctive definitions but rather to argue that housing typologies overlap (they are not clear-cut as we thought), cannot easily be understood without understanding the characteristics of a place and how people use the space and understand a house (house being more than just a home). Concisely, my point is that it is not always easy to distinguish between different types of settlements in a city such as Johannesburg influenced by history of spatial separation, exclusion and struggle for space as well as spatial identity formation (Killian; Fiehn; Ball and Howells, 2005).

Formal housing in Alexandra



Figure 4.2: Formal housing in Alexandra (Google earth, accessed 20/07/2017)

To understand what constitutes 'formal' housing in the context of South African requires a consideration of the particular history of urbanisation, as these settlements expand and

evolve as populations grow. Although the different typologies have differentiated between formal and informal, the definition of 'formal' and 'informal' is strongly debated. This is because it is difficult to establish a strict definition between these settlement types. Formal areas in most cases or according to government policies are planned, have proper services and well governed while informal areas are typically unplanned, whilst settlements are characterized by a more scattered distribution of population. However, there are many settlements that have both formal and informal characteristics. In the case of Alexandra it is almost impossible to distinguish the two, however it is my duty to give an understanding in reference to the definition given above concerning these two concept (formal vs. informal) and justify why (Kilian et al, 2005). Formal housing in Alexandra may have dated in the early 1930 (Red Brick houses) as people were buying property to own which meant security in a land not owned by the government. Some houses still resemblance the early design of formal housing which mostly are situated were shacks are more likely to accumulate as they used that land for rental and became Bommastandi. For instance Matlapeng (2011)states it clearly in her dissertation that "when bommastandi acquired property in Alexandra though, they were participating in a titled private property ownership system in which they did not seem to restrict the use of their properties to their immediate nuclear family members" (2011:157). To draw an understanding in the context of Alexandra, there are new houses, which are built of brick, and have some degree of services. Such houses are understood as 'formal', regardless of where they are located. On the other hand, residents of these houses regard themselves as poor and in need just because they live in Alexandra, Some people regard them as middle class but the houses they are occupying still belong to the banks, and they have to pay installment. Mr. Nkosi at Roosevelt Street said, "Sometimes I envy people who live in those informal structures because they do not have to worry about installments". I understood that they are many characteristics that actually define a housing typology; it is not only the matter of the material they use (24ARP, 2017).

Informal housing

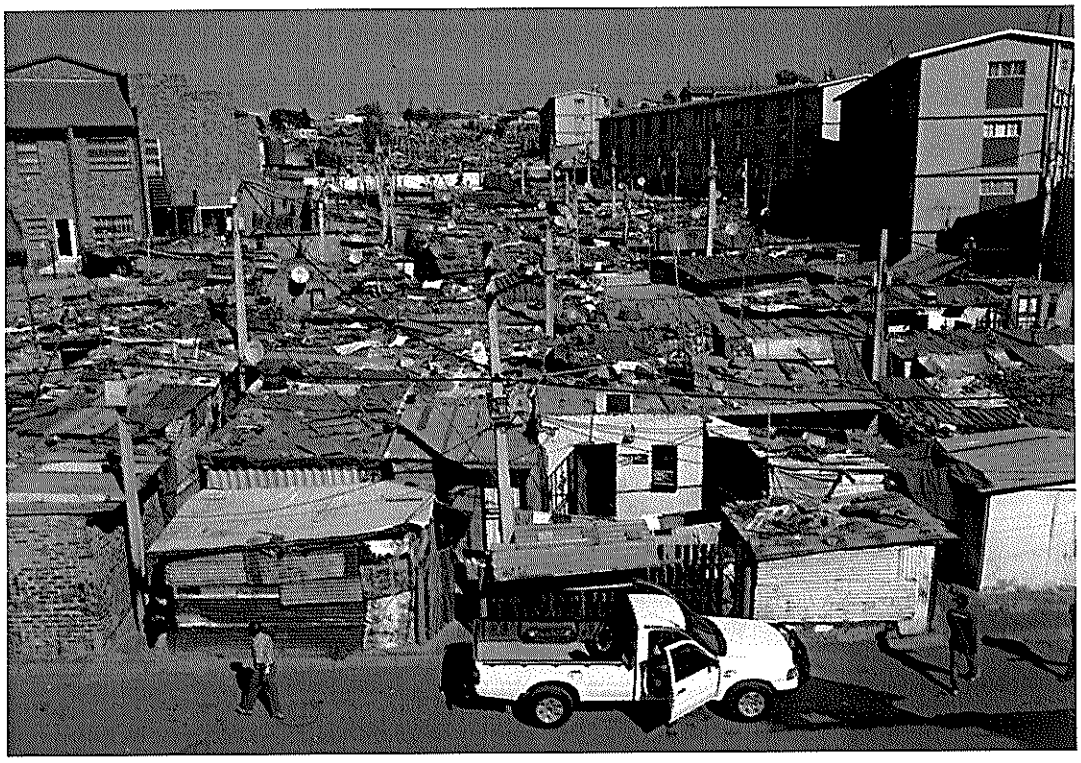


Figure 4.3: Informal housing in Alexandra (Google.co.za, accessed 2017)

The existence of informal settlements such as shacks, slums, or squatter camps can be dated back to early 1950's in Alexandra. Because Alexandra was one of the few township in Johannesburg that was independent from the white rule people coming from different villages across the country settled there in search of employment in the mines. And because of that the place started being overpopulated which saw property owners renting space in their land (introduction of bommastandi); however just like any other city in Africa insufficient and inadequate housing for the urban poor has become a challenging factor for the state. In most cities in Africa, urban poor have erected informal dwellings or structures where they can find space due to the pull factors that forced them to be in cities (Lemanski, 2009). The back yard structures can on one hand be classified as informal but on another can also operate as formal since they are built on legal tenure with proper planning from property owners, sharing electricity, water, and sanitation and refuse collection in return for rent. The gap between informal and formal is becoming thin and thin every day, even at the current situation those residents of Alexandra who occupy RDP houses use their additional space for

rental purposes. Briefly, "Informal settlements have become an important urban form only since the beginning of this century when the inhabitants became more socio-economically bound to the city." (Aggarwal, 2016:3). As time is revolving this different typology, operate within a planned structure where roads are accessible and water as well as sanitation. Therefore, what makes them informal it is very vague to argue as my participants argue that Alex is not characterized by informality, however informality does exist hand in hand with formality.

Alexandra has shown patterns of vast numbers of informal housing that can be associated with status quo of the township as one will reveal. My observation and interviews proves that the type of housing in Alexandra is associated with socio-economic status. For instance Matlapeng (2011:14-15) argues that

> "Shacks were not the only structures that loomed large in the Alexandra of the 1990s. Other housing projects were also introduced in Alexandra. Like the private developer-built houses of the 1980s, such housing schemes were not meant for exclusive occupation by *bommastandi* families. Instead, they were meant to address the broader urban housing shortage for everybody who lived in Alexandra and could satisfy the requirements stipulated for occupation of these houses. Such housing schemes include the housing village on the Far East Bank. This scheme, which is managed by SEMAG, was named Tsutsumani, which means "run" in Xitsonga. The area acquired this name because it was built in order to house athletes participating in the All Africa Games of 1999. So far, people who qualify to occupy Tsutsumani housing are supposed to pay for services only. There is a low cost housing scheme in an area called River Park which is operated by City Housing. This section lies to the immediate west of the N3, a main route that connects Pretoria in the north to the eastern part of Johannesburg in the south. This low cost housing scheme comprises houses that are supposed be occupied subject to a lease agreement which is rental with intent to purchase"

The above quote proves that the increase or growth of informal housing was a result of these housing schemes as they only served specific groups in the township. Residents who could not meet the requirements were cast out and for two decades, there has been overpopulation in Alexandra. People all over the country and outside South African borders are still drawn to Alexandra Township because of its geographical position and economic opportunities surrounding it. However rural migration to urban civilization tend to give rise to poverty stricken squatter settlements that tend to become permanent, which they

establish themselves as unmovable communities with adverse planning implications. Apart from social and economic factors, poor urban regulatory framework and political appeasement of the constituencies also contribute to formation of squatter settlements and their eventual perpetuation into permanent slums (Kilian; Fiehn; Ball and Howells, 2005). It is clear that some of the urban poor needs such as housing are met outside the state housing Programme, for example in backyard shacks in townships, in informal settlements and self-divided spaces in warehouses or factories. It is true to state that the informal rental market is a valuable asset to the housing development of the city, my participants point out that they rely on these different housing typologies due to factors affecting delivery of housing, not everyone has been successful in accessing state housing programs especially those who believe to be the Bonafides of Alexandra. Bab'Moloi from 13 Roosevelt stated that and I quote *"nna ke ngwana wa mo Alex, ke ntate wa mo Alex gape kena le ditlogolo mo Alex mara motho wa go fihla maloba mo ona lentlo o sa itse gore bjang*[3]" (13ARP, 2017). He further stated that all these different housing typologies have meaning to every person here in Alexandra; they had to fight a development, which does not help them with nothing. From my observation done in Alexandra I could recognize evolution or change whatever people call it these days. The point is that there is a no longer just corrugated iron shack or wood; carton even plastic shacks anymore, people have learned to adapt and find new ways to construct with new ways looking for improvement and trying to avoid risk factors such as health.

4.3 Description of formal/informal housing typologies that exist in Alex

Formal: RDP housing

[3] English translation: Me I am a child born in Alex, a father amongst others in Alex, and a grandparent here in Alex, however people who just got here already have RDP houses not knowing how!

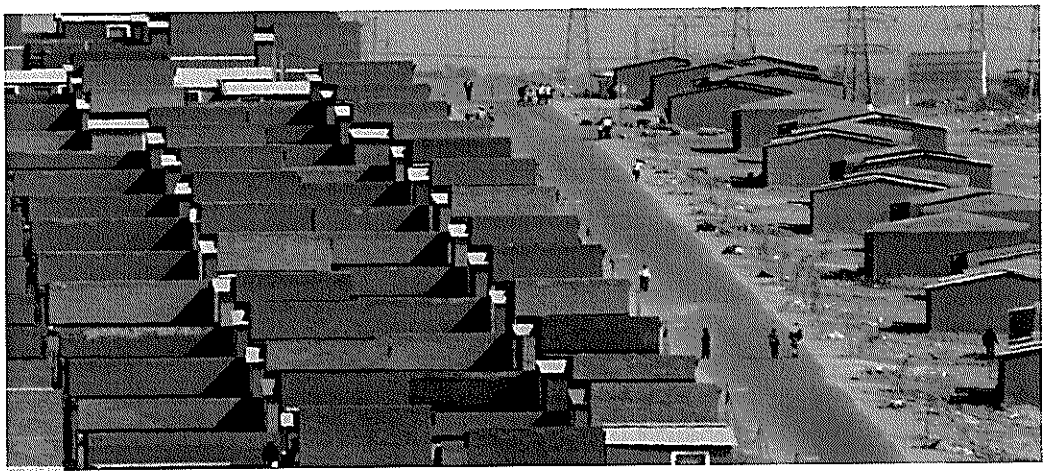


Figure 4.4: RDP housing in Alexandra (google.co.za, accessed 24/04/2017)

RDP housing in South Africa is one of the biggest Initiative plans that have ever come into play since the end of apartheid and the beginning of Democracy. The RDP initiative in Alexandra was part of the Alexandra Renewal Project that was introduced in 2001. The idea was to upgrade the township by offering two rooms-to-let in the yards of Reconstruction and Development Programme houses in the township as a form of formal housing. Alexandra Renewal Project has had significant successes and their major success is the building of the new Alexandra where thousands of RDP houses and rental have been built. This master plan also managed to move thousands of people from the dangerous informal settlements on the banks of the Jukskei River to more secure housing. On the other side of Alexandra, which is referred to as Old Alexandra, they have also upgraded road, sanitation and electricity infrastructure, however what has been done is not nearly enough. The houses/dwellings occupied herein (main houses, backyard housing and houses built in open spaces) are in extremely poor shape. There has not been any upgrading any of these by the Alexandra Renewal Project. It is extremely overpopulated and the services provided are insufficient to cater satisfactorily for the people.

I argue below that the consequences of the prevailing dire state of housing (and related issues) in Old Alexandra is largely because of the government's failure to deal with the dispossession issue. Despite these improvements, some residents (especially those that have not benefitted from the upgrade) feel they have not gained anything from the millions of Rands that have been poured into developing the township. From my observation residence

of Alexandra see RDP as their dream house in a well-located township in the city, this community refuse to re-locate somewhere else. To them to be recognize by the system that neglected them for a century is very important and they believe RDP housing is a key way to be finally seen and heard. The xenophobia attack that occurred in 2009 was a sign to the government that the residence of Alexandra are tired of being ignored, however the message was spread in a wrong way and innocent people were caught in that violent protest (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). The so-called Bonafides used the space which they believe it is theirs right to create chaos by violently attacking the outsiders. The 2008 xenophobic attacks reveals that residents of Alexandra were taking up their frustration to the outsiders because they feel that they are competing for scarce resources with people who are not supposed to get them in the first place says Alexandra Resident (07ARP, 2017).

Formal: Bonded housing

As crime, health issues and informal settlement grow in Alexandra the population increased and some old residents bought property in the Township, However this did not mean that a certain income group in the community grew (middle class), but instead people from different backgrounds the poor to the better off. This step up from poor to the better off did not change the condition of the township in fact overpopulation became worse. By the late 1940s and early 50's development started kicking in whereby the residents saw that traditional ways might not be progress, e.g. "the mud houses whose style of building seemed to have been a continuation of African traditional home building were increasingly being replaced by houses of red bricks and red corrugated iron roofing" (Matlapeng, 2011: 203). In the early days, Bommastandi used their stands to bargain for mortgage bonds as collateral, which is why most people bought the stands. This process was very difficult to complete especially if you late capital as interest is charged twice, however some bommastandi did acquire such bonds. The 2554 property owners who were dispossessed during that era were part of bommastandi who were using their property as a way to pay off their bond. However the government of the time used whatever means necessary to make that difficult for them and were they failed they used force. The purpose was to force them to re-locate to the periphery of the city were they would not bring property value down and mix with the minority (whites).

Bommastandi grew from the late 50's from different places all around Alexandra because the area was one of the few places where black people can rent out a room. Even though renting of property before the period of "dibondo" in Alexandra it seems that, it became more expedient to have tenants in the 1950s, as it was crucial since bommastandi were under pressure to repay bonds at inflated interest rates.



