

CHEAP RENTAL ACCOMMODATION IN THE INNER CITY OF JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF JOUBERT PARK

Karabo Isaiah Matjomane

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Declaration

I declare that this research project is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Masters of Science in Development Planning in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Karabo Isaiah Matjomane

_____ day of _____, 2012

Abstract

There is a shortage of accommodation in the city of Johannesburg. Rental accommodation is one way of accommodating people in the city. There are different forms of rental stocks that are available in the inner city of Johannesburg. Affordable rental accommodation in the inner city is characterised by conditions that are considered to be unsuitable for human habitation by authorities. This research focuses on how people in the inner city are accommodated. This study uses qualitative in- depth interviews conducted in Joubert Park with people who work and relax in the park to explore how they are accommodated in the inner city of Johannesburg. The study does so by exploring literature and theoretical underpinnings related to the living conditions in high density inner city environments from the perspective of the user. Which for this study is not representative, it suggests that inner city inhabitants are accommodated in different accommodations across the city and their experiences differ based on their individual needs with most of them admitting that they are only there because of their economic situation.

Dedication

To my family:

Mkhulu and Molman, this journey has not been easy without you

Magriza, My mom, dad, Mamokete, Mogau, Dimpho and Molebogeng , thank you so much for the love and support. Without you I could not have achieved what I did

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC – African National Party

COHRE - Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions

CoJ – City of Johannesburg

DAG - Development Action Group

HIV/AIDS - Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

IFP – Inkatha Freedom Party

JHB – Johannesburg

Joshco – Johannesburg Social Housing Company

NHSS – National Housing Subsidy Scheme

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the study

1.1. Introduction and Background to the Study

There is a shortage of cheap rental accommodation in the city of Johannesburg which is evident in the overcrowding of available accommodation such as poorly maintained dilapidated buildings, backyard shacks and the crowding of rooms in the city (Poulsen, 2007). People appear to surrender their safety by living in unsafe areas because there is a lack of affordable rental accommodation (Charlton, 2010). Some of the places that they live in are not suitable for human beings to live in because of health hazards that they pose. The focus of this study is how inner city residents are living in these different types of accommodation and why they choose to live there over other forms of accommodation available in the city such as social housing.

Currently in policy terms, there is no emphasis on rental accommodation in South Africa (Poulsen, 2010). Housing policy in this country predominantly advocates for homeownership for poor people through the National Subsidy Scheme which is aimed at making homeownership a reality for the urban poor (COHRE, 2005). Social Housing institutions offer rental accommodation in the city and the private sector is the one that mainly offers cheap accommodation in the city.

The ANC led government promised to deliver accommodation for the poor in the post 1994 period (Zack *et al.* 2010). There are many government supported housing institutions such as the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (Joshco) which have been tasked with providing housing for poor people who are employed but cannot afford to rent in the main stream rental market (Poulsen, 2010). Section 26 (1) and (2) of the South African Constitution states that everyone has a right to access adequate housing (The South African Constitution, in COHRE, 2005). The National Housing Act states that the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right. The National Housing Act of 1997 also requires the national government to formulate housing policy and monitor the implementation of housing through the establishment of the National Housing Code.

From the available literature one gets a sense of how people are accommodated in the city of Johannesburg but there is not much literature on how people themselves feel that they are being accommodated in the city (CASE, 2004; Charlton, 2010). CASE notes that most of the people living in inner city cheap rental accommodation feel that they are forced to live in these forms of accommodation because of their poverty (CASE, 2004). These feelings were documented in Joubert Park and other areas in the inner city of Johannesburg, with the employed and unemployed residents feeling trapped by poverty in their settlements (ibid).

There are different types of accommodation that are available in the city. There is a need however to understand who is living in these different types of accommodation and the reasons why people choose to live in those accommodation. There is also a need to

understand the circumstances that poor people live in. Poor people in Johannesburg mostly appear to live in old dilapidated buildings, backyard rooms and old residential properties that pose a health risk (Zack *et al.* 2010). Some of the living conditions that the urban poor live under include overcrowding and bad buildings¹. In recent years some studies have highlighted poor living conditions in the central areas of Johannesburg (COHRE, 2005; DAG, 2004) and also concerns from the City about ‘bad buildings’ (CoJ, 2004; Zack *et al.*, 2010). There have been stories of building hijacking, slum lording, decayed and deteriorating buildings, or overcrowded and underserviced places in the inner city of Johannesburg (Zack *et al.*, 2010)

Overcrowding is argued to be caused by sub-letting which leads to lack of basic services (COHRE, 2005). Sub – letting results when tenants cannot afford their monthly rents and allow people to live with them in exchange for sharing rent with them. This can lead to people putting the infrastructure under severe pressure. Poor people also face evictions for non-payment (*ibid*). There is therefore a need for us to understand more about these conditions that poor people face on a daily basis in order to help inform future policy directions and to understand why poor people choose to live in these different types of accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg.

The situation seems to be created by a high demand for accommodation in the city, the unavailability of affordable rental accommodation, the city’s oversight in providing

¹Bad buildings are buildings that do not adhere to the cities by laws and other national regulations (Zack *et al.*, 2010). They display inadequate payment or non-payment for municipal services by landlords or tenants.

accommodation options and lack of management in meeting the demand for housing. There is however less information that provides insight into the living conditions from the residents' perspectives. This study focuses on this dimension of the issue and does so in the following way.

1.2. Research aims

The primary aim of the study and its findings is to examine the various problems around poor peoples' accommodation in a sub-section of the Johannesburg inner city. There is not enough that is known or understood about the current conditions that poor people currently living in the inner city of Johannesburg find themselves in (Charlton, 2010). There is little knowledge of how poor people live and how the different types of accommodation 'cater' for their accommodation needs. The needs in this case refer to ways the accommodation offers opportunities and constraints in their lives and the trade-offs people make to live in this accommodation.

1.3. Research objectives

The following are the objectives of the study:

- To explore literature and theoretical underpinnings related to the living conditions in high density inner city environments from the perspective of the user;
- To explore a case study in order to identify how people are accommodated in the inner city of Johannesburg.

1.4. Problem statement

The world population has been increasing and South Africa has also experienced an increase in population (Nemaonzeni, 2005). With the world's population forecasted to grow exponentially in the developing world, the majority of the growth is expected to be concentrated in urban areas especially cities (Cooper, 2007). With this forecasted growth, there will be an increased demand for housing in cities. "The ability of the housing sector to house this increasing population will not be an easy task as South Africa is largely characterised by the legacy of the past" (Nemaonzeni, 2005: 2). The housing sector has over the years not been able to accommodate the majority of rural people who moved to the city in search of work. The City of Johannesburg has in recent years focused on housing for the poor through the National Housing Subsidy Scheme but there has been little done in terms of policy and practice to provide any direction to the inner city housing shortage (Charlton, 2010).

There has been an emphasis on homeownership for poor people through the national subsidy schemes (Poulsen, 2010). Low income housing projects have focused on building houses that are mainly located in peripheral areas. Social rental institutions were established to offer rental accommodation for poor people in the city. These social housing institutions have been unable to make rental housing a reality for many poor people in the inner city due to high rentals. Charlton (2010: 2) argues that "the limited number of state – supported rental initiatives have struggled to make rental low enough for poor people, mainly because of the need to draw on rental income to cover operating cost".

1.5. Research question

This study investigates the types of accommodation being occupied by poor people in the inner city of Johannesburg and what the opportunities and limitations are of these living conditions, from the perspective of the occupiers. Focusing on the Joubert Park area in the Johannesburg inner city, this study investigates what can be learned from people in this neighbourhood about their inner city accommodation. Specifically the study uses the public park in the neighbourhood as an information source to ask:

In what circumstances are people in Joubert Park living and what are their motivations for living there? This question was guided by the following research sub questions:

1. What is the profile of people found in Joubert Park, and where do they live?
2. What is the nature of their accommodation, as they see it?
3. What are the terms and conditions of living in their accommodation?
4. Why is the occupier there, in that specific accommodation as well as in that area?
5. How did they come to be there?
6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of living there?

1.6. Initial Research Hypothesis

Low – income urban migrants have varying priorities when seeking accommodation in the city. They consider three things when looking for accommodation in the city. Location of where they work is central to the urban poor followed by security of tenure and the quality of housing. The environment comes later in terms of their housing priorities and a shift in

economic position is reflected by a change in these priorities and their expectations about living and housing (Turner in Firchet 1972). As people move to a higher position in the social hierarchy they move from the inner city. Poor people live close to where they work because they want to reduce transportation costs and maximise opportunity, and as a result they may live in compromised circumstances.

1.7. Research Methodology

The primary method is to interview residents of the Joubert Park area of the city about their living conditions and choices. The means of accessing interviewees is to approach people using the public space of the park in the neighbourhood Joubert Park either for recreation or for income generation. The study engages with people working in and using this public space in the inner city of Johannesburg to obtain information through interviewing methods and observations. The study is centered around the perceptions of people interviewed about their own circumstances and as a result the findings of this study will be based on the participants perceptions.

A case study is defined as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in its real life content when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 1991; 23 cited in Shapurjee, 2010; 11). The phenomenon that is to be analysed in this research is that of rental accommodation in a sub-section of the inner city of Johannesburg and specifically residents’ or occupants’ experiences of their accommodation, by focusing on people using Joubert Park and its surroundings for either

leisure or for income generating purposes. The case study area includes this public park space which acts as a means of accessing participants.

Joubert Park is located in the inner city and offers one of the few public spaces in high density residential areas. It is a useful place to source information because we expect to find people using the park also staying in the area or other neighbouring areas in the inner city. Joubert Park also offers a place to conduct interviews without going into the participants' respective buildings. The advantage of this is that the park is a public place so the participants may not feel like their privacy is being invaded. This however also becomes a limitation of the study because the researcher relies on the descriptions that the participants give in order to get an insight into the types of accommodation that the participants live in.

In this research project, the researcher used qualitative research design in which qualitative data was obtained. The key concern of the study was to understand how people in the inner city are accommodated and the reasons as to why they choose these types of accommodation. Interviews were central to this study and were used to analyse the perceptions of a selection of inner city rental tenants about their respective accommodation.

Qualitative research is a concept that covers several forms of inquiry that helps us to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with little disruptions of the natural setting. For this study, participants were interviewed in their natural setting which was Joubert Park and its surroundings.

Purposive sampling was used for this study and thirteen participants who work or use the park for any other purpose were selected from an unknown number of participants that were in the park at any given time when the interviews were conducted. The participants were from all over South Africa and some were from other parts of Africa. Most of the participants were street vendors selling sweets, cigarettes and chips on stalls outside the park. Photographers were also interviewed.

An interview can be defined as a conversation with a purpose (Dexter, 1970). Interviewing is necessary when we cannot observe behaviour, feelings or how people interpret the world around them (Merriam, 1998). The participants in the study were required to reflect on specific contexts, episodes, experiences and in some cases about events when answering questions. This was done by asking the participants to give their own views on why they give a particular response. Interviews in this study took place during different days of the week and at different times during the day. The study was conducted during the day due to safety consideration for the interviewer.

1.8. Ethical Considerations

The participants were informed about the nature and aims of the investigation. They were also informed that their participation was voluntary and that they could choose to withdraw from the study at any time they choose. It was also made clear that not choosing to take part in the study would not result in any way negatively on them and that there would not be any negative consequences for them not participating in the study. The participants were also informed that there would be no rewards for taking part in the study.

Participants were also assured that they would remain anonymous throughout the study (please see appendix B). Participants were never asked their names and in the reporting of their responses they have been given names by the researcher that are in alphabetical order. This was done to give life to their personal stories as opposed to assigning a number to it.

1.9. Limitation of the study

It is worth noting that gathering the required information for this study was problematic as some participants were reluctant to participate in the study once they found out there was not going to be any direct benefit for them. This led to them not being willing to provide the necessary information. Reasons such as time constraints to engage in interviews were often cited by participants. This was a limitation to the study as it restricted the diversity of the respondents interviewed.

The time-frame in which this study took place, the sample size and the language barrier that existed between the researcher and some of the participants also impacted on some of the findings of this research. Some of the potential participants did not want to take part in the study because they are staying illegally in the country and thought the researcher was working with the police and the Department of Home Affairs. Another limitation that was evident in the study was the sample size, this and other limitations are discussed in the next paragraphs.

1.9.1. Sample size

A small sample is appropriate for qualitative research and is not a limitation because the qualitative methods used in the study are useful in a sense that they give us an in depth and detailed analysis of the participants interviewed relating to the topic. The criteria used to select the participants were to find people that used the park for either income generating activities or for leisure. A number of street vendors were interviewed because street vending is a dominant activity around the park and because they were willing to be interviewed. The street vendors have experience of the neighbourhood because they use it on a daily basis. More street vendors being interviewed limits the research because not everyone who lives in rental accommodation in the inner city and Joubert Park is a street vendor or is involved in informal means of generating income. Other users of the park interviewed included a photographer, two students, a metered taxi operator and unemployed people. But people who live in the area but do not use the park were not represented in the sample, and there might also be other users of the park not involved in income generation in the park whose perspectives are not well reflected.

1.9.2 Language Barrier

One of the most noticeable limiting factors to the study was the language barrier that existed between the researcher and the participants. The researcher had to rely on someone translating some of the responses from the participants. The researcher got a sense that some of the participants were not able to fully express themselves in English and when they did the researcher was not able to fully understand their responses. Most of the questions were asked

in English with most participants responding in isiZulu, Sepedi and Shona and as a result some of the information which could have been relevant to the study could be lost in translation. The researcher can only speak Sepedi and English but has a fair understanding of isiZulu while the translator in addition to Sepedi and English can also read and write isiZulu. Participants were tape recorded and the translator only worked with the scripts.

1.9.2. Time of interviews

Interviews for the study were all conducted during the day. They were done at different times of the week even during weekends. They were done during the day in the park and not in the surrounding buildings due to safety consideration for the researcher. As a result, the researcher had no first hand understanding of what goes on in the buildings near the park. Participants that were interviewed are the ones that utilise the park during the day only.

1.10. Terminology

The list of terms in this section is not exhaustive and is only terms that have significance to the research topic are explained.

Cheap rental accommodation - For this study cheap rental accommodation is defined as any housing option that is used mainly for residential purposes in the city of Johannesburg and is available to low-to- medium income persons or households with monthly income of

between R0 to R3500. This implies accommodation that is at no cost or at a cost of up to about R1200 per month per occupying household.

