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THE PERPETUATION OF SPATIAL INJUSTICE IN HOUSING: A CASE OF ALEXANDRA, JOHANNESBURG

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A research report submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning, Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management

Johannesburg, June 2020

Declaration

I, **Stewart Mareere** declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management to the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University.



……

Stewart Mareere

15th day of June 2020

Abstract

This study explores the practice of spatial justice in Alexandra, a township in Johannesburg, South Africa, by examining why there is a perpetuation of post-apartheid spatial injustices. It stems from the fact that, despite implementation of various programmes, Alexandra continues to be a deprived area where perpetuation of spatial injustices is evident. I designed the research within the exploratory case study paradigm. The key findings are that spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra speaks to a myriad of general and context-specific factors. These factors include failure to take a regional approach in addressing Alexandra's challenges, institutional dysfunctionality, land claims, migration, economic marginalisation and the alleged negative externalities from surrounding affluent areas. This study concludes that the manifestation of spatial injustice does need to be addressed, but at the same time, the difficult task of coming to grips with the causes and processes reproducing spatial injustices should be tackled. It is suggested that all spheres of government strive to take control of injustice of spatiality through the disruption of places of privilege and addressing the causes and effects of urbanisation.

Key words: perpetuation, injustice of spatiality, South Africa, and housing.

Dedication

I dedicate this research report to my wife, Egnes Mareere, and our beloved daughters, Chantelle and Charmaine. Thank you all for inspiring me to be my greatest version of myself.

Acknowledgements

Several people and entities deserve special acknowledgement for making this research report a success, but because of space constraints, I will only mention a few. I am grateful to the Wits TUB Urban Lab for funding my Master studies. I register my earnest gratitude to my research supervisor, Dr Tsepang Leuta, for her exceptional guidance and encouragement throughout the gestation period of this research. Finally, I express my utmost appreciation to all key informants who also sacrificed their precious time.

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List of Acronyms

ALPOA	Alexandra Land and Property Owner`s Association
ANC	African National Congress
APOR	Alexandra Property Owner`s Rights Organisation
ARP	Alexandra Renewal Project
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPG	Gauteng Provincial Government
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NUA	New Urban Agenda
SACN	South African Cities Network
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SERI	Socio-Economic Rights Institute
URPs	Urban Renewal Programmes

CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH BACKGROUND

'We increasingly live in divided and conflict-prone urban areas' (Harvey, 2008:32)

1.1 Introduction

Spatial inequalities are a global phenomenon. Almost three decades ago, Castells and Mollenkopf (1991) as well as Fainstein, Gordon and Harloe (1992) defined cities with high levels of spatial inequalities as dual and divided. Massey (1996) coined the term 'new age of extremes' concerning the continued spatial and social widening of the affluent and the underprivileged in urban areas. In cities of the global south, there is general understanding that the levels of spatial injustice and exclusion are high as compared to the cities of the global north (UN Habitat, 2009). However, the level of spatial inequalities is growing, even in cities of the global north (UN Habitat, 2009).

Most African states inherited fragmented cities. The right to the city for black Africans was restricted to employment and they were prohibited from acquiring land in urban areas (Todes and Turok, 2018). In South Africa, during the colonial era, black Africans were marginalised and excluded (Strauss and Liebenberg, 2014). The Housing Act 35 of 1920 institutionalised segregation in urban areas along racial lines (Hendler, 2015). It seems there is a perpetuation of spatial injustice and exclusion in most cities in South Africa despite decades of independence (The Integrated Urban Development Framework, 2016). The present forms of spatial injustice and exclusion are based on social class and have evolved from racial exclusion that characterised the colonial and apartheid era.

Cascading down to Alexandra, over R 1,9 billion was spent under the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) between 2001 and 2010 in addressing apartheid injustices through 200 projects that encompassed economic development, housing and bulk infrastructure provision (Roefs, Naidoo, Meyer and Makalela, 2003). However, despite this significant stride, it seems there is a continuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra. Therefore, this study seeks to detail some of the root causes of post-apartheid injustices in housing in Alexandra.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 Global context

There is increasing enthusiasm in normative thinking on the use and production of urban spaces. The spatial justice discourse began with Lefebvre in the 1960s who coined the right to the city (Huchzermeyer, 2018). The notion has informed the drafting of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the New Urban Agenda (NUA) and shaped the institutionalisation of the right to the city in Brazil through the City Statute of 2001 (Huchzermeyer, 2018). It is against this background that this research seeks to further the normative discourse on how to achieve greater spatial justice.

1.2.2 Regional and local context

There is rapid urbanisation in Africa. Policy makers in Africa are confronted with key questions: 'what is the… scale of urban expansion and what needs to be done to… prepare for' the effects of urbanisation (Angel, Sheppard and Civco, 2005:91 cited in Buckley, Kallergis and Wainer, 2016:200). High urbanisation rates without corresponding infrastructure growth has exacerbated spatial injustices in most African cities.