Figure 4.5: The revolution of Bonded houses (Google earth, accessed 20/07/2017)

Bonded housing in many ways created stability and security for many residents in Alexandra which is the reason most went into property owning to able to own a home. Some residents argue that to own a bonded house is a dream since "we live in a poor township which is unclean and there is no proper housing and there is poor service delivery" (02ARP, 2017). According to participant 03ARP (2017) housing in Alexandra is a sensitive matter and points out that "some of us we were lucky to get loans so that we can afford to buy the bonded houses when they were introduced, even those living in flats as well as RDP around Extension 7, Extension 8 and River Park". Residents of Alexandra resort to bonded housing due to failure

of the government to provide housing and sanitation for them. As mentioned, earlier that Alexandra is not a tourist area is a home to many people as generations grow there, so people require housing within the area. They do not desire to live the area because as much as they can remember it has been a home to them for instance I quote "our children grew up in these conditions now my daughter is 28 and have two children under the same conditions. " We try to build our own one room using bricks because of these rats" (04ARP, 2017). However "it seems new housing styles appeared as a result of the AHC "efforts to control the slum conditions" (Matlapeng, 2011:206). "We have different housing typologies in Alexandra (Flats, bonded housing etc.) but there is no improvement on the shacks side in fact they are increasing (05ARP2017). By the early 1980's a new initiative was introduced with the idea of making the township a better place (referred to as garden city), But failed due there were no funds to support such intervention (07ARP, 2018) says Thandeka who is a community Activist in 'Alex'.

This master plan included "an initiative to divide the township into seven suburbs with a central business district holding shops, offices and light industry" (city of Johannesburg, 2011:1). This initiative meant that the old houses will be demolished and replaced with new version by the state, for instance "from 1981 to 1984 around 260 houses were built on the East Bank, across the Jukskei River" (City of Johannesburg, 2011:1). As a result of the introduction of bonded housing in the 1950's, residents of Alexandra were encouraged to aim high and find themselves owning formal houses in the newly build areas such as phase one, phase two and phase three. The areas are located within the unorganized old Alexandra with proper sanitation and infrastructure. From an observation point of view, Alexandra is a place of diversity, just walking from Selbourne 1st street to Selbourne 12 Street I was able to notice different housing typologies and discover some with the help of the knowledge gathered from the residents. Even the people staying at these bonded houses they do not see Alexandra as a disease that not to be eradicated but a home to many who cannot afford to live like the rest of them. They do not separate themselves from the rest, they are connected by the history their ancestors fought for and wish to preserve. Residents talked to who reside in the bonded houses believe that if the state can provide similar initiatives that do not have to do with the residents relocating to another area away from their place of birth that could work for everyone.

Formal: Flats in Alexandra

For over a period of time blocks of flats have increased in Alexandra even government have started taking note to these emerging approach of housing typology and it has become ideal to accommodate to poor or those who cannot afford to get bonds.



Figure 4.6: block of flats in Alexandra (Google earth, accessed 20/07/17)

From my observation, people prefer staying in flats than waiting for RDP houses, which they do not know when that day will ever come. When they look at flats they see change, comfort and way forward from my observation getting a room in one of the flats in Alexandra it's a struggle as people don't move or re-locate. When I observed the flats at Selbourne 5th street to 8th street Selbourne, I realized that they housed around about 216 families and each had their own taps and toilets. So for a family to move from such a place they have to find something better than what they have. For those citizens who do not qualify for RDP houses government has tried to accommodate them by using low-cost initiative whereby flats are considered a bargaining tool. Because of that, conflict has risen whereby Bonafides feels it is not fair to them if they are not getting anything from the government. In the recent news, Alex News (2014:1) states that

> "According to the JDA, the flats were constructed under a bank bond and for an income group within Alexandra that would afford them under a home ownership scheme. The flats are part of the overall housing development under the reconstruction and development programme, which has constructed other houses for rent or for free to other income groups obliged to only pay for electricity, water and levies. Members of the Bonafides group and others in the housing waiting list and transit camps allege that most RDP houses were inadequate and some were allocated to people not in the waiting list, suggesting corruption and bribery by officials. This resulted in initially unsuccessful attempts to occupy the flats until recently when they invaded and occupied all three phases of the blocks".

This conflict has cost the government to re-look the way each case was handled before, because there is still an issue of how are they going to house the poor if they cannot deliver RDP houses. People they have tried to get opportunity to live in those flats that have been built but they themselves seem to be not enough to occupy the Bonafides. My observation tells me that flats in Alexandra in fact Johannesburg has played an important role in housing the low-class income earners and continues to do so even today.

Informal: Informal settlement

From this research, informal settlement was understood to be diverse offering different characteristics, however in simple words non-conventional settlement. Aggarwal (2016: 3) puts it well "the design of the areas is usually chaotic: an obvious street pattern is lacking, and space for community services (schools, green areas, etc.) is absent. Basic resources and services are lacking". This lifestyle has been part of residents of Alexandra generation after generation instead of hoping for the better the worse happens. Most senior citizens of Alexandra argue that the township used to be beautiful with clean streams running through the area and the environment was clean but what they see recently is suffering and poor environment. My study suggests that informality attracts less effort from the local government, which is one of the reasons why the area has been neglected in numerous projects. Residents of Alexandra believe that the new Alex has first grade infrastructure or provision of services while old Alex contaminated by informality suffers from neglect and poor service delivery. History has taught us that informal settlements are have always been seen as a virus that is eating at the heart of the great Johannesburg and the only solution was

eradication without considering how they are going to house those people and what infrastructure are they offering them. However, from the information gathered in Alex, it is clear that people will rather stay in those conditions than re-locate to a remote area without access to infrastructure. Alexandra Township may not have started as a mix-housing township in the early 1900s but over time migration forced change in the area regardless of the effort the apartheid government putted to avoid that, but the fact of the matter is that the township has evolved to introduce all these different housing typologies. Residents used their survival skills to cope with whatever resources as well as infrastructure they have access to. It is clear now that informality is part of the new planning revolution that government need to understand and try find a way to infiltrate it and provide infrastructure for since they cannot afford to buy land within the city that can house all these people of Alexandra.

Informal settlements have become an important urban form in the 21st century and a challenge that prolong development in cities especially looking at my study site (Aggarwal, 2016). Lemanski (2009) argues that our South African housing policies indirectly have encouraged informality in cities by neglecting or failing to address the issues, the urban poor face every day inequality, exclusion, and poverty. For instance the growth of informal housing often lead to inadequate infrastructure, water shortages and electricity supply as well as limited access to basic services such as security, education and health services. Mostly backyard shacks define the old Alexandra over populating the area and thus causing major challenges to the residence of the township.

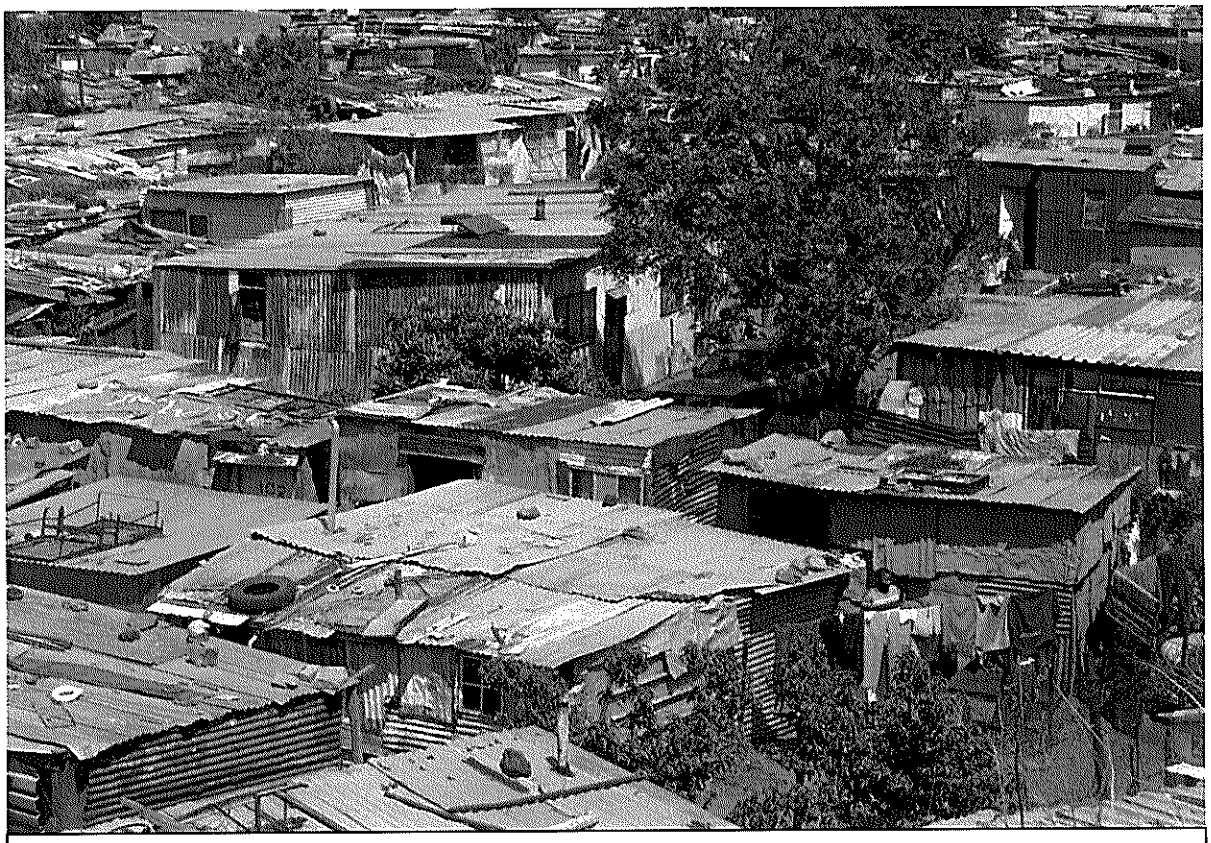


Figure 4.7 : Shacks in Alexandra (Google.co.za, accessed 24/04/2017)

Slums and informal settlements according to UN-HABITAT have different meaning all together, for instance informal settlements are high-density housing with informal housing developments while slums are areas, which lack durable housing and sufficient living space (Aggarwal, 2016)

Table 4.1: Population densities in Alexandra

Selbourne streets	'Formal' property stands	Number of observed households	Municipal-serviced taps	Municipal-serviced toilets	Community-made taps	Community-made toilets
1st street	10	60-70	10	10	16	11
2nd street	20	170-180	20	20	11	26
3rd street	23	320-330	24	22	0	36
4th street	20	750-800	20	20	18	28
5th street	10	270-300	7	10	3	13
6th street	15	550-600	15	15	25	4
7th street	26	330-350	26	25	11	28
8th street	24	350-370	24	24	13	7
Total	**148**	**2700-3000**	**146**	**146**	**97**	**127**

Informal Settlements in Alexandra cannot easily be understood from a distance without experiencing the everyday life of the residence of the area. Being on the field and data collection as well as research technique helped me in understanding Alexandra especially from residence perspective. Informal settlements are not seen as a problem but as hope to better life, the people use different skills to able to make their homes a better place. Living in a shack (backyard or stand-alone room) in Alexandra means more than what people can imagine. I had the luxury of first-hand experience whereby I was able to gather information from both primary and secondary sources. My participants see their informal settlements differently, for starters those who live within the demarcated stands used to rent from bommastandi and see themselves as stand-alone rooms not shacks nor slums or even squatters. In addition, the material they use because they use all sorts of them every day does not determine their structures. I remember on the 11 of June 2017 I went to Alexandra some of the structures I visited built by corrugated iron were now built with bricks. Those structures had become a home to them for over several decades, some cried during the interview period when they told me that when the apartheid government forced them to move. It felt like losing all your investment, so their housing typology is not a mere structure but hope that one day government will do right by them.

Places like Alexandra are misunderstood because of crime and health hazard, however such places have much to offer and culture is still much alive as they practice it every single day to survive, however we cannot ignore the major challenge the residents' face every day, which is overpopulation. My first time going to Alexandra I was so scared I did not know how I will survive, however when I got there I found a new family despite the conditions people live in, there is less complaining about what they have but appreciating life as it is. Alexandra is a mix culture community and yes every day they are struggling to live among each other but they are trying and you can find that in informal settlements. There is a sense of interdependency regardless of different typologies of housing and mix socio-economic status it has produced.

My observation of the place gave me a different perspective of the area, yes, overpopulation is a major challenge, but for decades they managed to live with it and that is a result of the neglect of government on the area especially during apartheid. However we cannot ignore the fact that the infrastructure in place cannot hold the pressure the people of Alexandra produce, for instance one property stand occupy more than 20 households while government

provided each stand with one tap and toilet with the idea that not more than five households will be sharing those infrastructure (Aggarwal, 2016). Participants in Alexandra are fighting for the idea that if housing is part of infrastructure why the state is not doing anything to at least lessen their poor conditions in their neighborhood. Residents see that they deserve to be treated the same way as people staying in well-developed structures surrounding Alexandra, they point out that it is not the structure that matters but the people who have made it a home. Due to migration and sub-renting in Alexandra, people continue flowing in the area and the government has not come up with intervention that can help stop the overpopulation we see every day in Alexandra. The issue here is about understanding why is housing policy not being effectively improving Alexandra as the Breaking New Ground (BNG) does recognize these different typologies. According to my analysis many residents hoped when BNG was implemented in early 2000s Alex would be among the first townships to be improved and finally people would get better infrastructure (note in Alex infrastructure includes housing upgrade). However, many still wait for that day and day by day they feel cheated by the ANC government which promised to give them access to proper housing.

Residents of Alex feel like they are still treated as outcast by the system which is supposed to correct the social injustice they have endured over decades (Royston, 2006). In the meeting held by ALPOA in February which I attended, many concerns were raised and residents felt like they are treated as enemy of the state by some government agencies. One which was mentioned in particular was the Land Claim Commission. According to the association, the agency is trying to block the statement of intent from taking root in the community. They raised a point were by the commission when they are supposed to meet they will make excuses over and over not to pitch for the meeting which was made weeks back sometimes even months (ALPOA meeting, 2018

Furthermore, to understand the term home in Alexandra is very complex as "the temporary nature of their urban stay exposes the contradiction in the bommastandi concept of "home" (Matlapeng, 2011:159). However, the bommastandi concept supports the idea ALPOA is fighting for as it proves once they were black Africans who owned property and land in Alex. The history of informal housing in Alexandra dates back from the concept of bommastandi (Bonafides) and as noted by Abueng Matlapeng (2011) they see this place as new hope that was started by their ancestors long time ago, hence why it has a significant meaning to them.