The inner city - Region F in the city of Johannesburg. The region is in the inner city of Johannesburg and incorporates the Central Business District, Braamfontein, Braampark, Doornfontein, Hillbrow, Jeppestown, Joubert Park, Marshalltown, Newtown and Yeoville. The region is comprised of high density, high-rise buildings (CASE, 2004).

The poor - The poor in the study are defined by their monthly income and by self-identification. As Austeberry and Watson (1988) put it, defining the poor spans a continuum between two extremes. The far end deals with the unemployed and stretches to the employed earning a stable but low salary. Defining the poor is also related to conditions of physical and material vulnerability (Poulsen, 2007).

Livelihoods - Beal and Kanji (1999) argue that livelihoods involve a wide range of activities and are not only concerned with income earning. Activities such as gaining and retaining of resources and opportunities, social relationships within the household and managing social networks and institutions that exist within communities also form part of livelihoods.

1.11. Report structure

This report consists of six chapters and the purpose of this outline is to give the reader a clear understanding of the issues dealt with in each chapter and illustrate how these chapters relate to one another and to the research report as a whole.

Chapter One: Introduction to the study – this chapter introduces the research study by providing an introduction and background to the study. This chapter introduces key concepts that are relevant to the study. It also outlines how the research was carried out.

Chapter Two: Rental Accommodation in the City of Johannesburg - This chapter reviews literature on housing and inner city housing issues. The chapter also focuses on the available housing stock in the city and some of the conditions of this housing stock.

Chapter Three: Concepts relevant to housing – The chapter reviews concepts that are relevant to housing with a focus on rental accommodation. The chapter also focuses around poor people's accommodation in the inner city.

Chapter Four: The Case Study Area and Research Methodology – This chapter examines the case study relevant to the research. The study touches on the history of the study area and its land use change over the years. This includes the profile of the area and some of the people using it for income generating activities.

Chapter Five: Results and Discussion - This chapter draws out some of the relevant themes from the data collected. Findings from this chapter are presented and analysed in relation to the available literature presented in chapter two. The results are analysed according to the research questions outlined in chapter one.

Chapters Six: Findings and Conclusions – This chapter presents findings from the study and the implications of these findings. Recommendations are made for the purpose of future consideration in the South African housing policy review with regard to rental accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg.

CHAPTER TWO

Rental Accommodation in the City of Johannesburg

2.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature on housing issues and inner city housing issues in South Africa. The focus is based on understanding how rental housing in the inner city of Johannesburg has evolved over the years and how people are accommodated in the city. The chapter also focuses on the available housing stock in the city.

2.2. Housing Policy in South Africa

In South Africa, the effects of colonial and apartheid land policies on the urban landscape has continued to entrench the exclusion and the marginalisation of the poor (CASE, 2004). The policies are argued to continue to widen the gap between the rich and the poor in the city. The ‘hegemony’ of a market-driven development paradigm is when markets are used as a central tool for delivery of goods and services which is based on the principle of demand and supply. Those who can afford to pay the highest price for goods and services are the ones that are able to participate in the market (Greenberg, 2004 in CASE, 2004).

Brown- Luthango (2005) and Bond (2000 cited in CASE 2004) argue that the housing policy post 1994 is strongly influenced by policies that were introduced by the apartheid

government, which placed emphasis on the privatisation of the available government rental housing stock and home ownership. The drive for market-driven development paradigm has resulted in the entrenchment of existing spatial and socio-economic inequalities and as a result further excluding and marginalisation of the urban poor (Watson and McCarthy, 1998). It is argued that the interests of the private sector in the past continued to take precedence over the needs and rights of the poor communities' access to adequate housing close to social services infrastructure and economic opportunities (Watson and McCarthy, 1998:8-9).

The urban poor have been forcefully removed from well-located land because it was zoned for commercial purposes through gentrification (CASE, 2004). The UN Special Rapporteur for housing, argues that "it appears that many evictions are executed in the interest of gentrifying inner urban areas and promoting re-growth and development and particularly in inner city of Johannesburg, it seems that the drive to attract private investment has been at the expense of the urban poor who have been living in dilapidated buildings in the inner city for years" (DAG, 2007: 3).

Housing policy in South Africa has led to the severely limited supply of available and affordable rental housing for the urban poor (Watson and McCarthy, 1998). "Housing provision in South Africa has focused on the delivery of houses at the expense of other forms of tenure and types of accommodation" (Poulsen, 2007: 1). The high prices of privately developed houses have put home ownership out of the reach of many South Africans (DAG, 2007). But the South African government is supplying homes for ownership to the very poor through the National Housing Subsidy Scheme (NHSS). Housing subsidies are available for the poor in South Africa. These subsidies are only available to South African citizens and

permanent residents. The subsidy is aimed at low-income households, earning less than R3500 per month (COHRE, 2005). The subsidised houses are usually around 30 square metres in size on a single plot 250 square metres which is equipped with basic services as water, sewage and electricity. The scarcity of land urban land has had detrimental implications for the provision of housing for the urban poor as well as the restructuring of the apartheid urban form (CASE, 2004).

Royston (2006) cited in (DAG, 2007) argues that housing policy in South Africa must aim to make the markets work for the poor but that at the moment it does not appear to be doing that. There are institutional subsidies that assist households to get access to rental and co-operative housing but these subsidies are used at a relatively small scale and have not generally been aimed at the poor although they were intentionally meant for them (ibid). These subsidies were meant to benefit people and households with a monthly income below R3500, but they now target people and households with a monthly income of between R2500 to R7000.

Other subsidies that are available at the moment include, the consolidation subsidy, the People's Housing Process Establishment Grant (PHPEG), the Rural subsidy, the Discount Benefit Scheme and the Relocation Assistance Subsidy. These government subsidies are available to South African citizens and permanent residents only leaving out refugees and immigrants.

The current rental market in South Africa is based on the assumption that the rental payments will be made by tenants in order for landlords to repay their costs of providing accommodation and make profit in the process (Zack *et al.*, 2010). The private rental accommodation providers in South Africa are governed by the Rental Housing Act of 1999.

The Act only deals with evictions of tenants. It makes it an offence to evict a tenant or to cut off essential services without a court order. The Rental Housing Act No. 50 of 1999 also regulates the relationships between tenants and landlords in the formal private sector. This applies to all types of rental housing in South Africa. The act requires the government to foster a partnership with the private sector in the provision of rental housing, this act also makes provision for the establishment of Rental Housing Tribunals, the publication of unfair practices and the repeal of Rent control Act of 1976 (Zack *et al.*, 2010) .

2.3. Rental accommodation in the inner city

Rental accommodation in the inner city was mainly for white working class people since 1898 till the early 1980s. Black people started moving into the inner city in the 1990s because of the shortage of accommodation in the former black townships. The violence in the township in the early 1990s also contributed to the migration of black people from the township to the inner city (Morris, 1997). As white people left the inner city for the suburbs on the periphery of the city, black people started to occupy flats that were owned or rented by white people.

The majority of African tenants earned moderate incomes and as a strategy to cope with the high rentals they opted to share their rental costs with friends and relatives and sometimes even strangers. A study by Morris (1997) showed that poor tenants had to share to make staying in the inner city financially feasible. To cover high rentals poor residents had to overcrowd their apartments. This led to the physical deterioration of the building and consequently pushed up the maintenance costs (Morris, 1997).

Due to the flight of capital in the inner city, there was also a decline in the rental stock in the inner city. This was the physical decline of building blocks in the inner city. Morris (1997) argues that landlords in the area contributed to the decline by asking for high rents while neglecting routine maintenance. “These increases coincided with the substantial increase in the demand for accommodation in the neighbourhood from black South Africans” (Morris, 1997; 155). The strong demand for accommodation empowered landlords not only to charge excessive rents but also to spend a minimal amount on maintenance and to ignore the request of tenants (ibid; 156). Black tenants were exploited because of their desperate desire for rental accommodation in the inner city due to the shortage of accommodation in the townships and the fact that they wanted to be closer to their work places.

Morris (1997) points out that middlemen, who were put in the buildings to manage the buildings for the owners, also contributed to the decline of several of Johannesburg’s inner - city apartment blocks. He argues that the middlemen overcrowded the buildings to make extra cash on the side without the landlords knowing and therefore did not account for the extra maintenance that was needed due to the overcrowding.

2.4. Current living conditions in the inner city of Johannesburg

Poor living conditions in South African cities are a source of consternation to many people. This contestation exists between the state and people living in these conditions because these conditions that people live in and why people live in these conditions is not fully understood. Charlton (2010:2) argues that the “diverse motivations, pressures, influencing factors and relationships affecting these accommodation circumstances are overlooked and little differentiation is made between people living in similar accommodation.”

Many people in the city are engaged in regular productive work but are living in a wider variety of circumstances and these circumstances are not fully understood. These wide range of circumstances include sleeping rough or informally on a regular basis (Charlton, 2010). The key concern for the city of Johannesburg has been centred on whether and how to house the very poor in well located areas of the city such as the city centre. The City has not been housing poor people in the inner city on any significant scale. There has however been little in terms policy and practice to provide direction for this vision (ibid).

There have been studies that have been conducted on accommodation conditions in the inner city of Johannesburg. Some of the key findings from these studies are as follows. It was estimated by COHRE² (2005) that there are around 235 “bad buildings” in the inner city of Johannesburg. The poor in the inner city live in “bad buildings”, backyard accommodation, on pavements, under bridges and other types of accommodation available in the city (ibid). It

²COHRE is a human rights organisation which its main aim is to ensure that there is a full enjoyment of human rights to housing for people everywhere.

was also established that the urban poor choose to live in this accommodation because it is close to formal jobs opportunities, services and other public amenities.

2.4.1. Bad buildings

Many of the urban poor in the inner city of Johannesburg live in what are termed “bad buildings” which are abandoned (COHRE, 2005). These buildings do not adhere to the city’s by laws and other national regulations (Zack *et al.*, 2010). “They display inadequate payment or non-payment for municipal services” by landlords or tenants (ibid: 37). They are also occupied and criminal activities that take place in some of these buildings. Slumlords exploit the vulnerable tenants to share flats originally designed for single families or single occupants with the maximum cost extracted at a minimum cost (ibid). These slumlords are thought to be the owners of the buildings or managers by the tenants. The presence of slumlords running buildings leads to these buildings being overcrowded.

2.4.2. Overcrowding

Overcrowding is a major problem for the urban poor in the inner city of Johannesburg. Sub-letting rooms is argued to be responsible for overcrowding with lease holders sub-letting their apartments to other people in a bid to reduce their rental. In the Joubert Park neighbourhood, a study by DAG estimates that eight people to ten people on average share one flat that was originally meant for about two people (DAG, 2004). Single rooms are divided with curtains to accommodate additional members. Sub-letting in this neighbourhood is argued to have kept monthly rentals to as low as R50 per week, but this was a figure obtained in 2004 (ibid).

Tenants in these types of accommodation also live in fear of eviction because of non-payment to landlords or the lease holders.

Most of the urban poor in the inner city have access to basic services like water and sewage but these services were not supplied by the city on a regular basis due to non-payment (DAG, 2004). In the DAG study, the same experiences were shared by residents in Joubert Park in the inner city. They complained that clean drinkable water was available but there was an irregular supply from the city (ibid). Refuse collection from their flats was also problematic. Electric supply was also not regular. These findings were similar to the ones in Poortjie, Diepsloot, Riverlea and Slovoville which are out of the inner city (DAG, 2004).

2.5. Housing stock in the inner city

The available literature on rental housing in developing countries, shows that the number of people in rental accommodation has increased steadily over the years while the government and commercial investor provision of low income rentals is at an all-time low (Watson and Mc Carthy, 1998). Studies show that about 29% of households in South Africa live in some sort of rental accommodation (Watson, 2009). This figure however could be higher than that estimated by Zack *et al.* (2009). This rented accommodation includes amongst others free standing houses, flats, rooms in backyards, informal dwellings and shacks in backyards. The rental market in South Africa is mainly informal where most landlords and tenants do not follow the legal routes. Watson (2009) argues that informal rental is a vitally important and growing part of the housing market for the poor in South African cities and that this is in line

with other major cities on the continent, Latin America and Asia where almost half of the urban population rent.

In South Africa, the apartheid government introduced legislation that separated people, with black people relocated to townships. Hostels were used to accommodate black African migrant workers. The government positioned itself as a national landlord for the black African urban population and as a result had to deal with the day to day running of the buildings and were forced to eventually consider increasing rental and other maintenance charges and the failure to do this lead to the deterioration in the quality of the housing stock (Watson, 2009).

Currently there are a limited number of state supported rental initiatives and the city and other institutions have struggled to make rentals low enough for the poor. This is primarily because the city and other housing institutions need to draw on rental income to cover operating costs. Charlton (2010) argues that the City of Johannesburg like other municipalities has made efforts to support the poor beyond a housing capital subsidy. This has been done by exempting qualifying households from payments for services up to a certain level of consumption.

The Johannesburg housing policy in addition to operating social rental housing also makes provisions to support the suppliers of rental housing by discounting payments owed to the City but despite these initiatives, there are few accommodation options for the very poor. Poor people generally live in central and other desirable parts of Johannesburg with these

living circumstances exhibiting conditions that are deemed to be problematic and unacceptable by authorities and society (Charlton, 2010). Accommodation in the city of Johannesburg includes informal settlements, bad buildings, warehouses, public buildings in both private and public spaces. Charlton (2010) argues what is apparent is that little is known about the people living in problematic circumstances in the inner city and these affect the daily activities of people living the inner city. This ranges from the forms of income generation activities, the residents relationships with the City and their housing circumstances.

The available rental housing stock in the city of Johannesburg ranges from apartment flats, rooms in apartment flats, backyard rooms, shacks or rented plots of land, accommodation provided by employers, public housing, blocks of flats and space to live rented out at work or in public places (UN-Habitat, 2003). The bulk of the rental accommodation that is available is provided by the household sector which is not recognised by housing policies in many developing countries (Watson and McCarthy, 1998). This kind of rental accommodation is often in former black townships outside the city. The inner city consists mostly of apartments and flats. These include amongst others backyard shacks and backyard rooms.