In South Africa, the general agreement is that the 'urbanisation process has surpassed municipal investments in infrastructure… in areas occupied by poor households' (Westaway, 2006 cited in Kotze and Mathola, 2012:246). According to Kotze and Mathola (2012:246) townships inhabited by poor households are characterised by 'informal structures', overcrowding and 'limited economic potential'. The Urban Renewal Programmes (URPs) were instituted in early 2000 to ease these problems (Kotze and Mathola, 2012:246). However, the question is: has the URPs, inclusive of ARP, addressed the root causes and processes that are perpetuating spatial injustices in townships today?

1.3 Problem Statement

Achieving greater spatial justice is the stated aim of government interventions. However, it seems most of such interventions only focus on the physical manifestation of spatial injustice at the expense of addressing the injustice of spatiality. For example, as alluded to earlier on, the ARP invested over R 1,9 billion in addressing the physical manifestation of injustices in Alexandra (Roefs *et al,* 2003). Despite this significant stride, it seems there is a perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra. Yet, there is no consensus on what the root causes are. Most

policy makers blame the apartheid system. Therefore, this study is an undertaking to explore some of the post-apartheid key causes and processes that are contributing to the continuation of spatial injustices in housing, in particular in Alexandra. These causes and processes are the injustice of spatiality as explained in paragraph 1.9.

1.4 Research Question

The following main research question guides this study:

- What are the root causes and processes that perpetuated post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing between 1994 and 2019 in Alexandra?

1.5 Research Aim and Objectives

This study aims to explore the practice of spatial justice in Alexandra, City of Johannesburg (CoJ), South Africa by examining why there is a perpetuation of post-apartheid spatial injustice despite government interventions.

The specific objectives of this study are:

i. To understand the principle of spatial justice in South Africa;
ii. To map various forms of spatial injustice in Old Alexandra Extension 25 and 26, Setjwetla Informal Settlement, and Maponyane Village;
iii. To explore some of the root causes and processes that have perpetuated post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra, despite government interventions.

1.6 Research assumption

Large financial investments in URPs or any other housing programmes before addressing the injustice of spatiality can result in limited positive impacts in promoting greater spatial justice. The assumption is informed by the investment of R1,9 billion in Alexandra under the ARP.

1.7 Rationale for the Study

Spatial injustice in South Africa is associated with colonial and apartheid practices (The Integrated Urban Development Framework, 2016). Amongst other legislation, the Housing Act 35 of 1920 ‘institutionalised segregated townships’, the Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923

'withdrew the right of land tenure' from Africans and the Native Laws Amendment Act 46 of 1937 'prohibited Africans from acquiring land in urban areas' (Hendler, 2015:3). However, based on the literature reviewed for this study, limited studies have been conducted to figure out the post-apartheid practices that are maintaining the spatial injustice in housing. In addition, most of the urban policies in African cities, including the CoJ, focus on the physical manifestation of spatial injustice without addressing the root causes and processes that are producing and re-producing these injustices. Thus, it is critical to understand how space is produced in order to conceptualise the injustice of spatiality. Therefore, this study aims to contribute towards bridging the knowledge gap on post-apartheid practices that perpetuate the spatial injustice in housing.

According to UN Habitat (2009: xii), 'high levels of inequality in cities can lead to negative social, economic and political consequences' that can trigger instability in communities. Mendez and Otero (2017) have observed that there is a direct relationship between spatial injustice and conflicts. Failure to explore and bring into light some of the root causes and processes that are contributing to this perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing might aggravate conflicts and violence in urban areas.

Failure to conduct scientific studies to explore this issue may result in continued use of current housing and planning practices that are 'piecemeal' and do not address the underlying causes of spatial injustice. The findings from this study, though limited by the scope of a master's research report, may inform the crafting of legislation and policies to reform the land market to ensure that the exchange value of land for housing developments takes into account the use value of land. Incorporating use values might reinforce the development of inclusive cities in line with the SDG 11, which I discuss in paragraph 2.2.5. The investigation might help urban managers, planners and policy makers to understand the elusive principle of spatial justice and facilitate the designing of responsive urban policies.

1.8 Methodology

Alexandra situated in the CoJ will be used as a case study. Alexandra is a convenient area on which to base this research about spatial injustices as it is a microcosm of townships in South Africa. As a qualitative research, this study involves document analysis, twelve key informant interviews and site visits. Chapter 3 details the methodology used in this study.

1.9 Definition of Key Terms

Spatial injustice: According to Soja (2009:3), the principle of spatial injustice can be seen 'as both outcome and process, as geographies or distributional patterns that are in themselves just/unjust and as the process that produces these outcomes'. For this study, spatial injustice refers to unjust geographies in housing in Alexandra (Soja, 2009). These include under-provision of services, forced demolitions and living in precarious environments amongst others (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008; ARP, 2009; Kotze and Mathola, 2012).