Jacky Segopa said, "we are not fighting for us but we are fighting for our future and living our children with better one is every parent's wish'. So to say informal settlements needs to be eradicated is not as simple as it sound, because Alexandra community managed to create a life in this so called shacks and informal settlements. For them to accept anything else, they need to believe it is better than what they have and has a future that they can pass on to their children as their parents did with them. When I was in the field living with this community every day I could sense a feeling of pride not shame, they did not lose hope from reality they are fighting the problems of urbanization. For instance, the discourse of citizenship points out that there is a conflict between the self and the world - African culture makes the self the center of the world. By self I mean the self gives us identity and sense of belonging and since the African world is centered on the self, every experience and reality itself is personal. The statement above suggests that the outcry by the bonafides and ALPOA members identify themselves as the original inhabitants of Alexandra. For members of ALPOA the history and legacy of Alexandra is an important story to narrate. They were born and raised there, Alexandra has made them who they are, and there is a great deal of anxiety about the loss of identity that is associated with new people moving into the neighbourhood. So coming back to the discourse of citizenship, African people always felt like outcast during apartheid and democracy brought hope in their eyes. Furthermore, access to housing and land gave them identity and a sense of belonging, but when their hoped are chattered they are left with nothing because apartheid took everything from them. So the reality of Alex residents is that government does not care about them because they feel excluded from government initiatives especially the 2554 residents. Alexandra community lives in a reality that shape everything about who they are, so housing is a key tool that can make them realize the self or dignity they seek. Right the wrong of the apartheid regime was the objective of the ANC government and housing was the tool seen to give people hope for better South Africa. This is evident that African culture makes the self the center of the world and self being the people and the world being the government there is no clear connection between the two. As a result, it creates a discourse of citizenship because what the constitution states and what the people are experiencing are two different scenarios and that creates conflict.

Informal: Hostels

Informal housing as a nonconventional low-cost housing with non-conventional building material in Alexandra can be identified in so many ways. There are different ways to look at informal housing such as notified slums those recognized by the slum Act, recognized slums those believed to be recognized unofficially by any Act and identified slums a compact area with a vast number of household living in a unhygienic environment with, poorly build tenements and inadequate infrastructure etc. Now looking at Alexandra we can identify recognized slums to some portion and to a vast majority identified slums, which are growing day by day and are threatening human life. Through my observation approach, I was able to identify residence living in these dire conditions and interviewed them and some had some interesting information to share with regard to how they perceive their homes (Aggarwal, 2011). For instance a community Activist believed that conditions in Alexandra are "worse, the streets are dirty, no proper sewerage system; I can't even start to talk about housing its really bad. Our culture here in Alexandra needs to be saved and it seems like it's been forgotten which is why it's my job to keep our heritage alive" (01ARP, 2017).

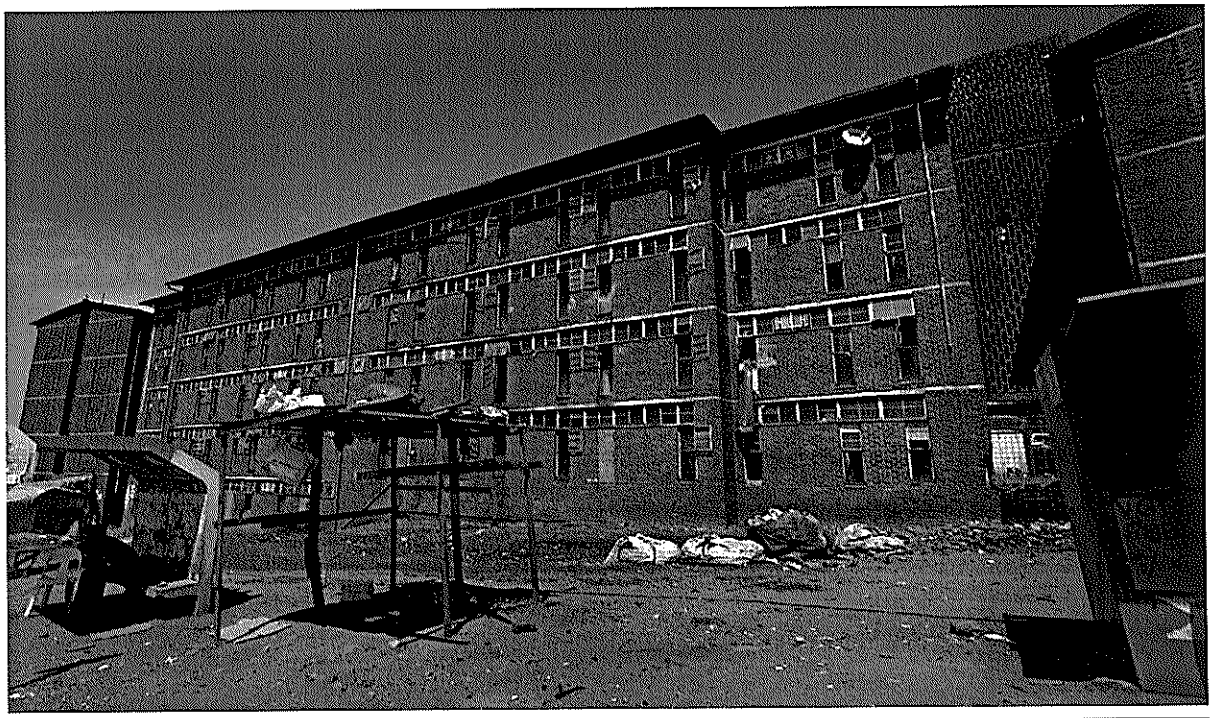


Figure 4.8: Madala hostel in Alexandra (http://www.enca.com/south-africa/pictures-inside-alexandras-mens-hostel, accessed 24/04/2017)

Hostels in so many cases can be identified as some sort of formal housing as the purpose is to accommodate as many people as possible. However, due to neglect and no service hostels in Alexandra became known as part of slums. The only conventional material about the structure is that once a brick was laid as a foundation of that place but we cannot also neglect the fact that it can also be seen as formal in that context. Being in that space I learned to be part of the people to appreciate what they have and understand that it is been part of their life for generations. For instance one residence residing at Selbourne street (02ARP, 2017) shared "as you can see I live in a shack that was left for me by my uncle who came in Alexandra in 1981 and he left without getting housing which was promised to them long time ago. Most of us here don't rely on hopes of getting a house but building our own but it hurts seeing people who are new to us get social housing before us (Bonafides)". Therefore, for them living in Alexandra is about understanding how people live in those conditions in the first place. Sometimes I was confused as I was proceeding with my observations because people will choose to stay in those conditions even though they can afford to rent elsewhere but some residents like interviewee (03ARP, 2017) believe that "Alex is well located, we can walk to our daily jobs or try to find jobs, there is no place like Alex". Therefore, this place was a birthplace of my parents and me, so I cannot abandon the area so he said. So it has become home just like those hostels we see and ask ourselves what kind of people live in those conditions. We always assume that affordability behind people moving and staying in Alex is the driving force but we found out that they might be other forces at play here.

Most residents interviewed as well as talked to were referring to location (convenient for job seeking) and history of family. Therefore, the meaning of hostels again does not just serve a mere purpose but played a big role into how the transformation of the spatial struggle came into be. The apartheid regime wanted a hostel Township where they can control the flaw of people coming into the area; however, the residents of Alexandra redefined the meaning of hostels. Some residents stay with their loved once and most of my understanding about hostels is because the space is only for men. Now people have seen the space beyond the identity issue to more inclusive. The residents of Alex to connect their structures that they build surrounding the buildings have used even other hostels around the area.

My observation of the conditions people live such as hostels in Alexandra especially madala hostels reveal many details. For instance one have noticed that all toilets, bathrooms and the

communal kitchen depend on continuous water supply however it was observed that water supply appeared to be scarce or infrequent. Because of irregular and poor state of plumbing in the hostels, sanitation was impacted deeply. This has to with the fact that overpopulation is not only affecting people living in those residents living in low density housing typology, but also the medium high rise structures like hostels are affected very deeply. Honesty speaking I thought hostels will be in better conditions than the different housing typologies I came across, but I was very surprise to see that for a human being to live in such a condition I nearly cried. There and then, I understood why the people of Alexandra are fighting so hard to get state social houses and restoration of their previously owned properties. Fighting a never-ending war only for other people to reside on the land you sweat to get housing development among other things from the state, which promised to deliver for as long as they could remember.



Figure 4.9: Sanitation issues faced in the hostels (http://www.enca.com/south-africa/pictures-inside-alexandras-mens-hostel, accessed 24/04/2017)

Numerous water pipes were leaking from the upper levels to the bottom levels of the buildings especially Madala hostel, causing damage to ceilings below and residents movable property. In addition, from my observation pools of stagnant water was found inside and

outside the building causing a foul smell and posing a health risk to the residents of the hostels. Poor sewerage infrastructure maintenance has caused constant blockages, which as a result sewer waste is being pumped onto the grounds of the hostel (witnessed at madala hostel). This causes a foul smell throughout the hostel, an infestation of rodents and insects and potentially poses a severe health hazard to the residents. A storm water drain situated outside the hostel also poses a problem in that in was noticeably blocked by the accumulation of rubbish from the nearby informal settlement.

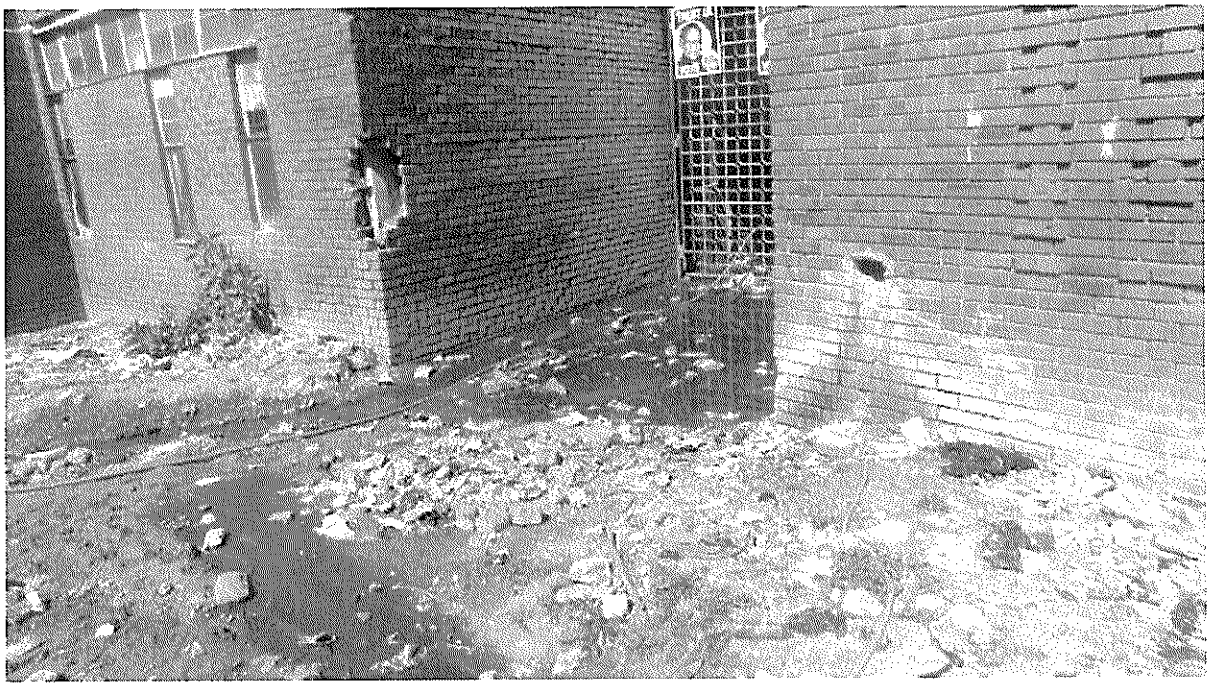


Figure 4.10: Appalling state of sanitation in hostels

Photo by: Seyco Manyaka

Old version of housing typology

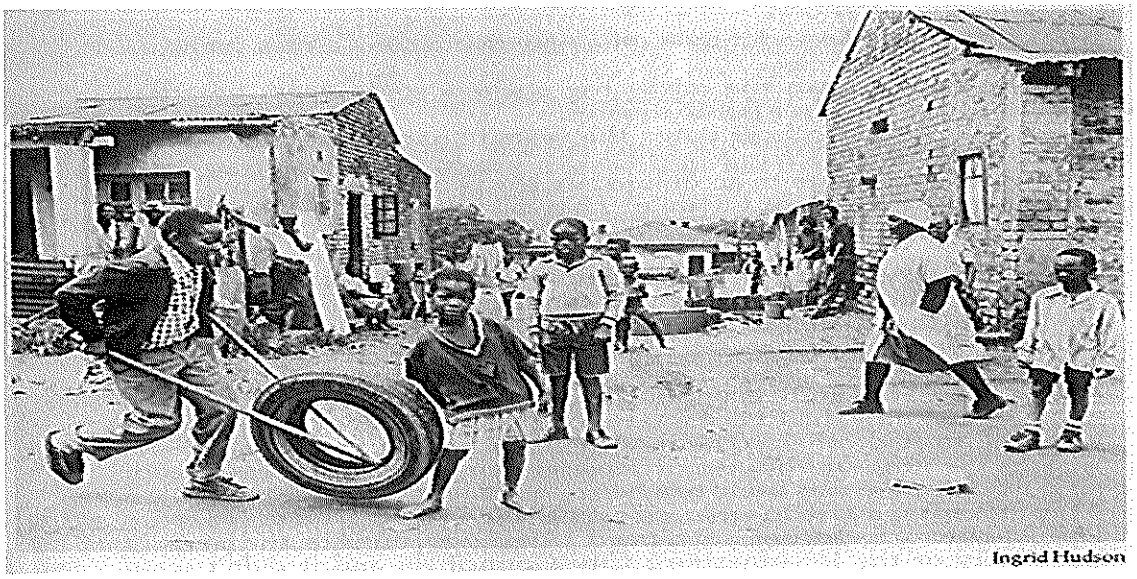


Figure 4.11: Reddish brick and corrugated iron housing (Alexsan Kopano Educational Trust, accessed 31/07/2017)

Until now, there has been no single concept that brings together the material that reveals the unfolding geography of Alexandra Township. This category describes the history of the township from its days as a beacon of hope for migrants to its position as overpopulated uncontrollable township with a potential to be great again. The understanding of Alexandra story is about the relationship between social identities formation and the struggle for space in society (Bank, 2011). Every culture in society or township has its own characteristics and to understand the relationship between the state and residents power politics needs to be taken into consideration. The evolution of Bonafides meaning those who claim to have power in society it starts with housing typology, which was introduced in the early 1930's. Therefore, to understand the point of this research it is only fair to start at the beginning of housing typology in Alexandra, it comes back to red brick, and corrugated roof houses (refer to figure 4.12).