2.5.1. Rooms in the inner city

There are many different types of rooms that are available in the market. According to the UN-Habitat report on rental housing in developing countries (UN-Habitat, 2003) there are rooms that are sub-divided which are located in the inner-city, rooms that are custom-built for tenants and rooms that are in boarding houses, hostels or in old-age homes. There are also

rooms for rent in houses or flats in lower to middle-income areas and rooms provided for employees by their employers in the suburbs. In South Africa, there are also former residential, office and industrial buildings that are converted, by private developers legally or by slumlords illegally, into rooms with shared facilities (Poulsen, 2007). Poulsen (2007) argues that there is a high demand for rental rooms in the inner city of Johannesburg especially the ones with shared “ablutions” and cooking facilities because it is cheaper. She further argues that this is “evident in the fact that the single sex hostels developed during the colonial and apartheid years continue to be extremely overcrowded with four to eight persons sharing a room” (ibid:27). These types of rooms are for many poor people who are either unemployed, temporarily employed or in the informal sector and do not have a fixed income.

Rooms that are available in the inner city are in high-rise apartment blocks. This kind of accommodation is “perceived to be predominantly the domain of immigrants from other African countries, but many local people have also chosen to locate in the inner city to gain easier access to employment opportunities and benefit from the amenities in the city” (Poulsen, 2007:23). “Further, these apartments are sublet to make them more affordable and often several households share one apartment” (ibid: 23). As a result of overcrowding, the conditions of these buildings started to deteriorate. Poulsen (2007) argues that overcrowding resulted in extensive deterioration of the buildings as it puts a strain on the services and the lack of management and maintenance aggravated the situation.

Many migrants both from South Africa and other African countries seek cheap accommodation as they see their move to the city as a temporary one. They therefore choose rooms over other forms of accommodation because they offer a cheaper alternative. Rural

migrants may choose this kind of accommodation because they do not see the city as their home, they may send whatever they make to their families left behind in the rural areas. Migrants from other African countries may prefer rooms over other kinds of accommodation in the city because they are relatively cheap as compared to flats and perhaps also because it enables them to easily socialise with other foreign migrants.

2.5.2. Transitional and communal housing

Rooms in transitional and communal housing projects are mostly developed by NGO's and charity organisations. Poulsen (2007:29) argues that while this form of housing accommodates the poor, "the high cost of conversions and refurbishments leads to increased rentals and often results in the displacement of the original occupants due to the unaffordability of the new rents". But she also argues that the existing transitional and communal housing projects have shown that these types of environments can be planned and managed in a positive way including being affordable (ibid).

The rooms provided in communal and transitional housing were aimed at providing temporary accommodation for the destitute and the homeless. "In 2000 the criteria for qualifying beneficiaries were persons who earn less than R1250.00 per month." (Poulsen, 2007) This at a later stage also included families who earn less than R2500.00 per month. Eligible beneficiaries must be lawfully resident in South Africa; must be over eighteen years of age, except for children who are under parental guidance or adult care givers; and exclude persons who are receiving an old age pension or other grants" (Poulsen, 2000:3).

2.5.3. Social Housing

Social Housing institutions were established to accommodate the poor in the cities. Institutions like the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (Joshco) were established to tackle the housing backlogs in the city with a focus on rental housing. Social rental accommodation is defined as a housing option for low-to-medium income persons that is provided by housing institutions, and that excludes immediate individual ownership (Social Housing Policy, 2005).

The social housing definition also refers to “persons” to benefit from the programme rather than households, families or groups. The social housing option will therefore cater for the housing needs of single persons who would not normally afford to rent a for a place alone and families that would also not be able to afford house ownership and not qualify for an RDP house and thus social rental housing can be responsive to the market demand within an area (ibid).

But social housing is not an option for the very poor because people aiming to access this accommodation from the different housing institutions must earn a secure income mostly with those formally employed being given preference over those in informal employed or those informally employed being totally excluded (Social Housing Policy, 2005). The person accessing social rental housing must generally have an income of R3 500 and above which excludes the very poor. The average income of R3 500 was adopted by social rental institutions because the social rental projects have to be financially viable because these projects also require maintenance and other operational cost (Social Housing Policy, 2005).

The very poor who cannot afford to live in social rental housing often choose to live in cheap accommodation available in the city, which are mostly offered by the private sector.

2.6. Conclusion

Housing policy in South Africa has changed over the years from colonialism to apartheid then to democracy. This shift in policy has nevertheless maintained a limited supply of affordable rental housing in the country and its cities. Living conditions of most rental accommodation in South Africa especially in cities has deteriorated. The number of bad buildings increased due to the high demand for affordable rental accommodation.

There are different rental accommodations available in the city of Johannesburg that caters for different groups of people. Most of these different accommodations are not affordable for the very poor. The city of Johannesburg has moved away from focusing solely on homeownership in the form of RDP housing to exploring other forms of rental accommodation that are available in the city. These options include communal and transitional housing and social housing. The city has however not explored other rental options that are available include rooms that are available as backyard rooms or rooms that are shared in apartment buildings.

Having reviewed different literature on the housing policy in South Africa and some of the practices in the rental sector, the research will now focus on relevant housing concepts within the South African context. The following chapter looks at some of the main concepts relevant

housing especially around how people are accommodated. The chapter will focus on issues that have an impact on how people are accommodated.

CHAPTER THREE

Concepts relevant to housing

3.1. Introduction

The chapter reviews concepts that are relevant to housing with an emphasis on rental accommodation. These concepts are explored with reference to the inner City of Johannesburg and links are made to current in the inner city. This chapter focuses on issues around poor people's accommodation in the inner city. Concepts such as poverty, livelihood strategies and household dynamics are explored and the types of factors that affect how inner city inhabitants are accommodated is also explored. This chapter starts by looking at the socio-economic characteristics of people that live in rental accommodation in the inner city.

3.2. Socio-economic characteristics

Inner city inhabitants in the city of Johannesburg are not really known, just as the conditions that they live in are poorly understood. What is known however is that most of the inner city is characterised by high levels of poverty (Beall, 1993). People who cannot afford to live in formal rental housing, which are most of the time the poorest of the poor, end up living in cheap, old, abandoned buildings that are run by slumlords. The high unemployment rate has had a devastating effect on many poor communities' abilities to access adequate and decent housing on well-located land (DAG, 2004). The people living in cheap rental accommodation, who are employed mostly have entry level jobs in the formal job market.

They take up jobs that require driving, cleaning with a majority of them being clerks, cashiers and domestic workers (CASE, 2005). Those in the informal sector are usually involved in street vending.

The people who live in cheap rental accommodation in the city, both the employed and unemployed feel that they are forced to live there because of poverty (ibid). There are also a reported high HIV/AIDS infection rates within these poor communities which is attributed mostly to high levels of alcohol and drug abuse (ibid).

3.3. Poverty

Moser (1996) argues that there are differences in poverty and makes a distinction between urban and rural poverty. Poverty remains a persistent feature of urban life and is increasing (Moser, 1996). According to Moser (1996), rural people are poor because the overall agricultural productivity is low and because they do not have access to infrastructure and services such as health and education. The urban poor unlike the rural poor are susceptible to fluctuations in the cost of living and are also subjected to stress factors such as overcrowding, lack of privacy, physical danger and violence and environmental degradation (ibid).

The urban poor have limited access to health, education and other social services in cities. They are mostly casually employed and include a high proportion of women who lack male earners in their households and their households have a high dependency ratio. Access to land and shelter is a crucial issue for the urban poor with security of tenure being often denied.

The urban poor also have limited access to secure land tenure and housing and to infrastructure and services necessary for a reasonable life (ibid). Moser (1996) argues that there is heterogeneity of urban poverty and that vulnerability often accompanies urban poverty. Poverty then is the state of fragility, insecurity and exposure to risks (ibid).

3.4. Livelihoods and livelihood strategies

Many inner city inhabitants are engaged in the informal sector to generate income. Chambers (1995) argues the notion of livelihood should be used as it better captures the complex and diverse realities of most poor people as opposed to focusing on income – poverty. Chambers (1995) argues that livelihoods fit better as a way of assessing how poor people live, what their priorities are and what can be done to help them as compared to focusing only on their employment.

Sustainable livelihoods strategies go beyond just employment. Chambers does however acknowledge that livelihoods as harder measure as compared to income – poverty. Chambers (1995) argues that while it is hard to measure livelihoods, there are different ways to measure livelihoods.

In South African housing policy terms, the provision of housing is only based on income when deciding on who qualifies for state subsidised housing in terms of the poverty criterion. But from a broader perspective poverty is defined as the lack of physical necessities, assets and income, it also includes physical weakness, isolation, vulnerability and powerlessness.

Beal and Kanji (1999) argue that livelihoods involve a wide range of activities and are not only concerned with income earning. These activities include amongst other things gaining and retaining of resources and opportunities, social relationships within the household and the managing of social networks and institutions that exist within communities. Livelihoods fit better as a way of assessing how people live, what their priorities are and what can be done to help them as compared to focusing only on their employment.

The assumption is that worse-off people are preoccupied with income and consumption, with the need to gain subsistence food and basic goods in order to survive (Chambers, 1995). People are however not only preoccupied with income, people are known to value other things that affect how they live and one of those things is the household.

3.5. Household Dynamics

Beal and Kanji (1999:1) argue that “the term households covers a wide range of residential forms, grouping of people and functions but that a common definition focuses on a group of people who pool resources together or eat from the same pot”. This is in contrast to using the term to refer to close family that live under the same roof. Beal and Kanji (1999) further hold that households do not only involve close family, they can also include a wider kin networks and also unrelated co-residents. Household dynamics play an important role in how people are accommodated because it can be used as a survival strategy by individuals who share a place to stay.

Household adjustments are known to be used as a strategy by poor people to combat urban poverty. It is argued that households respond to declining income by adopting an expenditure minimising strategy (Watson & Wilkinson, 1996). This strategy involves cutting total spending and changing dietary habits. Poor urban households have been forced to employ different and resourceful strategies for survival and betterment; as a result economic crisis changes the composition of the household (Beal and Kanji, 1999). These social responses to declining income or poverty sometimes include increasing the labour force participation by women and children being involved in income earning which sometimes results in tensions and violence within the household (ibid).

Urban households as opposed to rural households are defined as being task or activity based units (Beal and Kanji, 1999). It is where members of each household have a role to play either by contributing resources or offering labour within the household. This concept of urban households is very useful because the household dynamics that will be explored in this study are urban in nature and help us understand the relationships that people form in an urban setting.

Moser (1996) argues that because housing is considered to be one of many assets that the poor have, housing is an important productive asset that can cushion households against severe poverty because the poor are always the first to feel the harsh conditions of economic stress. The lack of formal legal housing for households increases the vulnerability of the poor and as a result young residents who cannot afford rental accommodation may be forced to move in with home – owning relatives (ibid).

Household relations are also considered to be an asset by poor people. Household relations play an important role in a households' ability to 'adjust' to change in the external environment (Moser, 1996). These relations provide a mechanism for households to combine income and other resources for sharing consumption. Housing and household relations are argued to be the most important to poor people as opposed to employment. Having access to housing and household relations for poor people and how they use these relations to improve their standard of living is a very important concept to unravel in this study. This can be done through investigating the types of relationships that exist within households or individuals who stay together and how these relationships affect their daily lives and their access to housing (Watson & Wilkinson, 1996).

Diversity and the ever changing household size and composition raises a number of difficulties in terms of meeting the space and location requirements of urban households by policy as the current South African housing policy only focuses on the delivery of standard houses meant for the nuclear family. Watson and Wilkinson (1996) argue the household size and composition vary enormously and change frequently and that leads to the assumption that space and location needs will show variation as well. Many people that are catered for by the national subsidy scheme are in poorly paying jobs and are in low – return informal income generating activities.

Measuring the exact number of urban households in the inner city is problematic because of the movement of rural people from the rural areas to the city and back. Intermittent movements of rurally-based wives and children who visit their husbands and fathers in town were also recorded in Watson and Wilkinson's (1996) study making it difficult to determine

the exact size of households in the city (Watson and Wilkinson, 1996). Household compositions are continuously forced to change also due to the ever growing pressure on space in old formal houses.

3.6. Housing Needs

As housing is regarded as an asset of the urban poor, Turner (1972) focuses on the meaning of housing. As noun, housing is described as a commodity but as a verb it is defined as a process or activity. Housing as a commodity focuses on the financial costs involved in building that particular house, time invested and the human effort that went into building it. Housing problems are defined by material standards and the housing values are judged by the quality of the materials used. Turner (1972) however argues that while this may be the case, the most important aspects of housing cannot be measured in these ways.

Turner (1972) argues that housing can be viewed as an activity that acts as a vehicle for personal fulfilment the same way that meeting our basic needs makes us feel. Housing should be treated a verbal entity and as a means to human ends, as an activity rather than as a product. In conclusion, Turner (1972) argues that housing is seen differently by different people and that most observers see it only as a commodity rather than as an activity.

3.7. Housing Priorities

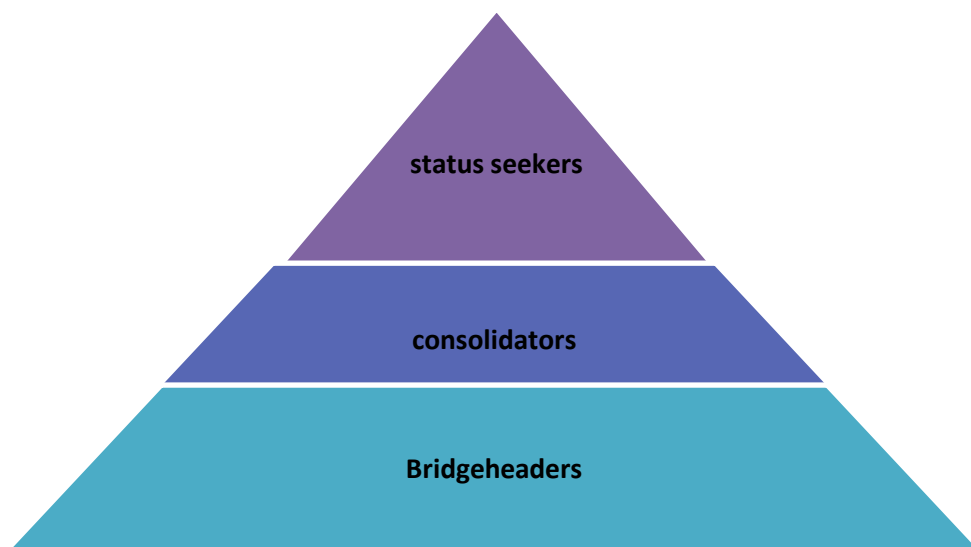
Turner (1972) argues that low – income urban migrants have varying priorities when seeking accommodation in the city. They consider three things when looking for accommodation in the city. He argues that location is central to rural migrants followed by security of tenure and the quality of housing and the environment comes later in terms of their housing priorities and a shift in economic position is reflected by a change in these priorities and their expectations about living and housing. As people move to a higher position in the social hierarchy they move from the inner city.