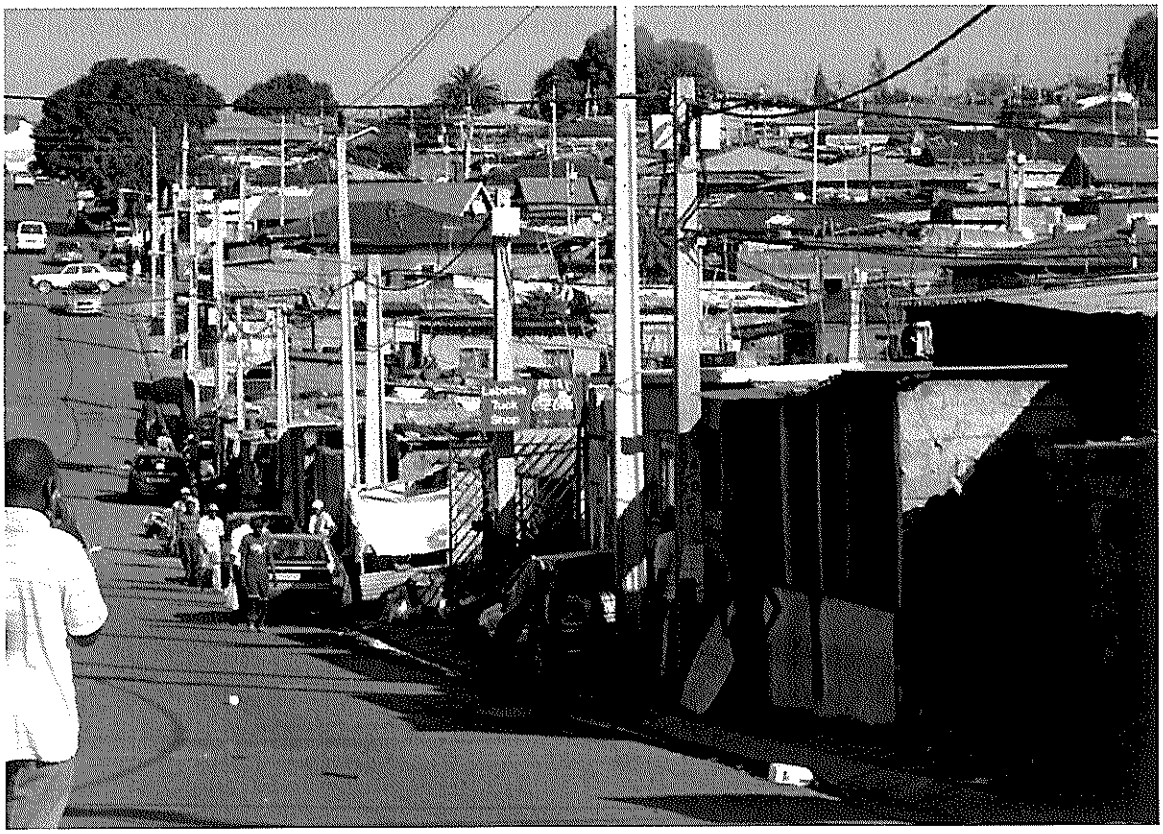


Figure 4.12: Reddish brick and corrugated iron roof houses mix with one stand-alone structure

Time and space changes form of a township and Alexandra is one township where that story is told repeatedly, however it is only fair to tell like it is from residents' perspective. Housing typologies may have evolved in Alexandra but the red brick with corrugated iron roofing remains the history that marks the area and the people who resided on those houses. For instance "the reddish brick house that Mandela used to rent in the 1940s in Alexandra looks old and dilapidated" because that history is threatened (Moatshe, 2014:1). Also these houses represent struggle for power and place to belong as the government of the time used any approach to get rid of this sort of housing typology as it represented hope. In Alexandra, usually the red brick and corrugated Iron houses are associated with those residents and tenants who believed to be the first people of Alexandra (Bonafides). In addition, this houses are the reason today Alexandra is separated according to Bonafides and 'outsiders' because those residents believed that they were never compensated for their rights been taken away from them during the apartheid era. According to participants (secretary of ALPOA) the interdict that was filed and granted by the court in June 2005 was the result of Bonafides

being taken for granted by the government (so the interdict was to stop any development happening in Alexandra until the 2553 property owners who lost their homes were compensated by the government) (06ARP, 2017). Bonafides believed they had a prior right of access to any resources in their township and when that did not happen as they hoped, resentment against all believed to be 'outsiders' grew. These emotions led to the 2008 xenophobic violence against foreign Africans living in Alexandra mainly in the area known as Beirut, which is known to be the centre of constant influx of new immigrants since the 1980's.

According to data gathered in Alexandra, the development that occurred in the 1960's until present happened at the expense of those original residents of Alexandra believed to be the red brick and corrugated iron roof house owners. Some believe that the reason why today not so many of those houses remains is because the apartheid government tried by all means to erase their trace by re-locating those families and demolishing their houses with the idea that Alexandra should become a hostel township. To conclude this category, the lesson was that the present geography of Alexandra Township, and the problems and dysfunctions that are hat exhibited at various stages in its history since 1912 could not be understood without a firm grasp of what has evolved of the past 100 years (Beavon, 2004). In other words as Bank (2011) puts it city evolves and it is not easy to simply define a city and all different forms. In addition, a meaning of a city is influenced by history, economic and social conditions just as we have seen in the context of Alexandra. The ALPOA and APOR association I interviewed share that belief. Most of them live in these houses; however, they do not have the tittle deeds showing that they belong to them. According to the chair of APOR Mr. Vakele Richard Mbalukwana, "they were once bommastandi in Alexandra, but now they lost that privilege," now it seems like anyone can just erect a structure anywhere they feel like without looking whose property they are invading. Therefore, to the 2554 property owners who were dispossessed of their land and property by apartheid regime, they are fighting for what was theirs and promised to them by the ANC government. When I spoke to Mr. Vakele Richard Mbalukwana he said that before he used to support the housing policy because initial it promised that they will get their land and property back but after realizing that they policy is not implemented effectively or is not fulfilling its duties as they were promised. Since then the property owners have been battling the government over 15 years to demand tittle deeds

and restoration of the land, which was taken to then by the apartheid regime, according to the APOR chairman.

4.3 Rethinking housing typologies

It is true that recent studies have followed the work of urban philosopher Henri Lefebvre into how to understand urban morphology and try to breathe new life into how theories of space and informality might be rethought and recombined in post-colonial African cities. And I quote " activists too, including the AEC, have made use of Lefebvre's famous phrase "a right to the city" in their placards and press releases, emphasizing that space is not a pre-existing or empty container, but rather is lived and made" (Chance, 2015:62).



Figure 4.13: different housing typologies in Alexandra (Google earth, accessed 24/07/17)

Moreover, as we have witness in the case of townships in urban areas where governments and corporations have failed to provide available and affordable housing, the urban (and rural) poor have constructed their own dwellings, rental schemes, property agreements, and communal lives. Those without formalized housing, in as much as they might desire and await

government delivery do not do so passively. Rather their activities constitute an autonomous capacity for generating not only economic growth but also specific infrastructures for their lives in the city, which as a result has contributed to the overcrowding of informal settlements or shacks. My observations in Alexandra has taught me to understand each township from its inception and how we understand housing typologies in the context of government institutions does not apply in some cases. It is true that the formation of informal settlements is not widely understood as well as the processes that lead to their formation, as a result the state struggle in implementing relevant informal settlement policy and intervention in the cities (Huchzermyer, 2008.)

My point is that there is no such thing as cut-off definition or categories of housing or even informal and formal. My time in Alexandra has change my perspective as the whole point of my report is about understanding housing typologies and the perspective of residence with regard to those categories can be understood and linked to citizenship. In addition, the first word I leant was Bonafides and when I ask, this is the definition I was given in simpler term, those 2553 residence who own property and those residence who were sharing space within those stands are originally the rightful residence of the township. In addition, it is believed those residence have a right to access any development that occurs in the township first before any other people who claimed to be from Alexandra.

Informal settlements in Alexandra are associated with stand-alone shacks that are not attached to any property in Alex and while any one room shack or brick does not fall under informal squatters as they mention it. They argue that due to their rooms being alongside the formal property that where once built there they do not deserve to be called informal. So that made me to draw a conclusion that there is no clear cut-off way into how to define these housing typologies in Alexandra, for instance, hostels in Alexandra may have conventional low-cost housing concept with conventional building material however, they are regarded as slums due to neglect and no service. This chapter focused on how Alexandra started in the early times and what type of housing were introduced over time. The chapter explained briefly that the introduction of formal housing might be the spread of shacks in Alexandra as Bommastandi grew so did shacks. Bommastandi started sub renting their land to the locals to able to pay their bond caused a huge growth of informal settlement. However the idea behind

bonded housing was to control shacks and even the introduction of hostels, but the story of Alexandra tells us a different tale us people's flow in the area was uncontrollable eventually the system collapse service provision stopped and every sanitation system collapse. In conclusion, housing typology in Alexandra is very complex and the history of it goes decades back, which makes it very hard to understand the origin of shacks and other type of informal housing. In addition, the events of 1940s seemed to galvanize the status of Alexandra into a beacon of hope for the larger African community, more particularly the urban one. Alexandra had been threatened with removals on and off for decades since early 1940s, so now everyone has a hope for a better life in Alexandra because of the history of Bommastandi as well as their sub-renting scheme. Many residents who live in shacks still feel forgotten, left out from new developments sprouting up around them. Of contention is the issue of allocation of RDP houses mostly in the new housing developments in Extension 7, Extension 8 and River Park. To exacerbate the situation there is has been rumors that chargers has been played against top management on corruption and mismanagement.

The way in which planners categorize housing typologies can help us to plan for the future, but they do not help us understand how people use housing. It is clear that regardless of the attempts made by the state, we still have a long way to go if we are failing to understand that housing is a broader issue, which cannot be understood from seating behind a desk and reading books. My point in this chapter was that settlements as well as their typologies evolve over time, so you cannot defined them according to geographic location, land tenure or how conventional they look.

As a Human geographer, it is my duty to think along the lines of sustainable settlements for the urban poor and the impact the city has on them vice versa. Housing has been there from the beginning of time as we know it and how people able to understand and interpret housing to us it is still a mystery because housing is still the biggest challenge that does not only affect our social development but our economic development as well. I have raised so many factors that need to be taken into account in order to plan for the better in our cities. I will recap on some of the issues that have been the focus not just this chapter but also the whole research project. One thing South African literature has taught us on housing is that definition of types of housing are dependent on particular local context in which development is taking place, topography, location, size, proximity and management structures.

South Africa is no exception it has a settlement hierarchy that comprises settlements of varying sizes and geographic locations places that are urban and rural, planned and unplanned. South African understanding of housing typologies is highly influenced by geographic location and distribution, for instance a settlement is defined by its relative location of the core to the city (CBD) and economic status (Kilian et al, 2005). In doing so, housing started being differentiated or categorized according to planned and unplanned which gave rise to these concepts of formal and informal. Papers written since the 1990's even earlier than that have only seen unplanned housing as informal and as a problem which in turn created more demand into subsidized housing. Kilian et al (2005) states that formal settlement are those planned within a legal framework with provision of services and infrastructure, but informal settlement might be illegally established but the state do recognize that they exist hence why certain services are provided and infrastructure. Therefore, the evolution of housing has always been there, but the question is that can we afford to ignore it any longer? People in dire needs are forced to be creative for their survival sake and as a result, we have witnessed throughout South African cities that people use spaces for different reasons at a different times just like in Alexandra.

The challenges faced by residents in townships is forcing government to reconsider the way they view housing typologies and try understand from a micro level perspective since it has broad many challenges and resentment throughout our emancipation. Alexandra has been a good example of how residents react to unfair justice or service delivery especially when it comes to housing. The provision of housing is a deeply complex issue and it has not fully been analyzed to develop good policies that can fully serve the basic needs. It is true that informal settlement, slums, squatter camps or informality have become a concept to consider when planning only at the beginning of this century and managed to become an important urban form socio-economically to the city. However, a major challenge that remains is that these outgrowing types of housing seem to be operating outside the state invention plans and that create even more challenge for the city as people end up fighting for the limited resources the city offers. Even so, some state interventions such as Breaking New Grounds were developed to help understand how informality can be used as a solution not a problem because it was becoming expensive to accommodate the urban poor with the economy not improving the way hope to.

Alexandra township is an exception example were one can argue that formal and informal are can no longer be separately understood without accepting the reality and facts that history has changed and housing has evolved. Once hostels in Alexandra were seen as some form of formal mass housing project that can limit the usage of space and infrastructure, however recent evidence provided shows that due to the dilapidation of those buildings (hostels) it is hard to argue that they represent formal housing. Despite ongoing arguments, broadly planned settlements in cities with conventional building materials as well as provision of services and infrastructure are still arguably considered Formal, (.....) irrespective that there are informal settlements which have upgraded to the standard of being seen as formal since they consist of the categories mentioned above.

How to understand the meaning of the house for residents

Conducting qualitative research was one of the biggest challenges one can encounter in Alexandra Township since the issue of housing is very sensitive, because the community of Alexandra are not friendly with strangers asking questions about their personal lives. This might be for many reasons but one that came to mind was that some people there are foreigners (outsiders) and they are very careful who they speak to after the incidence they experienced in 2009. However, with the assistance of my supervisor Dr Alex Wafer and Professor Noor Nieftagodien they were able to connect me with local activist Tshepo Mopasi to help to navigate my ethnographic fieldwork through Alex. Through Tshepo, I was fortunate enough to meet people who were very interested in my research, and this helped in gaining trust as well as deeper knowledge about the everyday lives and experiences of people..

People in that township relate their housing issues with the organizations they get involved with and in this particular community many organization or association represents the people of Alexandra differently. I was fortunate to be invited to two of those organizations namely Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association (ALPOA) and Alexandra Property Owners Rights (APOR) for meetings they hold weekly and the information as well as the people I was able to engage with, for the first time I felt and understood the meaning of struggle for land and property.

From my observation, many people in Alex fight for service delivery or RDP housing but what makes these two organizations different is that they fight for their land and property that was

expropriated by the apartheid government. Their main purpose is to hold the government accountable by making sure they deliver on the promise they made during the 1996 housing policy, which included land going back to its rightful owners. Their methods may differ in terms of conducting their organization but the aim from what I have gathered is the same. This information illustrated the importance of understanding these different housing typologies, I mean how else would we know in one township people see housing differently. For instance, the main reason I was given by the chair of APOR (Mr. Vakele Richard Mbalukwana) who lived there for 75 years was that their property and land was more than just a house it is their history, their way of living since they were property owner and it had historical significance to their struggle during the apartheid era. So losing that meaning it is like losing their self, as since they were born all they knew was Alex as their home and those properties as their legacy. My visit to their meetings as well as the discussions I had with their committee gave me more understanding about the concept of a house into people lives and the impact it has in their current situations. However, both this organization had a lot of information to offer about their understanding of the concept of the house. As a note, the reflections that I share in this research project are those of the residents of Alex as well as the observations I had during my time there.

Going back to my visits in Alexandra I was fortunate to engage with the oldest organization in Alexandra that represented the original owners of property in the township.