According to Turner the low income citizens can be classified into three categories:

- ✓ **Bridge headers** are young, unskilled and single migrants whose main aim is to find a regular source of income and location is the central to them. They live in downgraded parts of the inner city. The city centre is the main sources of employment for bridge headers. The city centre acts as a port of entry for bridge headers. They rent a room and attach great importance to low rents, and they minimise transport costs by travelling to work on foot. Turner assumes that bridge headers who migrate from rural areas will seek their way into the city on their own. In sub – Sahara Africa, migration from rural to urban areas is not spontaneous and aimless, migrants generally have well-defined plans, contacts and destinations. They find accommodation with family relatives, with migrants who have more urban experience and well integrated in the urban economy providing free accommodation, and use their contacts and relations to find more stable accommodation and jobs for their bridge headers relatives. Migrants from the same regional background often tend to cluster spatially.

- ✓ **Consolidators** are migrants that have found a regular low – paying job. Security of tenure is central to them. The low income job is not sufficient to rent or buy a house in middle class neighbourhoods.
- ✓ **Status seeker**, in terms of their income, are in the lower middle class, they build their own houses and attach great value to the quality of their houses and the amenities of their neighbourhoods.

Figure 3.1: Turner's housing priority triangle



(Source: Turner, 1972)

Van Lindert (1979) and Kahimbaara (1978) however argue that intra - urban mobility is more complex than the simple bridgeheader -consolidator and inner city dichotomies. One of the assumptions of this theory is that location near major concentrations of employment is the most important priority for bridgeheaders. Van Lindert (1979) and Kahimbaara (1978) argue

that this argument does not hold any longer especially in large cities where industries are located on the periphery along major transport routes and industrial jobs are not as relevant as in the past.

3.8. Migratory Patterns

Rural migrants consider the city as the ultimate destination for jobs whereas some African migrants view the cities and towns as a temporary place of residence and still maintain strong links with their place of origin (Turner, 1972; Gugler and Flanagan, 1978 and Moock, 1979).

Chant (1992 cited in Beal and Kanji, 1999) argue that migration patterns of men and women differ according to their economic well-being, gender divisions of labour, the social and cultural construction of gender. Migration patterns are very important to understand because they have impact on household composition and how these households form. In South Africa there appears to be a network of migrants in both rural and cross – border migration.

3.9. Conclusion

In conclusion, understanding how these above mentioned concepts affect how people access accommodation and are accommodated is very important. Understanding the sizes of the households and the composition of households helps in trying to determine why people who live in rental accommodation choose the types of accommodation in the study area that they live in. Focusing on livelihoods rather than only on income, enables us to get a better

understanding of how people live, how they make a living and how these choices affect the accommodation they live in.

Accommodation is more than just having a roof over one's head. It involves a number of issues. The socio-economic conditions of people determine where they live and who they live with and the kinds of relationships that they form. Poverty also plays a role in the type of accommodation that people can afford to live in. This chapter has highlighted that household sizes and household compositions play an important role for people especially those that are poor as they act as a buffer for when economic situations of people change over time. When individuals cannot afford to rent accommodation, they depend on the household to make up the shortfall.

Not all people that do not have a formal job are poor. Focusing on livelihoods sheds light onto how people live as opposed to fitting them into a category of people that are unemployed. People make a living in different ways in the city and that needs to be acknowledged. Some livelihood strategies that are employed by people can be sustainable over a very long period of time.

Different people have different housing priorities. Not all people want homeownership. Some prefer to rent their accommodation. In terms of migration, people migrate all the time not always in search of work but sometimes in search of accommodation. Not all migration is rural-urban, sometimes people move in the same geographical area over time and some of the movement is influenced by the relationships that are formed.

The following chapter will look at the case study area in detail and the role that the study area plays in the study and the inner city of Johannesburg as a whole. The analysis will also include a brief history of the area and the changes that it under went through the years.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction the Case Study Area

4.1. Introduction

This chapter introduces the case study area and highlights the role that the Joubert Park neighbourhood plays in the study. This chapter also focuses on the role that the park plays within the neighbourhood. The study area provides a focus area for activities that take place in public space and these offer a place to source potential interviewees and a place to talk to people in. The first part of this chapter focuses on the Joubert Park neighbourhood and its significance to the study. The second part of this chapter focuses on the park in the Joubert Park neighbourhood (also named Joubert Park) where interviews were conducted, and the role that the park plays in the study.

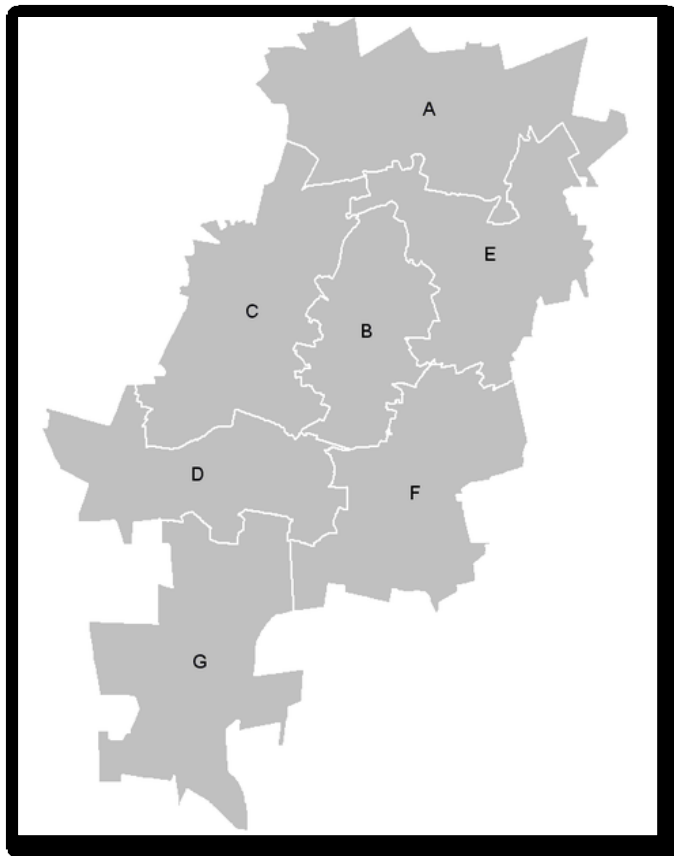
The chapter focuses on the prevailing situation in Joubert Park, with the main emphasis on the profile of the area and people that use the neighbourhood. This also includes a discussion of the role that the park plays in the neighbourhood with regard to generating income.

4.2. The Joubert Park neighbourhood

Joubert Park is the focus area of the study because it is an example of a dense inner city residential area. The choice of the public park is based on the assumption that many of people use it for different activities and thus make it a good place to find potential participants that use the area and live in the same area. The park within Joubert Park provides a focus area for different activities that take place in public space. The area also offers the researcher with a space that that potential interviewees can be found and a comfortable and safe environment to find people to talk to.

Joubert Park is a neighbourhood located in Region F in the Central Business District (CBD) of the city of Johannesburg. It shares its name with the largest park in the Central Business District. Region F is bound by Killarney Ridge in the north – Regions E and B, the Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality to the east, Klip River to the south, and to the west by Regions D and G. The region includes Southgate, Fordsburg and Mayfair (CoJ, 2011).

Figure 4.1: Map of Regions of the City of Johannesburg



Regions of the City of Johannesburg

(Source: CoJ, 2011)

Figure 4.1 shows the regions in the City of Johannesburg. Region F combines Johannesburg's inner city and its lower density, predominantly residential areas to the east of the City Centre. The higher density suburbs of Berea and Hillbrow are to the northeast, and the areas of Newtown, Fordsburg, Pageview and Vrededorp are to the west (CoJ, 2011). The southern boundary of Region F comprises the south-eastern corner of the metro and is commonly known as Johannesburg South.

Figure 4.2: Joubert Park and its surrounding areas



(Source: GCRO, 2012)

Figure 4.2 shows Joubert Park and its surroundings. Joubert Park as a neighbourhood is situated within busy public transport routes. There is a train station within the neighbourhood. The train station ferries passengers from townships as far as Tembisa and Soweto into the area. There are also bus stops for both Metrobus and Rea Vaya (BRT) situated within the area (see appendix D). There are also several mini-bus taxi ranks in the neighbourhood. In addition to the area acting as a transport hub, there are also some shopping centres in the area and some landmarks like the Johannesburg Art Gallery which is next to the park. Figure 4.3 shows the aerial view of the park and some of the neighbouring buildings.

4.2.1. Brief history of Joubert Park

The history of the neighbourhood helps us to track how the area has evolved over the years and how this has influenced the current land uses in the area. The neighbourhood was established in 1892 (Kurgan and Ractliffe, 2005). In the late 1970s Johannesburg experienced the flight of capital from the city centre due to decentralisation. The flight of capital was followed by the flight of white middle class who lived mostly in the inner city to the suburbs on the periphery of the city. Black people, Indians and Coloureds started moving into the city in search of accommodation. This is argued to have led to the physical decline of the neighbourhood due to the exploitative rentals offered by landlords. The exploitative rentals led to sub – letting, which led to overcrowding and this put a strain on services and infrastructure setting off a severe spiral of both physical and social decline (Morris, 2007).

4.2.2. Land uses in the Joubert Park neighbourhood

Region F as a whole comprises of high density, high-rise buildings and low density residential areas (CASE, 2004). Different kinds of accommodation are found in the inner city. High density residential areas in the region are mostly in Hillbrow and Berea, City Deep, Newtown, Fordsburg, Pageview, Vrededorp and Joubert Park. Lower density residential areas in the region include the suburbs to the east of the city centre of Yeoville, Bertrams, Troyeville and Jeppestown. These residential areas are similar in terms of their socio-economic characteristics. The Joubert Park neighbourhood as the area of the study has an estimated population of about 30 000 people and is currently in a state of decay, with apartment blocks being the main sources of accommodation for many poor household in the

area (CASE, 2004). Most of the residential areas in Joubert Park are in an advanced state of decay and overcrowding (ibid). While the dominant land uses in Joubert Park around the 1980s were residential in nature there are now a wide range of land uses in the Joubert Park neighbourhood area. The neighbourhood is used as a residential area but there are also some retail land uses. The retail sector businesses are mostly owned and operated by Somali and Nigerian migrants. Somali migrants mainly trade in textiles and the Nigerian traders trade in electronics. These small shops are on the ground floor of the residential flats.

4.3. The Park in Joubert Park.

The park which shares a name with the area is used a space for leisure and entertainment for the city's working class people. The park and its immediate surroundings are used for a wide range of activities that were not intended when the park was established. There are economic activities that are evident in and around the park. This follows a trend in the inner city where there are economic activities taking place in almost every street corner (Silverman & Myeza, 2005).

The immediate surroundings of the park are relatively well managed and clean as compared to the other areas in the neighbourhood. King George Street is busy with economic activities ranging from street hawking vending on the pavement. Street vendors sell a variety of goods on the pavements with some having stalls erected by the city and the other with their informally made structures. Some of the structures are made up of corrugated iron while others are made of cardboard and plastics.

Figure 4.3: Image of streets in Joubert Park



(Source: GCRO, 2012)

The park is situated in between King George, Wolmarans, Noord and Edith Cavell Street. King George and Wolmarans street streets are always abuzz with activity as people walk around the park. Mini bus taxis are using the two streets as a drop off zone because there are informal taxi ranks that operate in the area. Edith Cavell Street is also used by a lot of commuters from Soweto and other parts of the city. Three Rea Vaya bus stations are situated on the street.

There are benches that are situated at various places in the park. The park appeared to be in a good condition. As a whole the park was is in an immaculate condition during the interviews

considering that there were many people that used the park on a daily basis. The grass was well looked after. There are flower beds towards the southern part of the park. The park also has sanitary facilities that are well maintained.

The park was used as a fan park during the 2010 FIFA World Cup and went through a makeup immediately after the World Cup with the introduction of a children's playground. The children's playground is situated at the south - western part of the park near Wolmarans street and King George Street.



Figure 4.4: Children's playground in the south – western of the park

Source (Matjomane Karabo, 2011)



Figure 4.5: Playground recently constructed inside Joubert Park

Source (Matjomane Karabo, 2011)

Rosengarten (2005) cited in Kurgan & Ractliffe, (2005) noted that there were photographers that were using the park for income generating activities. The park was full of photographers, each displaying their unique style and specialisation on boards, with their work on the boards

being produced over many years (ibid). The photographers still use the park's scenic attractions to attract passers - by. Most of them are migrants and they occupy the same place in the park where they enjoy their trade. Most of the photographers are clustered inside the park near the park entrances and take photographs of ordinary people who live and pass through the park.



Figure 4.6: Photographer on the entrance of Joubert Park

Source (Matjomane Karabo, 2011)



Figure 4.7: Photographer displaying his craft in the park

Source (Matjomane Karabo, 2011)

Figure 4.6 and figure 4.7 show photographers near the entrance of the park during the week. The photographers display their work on boards. Their equipment is more advanced as they are able to produce photographs on request.

Those in the informal sector are usually involved in street vending. Street vending is another dominant activity around the park albeit only outside the park. Some vendors have stands built for them by the City of Johannesburg where they can display their goods. Most of the vendors sell snacks, cigarettes, airtime and some operate public phones. There are those that sell clothes and accessories on the street (please see figure 4.8). These include jeans, hats and jewellery. Other street vendors cook food on the street for people who use and pass by the park. The food that they cook range from traditional food such as ‘phuthu’³ to more conventional food such as rice and chicken (please see figure 4.8).