Figure 4.14: Part of the executive members of the AlPOA: left Peter Malinga, centre Jacky Segopa, right Tony Mothibi, and seated Hilda Mohlomi

ALPOA believed that before any development can occur in Alexandra the residents of Alexandra deserve their land and property which was expropriated by the apartheid government back. The organization even disapproved of the ARP project because according to their Secretary-general and I quote "the project undermined the fact that land must be returned to its rightful owners as the policy stated in 1994 RDP policy". They believed that the land and property is part of their legacy, which cannot be replaced which is why they filled an appeal during the implementation of the project not to stop the project but to be acknowledged that they deserve priority and as a result, they won a case in 2009 of statement of intent. Statement of intent it meant that according to secretary-general that the government promises to seat down with them and fix this issue of the 2554 property owners who were expropriated by the apartheid government. The organization it consist of members who were either property owners or they are descendants of those who used to own property in Alexandra until it was taken away. From 2004 until 2016, ALPOA had an on-going case against local government involving land claim commission on the 2554 residents claiming their land and property back. After the formation of the ALPOA Youth it seems like more youth

in Alex is involved in understanding the land they were born in. When I spoke to the chair of the youth Nhlanhla Tshabalala who had lived in Alex all his life (35 years) he said "the you has been revitalized in a manner it should able to support the organization as a whole and take rigorous action when needed to push the implementation of the statement of intent since the agreement was made on the 6 of June 2016". The agreement stated that the 2554 residents of Alex their property was expropriated during apartheid government they would have four options to look at when the implementation starts. Those options were: restoration (bringing back the land to its rightful owner); Alternative land and property for those where their property used to be new structured are built such as hostels, flats, schools etc.; Monetary Compensation for those who feel they are well settled wherever they are and Joint venture with the government however according to secretary-general the development hasn't been finalized with benefits for the property owners. On the last meeting, ALPOA secretary-general (Jacky Segopa) stated that last time when they met with government they agreed that upon signature of the statement of intent the government should demonstrate the options provided especially on application of restoration. Moreover, the city agreed to validate the tittle deeds registration, however they sated it may take a while to get their tittle deeds back, so the members raised a point that they will not wait for their tittle deeds to take ownership and control of their stand. However, ALPOA on the meeting they had, it seems like there is conflict between other organizations in Alexandra and they believe that the conflict was steered by the land claim commission, as they do not support their statement of intent. ALPOA believe that the land claim commission is using these organizations to discreet their way forward with the statement of intent. For instance, secretary-general stated that on the 16 of August 2016 MEC of Housing at the time was meeting with them and the Bonafides who called themselves "Alexandra Concerned Expropriate Claimants" interrupted the meeting. Since the signing of the statement of intent more delays has occurred and secretary-general believes, it is the work of land reform commission, as they do not share the same approach of development.

On the other hand, APOR that I also had the pleasure of meeting informed me through our interviews that the initial policy of RDP that stated giving back the land and promoting RDP housing they agreed with. Because it meant that Alexandra was going to be de-densified with these policy implementation and the Alexandra that they knew will come to be again,

however according to the chair of the organization Mr. Vakele Richard Mbalukwana the promises that were made were never kept. The Mr. Mbalukwana not only is the chair of Alexandra Property Owners Rights but he is one of the oldest residents in the organization as he has been living there for 75 years and his family was also from Alexandra. The organization is actually the child of ALPOA but reason for separating was not mentioned. Just like the above-mentioned organization, they represent owners of Alex who were expropriated by the apartheid government. The chair based his argument that through the policy implemented after 1994 "it was said that by 1996 properties will go back to their rightful owners" and some members who even registered for RDP housing in 1992 did not even get housing opportunities. The executive members of the organization state that there are not doing this for themselves but their children and grandchildren (legacy). During the celebration of Alexandra where they were invited, the chair state that the president at the time Jacob Zuma was present were he insisted that the issue of tittle deeds must be issued out to the property owners as an urgent matter. In addition, following that there was a talk about the statement of intent agreement, which was supposed to spear head the issue of tittle deeds. According the Mr. Mbalukwana "the Human settlements policy in its purpose is not prioritizing land and property reclamations. He elaborate that even those RDP's they are not effective in accommodating property owners of Alexandra let alone their residents as most people who have occupied those RDP houses are not from Alex. From information gathered it seems like most people are still holding the C-4, which are no longer working. People are not happy about RDP housing in Alex because they are not benefiting especially the 2554 property owners who believe that their true satisfaction of claiming their citizenship or fully exercising it is when the government returns what was once theirs and stolen. However, according to the information provided who they are and what they suffered did not mean much as they were told to re-register in 2013 to be put on the database, which it does not guarantee them anything. So from my observation there is more is not understood about how housing on the ground or rather in this case Alex function as there has been less impact on de-densification as well as people outcry with social justice. Moreover, the organization believes that since DA took over not much has been done with the task team to implement the statement of intent.

Everyone wants to have a brick-structured home or a house but not everyone can afford it especially in my study area. Therefore, Alexandra as my case study will provide me with new

ways of understanding housing typologies because struggle of townships is the social identities formation and space that shape those identities. Time after time, government policies on planning have undermined this evolution of housing and this research study is trying to highlight the importance of including those affected the most by the policies put in place behind closed doors. However it does not mean there were no attempt in how government tried to understand housing, breaking new ground was the beginning of how housing became just a home but a beacon of hope. According to SACN (2014) housing evolved from just being a mere home to becoming sustainable way of improving spatial formation in an integrated way and in doing so upgrade as well as discourage informal settlements around cities. Every visit I had, new structures were built in all different kind of material, it was easy to observe and conclude but being out there, and engaging with the residents of Alex taught me about the concept of a meaning to the word house. In other words things are not always what they seem, to elaborate the residents understand these evolving typologies different from what most of us may presume. The meeting I attended with members of the ALPOA educated me about the struggle of the concept of the house, what I mean is that the people of Alexandra or property owners are just fighting for their land and property back nothing more nothing less. They are not interested in getting RDP housing because those houses have a meaning to them and that meaning is what they are fighting for which in not so many words it can be interpreted as citizenship. This research project has illustrated the importance of ethnographic reflections as well as observation participation. In fact, the research project evolves around these methods mentioned above. The purpose was to engage with the residents of Alex to gather their thoughts on the concept of the house. Furthermore, to learn about the experiences of living in these different housing typologies discovered from their perspective. This research project is not about what the researcher thinks but about the residents' experiences as well as the expectation of the post-apartheid citizenship in the context of understanding the concept of the house. The idea of this chapter was to prove that a house is more than an object as Heidegger puts it and in order to understand this townships, it is important to understand the historical events and residents' emotional interpretation of the area.

Housing in Alexandra

The above chapter was based on how literature understood the concept of the House and categorized housing typologies, however this chapter teaches us about what happens on the ground where the policy is implemented. My understanding was that housing was categorized by location, building material as well as standard of living but from my observation as well as the qualitative interviews I conducted it came to my attention that we might misunderstood the meaning of the house on the local level. Housing to the residents of Alexandra is important because it means survival and their livelihoods. For instance, Malpass and Murie (1982: 22) argue that "housing is a subject in which history is particularly important, most obvious because houses have a long life". This chapter is not contesting how the policy are being implemented but that we need to understand the way of life of the people the government is supposedly improving their livelihoods to plan better instead of imposing on their livelihoods without knowing what good it will do or not. The observation participation as well as the interviews conducted will provide what does the concept of the House mean to the residents of Alex.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter began arguing that an analysis of housing typologies may provide a mechanism for unpacking emergent state-citizen relations in the post-apartheid context. In other words, I wanted to demonstrate the different experiences of the object of the house, and the ways in which these experiences shape expectations of citizenship. The example of Alexandra, and the multiple material encounters with the object of the house which far exceed those categories defined in policy, suggest that articulations of citizenship do not always fit those of the state itself. The state recognizes citizenship-claims only based on its own categories, but in reality people's expectations of citizenship are based not on these limited categories, but on the ways in which their own experiences of the house produce for them more complex and diverse needs and expectations of political subjectivity. I conclude the chapter, therefore, by reitterating the claim that the urban poor are not merely passive recipients of state largess (Scott, 1998). Nor indeed are they only politically significant as what Chatterjee (2005) might call 'political society' – i.e. as a group able to make demands rather than as individuals able to claim rights. Indeed, the discourse of rights remains very powerful in post-apartheid South

Africa, if not the practice thereof. Rather I suggest that the urban poor, and particularly in their material encounters with the state in the object of the house, also serve to define emergent conceptions and expectations of citizenship. We might conclude, after Heidegger, that through their dwelling the urban poor are also claiming their being.

CHAPTER 5:

HOUSING AND CONTESTATION OVER INFRASTRUCTURE

5.1 Introduction

South Africa has a fully developed settlement hierarchy, with high levels of connectivity and historically, settlement patterns that have been shaped by colonial conquest imposed on indigenous settlement patterns. Many of South African major cities are therefore situated along the coast (EThekwini, Nelson Mandela Metropol, Buffalo City, and Cape Town) or close to major mining activities (Kimberley, Mangaung, Johannesburg, and Tshwane). The changes that occur recently in settlement patterns are the result of apartheid spatial planning such as apartheid city. Apartheid planning over several decades systematically designed towns and cities that spatially separated races and classes. Black residents were put into areas on the margins of the cities, which were often poorly serviced, lacked good infrastructure, possessed few work opportunities, or shopping and entertainment amenities. While white residential areas were generally well laid out and well serviced suburbs conveniently located to cities.

Recent work on cities in South Africa has emphasized the interrelationship between urban infrastructure and citizenship discourses into detail. It is important to reflect back in order to understand the relationship that is created by urban identities and the spatiality of colonial and post-colonial power and discourse (Kooy and Bakker, 2008). For instance "it is often remarked that infrastructures, as a historically important part of the modernist ideal of the uniform, integrated, equally serviced city, have become increasingly fragmented through processes of industrialization, privatization and the reallocation of state resources" (McFarlane, 2008:417). Therefore this chapter will look at the relationship housing has with infrastructure and how it affects the urban poor in the post-apartheid citizenship context.

Despite efforts to address these apartheid spatial patterns, South African cities still bear testimony to this legacy (Huchzermyer, 2001). This city segregation made sure that African people get limited access to infrastructure and by doing so encouraging migration. Take Alexandra for instance, people are moving in that township due to the belief that they can access infrastructure in the area simply. However, the overflow of people in the area causes

overpopulation which strains the infrastructure such as water supply, drainage system, electricity etc. It is the belief of Alexandra residents that infrastructure is the hope of the township even though access to housing might be impossible, but the development of the township infrastructure gives them hope. According to Wafer (2012) infrastructure has always been central to the urban politics, social justice especially in everyday life of townships in South Africa.

> "Infrastructure plays a significant role in political expectations in post-apartheid South Africa and through policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Program and Developmental Local Government; the post-apartheid state has attempted to re-frame citizenship of South Africans, especially in townships, through the provision of housing and basic services. The emergence, therefore, of service delivery protests in townships and informal settlements in the early 2000s marked the possible limits of a post-apartheid citizenship" (Wafer, 2012:233).

The concept of infrastructure in a South African context has always played an important role in understanding the relationship between the state and the civil society. For instance, RDP policies were meant to rectify the apartheid infrastructure segregation, which even today the majority of the population, are still suffering (South African Cities Networks, 2014). For instance my data collected in Alex as well as observations made suggest that residents there strongly feel that infrastructure is the necessary tool that can rebuild and support their livelihoods. And if they can access such infrastructure, they will be able to connect with the state. When I ask what they mean by connecting with the state, the answer was simple and I quote "the ANC government has abandoned the promise they have made to the people of Alexandra two decades ago and they can only make amends to us by starting with providing us with necessary infrastructure". Furthermore, they felt excluded by they own government they believed in once upon a time, so the solution of rectifying mistakes to them starts with provision of services such as electricity, drainage system, water supply, sanitation etc. Infrastructure is a tool behind housing which strengthen a settlements' well-being and their political position in the South African society.

Since the end of apartheid system and introduction of democracy the investment of basic infrastructure such as sanitation, electricity, water including drainage system has been one of the most challenging aspects of the South African history especially in Townships. And since

my visitation in Alexandra, every participant I have encountered they all complain about infrastructure. Infrastructure in Alexandra plays an important role into how residents' livelihoods can be shaped. Every day the residents complain about the drainage system, sanitation and electricity because they know such infrastructure can make their everyday lives even just a little easier. Their understanding of infrastructure is that it is the backbone of development in any township, city and country. That is why when Alexandra residents protest the biggest tool to communicate with the government (municipality) is the infrastructure (blocking Major roads, protesting outside councilors' household). According to Thandeka (participant 13) who stated that infrastructure is an engine of everyday life that is why we complain for better service. She said, "We watch our neighbors enjoy better service delivery every day while we suffer even worse and the government intentionally is busy switching off electricity". We cannot watch anymore, we are taking them on, we will blog all the roads until the mayor comes to Alex see the conditions we live in.....this is not the democracy we've imagined she said. The infrastructural backlog meant no progress, which discouraged many South Africans in Townships and created discourse when it comes to understanding citizenship.

5.2 Infrastructure

In a South African context, infrastructure has always been an important part of urban policies and everyday life from contested production in apartheid era to the indexing as a post-apartheid economic free country and to the contemporary city debates surrounding the failures, vulnerability, inadequacy, maintenance, control and use of policies (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008)". This is why my research project focus on understanding the interrelationship between infrastructure (provision of services) and citizenship because the question is who benefits and what about social justice. For decades infrastructure in Alexandra has been a challenge faced by the residents on one side and the government on another. Infrastructure is a complex concept, which needs to be carefully investigated and understood so that some question can be answered and some rose (McFarlane, 2008). When I was in Alexandra I could hear this quote *"thina ngoku- Xhosa, Rena [4]ge-Sotho)* in translation "what about us". When I ask, what they meant is that they could see what is happening in

[4] English translation: 'What about us'.

neighbouring townships such as Soweto, Cosmo city etc. but no one bothers to look at Alexandra.

As a researcher it is important to remain objective, however, with the emotions I was getting when people talked about how they have been treated it is painful to listen. For instance participant (04ARP, 2017) said and I quote "when I got to Alex in 1998, I found people who have been living here for over 50 years; they had hopes about getting a house their own property since they were taken away from them by the apartheid government. However, today they still live in shacks with their grandchildren. Whereas people are getting houses but we don't know how (sometimes I believe its bribes and corruption) what can we do we just live with it and hope our children will be lucky and move out of Alex to a better neighborhood" (07ARP, 2017). So infrastructure plays a significant role in political expectations in post-apartheid South Africa and the attempts by the state to re-frame citizenship in townships through the provision of housing and basic services is the key aspect of righting the wrong of the past. Moreover, from what I have learned throughout my observation and interviews is that such neglect can cause anger in a long run, as the 2008 xenophobic attack might be the result of that. People in Alex do not talk about that event and there do not do much of talking, however when they do their voice is greatly heard.

Political Infrastructure

As a researcher for urban space the dynamics of the city gives me knowledge into how to investigate the city better, however for planners and government officials it is imperative to understand policies and forms of governance that can shift the political dimension of infrastructural change. For instance according to data collected on housing and infrastructure it is crucial to understand what sort of infrastructure it is needed by the city you are trying to develop and not forget that townships are part of that city, they can either make or break the city. For instance, due to the overflow of migrants to Alexandra the infrastructure is on a brink of collapse because it is not maintained properly. My observation revealed that those who are living in the so called formal typologies are enjoying all the services municipality can offer. While those who are allocated in the informal housing typologies are excluded from such services. For instance each household in the formal housing typologies have more than one tap to use while on the other side a group of households only have access to one tap and

toilet. The injustice that thesepeople experience everyday are getting worse day by day, hence the residents of Alexandra are using whatever means necessary to communicate with the state. Several scenarios have proved that Alexandra residents due to social, economic and political injustice they live under, they tend to be violent when they voice their outcries.