Figure 4. 8: Images of different street vendors on King George Street outside the Park



³A traditional South African dish made by mixing maize and water. It is eaten when it is crumbly



Source (Matjomane Karabo, 2011)

Hair dressing is also a major activity in Joubert Park. This activity takes place outside the park. The hair dressers stand on the street with their boards that show their work on different hair styles that they can do (please see figure 4.9). Hair salons for women are on the surrounding buildings and men hair dressers are on the edge of the park. When one enters a hair salon in a building, the rooms are separated further into different cubicles with the use of card boards, plastics or cloths. In some instances one may find as many as six salons owned by different people in one big room.

Figure 4.9: Images of hair dressers on King George Street outside Joubert Park



Source: Matjomane Karabo (2011)

The surrounding buildings are not only used for one purpose but are used for both residential and retail. The whole character of Joubert Park has changed from being just a residential to a mixed use area and shows how integrated activities have become in the area.

The fact that Joubert Park and the park itself is used for different uses by different people validates the choice of the case study area because by interviewing people who use the park, we will not only get an understanding of where they live but also how they live. We will get a picture of where people live, what informs their decision when choosing accommodation, the relationships that they form because of where they live. We will also get an understanding of how the people who use these public spaces make a living.

4.4. Conclusion

The case study area has a wide range of land uses and its central location makes it ideal to study rental accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg. The land uses in the Joubert Park neighbourhood have changed over time from just being residential to being business both formal and informal. From a time when the area was only for a certain group of people to it being a transport hub and a major business hub in the inner city. Today there are shops on the ground floor of most buildings and there are businesses on the streets and even in the park.

The activities that people are engaged in at the park and on almost every street makes it possible for the researcher to get a sense of how some people generate income in the inner city. Street vendors are almost on each street in the area and sell different things. Most of the interviewed vendors live in and around Joubert Park and use the neighbourhood for business and pleasure. Photographers also use the park and the area for both pleasure and business. These activities give us an inside into how people live in the inner city, how they survive and how they use the city.

The study area also makes it possible to get an insight into how people that are living in the city make a living and what factors affect their decisions when choosing a place to live in. The composition of the people in the study area also reveals some very interesting patterns that give us an insight into the people that are in Joubert Park and its surroundings. Migration patterns, household composition and size, income generating activities, poverty levels and

other factors determine where people live in the inner city of Johannesburg. The next chapter will present findings from the study and analyse information on participants in the inner city of Johannesburg.

CHAPTER FIVE

Accommodation dynamics of people living in rental accommodation

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses information gathered from interviewed participants in Joubert Park in the inner city of Johannesburg. The insights about the nature of accommodation they occupy in the inner city will be the main focus.

Thirteen interviews were conducted in total. All thirteen interviews involved people who were in Joubert Park on the day of the interviews. The presentation of results obtained from the interviews will follow the research questions listed in chapter one.

5.2. The profile of people in Joubert Park

The study aims not only to give a description of how people in the inner City of Johannesburg are accommodated in rental accommodation, but to also understand the circumstances that they find themselves in. I start by asking the question of what is the profile of people that more interviewed in the Joubert Park neighbourhood. Biographies are used to illustrate similarities and differences between interviewed participants that live and work in the same neighbourhood. This shows that participants in the same neighbourhood are far from being homogenous. The biographies that were selected from the full batch of interviews give us an idea of where the participants come from, their life experiences, circumstances and

how they view the city. They also give us an insight into how they are accommodated in rental accommodation in the inner city.

I start the analysis with Elios (see box 5.1: Elios the hustler) who is an unemployed migrant from Limpopo province who came to the city of Johannesburg in search of work. He currently lives in Joubert Park with three other people. He is unemployed but can still manage to pay a monthly rent of R800. He maintains that he only lives in the neighbourhood simply because the rentals in the area are still cheap. He also shares how he came to the city and how he feels about the current accommodation that he is in.

Box 5.1: Elios the hustler

Elios is an unemployed rural migrant from Limpopo who came to Johannesburg in search of work. He is currently still looking for work. He shares an apartment flat near Joubert with three other people and has been doing so for the past seven years. He shares a room with his friend and two others. He pays a monthly rent of R800 and claims to generate income by ‘hustling’ in Park Station which is situated near Joubert Park. He did not want to be drawn into what he meant by ‘hustling’.

When he first arrived in the city, he stayed with his friends in Hillbrow for about seven months. They let him stay there for free. He left because he did not feel right living there for free and because he wanted his own place where he can have privacy. But in his current accommodation, he is required to pay before the seventh of each month or risk being evicted by the people he is sharing the flat with. He does not know how he feels about the accommodation. He said that “I cannot say I feel good or bad about the building as long as I am alive”.

He said he also does not know what the advantages are if any of living in that accommodation. He did however mention that the accommodation is better than being on the street or in the township because he can hustle in the city. He does not know what the future holds for him with regard to his accommodation.

Second to be discussed is Fanyana, a cab driver from Zimbabwe who first arrived in Johannesburg soon after the first democratic elections in 1994 in search of a better life (please see box 5.2: The life of a cab driver in Johannesburg). He has only recently started operating his metered taxi in the city, but has been involved in other ways of making a living. He lives with his immediate and extended families that followed him from Zimbabwe over time. He rents a room in an apartment building near the park and pays R800 a month for that room.

Box 5.2: The life of a cab driver in Johannesburg

The ‘cab driver’ Fanyana arrived in Johannesburg in 1994 from Zimbabwe in search of a better life. He only started operating his metered taxi in and around Park Station three years ago. He mostly operates his taxi on King George Street which passes near the park. He works every day from Monday to Sunday and uses his taxi to transport passengers across the city. He works strange hours because sometimes he receives calls from clients who want to be transported at night. In the evening after work, he parks his taxi in the building’s parking lot.

The 'cab driver' lives in an apartment on Koch Street with his wife and two children. They only use the bedroom in the flat. The apartment has two bedrooms, a kitchen and a bathroom. He shares the flat with his mother - in - law and her three daughters. They use the other rooms in the flat. He pays a monthly rent of R800 and gives the money to his mother - in - law who pays the landlord because she is the leaseholder. His mother - in - law has been in the flat for the past twenty two years. The cab driver parks his taxi in the building's parking lot for free as there are not a lot of cars that park there.

He likes the current accommodation because it is cheap for him to rent. It is also close to shops, schools, health facilities and his wife's work place. The security is also good and he likes the fact that he has his family close by if ever he needs them. He however plans to go back to Zimbabwe in the near future where he hopes to retire.

Box 5.3: Gabi the photographer

Gabi is a photographer from Zimbabwe operating in the park. He has been involved in this activity for the past seventeen years. He arrived in South Africa shortly after its first democratic election. He arrives in the park every day from Monday to Saturday at 7am and sets up along the route towards the entrance of the park on King George Street. He carries his equipment by foot every day from his home to the park. His equipment includes a digital camera, an instant photo printer and a car battery. He works in the park the whole day and leaves the park at around 8pm depending on the season.

He rents an apartment near the park that he shares with his wife and three children. According to him the flat is only good for poor people like him because it is too small for his family.

He has lived in the current accommodation since the year 2000 and started by paying a monthly rent of R900. Now he is paying a monthly rent of R2 200 excluding electricity. Water is included in the rent. He said that if a tenant misses a payment, the landlord cuts off the electricity supply to the individual flat. He loves the area because it is close to shops, schools and other public amenities such as clinics and parks. Visitors in the building are allowed during visiting hours and overnight visitors have to be reported to the building manager. Overnight visitors are allowed only if the tenants write a letter to the building manager and if a tenant fails to do that they will be fined R100.

He however complains about refuse which is left to pile up outside the building. He recorded instances where he has seen children playing in the rubbish. He feels that he is wasting his time with the accommodation because he will be old without having anything and that he only lives there because there is nowhere else to go in the inner city. He said he is still looking for an affordable accommodation in the city and once he finds it he will leave the current one. He also mentioned that he does not like moving from building to building. This is because he has moved around Gauteng a lot when he first arrived in South Africa.

Gabi, like Fanyana, is a Zimbabwean migrant who came to the city of Johannesburg in search of work in 1994. Unlike Fanyana, he started working in the park as a photographer and never looked back (please see box 5.3: Gabi the photographer). He lives with his wife and children

in an apartment near the park because wants to be close to where he works. He pays a monthly rent of R2 200.

Abel is a student at Brooklyn City College which is in Braamfontein (please see box 5.4: The student). Abel, unlike the other participants, only arrived in the city five months ago to further his studies because as he was not accepted into the South African Defence Force. He lives in an apartment in Joubert Park with a family he recently met. The family rented out a room in their apartment for R1500 a month. Abel chose Joubert Park because of its proximity to Braamfontein and because of the cheap rentals in the area. He also chose the Joubert Park neighbourhood because he felt that it was safer than the other neighbourhoods in the inner city. He normally walks from campus late at night to his accommodation.

Box 5.4: The student

Abel is a full time student in the inner city of Johannesburg. He arrived in the city five months ago. He is a student at Brooklyn City College in Braamfontein. He walks from Joubert Park to Braamfontein every day. He normally walks around from campus at night to Joubert Park and feels it is safe because the accommodation is situated next to a police station. Abel wanted to be a soldier when he completed his matric but was forced to study something else while still waiting for a response from the South African Defence Force.

Abel lives in an apartment in Joubert Park. The apartment has two bedrooms, a kitchen and a sitting room. He only rents a bedroom. There are in total four people in the flat. The leaseholder stays with her husband and her fifteen - year old daughter. He pays a monthly rent of R1 500. He did not know the person that he is sharing the flat with. His older brother found his accommodation in the city before he came to the city. He moved from that accommodation to the current one because he felt that the accommodation was too expensive. He moved without his parents knowing and as a result his parents still send him a monthly rent of R2500. Abel said he does not like living there because he has to share everything with the leaseholder's family. He hates it when he has to share a toilet with everyone.

He claims that he does not like the accommodation because it has a lot of rules especially on parties. Parties are not allowed without consent from the landlord. He does not have any privacy because of the other people in the flat. He also claims that he does not have enough time to study because the other members of the household tend to watch television when he wants to study. He normally provides accommodation for his friends but has to notify the landlord in writing beforehand. He feels that the accommodation is too expensive but likes the fact that the security in the building is very 'tight' and the building in general is very clean.

Sibongile (please see box 5.5: Sibongile's story) is a street vendor operating in Joubert Park. She came to the city three years ago after experiencing political violence in her home province of Kwa - Zulu Natal. She left everything and everyone behind including her children. Sibongile currently sleeps in a passage outside the door of her friend's apartment in Joubert Park. Sibongile and her friend do not pay rent because the building was abandoned by its owners in the early 1990's. Calvin is also a street vendor in Joubert Park but with different circumstances to Sibongile's (please see box 5.6: Calvin's story). Unlike Sibongile, Calvin lives with his brother in the Joubert Park neighbourhood. His brother is a leaseholder. Calvin shares a room in the flat with three other people and shares the flat with two other people. All six members contribute towards paying rent.

Box 5.5: Sibongile's story

Sibongile has been living in the inner city for the past three years. She came to the city because she wanted to escape the hardships that she faced in her rural home in Kwa- Zulu Natal. Her house and businesses were burned down during the political unrest in the province because she was an IFP member in an ANC stronghold. She decided to leave everything behind even her children. When she first arrived into the city, she did not know anyone and did not know where to go.

For the first couple of days she spent the night on the street. A security guard working in the area saw her and offered her a place to sleep where he worked. It was a car parking lot and it was very cold at night but it was better than being outside in the street. As time passed she met someone that she knew from her village and she invited her to come live with her. She had a room in one of the buildings in Joubert Park but because the flat was so overcrowded Sibongile ended up sleeping outside her flat at the door in the passage but it was still better than sleeping outside in the cold. At least here she can store her clothes and have a decent home cooked meal. She does not pay rent, the only contribution she makes is towards food.

She wakes up every day when the person next to whose door she sleeps next to her door wakes up, she leaves with her because she does not have any keys to the flat. She arrives in Wanderers street at 4:30 am and waits for the first people to start passing before she sets up her stall made up of a table and some few chairs. She sells *magwinya* in the morning and as the day goes by she sells *pap*. She works from 4:30 in the morning and packs her goods at around six in the evening. She stores her goods at some old rundown shop for free but complains that her goods are being stolen frequently but maintains that there is nothing that she can do because she does not own a place where she can store them. She waits in the park until 7 in the evening to go home because she does not have the key to the flat and therefore has to wait for her friend to come back from work.

The people living in the building do so for free because the building was abandoned by the owner in the 1980s when there was unrest in the country. Residents run their own businesses in the building. She claims that other tenants told her that the owner went overseas and never came back. They mostly sell alcohol and other drugs. She complained about people walking over her when they are drunk and go to the bathroom. She has to wake up every time she hears people walking in the passage. She does not like living there but she is grateful for good health because even while living in these hard conditions, she has never been ill.

Box 5.6: Calvin's Story

Calvin is a street vendor and has no other work that he does besides being a vendor at the moment. He sells airtime, sweets and cigarettes and has been doing that for about three years. He sometimes does piece jobs like gardening. He came to Johannesburg in 2007 and started selling his goods in the park. He lives around the corner from Joubert Park and starts working from 5:00 am to 8: pm. He works from Monday to Sunday. He stores his goods where he lives and does not pay extra rent to store his goods. He said he lives in a building that is always dirty, has leaking pipes and overcrowded. He has lived in this accommodation for the past two years.

He says if he misses payment, the other tenants would kick him out and that is why he must always have money for rent on the first or second day of each month. He works most of the time but on some odd occasion he goes home on holidays and church on Sunday. He lives with his brother who is a leaseholder and gives him money to pay for rent. In addition to paying rent he also cooks for his brother. He pays R400 a month. Tenants are not allowed to run their own businesses on the premises. He does not like the condition of the building but feels that there is nothing that he can do. The rent is cheap and that is why he lives there and because it is close to where I work. It takes him 5 minutes to get to the park

He feels the building is always overcrowded and people are always drinking. He complained about fights that break out people are drunk. He shares a room with three other people and shares a bed with his friend. There are two beds in each room. There overall six people that share the flat and all of them contribute towards paying for rent. Upon arriving from Zimbabwe he stayed with his brother in Tembisa in a backyard room but they decided to leave the township because they wanted to sell their goods in the city.

A further seven of biographies are in appendix C of this report. They were not included in this chapter because they would affect the flow of the chapter and a selection of biographies has been used to illustrate diversity of circumstances. Those in the appendix are homogenous with the ones included in this chapter. The tables used in this chapter summarise some of the other responses that are also used throughout this chapter to investigate rental accommodation in Joubert Park from a user's perspective. Quotes from these participants are also included later in the chapter to emphasise certain points.

The biographies used in this chapter are used to show the diversity of people that were interviewed in the study area. They are also used to show that people who are found in the same study area can live under different circumstances and that this could influence their accommodation choices. This does not imply that they contain better or even more valuable information than the other biographies that are included in the appendices.

The respondents in this study might live and work in the same environment but they lead very different lives. There are however also similarities that they share. Some of these similarities are summarised in Table 5. 1: Respondents' Income generating activity. The table shows the respondent's income generating activities. The table attempts to unpack these different activities that the participants are involved in. The analysis includes the type of work that the participants are involved in, the geographical location of their work, the number of days that they are involved in this activities and the mode of transport they use to arrive at this destinations.

The participants in the study have different types of work that they are engaged in. Most of the participants are involved in the informal sector with about half of them being street vendors, one being a photographer, and in addition some of them were unemployed. The participants that are formally employed that took part in the study such as Daniel and Fanyana have entry level jobs. This is in line with findings by Turner (1972) who argues that most of the tenants in the inner city have entry level jobs. Table 5.1 shows the types of work that the participants are currently involved in with most of them using the park as a source of generating income.

Table 5. 1: Respondents Income generating activity

Interviewee	Type of work	Location of work	Days of the work	Mode of Transport
Abel	Student	-	Weekdays	Walk
Bonisani	student	-	Weekdays	Walk
Calvin	Street vendor + piece jobs	Joubert Park and Downtown	Mondays – Saturday	walk
Daniel	Street vendor + security guard	Joubert park	Monday – Sunday	Walk
Elios	Unemployed	-	-	Walk

Fanyana	Metered taxi driver	Park station and King George street	Monday – Sunday	Walk
Gabi	Photographer	Joubert Park (inside the park)	Monday – Saturday	Walk
Hadebe	Street vendor	Joubert Park (outside the park)	Monday – Sunday	Walk
Ishmael	Street vendor	Joubert Park (outside the park)	Weekdays	Taxi
Josephine	Street vendor	Joubert Park (outside the park)	Weekdays	Walk
Kabelo	Street vendor	Joubert Park (outside the park)	Weekdays	walk
Sibongile	Street vendor	Joubert Park (Outside the park)	Monday – Sunday	Walk
Mary	Unemployed (piece jobs)	-	-	Walk

Street vendors sell different goods on the streets. These goods range from food to clothes. Photographers also utilise the park as a place to generate income. The majority of the participants have been involved in these activities for a long period of time. Gabi who is a

photographer has been taking photographs in the park for over seventeen years. Street vendors interviewed have had a shorter time trading in the area as compared to photographers with the longest time a vendor has been selling in the area being three years. This shows that even though their work is informal in nature, it has been sustainable over the years. Participants work long hours a day with most of them working for the whole week without rest. Table 5. 1 shows the days that each participant works.

Respondents spend most of their time working and less time in their respective accommodation. From the interviews, the researcher picked up that the respondents see their accommodation as a place where they sleep only because they spend less time in their accommodation and most of them referred to it as a place where they sleep. This shows that perhaps sharing rooms in flats and sleeping in corridors might be a strategy that works for the respondents even though it appears to be problematic because they spend less time in their respective accommodation.

The respondents choose to live next to the park because they want to save money on transport costs. Table 5. 1 shows the mode of transport that the participants use from their homes to their place of work. All the participants walk from their homes to the park and state this as another reason why they chose to live so close to the park. This shows that the location of accommodation for low income earners is important for its proximity to their work. They choose to live close to where they work because they want to minimize travelling costs and time involved in travelling from their place of work to their homes.

Turner (1972) argues that location is central to the low income earners followed by security of tenure, the quality of housing and the environment coming later in terms of their housing priorities and that a shift in economic position is reflected by a change in these priorities and their expectations about living and housing.

Most of the respondents argued that the main reason they live in Joubert Park is because it is close to where they work and they save on transportation costs by walking to work rather than using public transport. “Joubert Park is close to shops, schools, health facilities and my wife’s work place” said Fanyana. These sentiments are echoed by the student Abel, who feels safe walking between Joubert Park and Braamfontein, even at night, because of the police station nearby the accommodation.

5.3. The nature of the accommodation in the inner city

The focus now shifts to the nature of accommodation that the respondents live in. The physical conditions of the accommodations and the socio - economic conditions of the people living in this accommodation will also be looked at. Most of the thirteen participants interviewed live in apartment blocks in Joubert Park although under different circumstances. Most of the participants rent rooms within apartment. Some sleep rough in abandoned buildings in the same area.

Respondents in the study generally stay in one place over a long period of time. The average time is about five years (please refer to table 5.3). One participant stayed in one apartment in Joubert Park for about twenty two years. Fanyana who lived in Joubert Park for more seventeen years claims that he is only living there because he has nowhere else to go and

because of the cheap rentals in the area. These sentiments are echoed by the other participants that have been in the area for as long as he has.

Monthly rental prices in the area are generally high. An apartment in the area can cost as much as R3 000 to R5 000 depending on the building. The residents of these accommodations share their apartments to make the rental more affordable. A bachelor flat in the area can have as many as six people sharing. An apartment flat meant for two adults can accommodate as many as eight adults sharing. Rental amounts are discussed in more detail below.

Most of the participants live with their immediate families, extended families and their friends. It is seldom that you will find people who are not related sharing a place. As individuals, a member pays rent of as little as R800 to R1 500 for a room in an apartment. Leaseholders generally pay less rent as compared to the new members of the household. Some new members perform other tasks in the household like cooking and cleaning in exchange for living there. Daniel pays R750 a month and in addition cooks and cleans for the leaseholder, please refer to table 5.3. The practice is not prevalent amongst the participants interviewed because most of them have full time jobs.

5.4. The terms and conditions of living there

Living conditions for people in the inner city vary considerably. There are some buildings that are well maintained with sound management structures while others were abandoned by their owners. Almost all the participants interviewed are living in apartments. The different

buildings appear to have similar structures where rent is collected by the leaseholder. In most buildings participants complain about the issue of overcrowding.

Generally, participants are happy about the physical conditions of most of their buildings as they have more advantages than disadvantages concerning their respective accommodation. Table 5.2 contains more details on the participants' perceived advantages and disadvantages about their respective accommodation. In almost all the buildings that participants are in, there are basic services such as electricity, water and properly functioning sanitation facilities that the participants have access to.

Table 5. 2: Tenants perceived advantages and disadvantages of their accommodation

Interviewee	Perceived Advantages	Perceived disadvantages
Abel	▪ Safe ▪ Clean ▪ Well maintained	▪ Too many rules ▪ Noise
Bonisani	▪ Safe ▪ Cheap rent	▪ None
Calvin	▪ Close to place of work ▪ Safe environment ▪ Clean	▪ High rental

Daniel	▪ Close to work ▪ Cheap rentals	▪ Overcrowding ▪ Not safe ▪ Dirty environment ▪ Lack of maintenance (leaking taps) ▪ Fighting
Elios	▪ Having a roof over his head ▪ Better than townships ▪ Saving on transportation cost	▪ None
Fanyana	▪ Cheap rentals ▪ Near schools and shops ▪ Close to work ▪ Good security	▪ None
Gabi	▪ None	▪ None
Hadebe	▪ Close to work	▪ None
Ishmael	▪ None	▪ None
Josephine	▪ Safe ▪ Cheap rentals ▪ Close to relatives	▪ None
Kabelo	▪ Safe ▪ Well maintained building	▪ None

Sibongile	▪ Having a roof over her head	▪ Overcrowding ▪ Not safe ▪ Fighting ▪ Noise ▪ No privacy
Mary	▪ None	▪ High rental ▪ Far from inner city

Most of the buildings that the respondents live in have set rules regarding how tenants should behave on their premises. Rules on overnight visitors, public drinking and pets came up in the study. Overnight visitors, public drinking and having pets are not allowed in most of the buildings. The running of businesses is forbidden in most buildings but there are some that allow tenants to run their businesses in their flats. These businesses include selling alcohol, cold drinks and cell phone airtime.

Kabelo who is a street vendor living in one of the buildings in Joubert Park said that in his building, tenants are allowed to run their businesses and mostly the ones he knows sell alcohol. He complained about tenants that fight after drinking. He said “you don’t drink but you can just be shot from nowhere because most of the people that are involved in these fights are criminals”.

Abel said he does not like his accommodation because it has a lot of rules especially on parties. Parties are not allowed without consent from the landlord.

Residents pay their monthly rent differently, with most of the participants saying that rent is due from the first day to the seventh day of each month. There are different outcomes if they do not pay rent on time. Most participants complained of being kicked out of their accommodation. Gabi was the only participant who said they do not kick them or lock them out of their accommodation. He did however mention that the landlord or the building management uses other methods to make sure that tenants pay their rent on time like switching off their water and electricity or locking them out.

He said “they switch off the electricity and water until you pay and you have to pay a fee for the electricity and water to be reconnected”. Mary who lives in Bertrams in a rented room said if people do not pay rent on time they are locked out by the landlord.

Participants complained about fear of being evicted from their accommodation when they miss a payment. Fanyana said that if you miss a payment in his building, the building manager or the people you are sharing a flat with will just lock you out and you will have to pay a fee to get your belongings back from the flat. These sentiments were shared by Elios who is a Zimbabwean migrant. All the participants mentioned that if you do not pay your rent on time, you are ‘kicked’ out. There appears to be an informal way of evicting people out of their accommodation. What is interesting is that the residents are not evicted by their building managers but are evicted by the people they are living with.

Occupants pay the rent collectively and if one of them cannot pay their share the other members have to make up the shortfall. The leaseholder collects the rent from the other occupants and is the one who is responsible for paying the rent every month. They are the only ones that interact with the building managers or the landlords when there are any issues regarding the rent and the maintenance of the apartment.

Elios who lives in one of the buildings in Joubert Park said that “I am required to pay before the seventh of each month or risk being evicted by the people I am sharing the flat with” Josephine who lives in Yeoville on the other hand said that “if you do not pay your rent on time, the people you are living with will throw your things outside”.

Table 5.3 shows rentals that each person is expected to pay in order to contribute to the rent for the whole apartment. Most participants share their accommodation with family and friends and as a result the amounts that they mention paying are for the whole apartment as opposed to being a share that they pay for living there. The rental amounts at first appear to be low but due to the large number of people that share the space, as a collective the amount that individuals pay for the apartment as a whole is relatively high.

Leaseholders are tasked with collecting rent from their tenants to pay the building manager or to the building landlord. Sub - letting is used as a strategy to deal with high rentals that are demanded by most landlords in the inner city. As the tenants` number of years increase in the same building, so does their status. They appear to progress automatically from being ordinary tenants to leaseholders.

Table 5. 3: Participants' Accommodation dynamics

Interviewee	Type of Accommodation	Length of stay	Number of people sharing a flat	Rent per person
Abel	Bachelor Flat	5 months	6	R1500
Bonisani	Apartment	8 months	5	R1000
Calvin	Apartment	2 years	6	R400
Daniel	Apartment	3 years		R750
Elios	Apartment	7 years	4	R800
Fanyana	Apartment	22 years	8	R800
Gabi	Bachelor flat	12 years	5	R2200 - excluding electricity which costs around R400

Hadebe	Apartment	15 years	1	R500
Ishmael	Apartment	5 years	2 in the room	R400
Josephine	Flat	2 years	4	R900
Kabelo	Flat	7 months	4	R 450
Sibongile	Passage	3 years	▪	▪
Mary	Room	6 years	6	R900

5.5. Housing pathways

The length of stay of the people interviewed varies with new people moving in while older residents continue renting. From the sample it appears that new arrivals move in with people that have been renting in apartments for a long time. It appears that as the number of years increase for the tenant, they move from being ordinary tenants to leaseholders that are tasked with providing accommodation to the new people arriving into the neighbourhood. They offer new people in the neighbourhood accommodation because of high rentals that force

them to sub -let their apartments in order to afford rent. Most of the tenants in my sample spend up to ten years in rental accommodation in order to become leaseholders in these apartments.

The number of people sharing a flat varies in the sample with most of the apartment having an average size of about four people sharing a single apartment flat. The participants argue that they live in large numbers in order to afford the high rentals that are demanded by building owners. In terms of rental accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg, my sample tenants suggest that they use high occupation rates to cope with high rentals.

Most of the people interviewed share their space with their immediate families as opposed to sharing their space with total strangers. Families share flats that were originally meant for only one or two people. Table 5.3 shows the number of people that share accommodation with the participants that were interviewed in the study. The interviews revealed that there is a network that exists in the rental market in the inner city for people seeking accommodation.

Table 5.4 shows some participants' housing pathways. The table shows that most of the participants have been in the city for a relatively long time and live in the same accommodation over a long period of time. When they move, they move from one apartment in the city to another in the same neighbourhood. It appears that there is no upward mobility in rental accommodation in Joubert Park and its immediate surroundings.

Table 5.4: Housing pathways

Interviewee	Type of accommodation	Type of Previous Accommodation	Reasons for leaving previous Accommodation	Housing Pathway
Abel	Bachelor (Joubert Park)	Bachelor (Pretoria)	Came to Johannesburg to further her studies	Limpopo – Pretoria – Johannesburg
Bonisani	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Room (Elispark)	Came to Johannesburg to study	KZN – Johannesburg (Elispark) – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Calvin	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Apartment (Hilbrow)		Zimbabwe – Johannesburg (Hilbrow) – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Daniel	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Apartment (Claim street)	Left the accommodation in Tembisa because he wanted to sell in the street and left previous accommodation because of high rentals	Tembisa – Johannesburg

Elios	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Apartment (Hilbrow) [stayed with his friends for free]	Left the accommodation in Hilbrow because he wanted to have his own place	Limpopo – Johannesburg (Hilbrow) – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Fanyana	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Apartment (Berea)	Did not indicate it	Zimbabwe - Johannesburg (Yeoville) – Ekurhuleni (Kempton park) – sandanham – Ekurhuleni (Kempton park) – Johannesburg (Emmarentia) – Johannesburg (Benmore) – Johannesburg (Berea) – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Gabi	Bachelor Flat (Joubert Park)	Backyard room (Khayalami – Midrand)	Left because his uncle's employers did not want him staying there as he was not employed by them	Zimbabwe – Johannesburg (Midrand – Khayalami with his uncle) – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Hadebe	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Apartment (Berea)	Left because he wanted to have his own place	KZN (Newcastle) – Johannesburg (Berea) – Johannesburg (Joubert

				Park)
Ishmael	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Apartment (Joubert Park)	▪	Zimbabwe – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Josephine	Apartment (Yeoville)	House (Tembisa)	They left because they wanted to live in the city	Zimbabwe – Johannesburg (Hilbrow) – Ekurhuleni (Tembisa) – Johannesburg (Yeoville)
Kabelo	Apartment (Joubert Park)	Apartment (Hilbrow)	She left because she wanted her own place	Zimbabwe – Johannesburg (Hilbrow) – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Sibongile	Sleeping rough (passage – Joubert Park)	Car Parking lot (Joubert Park)	Left because it is indoors and is better than the parking lot	KZN – Johannesburg (Joubert Park)
Mary	Room (Bertrams)	Apartment Flat (Pretoria)	Left because she was always late when she had piece jobs	Pretoria (Sunnyside) – Johannesburg (Bertrams)

Most of the respondents in this sample are migrants that came into the city in search of work.