"Focusing on urban infrastructure policies (and their discursive and/or material dimensions) is a useful way of approaching the co-evolution of cities and technical networks in a global context" (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008:365). Lack of good infrastructural policies can force different kind of reaction and power struggle and the most people to be affected by this choices and poor implementation are the urban poor in townships. What makes a city is not only suburbs, gated communities etc. those who reside in townships also pay tax to get services, to get proper infrastructure and when they suffer, they resort to violence to be heard or to show that they are not happy (McFarlane, 2008).

In June 2017 between Selbourne 8th street and 7th street Alexandra, the residents blocked and burned tired and all kinds of materials on the street and any car approaching they will bang it, because they stayed for two weeks without Electricity while other sections of Alexandra had it (formal housing sections). For example McFarlane (2008) states that the materiality of governmentality to call attention to the mutual constitution of infrastructure, urban space and subjectivity, it elaborate on how the relations between 'governing' and being governed and the constitution of modern citizenship go hand-in-hand with the development of social and economic infrastructure. For instance, McFarlane and Rutherford (2008"369) argue that "the ways in which infrastructures matter vary a great deal, from issues of privatization, maintenance and breakdown to conflict over access and distribution. Frequently, these issues conjoin or collide such that urban infrastructure in many contexts cannot be fully understood without evoking reforms, crises and accessibilities in parallel. Conflict and protest have risen and died over the years because of lack of suitable infrastructure, people of Alexandra have experienced all, and living next to one of the richest suburbs in the country makes it worse for them.

In this research project, my intention is to seek to understand and contribute findings on housing and infrastructure in informal settlements and on urban development. In addition, McFarlane (2008) support the statement that in order for urban development to happen

housing and infrastructure needs to be a priority and policies needs to be put in place to make sure that happens to strengthen citizenship. The relative neglect of social infrastructure (sanitation, social housing) by development agencies and governments over the years in cities have witnessed in recent years a shift in the nature of formal efforts to provide public services to informal settlements a demand that can no longer be ignored by citizens (McFarlane and Rutherford, 2008). "International development agencies increasingly argue that effective sanitation provision in informal settlements in low-income and middle-income countries must centre on ``community mobilization'' and seek to ``create support and ownership'' within settlements" (McFarlane, 2008:89). Despite a large number of literature on cities in South Africa and more in generally, there has been little investigation on social infrastructure in Alexandra amongst other township having the same challenges.

5.1: Table showing accessibility of infrastructure in Johannesburg between 2011 and 2016 (Group Strategy, Policy Coordination and Relations, 2016: 7)

Service	**2011**	**2016**	**% increase**
Access to piped water	98.6%	96.1%	-2.5%
Connection to electricity	90.8%	90.4%	-0.4%
Flush Chemical toilet	90.5%	91.2%	0.7%
Households living in informal dwellings	17.4%	18.0%	0.6%
Households living in formal dwelling	81.4%	81.3%	-0.1%
Refuse Collection	95.3%	95.3%	none

Despite the Johannesburg impressive economic statistics, stats shows that Johannesburg is in `reverse gear' in terms of economic growth and quality of life, noting a drop in the city's GDP per annum between 2011 and 2016, and highlighting the increasing number of people living

in informal settlements, alongside growing anxieties over congestion and pollution. For instance StatsSA Community Survey 2016, reveal that "population puts pressure on the environment and if housing provision cannot keep pace with the growing population this will in turn lead to increasing urban slums and accelerating environmental degradation" (Group Strategy, Policy Coordination and Relations, 2016: 3). A large percentage of the city's population lives in informal settlements of varying infrastructure, income, economy, ethnicity, and religion, squeezed into whatever space can be found. The numbers above are no stranger to the residents of Alexandra, when there is decreasing connection to electricity, refuse collection, flush chemical toilets or an increase of informal settlement, you can bet that Alex is affected the most in Johannesburg. My observation has been proof enough to state that government assistance has been lacking for more than a decade in Alex; the residents have to rely on their set of skills to survive.

The city's economic growth has driven growth in informal settlements and as a result, the inadequacy of the state's social housing commitment is rising up (McFarlane, 2008). Alexandra is a township next to the richest square mile in Africa; however, the township is one of the poorest in the city. It is true to argue that where there is economic growth the likelihood of inequality is high, for instance Johannesburg is regarded as the region with the highest level of inequality (Group Strategy, Policy Coordination and Relations, 2016). Most people in Alexandra township lack security of tenure, live in poor-quality housing vulnerable to fires, lack access to sufficient and clean water and sanitation facilities, and live in highly polluted environments vulnerable to illness and disease.

As the informal population continues to grow, the task of providing adequate infrastructure becomes more challenging for the government and more unbearable for the residents of Alexandra. Many residents have noted the incompetency of the local government in Alexandra and their resentment is growing stronger by the day. These actions (corruption, exclusion) are believed by the residents of Alexandra to be promoting inequality between social groups in the township through the material shaping of urban infrastructure, for instance in producing distinctive notions and ideals of modernity, morality, public space, and citizenship (McFarlane, 2008). So in the matter of understanding how housing play a big role in accessing infrastructure McFarlane and Rutherford (2008: 370) puts it well when they state that and I quote "Infrastructure crises are the precursors *and* outcomes of changing societal

consciousness, both in terms of destabilizing the taken-for-granted nature of infrastructure and in terms of unsettling the social order and urban experience which reflect how people relate to and use (or not) infrastructure on a day-by-day basis". Power relations seem to be an issue because the is a lack of knowledge about the exercise of politics (moral or practical) in the development of urban infrastructure and how crucial it is into forging contextualized understandings of how material infrastructure simultaneously connects the state and its citizens.

Sanitation Infrastructure

Sanitation infrastructure reflects on a history of sanitation as a set of a concept, which can both historicize seemingly new practices and shed light on the contemporary city and townships. People in cities need sanitation infrastructure and the poor believe through new reconstruction and development programme housing that can be achieved. McFarlane (2009) points out that in cities like Bombay urban poor in particular much is at stake in how the sanitary city is constructed as a problem and how solutions to it are mobilized and how improvement is limited. The ANC government is lacking bottom-up approach that will allow a strong liaison between government agencies and the community of Alexandra. What I was able to draw a conclusion is that local government lacks the necessary skills that will allow all the stakeholders to engage in a democratic decision making. The challenges faced by policy makers and policy implementers are based on ignorance, the people know better than they are given credit for. For instance, the residents state that moving to another location is not a problem if government can develop the necessary infrastructure that will allow them to have better livelihoods. Furthermore, they argue that the approach government is using currently is not helping their current socioeconomic status, because building RDP houses without access to schools, economic nodes, transport only make their livelihoods worse. People who are fighting for housing they are not only fighting for a roof but access to services that can change their lives. In Alexandra, residents I came across complain about sanitation infrastructure and they believe through housing they will get their own sanitation for the first time (06ARP, 2017). Mamthembu said that she is afraid for her children using the toilets especially at night, so if she can have an RDP house, she will be able to keep her daughters away from harm's way. The role of infrastructure in the post-colonial rule is changing and it

is no longer a separate issue from housing. For social and economic growth to occur housing and infrastructure needs to be a priority in one lance.

Infrastructure in urban politics acts as a tool not only for economic growth but also for social justice for the urban poor. From an observation point of view, housing can be seen as the gun to socio-economic development but infrastructure is the trigger. The data and observation has taught me that residents of Alexandra have some resentment to one another according to which kind of typology classified in. Those who reside in stand-alone structure feel that those who live in the bonded houses get special treatment from the local government. McFarlane (2009) argues that often were infrastructure from water, sanitation to electricity and transport is fragmented, it always indicates poor planning and struggle for social identities formation and space. It is crucial to understand that the "house" cannot have a meaning without infrastructure, so infrastructure will always be an important part of urban politics from cities, township and everyday lives. McFarlane (2009:417) states, "Infrastructure cast sanitation as a political, economic, social, and ecological process." This means for a township or a city to develop it is best to incorporate infrastructure and housing together as they serve one purpose for the urban poor. The truth is that the urban poor depend on infrastructure as much as they depend on housing (RDP). I have witnessed that first hand in Alexandra where there is no well-built structure often there is no sanitation built properly.

Townships like Alexandra understand RDP housing to be a package deal where they get flushing toilets, indoor taps, drainage system, electricity etc. Therefore, it is arguable to say the "house" can be understood without considering infrastructure as a tool that gives a meaning to housing. Democracy was seen as a way out of dark city or apartheid city whereby only the few have the right and the privilege to access such infrastructure to make their livelihoods better. McFarlane (2009) argues that socio-economic growth occur when social infrastructure is taken serious as economic infrastructure. Local municipality put more resources on improving economic infrastructure (road, railways) and neglecting social infrastructure (sanitation, social housing) thinking that cities GDP will not be affected. People in the township are the ones affected the most when development is not thinking about their wellbeing, I mean where do we think the rats came from (poor sanitation infrastructure).

5.3 Overpopulation

Overpopulation and corruption are the issues faced by the township currently, some of the residents believe that councilors favours their race before anything else and 07ARP (2017) stated that money influence the delivery system and corruption in local government, but race matters in Alex. What my analysis showed me is that the overpopulation of the area is putting too much pressure on the infrastructure in place and government has no strategy into how to resolve that challenge, as it is not going away. Waiting in Alexandra has been a story telling tale as residents who have been in Alex for more than 25 years and more have not receive housing, corruption seem to be a big obstacle, people are angry about housing all the time. Over 30 households and more in Alexandra are still sharing one toilet and tap even though some services are still maintained like waste collection (08ARP, 2017).

According to Lemanski (2009:473) Insufficient and inadequate housing for the urban poor has a long history in South Africa, with apartheid-era policies of urban containment resulting in overpopulation and under-serviced townships and informal settlements on the urban periphery. Located on the northeastern outskirts of the city of Johannesburg along the banks of Jukskei River, in the South African urban landscape where apartheid has carved out sprawling monotonous residential areas for blacks that are far from the wealth and opportunities of the city, this township is evidence of that history. Alexandra is well located, being adjacent to arterials and the main highway that links Johannesburg to Pretoria and accessible to industrial and commercial centres. However, with more 350 000 people residing there by 2000 and little more than 1 square mile in size, the township was already facing major challenge with overcrowding (Zack, 2001). My interviews reveal that the overcrowding of the area became worse around the late 1980 and early 1990's and some literature supports this claim. In 1960, Alexandra was planned to be a hostel city and that in many ways would have eliminated overcrowding of the area, as the purpose was to eliminate family accommodation, however due to high financial cost the government's plan failed. As a result only a small portion of the space was used for proper housing called phase one and two, but the government failure to implement a proper master plan for the township encourage the number of people moving into Alexandra to increase substantially. That was not taken into account nor was a suitable alternative land made available to accommodate those who were displaced (Roefs; Naidoo; Meyer and Makalela, 2003).

The interviewees believe that the apartheid government might have started overflow of migrants in townships such as Alexandra, however escalated by the current government, caused the current overpopulation growth. For instance, Maylam (1995:22) states, "the history of South African urban policy has many dimensions, but one aspect of it has preoccupied scholars for many years - urban segregation". Residents of Alexandra have little faith to the ruling party now and they argue that since their freedom in 1994, the township has become worse than before some say there is no green and streams any more. Majority of the population in Alexandra are living with their families in different housing typologies, however those who were interesting were the ones who were living in the stand-alone structure with more than one person in their households. After the observation one came to an understanding based on information gathered unemployment in that typology was high while overpopulation was growing. Many people in Alexandra operate on a survivalist level and the have low education skills.

It is a fact that the major challenge that hinder prosperity in Alexandra is overpopulation and overflow of migrants, as long as the is no way of solving that issue Alexandra will continue to suffer as infrastructure and housing has taken a huge toll on the original residents of the township. Even residents believe that local government is ignoring the suffering of the people and corruption is escalating causing more problems and tension between the community and the government. Now the community of Alexandra no longer attends meetings because the feel that it is useless for them to go there and hear the same promises meeting after meeting. In fact they pointed out that the only thing councilors are complaining about is that residents of Alexandra are occupying more space even space meant for development, however the residents believe that they wouldn't do that if the councilors were doing their job and making sure that houses are available for them. The land that Alexandra seats on it is very small for any development to occur, however government and planners are failing to secure land to try alleviating the pressure of the township. Residents were told several years ago that Linbro Park (next to Alexandra) is considered to be one of the areas which will be used to build RDP houses there, but even today nothing has been done about it. Residents are getting restless about the housing issue already and overpopulation is getting on their nerve because now they have to fight for resources.

Provision of service

Since 1994, South Africa, just like any former colony after attainment of political independence has been engrossed in righting the wrongs of its past. Included in this process, and central to the project of post-apartheid reform has been land restitution, which raises important questions about contestation around space and place. Such contestation has manifested in debates about change of place names and access to space and housing – particularly in urban areas. One of the vital issues arising out of these debates in the post-apartheid context is that understanding how the community in Alexandra access public services which are very scarce on the land that is not owned by the government. Information gathered from residents in Alexandra states that services have its complication as recently they had an issue of electricity. Since my time in Alexandra resources were always scarce (see table 4.1), people always complained about the municipality neglecting their responsibility which is to provide services, however some participants feel that they have to live with the situations at hand and adapt. 06ARP (2017) states that essential services like toilets and taps hasn't been part of the government's priority to make their situation at ease for a low time, so they had to improvise and be creative (refer to figure 5.3). For instance Kooy and Bakker (2008) states that despite the fact that households in a city use heterogeneous mixture of supply of resources, however the urban poor typically access lower qualities while the wealthier gets better services.

The new document (BNG) suggested that funding should be put in well-located land for low-income housing; new housing projects should incorporate urban regeneration as well as in situ upgrading of informal settlements in desired locations accompanied by sustainable infrastructure. As a result, the fundamental plan of this approach is to upgrade the original housing plan so that it can able to understand the complexities around poverty and housing backlog. I feel it is important to reflect back as mentioned earlier because I believe from what I have experience during my time in Alexandra it is when I realized what it means to have access to services. Moreover, and I believe for more than the country's democratic life span, South African townships as well as informal settlements have presented spaces for economic activity, social development that fail to fully serve residents. The unrest that occurred in Alexandra are the result of ignorance of the government to provide proper services for the people of Alexandra, as a result this caused a great deal of violence. The violence was fueled to the outsiders as a retaliation mechanism by the residents of Alexandra especially those

who call themselves Bonafides. In 2008, Alex residents burned different typologies of those they do not consider insiders because they believed they could not compete with people who are not from Alexandra for limited resources that government do provide. When I interviewed some of the participants through transit interviews, they said to me that if the government is not providing services for us then we are not willing to share what we have with other people we do not know.