Six out of thirteen respondents were Zimbabwean with a few South Africans that are from

rural areas of the country such as Kwa-Zulu Natal and Limpopo. There appears to be a network for the migrants moving from other countries and rural areas in the country. The respondents showed that when they first arrived into the city they stayed with friends and relatives until they were able to find their own accommodation.

5.6. Advantages of living in these accommodations

Occupiers of the accommodation in the inner city live there for different reasons. To get an understanding of why they choose to live in the inner city as compared to other areas in the city of Johannesburg, the researcher asked the participants in the study to list their perceived advantages and disadvantages of living in their respective accommodations (see table 5.2).

Participants in this study rated being close to where they work and other public amenities like schools and health facilities as one of the most important reasons why they chose to live in their respective accommodation. Cheap rentals in their accommodation are also frequently mentioned although participants still think they are relatively high for those kinds of accommodations. Equally there are other participants that feel that the rentals in their accommodation are too expensive and is not a true reflection of the conditions of the accommodations that they live in.

The safety of the area that the accommodation is in, is also another perceived benefit listed by the participants of these rental accommodations. Participants that were foreign nationals are the ones that regard the inner city to be safer than the townships. For some, just having a roof

over their heads is regarded as being a benefit. Some regard the maintenance of the buildings as a benefit as compared to other rental accommodation in the inner city. Some of the participants do not see any benefits of living in their accommodation. They articulate a feeling of not having a choice because they cannot afford other types of accommodation in the city.

Participants regarded overcrowding as one of the problems of living in their accommodation which results in them having less privacy. They also complain about the increased noise levels in overcrowded buildings and in the neighbourhood due to the commercial make-up of the area.

5.7. Conclusion

Joubert Park inhabitants that were interviewed in the study live in a wide range of circumstances. These circumstances range from living in well maintained buildings to sleeping rough. The participants lead different lives and generate income in different ways but most of them are self-employed. Occupiers are generally in their accommodation as they feel helpless with their future prospects regarding accommodation in the city of Johannesburg. The next chapter will analyse the findings from the study in relation to housing literature and make concluding remarks. The chapter will also focus on the relevance of the study and some of the main arguments that were made in this report. Recommendations made for the South African housing policy in relation to rental accommodation.

CHAPTER SIX

Findings and Conclusions

6.1. Introduction

This chapter is the conclusion of the report and is divided into three parts. The first part looks at the relevance of the study and arguments made in this report; the second part gives some recommendations in relation to some of the issues uncovered in the findings chapter, followed by the third part with lessons for urban planning. Recommendations are made for future consideration with regard to rental accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg.

6.2. Relevance of Research

The primary aim of the study was to examine the various problems around poor people's accommodation in the Johannesburg inner city. The study also focused on the concept of rental accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg and documented how rental accommodation has changed over the years to what it is now. Studies in the past have been undertaken focusing on different aspect of rental accommodation in South Africa and the city of Johannesburg. There are studies that focused on the nature of the rental accommodation (Poulsen, 2007; COHRE, 2005) while others looked at how poor people are accommodated in the city of Johannesburg (Charlton, 2010; CASE, 2005; Urban Landmark, 2010; Beall, 1993; DAG, 2004).

The current housing policy position of the government is mainly on home ownership and rarely focuses on the other forms of accommodation. As a result there is a housing backlog in the country and the city of Johannesburg in particular. This research focuses on rental accommodation that is available in the inner city and the people that are living there, and sheds light into how people in the inner city are accommodated.

6.3. Reflecting on findings

6.3.1. The profile of people found in Joubert Park

From the study, most of the interviewed respondents are involved in income generating activities which mostly are informal in nature sector. This is in line with a study by Chambers (1995) who found that most people in the inner cities were involved in the informal sector rather than the formal sector. This is not to say that all the people in the inner city are in the informal sector. My methodology might have missed people that are in the area but not involved in either the formal or informal sectors. This is not to say that from my study I can conclude that inner city inhabitants are mostly involved in the informal sector.

Turner (1976) argues that inner city inhabitants mostly fall under the low-income group have entry level jobs and very low education skills. The respondents in my study had varying levels of education and did not all have low levels of education as suggested by Turner (1972). Turner (1972) argues that low - income urban migrants have varying priorities when seeking accommodation in the city. The low - income migrants are young, unskilled and single, their main aim is to find a regular source of income and location is central for them.

Most of the respondents in my study were low-income urban migrants. Although they were not young, they were unskilled. Their main aim is to find regular formal work which is in line with Turner's theory of intra-mobility. For the respondents the city centre is the main source of income generation for them. This finding may have been because the methodology that was used only focused on the people that were in the park at the time of the researcher's visit.

Location is central to the respondents in the study. The respondents indicate that they live in the area because it is close to where they work or generate income. This is in line with Turner (1972) who argues that location is central to the bridge headers. However, this is not to say that all the respondents were bridge headers. The respondents argue that they save transportation costs as they walk to work. The respondents in this study also mentioned that it is not only transport costs that influenced their decision to live in their respective neighbourhoods, they also mentioned that they can also afford to work longer hours a day because they know that they live close to where they earn money.

According to Turner (1972), people in the inner city do not live there for a long period of time because the inner city acts only as a port of entry and that as the economic circumstances change, people's housing priorities change. The respondents in my study that live in the inner city of Johannesburg and the Joubert Park Area have lived in the same place for a long period of time and their housing circumstances appear to change while in the same area. Their housing circumstances change from being normal tenants to being leaseholders that supply accommodation to other newcomers into the area. According to Turner (1972), the inner city inhabitants are not concerned about the quality of their accommodation.

Respondents who are Joubert Park residents mostly do not complain about the state and quality of their accommodation although they are resigned to it. They feel that they do not have a choice when it comes to their accommodation and that is because they are poor.

6.3.2. The nature of the inner city accommodation

The nature of accommodation in which the respondents reside has not been fully understood. What is known is that the inner city of Johannesburg is characterised by high levels of poverty and that people live in old dilapidated and hijacked buildings that are run by slumlords and building hijackers (DAG, 2004). Not all buildings are in a bad condition in the inner city. The same applies to buildings in Joubert Park. The nature of the accommodation was investigated from a user's perspective. From the data some participants in the study appear to be satisfied with their accommodation but complain about high rentals, overcrowding and unfair evictions. A study by CASE (2005) showed that tenants in Joubert Park did not like the neighbourhood because they perceive it to have filth, crime, drug and alcohol abuse, high rents, frequently changing landlords and the fear of eviction. From my study the respondents shared some of these issues. But at the same time some also commented positively on the safety of the area.

In my sample of Joubert Park residents that were interviewed overcrowding was reported. This is because the respondents normally share their accommodation with friends and families in order to afford to pay rent. The respondents indicated that they value household relations that they have with their flatmates because they have many benefits. These benefits

include lower monthly rent and sharing resources like food and beds. Moser (1996) argues that household relations play an important role in a households' ability to 'adjust' to change in the external environment.

Sub-letting rooms is argued to result in overcrowding in the inner city of Johannesburg with leaseholders sub-letting to reduce their rentals (DAG, 2004). When some members of the household cannot afford to pay rent the other members cover for them until they are able to afford it. Households also help members to combine resources which in this case will be includes money for rent and sometimes even food and furniture like beds. Respondents in my study reported sharing apartments in order to make rental affordable and others even share beds.

In my sample, respondents indicated that evictions that take place in their respective accommodation are not between tenants and landlords but between leaseholders and their tenants. The respondents indicated that leaseholders collect money from the other tenants and pay their monthly rental on their behalf. This is because only the leaseholders interact with the owners. As a result tenant-tenant evictions were reported.

Much of the rental accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg is informal and often there will be no formal agreement like a signed lease between the tenants and the landlord (Urban Landmark, 2010). In Joubert Park, sampled respondents indicated that some of the leaseholders or the 'owners' have signed legally their binding leases but the other tenants that

they are living with do not have any agreement or interaction with the landlords or the building managers. Evictions between tenants take place in a form of lock out where other tenants in an apartment will lock out non-paying tenants or in some cases even throw their personal belongings outside.

This is in line with other research that shows that evictions that take place between landlord and tenants involve lock outs and cutting services such as water and electricity (Urban Landmark, 2010). These tactics are used by landlords to get non-paying tenants (leaseholders) out of the accommodation without going through the proper channels. Urban Landmark (2010: 5) reports that “the Chairperson of the Gauteng Rental Housing Tribunal, stated that cutting electricity and lockouts were a common occurrence and these forms of ‘constructive eviction’ worked most of the time to get non-paying tenants out of properties” (Urban Landmark, 2010; 5).

6.3.3. Terms and conditions of living in rental accommodation

There are different conditions to living in cheap rental accommodation in the inner city. There are rules that participants in this study listed such as paying rent on time, visitation rights and whether they can run a business. Participants in this study reported on a process that they normally follow when paying rent. Tenants had to pay leaseholders and leaseholders then make payments to the building managers. Services such as water and electricity are cut if tenants do not pay their rent on time.

6.3.4. Housing pathways

Turner (1972) argues that when people first come into the city, they find accommodation with family relatives. Migrants who have more urban experience and who are well integrated in the urban economy provide free accommodation and use their contacts and relations to find more stable accommodation and jobs for their bridgeheader relatives. Turner (1972) argues that this explains why migrants from the same regional background often tend to cluster spatially. From the sampled respondents it appears that most of them that are in the rental market live with their families, next of kin's and friends from the same place. They stay with their families and friends that are more experienced in the city and well integrated until they find stable work or income generating activity and are ready to find their own accommodation.

6.3.5. Advantages and disadvantages of living in rental accommodation in the inner city

The advantages of living in the inner city were from the perspective of the respondents and as a result do not represent a view that is held by all the people that live in the inner city. Most of the participants cited location of the accommodation as being important because it is close to where they work. They said they save money on transport and time because they are close to their work.

The affordable rentals in the area were also mentioned as a perceived benefit of living in rental accommodation in the Joubert Park neighbourhood. The affordable rentals are made possible by people sharing space with each other. The safety of the neighbourhood was regarded as a benefit for most respondents. They mentioned that they can work for longer hours because they live near where they work and because it is safe to walk at night.

Cleanliness was also a perceived benefit of staying in the Joubert Park neighbourhood. Respondents perceived their respective accommodation to be cleaner as compared to other buildings in the neighbourhood and in other parts of the inner city.

Disadvantages were also noted from the respondents' point of view and can also in no way be taken as being representative of the people in the inner city. Most respondents recorded that they do not see any disadvantages of living in their respective accommodation. They appear to be fine with their accommodation. Most of the respondents that said they did not find any disadvantages appeared to have made peace with the fact that they cannot afford other rental options that are available in the city. But for others high monthly rentals, safety considerations, noise and overcrowding were also reported as perceived disadvantages.

Overcrowding was mentioned as one of the disadvantages of living in cheap rental accommodation in the neighbourhood. What is important however is to note that people that live in rental accommodation have different needs and value different attributes of their accommodation.

6.4. Lessons for urban planning

Watson and McCarthy (1998) argue that the housing policy in South Africa has led to the severely limited supply of available and affordable rental housing for the urban poor. Little has changed since their statement in 1998. The main drive has been the delivery of houses for ownership at the expense of other forms of tenure and other forms of accommodation (Poulsen, 2007). The focus has been on providing RDP houses and these have materialised mostly on the urban periphery.

The city of Johannesburg's housing policy in addition to providing RDP housing also focuses on social rental housing as another option for the urban population. The Johannesburg housing policy in addition to operating social rental housing also makes provision to support the suppliers of rental housing by discounting payments owed to the City, but despite these initiatives, there are few accommodation options for the very poor (Charlton, 2010).

The efforts of the City mentioned above are however not enough as it does not address the housing backlog that exists in the city especially the inner city. The research findings seem to suggest that most of the people interviewed are satisfied with their accommodation but this is because they know that they cannot afford other types of rental accommodation that are available in the city and are made to be resigned with what they have. There is however a need to accommodate people in adequate housing that is suitable for human habitation and close to all public amenities. There is therefore a need to review the current housing policy that can address the needs of people who cannot afford to be in social rental housing but want

to be in the inner city and people that cannot afford to own a house or receive a subsidy from the government.

Social rental housing can be part of the answer to the housing backlog in the city of Johannesburg as it does not only cater for the housing needs of the nucleus family but also caters for the housing needs of single persons who would not normally afford to rent a place alone. Families that would also not be able to afford house ownership and not qualify for an RDP house are also accommodated. Social housing is however at the moment not an option for the very poor. Tenants in social housing are required to earn some sort of income from formal employment, as a result marginalising the very poor and those who make a living through informal means.

Respondents are amongst many people in the city that make a living through informal means and have been doing so for many years. Social rental housing should therefore not only focus on income but also on the livelihood strategies that people are involved in and how sustainable those activities are when choosing candidates for social housing. Chambers (1995) argues that the concept of livelihoods fits better as a way of assessing how poor people live, what their priorities are in terms of housing and what can be done to help them as compared to focusing only on their employment.

6.5. Conclusion

The city of Johannesburg and the country as a whole is in crisis because there is a shortage of adequate housing to accommodate its population. The main focus is still on the delivery of RDP houses which mainly focuses on homeownership. There has also been a shift towards social housing as an answer to the housing backlog in cities. Other forms of rental accommodation have for most parts been left unregulated and in the hands of the private sector.

It is estimated that about twenty percent of households in South Africa rent, which accounts for more than 2.3 to 2.5 million people (Zack, Bertoldi, Charlton, Kihato and Silverman, 2010). Rental housing offers a lot of people accommodation through both formal and informal means. Some of this accommodation is not adequate for human habitation but still gives people a roof over their head.

Many of the people in the inner city of Johannesburg live in bad buildings. These buildings do not adhere to the city's by laws and other national regulations (Zack *et al.*, 2010). This type of accommodation offers cheap housing solutions to the very poor in the city and gives them access to services and a place to stay while trying to improve their economic situations. Rental accommodation should also be looked at when trying to combat the housing backlog that exists in the inner city as it may offer solutions to urban planning problems. This might be rental accommodation offered by the private sector or by social rental housing institutions. Cheap rental accommodation must also be used as a means to ease the backlog that exists.

My sample of respondents in Joubert Park suggests that poor people in the inner city have devised ways to come by with their poverty and that they are not homogenous with every individual leading a different life and having different priorities when it comes to housing. It is worth noting however that the findings in this study are based on the perceptions of people interviewed about their own housing circumstances.

Therefore a blanket solution which mainly involves the delivery of houses for ownership might not work for everyone. There is a need to fully understand the circumstances that poor people live under in the inner city in order to plan for people that live in these different types of accommodation. This study sheds light on a small portion of the inner city on how a small sample of people is accommodated and how they live. The study also shows how rental accommodation caters for the sampled respondents in the inner city. The study also gives an insight into what are the constraints and opportunities for people that were interviewed during this study.

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APPENDIX A: Interview structure

Inner city rental accommodation in the city of Johannesburg

1. Livelihood strategies

1. What kind of work do you do?
2. How long have you been doing that work?
3. Do you have other income generating activities that you are involved in to supplement your income? If so what do you do?
4. What income generating activities were you involved in to sustain yourself when you first arrived to the city?
5. And now, how do you earn an income?
6. Where do you do this?
7. How do you get there?
8. When do you get there?
9. What days of week do you get there?
10. At what times of days?
11. How long have you been doing that or engaging in this work?

[Optional questions: For people operating stalls]

1. Where do you store your goods?
2. Are they stored where you live?
3. Do you pay extra for this?

4. How do you transport your goods?

2. Accommodation

1. Where are you going to sleep tonight?
2. What kind of accommodation do you live in?
3. Can you please describe it for me?
(space, type of building, on what floor, with what services - electricity, water, kitchen facilities etc)
4. How long have you lived in the place that you are staying in right now?
5. Do you pay rent? If so, how much do you pay?
6. Do you do anything else in exchange for living there (e.g. clean, cook ,security)
7. What happens if you don't pay or you default?
8. What are the payment terms (when has to be paid by, how much)
9. What places, buildings do you makes use of for shopping, health, education etc.
10. Do you have an alternative accommodation where you may spend weekends or end – of – months? Where is it, who lives there, why do you go there
11. Do you provide anyone with accommodation?
12. If so, when and how often do you do that?
13. Do they pay for staying there?
14. What is your relationship with that person?
15. Who is in charge,
16. How do they show this (e.g. they collect rent, or do evictions)

17. What terms, conditions, rules are there to living there – probe specifically (e.g. visitors, children, washing, pets, running a business etc.)
18. How do you feel about the living conditions in the place that you live in?
19. What are the advantages and disadvantages of living there?
20. What's good about it, what's bad about it? (e.g. safety, comfort, noise, access to services, location)
21. Ultimately, why do you live there, what other options could you have, what do you see for the future?

3. Household composition

1. Who do you share accommodation with?
2. Who do you consider your immediate family?
3. How is the relationship with the people you are living with?
4. Where are they now?
5. Where will they be tonight?
6. How many people do you share accommodation with?
7. How many people live in the house/flat/home?
8. How many people in the household earn a living and what do they do?

4. Migratory patterns

1. Where are you originally from?

[People born outside Johannesburg]

2. What or who informed your decision to move to the city?
3. Who did you stay with when you first arrived at the city?
4. And where? How long? In what sort of accommodation (eg backyard room etc) Why did you leave? Where did you go next?
5. Were you related to that person? If yes how are you related?
6. When did you arrive in your current accommodation?

[People born in Johannesburg]

7. Where in the city did you grow up?
8. Are you still living there?
9. If not, what informed your decision to move to your current location?
10. Did you stay with anyone when you moved?
11. Were you related to that person? If yes how are you related?

5. Social Housing programmes

1. Do you have an RDP house? Where is it?
2. If not why not?
3. Do you know about social housing? What do you know about it?
4. Have you lived in social housing, or any of the accommodation run by faith organisations or nongovernmental organisations or in a hostel?
5. If yes, how long have you lived there?

APPENDIX B

INFORMATION SHEET

I am Matjomane Karabo. I am currently doing my Masters in Development Planning in the School of Architecture and Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am conducting a Masters Research under the supervision of Sarah Charlton. I humbly request your voluntary participation in my research study which focuses on peoples' accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg. The study intends to find out how people are accommodated in the inner city of Johannesburg and how they live in different types of accommodation. Your participation in providing the necessary information will be highly appreciated and will assist in achieving this purpose.

The research will be conducted through interviews which will require about 60 minutes of your time. A tape recorder will be used for later transcription. Your participation in the study will be on a voluntary basis and you can withdraw from the study at any time. Your identity will be protected by using a fictitious name. You are not going to attain any direct benefit from the research but you will be contributing to the development of knowledge relating to better understanding of how poor people are accommodated in the inner city. The data collected will be used only for academic purposes.

Thanking you in advance for your assistance

APPENDIX C: BIOGRAPHIES

Mary the single mother

Mary lives in a flat in Bertrams. They pay R1800 a month with her roommate. They each have two children that they live with. Mary pays R900 and her roommate pays the difference. She pays an extra hundred rands for each child that lives under here roof. This is because the owners argue that when you live with children they push up service costs. She as a result pays R200 for her two children. If you have children, you pay an extra hundred for each child because they say service charges go up. We end up paying R200 for our two children. The place is very expensive for her and she and her friend are even thinking of leaving. They have been living there for the past six years.

If they do not pay rent on time *mastende* (Landlord) will kick them out. Visitors are only allowed to visit during weekend. They do not use pre-paid electricity and as a result they are charged more during winter for electricity that they say they do not even use. She said there is nothing good about that accommodation, she is just there because they are poor. They were in the park because their children love playing in Joubert Park. They walk all the way from Bertrams to the park.

She does not have an RDP house but registered for it and had attended all the “ANC meetings. She was told that she has to go to a social worker if she wanted one. She said the people that told her this were wasting our time because they (housing officials) already have their list. She also said that the housing officials make people pay R600 for an RDP house. She also paid this amount but has yet to receive a house. She also said foreigners pay about R5000 for houses that are meant for South Africans. “The ANC just want our votes but do not care about us all they care about is money.” She said.

Bonisani the student

Bonisani is a student who lives with his girlfriend in the Joubert Park neighbourhood. He lives with five other people in the flat. He shares a room with his girlfriend and the other people share the other rooms including the sitting room. All members of the household work. He has been in the accommodation for six months and pays R1000 for the room. He attends in Braamfontein.

If he cannot afford to pay the rent he must give notice to the leaseholder for them to cover the shortfall. He is originally from Kwa-Zulu Natal. He does not know the people that he lives with in the apartment flat. A woman is the one who is in charge of the flat and is the one responsible for paying the rent. Visiting hours in the building allow visitors to enter the building at 4 p.m to 10 pm during the week and from 1p.m to 10p.m on the weekend. Overnight visitors can only stay at the flat for a maximum of three days. They allow people to have pets in the building. Tenants are however not allowed to run their businesses.

Access to the building is through finger prints and there are security guards at the entrance twenty four hours a day. He is fine with the building because he can study at night but does not like the fact that he cannot have visitors. He lives in the building because the rent is very cheap. When he first arrived in the city he stayed in Ellis park with someone he met on the street and stayed there for six months and later moved to Joubert Park. He does not have an RDP house because he does not want one. He said he will buy his own house when he starts working.

Baba Hadebe

Baba Hadebe as he is known has been a street vendor for the past fourteen years. He does not have any other source of income. He arrives in the park every day at the park at 5am and leaves at 6:45 pm in the evening. He stores his goods on King George Street in a store room every day and pays R100 a month to store it there. He lives in a flat in the Joubert park neighbourhood. He has been in the neighbourhood for the past fifteen years. He pays R500 a month. If he cannot pay rent he will be thrown out of the flat. He uses Bree street shops to shop. He stays in Joubert Park all the time except when he goes home. He only goes home when there is a death of a close relative and family member.

There is a lot of noise in the area especially at month end with a lot of drunk people. He lives in the area because it is close to where he works and spends nothing on transport. He will continue living in the accommodation as long as the rent does not increase too much. He stays alone in a small room. He is from Newcastle from Kwa-Zulu Natal. He came to Johannesburg because he wanted work. He stayed with his brother in Berea for a year with his brother. He left because he wanted his own place. He does not have an RDP house but will apply for it when he decides to go home for good.

Kabelo the vendor

Kabelo has been a vendor for about eight months. She gets to work at 10am until 7 pm from Monday to Friday. She walks to work every single day. She stores her goods in a garage for R5 a day. She has a trolley to move her goods around but does not have a lot to move because people normally finish what she sells.

She has been living in a flat for the past six months and pays R450 a month that includes water and electricity. If you do not pay rent she says someone will take your place. She has until the fifth to pay her rent each month. The leaseholder collects everyone's rent each month. There are no rules on visitors but do not allow people to have pets. She is fine with her accommodation because it is close to where she works and does not spend a lot of time in the accommodation anyway.

She feels that the flat is safe even though there are no security guards at the gate. She wants to start looking for another place because she knows the rent would eventually increase. She is currently living with her man who also works in the area. They share a room in the flat and there are other four people in the flat. The other four people use the sitting room as a place to sleep. She left Zimbabwe because there was no job for her there. She stayed with her friend when they arrived in the city for about a month. She left because the other people that she lived with treated her badly. She does not have an RDP house because she did not even know what it was.

Josephine the vendor

Josephine has been a street vendor in the park for the past two months. She walks from Yeovile to the park and gets to the park at 6:30 and leave when she wants. He lives in a lounge that has been divided and has to share with other people. They are four in total in the lounge and does not know how many people live in the unit. All the people that she lives with have formal jobs. She has been in that accommodation since 2010. She pays R900 for that space. She has to pay rent on the first or second of each month. She says if you cannot afford to pay your rent you are kicked out. The owner of the building does not live in the building and only comes to collect rent. She uses the health facilities in the area.

There are no rules on visitation hours but people in the building are not allowed to have pets and businesses are not allowed in the building. There is nothing that she does not like about her current accommodation because she feels it is safe. She is in the area because she has a lot of relatives in the area. When she first came to the city she stayed in Hilbrow with her husband's friend for a month. She later moved to Tembisa with her husband because they could not afford to stay in the city. She does not have an RDP because she is not a permanent resistant.

Daniel the security guard

Daniel works as a street vendor by day and a security guard by night. He has been working as a vendor for about three years. He takes a taxi to get to the park and works from Monday to Friday and goes to church on Saturdays and on Sundays. He arrives in the park at around 08:00 every day and leaves at different time depending when he has to be at work. He stores his goods in a shop that is close to the park.

He lives in a flat where he is the leaseholder and shares with other people that pay him for staying there. The flat is worth R3500 and because they are many in the flat, he ends up paying R750. He said he would rather not have food than not have money for rent because if one of the tenants does not pay they will all be kicked out. The rent has to be paid by the fourth of every month. He uses shops in the area to do his grocery shopping and uses the nearby clinic if he is sick.

Visitors are not allowed to sleep overnight but they sometimes negotiate with the building owners to allow overnight visitors. People are not allowed to make noise in the buildings or even drink. There are no disadvantages about the building because it is always clean unlike other flats in the area but the rent is very high. He feels that the building is safe because access is by finger prints. He has to live around the park because South Africa has a lot of thugs so he has to be near his place. He is from Zimbabwe and stayed in Hilbrow when he first arrived in the city and lived with him aunt for about a year. He never lived in any social rental housing in the city.

Ishmael

Ishmael has been a street vendor outside the park for the past three years now. He cooks food outside the park. He first sets up his tent outside the park when he arrives at 6:30a.m and leaves at 5:00 p.m. every single day. He takes a taxi from where he lives every day. He transports his pots and other materials using a trolley and pays R300 to store his goods in a basement in a building near the park.

He pays R500 for his accommodation and has to pay rent on the first day of each month. He does not have any other accommodation that he can go to during the week. There are no rule regarding visitors and are allowed to operate businesses in the building. He does not have any disadvantages with the building. He lives with his girlfriend and likes that about the accommodation. When he first arrived she lived in the township because the rent is cheap there. He does not see himself live in the accommodation for a long time because he intends to return to Zimbabwe when he has saved enough money

Pilot - interviews

Ntombi the waitress

Ntombi works in a restaurant in the inner city Johannesburg. Ntombi lives Benoni in a backyard room. She has lived there for about nine months to date. She pays R1200 a month, and claims that she is lucky because her landlord understands when she cannot pay rent on time. Her landlord gives her time to pay the rent following month in some instances. The landlord is very understanding because she allows her tenants to have pet and even run our own businesses. Ntombi does not like living there, she is there only because of her work. She moved to Benoni because the company that she worked for moved. She does not have an RDP house and was told that she is too young to apply for one.

Nontando the house wife

Ntando lives in the inner city in an apartment flat. She only rents out a room in the flat and pays R1200 for that room. She lives with the father of her children. She said that if you do not pay rent on time at the end of the month you are kicked out. She does not know who is in charge of the flat and all she knows is that it belongs to a man that the father of her children works for.

She does not hate anything about her accommodation because her children get to play in the park and because the building is generally well looked after. She came to Johannesburg because she wanted to be with the father of my children. We first lived in Hillbrow and then moved to Joubert park.

APPENDIX D

Photographs: Joubert Park and surroundings

1. Joubert Park



2. BRT Stations near the park



3. Park facilities



4. Trolleys used to transport goods