Planned settlement has taken place within a legal land tenure framework, and is characterized by the planned provision of services and infrastructure. Under apartheid, planned townships were constructed on the fringes of towns and cities. The services were frequently basic, but in many townships, these services are far superior to those in the informal residential areas that have grown within and around them. Unplanned settlements evolved as people settled in areas that are closer to employment opportunities such as Alexandra. Townships like Alexandra occurred in a range of locations: within planned suburbs such as Sandton, on open land within an urban area, or in peri-urban areas. These unplanned settlements often lack services and have a range of housing (e.g. backyard shacks, freestanding structures). We have seen first-hand with Alexandra that the township and its people have been excluded from provision of services and benefits of being a citizen. Some range of housing in Alexandra is illegal, whilst others are on communal land, or on land where tenure has been secured following settlement (East Bank, Tshutshumane) and in some cases informal settlements have also been planned (just like Turner puts it in- Situ upgrading).

Planned informal settlements have evolved through site and- service schemes, which involve the identification and preparation of land before settlement takes place, including the insertion of basic infrastructural services. There has been wide application of *in situ* upgrading of informal settlements, which involves the provision of secure tenure and the insertion of required service infrastructure to ensure health and safety in existing settlements (Kilian et al, 2005). Matlapeng (2011:100) referencing

> "Sack (1980) points out those meanings of space and place depend on the interrelationships among physical and human activities located in the context of space and place (Sack 1980: 3). Harvey (1996: 141) explicates this further "that as flesh and blood, humans occupy space but as creatures of the symbol we transform that space into place". However, the experience of bommastandi seems to be underplayed in the transformation of Alexandra space into place.

> The legal definition of Alexandra space is given priority and this approach fails to highlight that there were many families who were left out in the cold. This refers to the changing faces and phases of Alexandra where the state expropriated property, thus transforming private property to state-owned property. Instead of being relocated to successor townships such as Meadowlands and Diepkloof as it was planned, some families were left in temporary accommodation. Hence the observation by Cohen (2002: 274) that "place is also produced through the shorter journeys, routes, and activities of everyday life" becomes significant".

Alexandra is one of the townships, which has land complication issues and as a result hinders infrastructural development as I documented in my time in the area. Moreover, because of that according to Silverman and Zack (2017:18) "Uncertain land ownership issues in Alexandra inhibit development." It is of importance to notice that the issue of poor infrastructure is a very crucial matter in this research paper as our participants are residents of the community or township affected by these conditions. Moreover, when interviewed the participants all had interesting points of view to share regarding services in Alex. For instance 01ARP stated that there deterioration of the area has increased while 02ARP (2017) noted that sanitation is becoming even a bigger issue than before, many households are sharing one or two toilets. When I was in the area myself I could identify the complaints made by the participants, hence why they believe that RDP houses are the hope to a better life (sanitation, drainage system, roads etc.). One of the community activist pointed out that the issue of land possession in Alexandra is stopping progress as government they do not have the means to buy the land and transfer it to the residents of Alexandra (01ARP, 2017). He also pointed out that

> "Housing is a big issue in Alexandra since the government promised to buy a farm area by Linbro Park to build more RDP housing. However even the housing we have in Alexandra (RDP) is not well distributed, there are rumors as well as concern that there are bribes happening for people to jump lines or get houses before Bonafides"

So when people where Promised Land, houses and nothing is happening violence seem to be the results. The 2008 xenophophia attack occurred in Alexandra can be argued is the result of corruption, shortage of resources and mismanagement of projects. It is understood that townships and informal settlements have remained marginalized spaces whereby poverty and deprivation are a result of struggle over limited resources. Alexandra is no different, but the issue the participants are all bringing in the table is the selection process, some ask why people occupying RDP houses are new to the township and some do not even reside here.

This outcry cost many damages in Alexandra 2008 when outsiders were attacked as a way to show the state that we are not happy and the people from other countries are adding to the problem. Yes, Alexandra is now united but what we see today, many despise outsiders not for their origins but out of fear of competing for limited resources government is failing to provide.

Limited resources tend to generate politics of exclusion, which cause frustration. For instance Bommastandi and other long-term residents in the area appreciate the idea of being called "Bonafides" to assert their credential as the original inhabitants (Landau, 2012). Due to overcrowd in the township claims of belonging are invoked to exclude outsiders and protect the perceived interest of the autochthon. The fundamental policy of the RDP was to remedy the historical injustice of the expropriation under apartheid either by returning properties to their former owners or where is not practical give them a long term legitimate residents of old Alexandra, preferential treatment in the allocation of new houses as they have a superior claim to newcomers. In other words, infrastructure is the most powerful entry point into thinking about the connection between cities, states and civil society and the materiality of infrastructure (Mann, 2008). Even though some attempts have failed, however the state realizes that economic development and social justice can be realized through infrastructure (Wafer, 2012).

Democracy brought with it the promise of substantial improvement in the lives of the poor and it was that promise that increased competition between different constituencies in the township. Although the broad pattern of Johannesburg's spatial pattern may have been established in the early decades, political and economic transformations have had far-reaching effects on spatial configuration. Underpinning many of these issues was the unrelenting decline in living conditions in the area as overcrowding remains the most visible symptom of the crisis facing the township (Landau, 2012). The new document entitled Breaking New Ground is a comprehensive plan for the development of a sustainable human settlements plan and it is not meant to replace the 1994 housing policy but rather to enhance it. The approach is seen as a way to use housing delivery as a bridge to achieve a set of broader socio-economic goals. In other words "the new plan makes clear in its objectives that housing provision should address poverty alleviation, economic growth, improving the quality of life of the poor, creating an asset for the poor and ultimately developing sustainable human

settlements" (Charlton and Kihato, 2006:257). However, after interviewing the residents the objective is in question as many issues have not been resolved.

According to the secretary of ALPOA, in 2004 ALPOA went to court to address the issue of housing, 12 June 2005 ALPOA were given an interdict that there should not be any development until the issue of the 2553 dispossessed property owners is resolved. However, since then they hasn't been any progress, victims of dispossession of property are still suffering a loss even after 24 years of democracyThe secretary of ALPOA continues: "[the problem] is deliberately man-made and it can be easily resolved". According to ALPOA, the informal settlement continues to be served before Bonafides, hostels were introduced in 1968, development happened at the expense of property owners e.g. phase 1, 2 and 3 property owners dispossessed of their homes still reside elsewhere and have not been reinstated into their property or in the reconstruction area (05ARP, 2017).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter concludes by stating that access to services and infrastructure remains a big issue in Alexandra, as health risk has shown around the area. And as a result the story of Alex suggests that the residents of the township has lost hope in the government, however everyday the residents are rising to fight against social injustice that they have been experiencing for decades if not a century. People have seen the area from downgrading to something close to nothing, but the community of Alexandra is still fighting the inequalities of apartheid system even today. However, the question remains whether the post-apartheid system has not made the situation worse. Social injustice residents of Alexandra face every day has resulted in violence tendencies by the residents to get the attention of the government and the 2008 xenophobic attack is one example that has shown how people deal with social injustices especially were infrastructure is involved.

CHAPTER 6: CONCUSION

From the chapters written so far, a lot has been said about housing provision and what it means to be a citizen, however, the relationship that makes that promise by the government so special has not yet been clarified especially in the context of Alexandra Township. A lot has been explained about the perception of citizenship but not much, why a house in so many ways is used as a claim to that citizenship which supposed to be a right not a privilege. So this chapter will conclude by providing a theoretical understanding of the link between housing provision and perceptions of citizenships. Let me first recap, "the Emergency Housing Programme (EHP) is an important subsidy tool in South Africa and the EHP was designed to realize the right to housing" (Carolia, 2014:397). The programme set out to allow the state to fulfil its constitutional responsibility to the citizens of this country; however, since the implementation a lot of critic has roused causing discourses.

6.1 Understanding the reality of Alexandra

This section argue that all different housing typologies that seem to develop in Alexandra shows that there is a missing housing policy that can integrate townships like Alexandra. My research project states that what we know as housing typologies is evolving and some of the causes for that it is the lack of state intervention to do something about development in Alexandra. People have to survive, so different kind of strategies over years have been developed to suits people's needs. In 1960's informal settlements in Alexandra became known and that was the result of the apartheid government's forced removal. When black people could not access land and property in Johannesburg most went to Alexandra, which was more welcoming since they were all backyard rooms that property owners were offering black Africans.



Figure 6.1: Overpopulation of slums in Alex (Google earth, accessed 12/05/2017)

So my conclusion on this statement is that informal settlement in Alexandra often act as important entry points into the city and helps the poor households to access amenities, facilities, and urban services, but floods, fires occur on a regular basis in those informal housing areas. When I went there for the first time, I was shocked how people survive in such a place and when I saw kids, I was amazed what kind of government will allow people to live there. Many hopes were given and crashed at the same time and the Alexandra Renewal project was one of those hopes; however, the introduction of a new way of delivering houses in Alexandra in 1996 was an obstacle of delivery in Alexandra for many old residents who call themselves Bonafides (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008. This combination of raised expectation and realization that many residents' needs, will not be met inevitably creates an uneasy situation in the township. As time pass struggle over the allocation of resources began to intensify, particularly in relation to the question of who should be the primary beneficiaries of new housing programme (Landau, 2012). This project raised lots of question around the concept of citizenship in the township. For instance, Bonafides insisted on their historical right to housing and accused the ARP of neglecting that right. They believed that the system is side-

lining the people which have been there all those decades fighting for the right to own property and when they have to realized that other obstacle stand in the way.

The bitter struggles to gain access to housing and to be included as legitimate beneficiaries of the state development efforts in Alexandra increase day by day. What the data reveal is that since the introduction of democracy and RDP programme things worsened, people are still fighting for their right to access housing, which was promised to them in the first place, and as their legal right. Since there was less activity with the plan to implement development in the area, older residents felt seriously aggravated as these was a reasonable chance that they would not get access to new housing despite their states as Bonafides (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Some residents interviewed did raise the fact that corruption was an evil they were facing, since there was a strong sense that newcomers or outsiders were being allowed to jump the housing queue at the point, when for the first time the state built the RDP houses in Alexandra. There was a growing rumour in the area that newcomers were benefiting illegally from the development at the expense of Bonafides. Since the development housing and even some job opportunities became available in the ARP, as a result competition over those resources inevitably grew (Landau, 2012).

Due to that competition, Bonafides in Alexandra believed they had a prior right to access to any resource in their township and outsiders were resented for that. Until in 2008 may where Alexandra exploded into violence against African foreigners called xenophobic attack. Since Beruit was known as a place for immigrants since the late 1980's, Bonafides attacked it whereby sort of violence occurred including women being raped. This sort of violence only erupted because citizenship was questioned as people used a house as a tool to exercise their civil right and they found out that being a citizen in South Africa is still a privilege to a few not a right to all. In a nutshell, understanding citizenship becomes a complicated phenomenon and I find myself alongside residents of Alexandra questioning the fact that what does it mean to be a citizen in a township or what does the concept of citizenship mean as it is contested by action provided by the responsible party (state) (Landau, 2012). Therefore, a lesson from me going through all this literature is that Xenophobia can be understood as a broader politics of discrimination that has deep roots in the country's history, one that manifested from politics of exclusion as we have seen in the case of Alexandra. Due to the failure of the government to fulfil its original promise, they have been consequences. For instance "there

is growing recognition that informal settlements and the hazards they face are not only a response to migration into cities (i.e. urbanization processes). They are also produced through deeply unjust and systemic processes of access and marginality within cities" (Carolia, 2014).

6.2 Contested definition of citizenship

Huchzermyer (2001) states that the right to housing was clearly outlined in the 1996 Constitution Section 26(1), despite this, in the early years of democracy that right has not been achieved. Which overtime has been part of challenges such as fires, floods, evictions and other crisis continued to be ad hoc and fragmented? Carolia (2014) reminds us that these failures by the state to deliver on housing, services as well as infrastructure led to haphazard outcomes and violent clashes between communities and the state. The purpose of ARP (Alexandra Renewal Project) which was part of the RDP Policy was to address the needs of the poor in reference to housing, provision of services as well as infrastructure.

According to Carolia (2014: 404), "local governments are mandated to systematically address housing need by delivering housing to the poor and much of the vision for this programme and, by extension, urban transformation was articulated in the 1994 White Paper on Housing." However, it is only fair to acknowledge the fact that ARP did deliver a certain amount of housing including services as well as infrastructure, but a lot can be contested about who benefited from such development. Evidence provided shows that slums or what others may call, those squatters in Alexandra are still growing and according to interviewees, the condition of the area is worse than before (Matlapeng, 2011).



Figure 6.2: ARP Housing in Alexandra Ext 7, 8&9 (Google earth, accessed 12/05/2017)

Most people living in an informal settlement could fall under the broad parameters of the definition of RDP policy, however not everyone living under those circumstances has benefited as most are still complaining that they have been on the waiting list for 20 years while other people receive houses since the introduction of RDP. In other words, this means the concept of citizenship can mean one thing on paper, however in practice can be understood differently as people from Alexandra have been witnessing. This literature has revealed that as much housing being a tool that can act as a claim to citizenship, however there is growing concern that the claim is no longer effective as government is failing to live up to the expectations of the constitution (Musvoto and Mooya, 2016) .

Claims of belonging in the case of Alexandra are invoked to exclude 'outsiders' and protect the perceived interest of the original inhabitants of Alexandra. Many arguments have been provided throughout the research project were by there is an emerging discourse around the concept of citizenship. In a case of a township such as Alexandra this is manifested both as claims to national citizenship and to authentic residence in a locality (how long you have

stayed in the area). Recent literature reveal that the way people understand citizenship has changed and they believe that action speaks louder than words if the government does not want to hear their grievances. Alexandra has been a victim that witness that change and people used their understanding of citizenship to pass the message across in 2008 xenophobic attack that took place in Alexandra. (Landau, 2012). The authors understanding of the event that took place on 11 may 2008 gives us the conclusion that the struggle over limited resources tends to generate politics of exclusion and violent actions to get the attention of the state. The basis of relationships between housing and infrastructure in cities is politically produced through struggle of spatial identities formation.

6.3 Housing, infrastructure and citizenship

Just like Hodson and Marvin (2001) my research project focused on the theoretical and conceptual understanding of the role of politics in governing spaces between cities, infrastructures and resource that flow within them. Based on chapter four and five it is fair to argue that people who reside in Alexandra justify their citizenship with the strong link between housing and infrastructure. In previous encounters Alexandra community has used their unjust frustration through housing e.g. illegally occupying new housing development and through infrastructure (blocking major in and out of the township using burning tires and rocks etc. This kind of behavior shows how much residents of Alexandra value and understand citizenship and how they are expressing the unjust and failure of government from delivering from their promises made in 1994. Residents of Alexandra feel that they have been robbed of their land and property by the apartheid government and the ANC government is not doing anything to rectify the sins of the past. Bonafides (those who were dispossessed of their property during apartheid era) are still paying the price even today. Their social unjust frustrate them to such an extent that resentment ended up directed to innocent fellow Africans due to the failure of government to deliver on housing and infrastructure.

The social injustice the leadership of the Alexandra movement called ALPOA let them to file a statement of intent, which on the 25 June 2016 ALPOA successfully acquired. However, since then, they has not been any progress, victims of dispossession of property are still suffering a loss even after 23 years of democracy, in exception of only one property owner has been addressed. Alexandra mother too many township including some Townships in

Soweto, the squatter camps in Alexandra is a deception that continues to be served before Bonafides. Drawing on Anand's (2011) article on Pressure: Politechnics of Water Supply in Mumbai infrastructure is critical in townships because it strengthen the legitimacy of citizenship of those residents. For instance just like in Alexandra most people do not pay their electricity bill however they always demand access to electricity and most of the time they use illegal ways to access it, and in some instances they even go far as using violent actions to force the municipality to provide electricity.

"citizenship is made through personal, political, and material claims on the city infrastructure, I show that the public realm isn't "denuded" but is saturated with diverse social and political claims that exceed the frameworks of liberal, modern citizenship" (Anand, 2011: 545).

In the new democratic society, political parties have found ways to use housing and infrastructure as tools to win votes, so what one witnessed is that ALPOA used that strategy against the government and all political parties who seek to use their citizenship against them. What one mean is, when ALPOA were given interdict that there should not be any development until the issue of the 2533 dispossessed property owners is fixed the community got their power back. Concisely, the government and political parties can no longer use that strategy to put the hopes of the community high for votes and not deliver. It has worked in the past elections because residents of Alexandra value their citizenship as it came at a price, so when someone present an opportunity that they could benefit from people get tempted to use that right of power (voting) for false hope.

The vulnerability of residents of Alexandra on housing and infrastructure draws on the longer history of exclusion and marginalization embedded on the city's policy and implementation plan. For instance Hodson and Marvin (2011: 109) states: "the relationship between cities, infrastructure and the organization of resources that are produced, consumed and flow through cities is not unproblematic and is deeply political". Drawing on the data analysis done although the city's policies have been more inclusive over the years, the city's Implementation plan continues to restrict the ways in which residents of Alexandra can legitimately claim citizenship. According to my analysis, Alexandra residents are able to mobilize as political society or through heterogeneous claims of citizenship to access reliable housing or infrastructure from the city. However sometimes they are able to use housing and

infrastructure to voice their concerns to the city when they have grievances. Indeed viability is the effect of power in societies like Alexandra.

According to Anand (2011) in Mumbai, residents have discovered a way to control water pressure using their own illegal system and to a certain extent, it is seen as some form of resistance and government cannot control the flow of water. This is a good example of how infrastructure is used to create a political awareness and put a stand to say enough is enough and for the residents of Alexandra it has been a story of their lives. Drawing from the research database one can argue that housing and infrastructure have been critical tools in Alexandra to put pressure on the municipality. Briefly, pressure helps to understand the social, political, and physicality of a city as well as how it matter to those who live in it. Anand (2011: 558) argues that "Socially, physically, and politically constituted, an attention to pressure helps explain how resources, particularly water, are distributed among marginal populations in urban locations"

Stevenson (2003:34) believes that "citizenship is a way to mask and normalize cultural difference and as a result it impose(s) unitary identities and thereby imposes a normalized social order". In the case of Alexandra residents, becoming recognized as South African citizens after 1994 seems to have done less difference than before. Being recognized as South Africans who were dispossessed as a result of apartheid does not seem to address the loss of property and that to them is how they reclaim their unitary identities. In other words, their urban status appears merely to exacerbate their problem. My case has been made, historical injustices especially coming to housing and access-ownership distribution remains a major underlying cause of conflict. The housing rights of the poor are compromised by sprawling, low-density settlements and a lack of affordable housing opportunities in well-located areas has thus relegated them to the urban periphery if they were to get any chance of owning a house. People living in peripheral dormitory suburbs have to commute to their places of employment in well-located areas at great costs to themselves and the government is failing to provide a suitable solution that can accommodate the urban poor.

The research has revealed that the ways of thinking about spaces and spatial formation in cities especially townships say little about how it has affected the urban poor. The fact that

government is not yet fully understanding the new identities of spaces, places and the re-imaging of communities and economies of cities is producing a lot of tension between the haves and have not (Hodson and Marvin, 2011). From the research project, I have learnt that understanding the responses of the community to pressures requires an acknowledgment of their historical struggle that affected them both politically and economically.

6.4 Hypothesis

From the beginning of this research study RDP was seen as an important subsidy tool in South Africa and according to housing policy, RDP was designed to realize the right to housing and ensure that municipalities rapidly respond to emergency housing situations. However since the introduction of the policy and the programme different departments, for a range of valid reasons, have harshly criticized implementation. This research explores the findings of a year-long research project consisting mainly of case study, interviews, and policy review aimed at understanding these criticisms. In addition, by using grounded theory (from understanding the data gathered and analyzed) the research found that housing programs can no longer act as a lance to understand forms of citizenship and fulfilling those rights. Concisely, citizenship in Alexandra Township is a complicated and misinterpreted concept, which government and community members don not yet fully understand.

My hypothesis is that housing typologies create different kind of experiences and expectations for the Alexandra residents, which in turn reflect into how they view or understand citizenship in the post-apartheid context. Concisely, different housing typologies in Alexandra have changed the way housing provision and housing initiatives are understood. There is a shift whereby RDP housing is contested as a claim to citizenship in the post-apartheid society while new housing typologies grow every day. This means that the house in particular RDP housing connects people on one hand but on the other hand disconnect people in a way people may own houses but feel excluded from the community. The lack of infrastructure and services in Alexandra disempowered the people and fractured the bond the people had with the state and left the residents with no choice but to contest this notion of citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa.

Government Agencies and planning tend to focus on issues happening in the middle of the city and turning a blind eye in what is happening in the periphery and the surrounding

communities such as townships: Alexandra to be more specific). The study on the ways in which different forms of housing provision create different understandings and expectations of post-apartheid citizenship has revealed that the poor people continue to be marginalized by the government which promised to right their wrong. Planning should be inclusive of all citizens and economic sectors of the city; however, my data reveals that townships are still much excluded. Focus should be on the outreach programmes such as RDP and ARP (Alexandra Renewal Programme) as well as consultations with various stakeholders to improve understanding of the concerns of the poor and marginalized people. Urban Poor are not passive citizens in an urban environment but active citizens who are denied access to the formal sector and struggling to survive through the informal sector. They are active members of the society who engage in jobs that other groups in societies would otherwise not do, and thereby contribute to economic growth.

Development planning should include such economic activities not only on paper but through constant consultations in collaboration with the political elite and the promotion of democracy so that such people can be given a platform were the can engage with their government and raise their voice. Development planning also should focus on strengthening power relations between all stakeholders involved in socio-economic growth of cities, so that they can find a proper use of the sustainable livelihood framework in policy implementation. Also planners need to take into account how to develop a clear social consensus on housing allocations while Ensuring quality of housing construction, however that can only be done when perceived and real corruption undermining allocations consensus is dealt with. This research project highlights that for planners to better intervene in housing and urban policy, they need to understand the different historical and emotional ways that people understand and interpret housing.

6.6 Conclusion

To conclude my research project suggest that perhaps the way the state understand urban spatial forms is misinterpreted and is indeed reflecting poorly on the townships they are trying to develop through state intervention such as RDP, BNG. Therefore, these new forms of spatial stratification are causing tension between the state and the urban poor. On one hand, the state is failing to deliver proper housing for the people of Alexandra yet they are

not willing to recognize the different typologies these residents created because of housing backlog. The research project taught me that housing is a driving force behind forging active citizenship that able to connect the state and the people they serve. The concept of the 'house' has opened an opportunity to understand that everyday experiences of residents shape the emergence of different housing typologies. The research has elaborated throughout the research that the definition of the "house" is brought and in this case, it cannot be understood without linking it with citizenship. In fact, the research has just provided enough evidence to show that residents of Alexandra still regard the house as the claim to citizenship. The above chapters show how and to some extent why, delivery of housing is frequently critiqued by activists, academics, and even other state departments. Through contextual framework and literature, review I was able to point out that the policy that has been implemented throughout the history of land use management is responsible for the beginning of different housing typologies.

The post-1994 government recognizes the problems of a distorted urban form, but its policies have been too short term and sector-specific to bring about significant settlement restructuring. Indeed, some of the pro-poor policies have reinforced people's exclusion by subsidizing the cost of living on the periphery, rather than supporting better location decisions. Institutional transformation has resulted in the loss of technical capacity across government, which has affected cities' ability to manage their growth effectively and to create the conditions for economic expansion. There are several new initiatives emerging that may facilitate more coherent urban development in future. These include a more flexible and responsive housing policy, which will, recognizes the evolution of these new housing typologies. There is undoubtedly substantial room to improve the implementation of the programme.

My analysis with the concept of a house shows that there is no sharp distinction between informality and formal, subject and object. Post-apartheid Johannesburg contrary to expectations and official promises has metamorphosed into a city where socio-spatial stratification, socio-economic inequality and marginalization have become rooted in our society. Townships are composed of many social, political, and physical things, whose materialities matter in diverse ways. I have provided evidence that housing typologies do not have clear-cut definitions because they are influence by spatial identities and spaces as well

as experiences. In other words the notion of city development and township transformation is at the centre of revisiting socio-economic change in different arenas and re-examining processes of knowledge production and use. The latter requires a critical appraisal of disciplinary orientations and assumptions that underpin the academic endeavor in relation to both teaching and research.

My research concludes that on housing, facts proves that transformation cannot and should not be equated only with changes in the demographic profile of persons which, in the South African context often refers to including (and often targeting) individuals and groups from historically disadvantaged communities to be a concerted effort to change mind sets, value systems and ways of knowing that impact on society. Rethinking what constitutes valid knowledge, how it is produced and for what purposes becomes crucial, particularly in educational settings. This shows that citizenship is mediated between lived experiences and formal entitlements in order to map out, confine, extend, name, and enact the boundaries of belonging to a society. This research was critically examining these aspects in relation to the discipline of geography with a special focus on human geography (housing, citizenship). Space in cities cannot be absolute defined since the concept is actively and rationally also relatively produced by people occupying those spaces and the spatial formation can be understood through ways in which the governance field of interrelationships of institutions and social interests can seek to re- constitute policies and implementation plans.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaires

Interviewer:

Date:

Gender:

1. How long have you been staying in the study area?
2. Tell me about Alexandra
3. Can you tell me about conditions you are living under here?

   2.1 How have the conditions you are living in affected your livelihood?
4. Is the study area the same as ten years ago?
5. If no, could you please explain what changes occur during your stay here?
6. Has the changes made the community better or worse? How
7. Please tell me about housing in Alexandra.
8. How do you describe housing in Alexandra and is it what you expected?

   8.1. Follow up question
9. What is the biggest issue and what has been done about it?
10. Do you think housing can change how the area is seen or has it changed?
11. Are there any project(s) being implemented?
12. If yes, about the project(s) what is working well and what do you think should be improved?
13. Why?



School of Geography, Archaeology and Environmental studies

Student Evaluation Informed Consent Form

If you have any further questions about the research, please contact my research supervisor or me

Seyco Manyaka

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Dr Alex Wafer

Phone: 27(11)717-6517

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Informed Consent Form

The purpose of this research is to understand emerging discourses of citizenship in post-apartheid Johannesburg, using Alexandra as a case study and develop a theoretical understanding of the link between housing provision and perceptions of citizenship. The interview that will be conducted will take about 45 minutes to an hour. You are encouraged to ask questions or raise concerns at any time about the nature of the study or the methods I am using. Please contact me at any time at the e-mail address or telephone number listed above. Our discussion will be audio taped to help me accurately capture your insights in your own words. The tapes will only be heard by me for the purpose of this study. If you feel uncomfortable with the recorder, you may ask that it be turned off at any time.

I have read and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at

any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Participant:

Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Researcher:

Name of Researcher	Signature	Date

Participant information sheet

Good Day

My name is Seyco Manyaka a Master of Science in Geography student from University of the Witwatersrand. I am doing a research about a House as a claim to citizenship in the post-apartheid South Africa and I will like to invite you to take part in my research. You have been invited to participate in this research project because I believe you have knowledge about the impact of housing and how it has affected a lot of lives and your experience will have great contribution in my research report. In addition, your participation will help me write a report that will make people aware about conditions happening in Alexandra Township.

Please read the following information. If you have any questions or queries please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor or me (researcher). Contact details are provided at the end of the information sheet.

The interviews can only be completed by participants over the age of 18.

You are invited to take part in a research study to examine the link between housing provision and perceptions of citizenship. I would like to interview you to ask you about what it is like to live in Alexandra and the conditions the place present, this research is part of MSc thesis at University of the Witwatersrand. Before you decide whether to take part in the study it is important that you understand what the research is for and what you will be asked to do. Please take time to read the following information and discuss it with others if you wish. It is up to you to decide whether to take part. If you decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep. You will also be asked to sign a consent form. You can change your mind at any time and withdraw from the study without giving a reason. You are welcome to phone me if you would like any further information.

The purpose of the research study is to understand emerging discourses of citizenship in post-apartheid Johannesburg, using Alexandra as a case study and develop a theoretical understanding of the link between housing provision and perceptions of citizenship. Reason being one need to understand how people view and understand citizenship, what it means to

them in relation to housing and state power. In addition, by doing so, investigate perception of citizenship (sense of belonging) among RDP beneficiary and among residence of my case study (Alexandra). I would like to ask questions about what it is like for you living in Alexandra, your thoughts, your feelings as well as situations, and people connected with your experience.

The study will involve 12 up wards participants, who will all be interviewed separately. The interview will take approximately (60min). If you choose to take part, you can choose a location for the interview convenient to you. The information gained from this research will be used to make recommendations for best practice and will offer insights into the experiences of what it is like to live in Alexandra. The results of the study may also lead onto further studies in housing.

The interview will be recorded on audio tape and then transcribed onto a computer. The audio tapes will be stored in a locked secure place at all times and the computer data will be protected from intrusion. The audio tapes will be destroyed at the end of the study. Your response will be treated with full confidentiality and only code numbers or false names will identify anyone who takes part in the research. You can request a copy of the interview transcript if you wish. The interviews will be analyzed by using a computer package by me.

Email: 335016@gmail.com, (072 457 5307)

Supervisor: Alex Wafer

Contact details: Alex.Wafer@wits.ac.za, (011 7176517)

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14. Name of supervisor: Dr Alex Wafer

Discipline Geography

School GAES

School of Geography, Archaeology & Environmental Studies
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050

Signature _____

14.1 The candidate must attach an original "Certificate To Accompany Higher Programmes Research Report" from his/her supervisor(s).

15. Signature of candidate: _____

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