Injustice of spatiality: Dikec (2001:1792) advanced 'a notion on spatial dialectics of injustice' where spatiality of injustice implies that '…spatial perspectives might be used to discern injustice in space' and 'injustice of spatiality' focuses on the spatial 'processes that could be the sources and resources of injustice' (Dikec 2001:1792, 1793). For this study, the notion of injustice of spatiality is used to critique the post-apartheid processes that are contributing to 'systematic exclusion, domination and oppression' resulting in the perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra (Dikec, 2001:1793).

1.10 Chapter Outline

This research report consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 provides the introduction and background to the study. It further lays the foundation of how the research has been structured by detailing the aims and objectives. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature underpinning the study. The chapter critiques, analyses and explains the global discourse on spatial justice. Chapter 3 details how the research has been carried out. Chapter 4 sets the context and preliminary findings from the review of existing literature on Alexandra and ARP. Chapter 5, on findings and analysis, maps various forms of spatial injustice and details some of the root causes of the perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra. Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, provides an overview of the study, recapitulate the key findings and proffer some implications for planning and housing development in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

'Thinking spatially about justice… can uncover significant new insights that extend our practical knowledge… to achieve greater justice' (Soja, 2009:1)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews existing literature on the conceptualisation and application of the principle of spatial justice, paying attention to the cities of the global south. The chapter also presents the housing and planning policies in South Africa on how they address, produce and re-produce spatial injustice.

2.2 The conceptualisation of the principle of spatial justice

Fainstein (2013) and Williams (2013) attributes the notion of spatial justice to Lefebvre, Foucault, Rawls, Castells, Harvey and Soja. Geographers and spatial theorists developed interest in spatial justice after Lefebvre's (1968/1996) 'call for taking back control over the right to the city' (Soja, 2009:4; Williams, 2018). According to Fainstein (2013:4), 'the discussion around urban justice… arose primarily among scholars in western countries', who were reacting against regeneration programmes that destroyed low-income communities.

2.2.1 The theory of space

Williams (2013:5) argues that a 'theory of spatial justice must account fully for both a theory of space and a theory of justice'. Such understanding might inform policy formulation and spatial planning practice. Lefebvre (1992:83 cited in Williams, 2013:5) argues that 'space cannot be understood as a thing, but rather a set of relations between things'. Soja (1999 cited in Williams, 2013:5) coined a 'socio-spatial dialectic of space' in reference to the dynamic nature of space that 'reflects power and politics'. Thus, the notion of production of space by Lefebvre (1992 cited in Williams, 2013:8) serves to understand that 'all social processes and relations of justice are spatially produced'. Therefore, to understand the injustices in housing in Alexandra, one has to consider the space relations during apartheid and post-apartheid era. Legislation, governance and certain practices of individuals, government and non-governmental organisations result in exclusion, domination and oppression of the urban poor. Did the surrounding areas, inclusive of Sandton, play a role in producing and re-producing

spatial injustices in Alexandra? This study seeks to provide answers to this and other related questions.

2.2.2 The theory of justice

Justice refers to 'a stable and constant will to provide each person what s/he deserves' (Dahan, 2007:20 cited in Alfasi and Fenster, 2014:4). Rawls (1971:2) postulated a theory of justice as fairness to 'convey the idea that the principles of justice are agreed to in an initial situation that is fair'. The concept of justice influenced various planning approaches inclusive of equity planning and advocacy planning (Alfasi and Fenster, 2014).

According to Rawls (2001: 42, 43 cited in Williams, 2013:9) a 'just space is one in which basic requirements of just distribution–equality of basic liberties… according to the greatest benefit to the least advantaged are met'. This view of justice as the geographical distribution of goods and services has shaped most government policies and programmes, including South Africa's URPs. However, most of the intentions of these policies were never realised, partly due to the failure to address the processes that produce and re-produce such injustices. There is a shared view that urban societies can never be just and equal implying that spatial justice analyses cannot be based on blunt measures of justice and equality (Soja, 2009). This research demonstrates the conviction that critiquing the status quo might open to new possibilities as far as the innovative approaches to greater spatial justice are concerned.

2.2.3 Why spatial thinking

Soja (2009:1) remarks that there is a recent interest in 'thinking spatially about justice'. Williams (2013:20) asserts that other forms of justice that include environmental justice or social justice, seldom pay attention 'to the production of space'. Therefore, 'the power of spatial justice is to put a spotlight on space' (Williams, 2013:20). Spatial thinking can 'enrich our understanding of almost any subject' and helps to develop practical solutions (Williams, 2013:21). For purposes of this study, spatial thinking assists to critique the ARP, understand the production of urban space and appreciate some of the root causes of the perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra.

2.2.4 Nexus of spatial justice and the right to the city

According to Lefebvre (1993:435 cited in Dikec, 2001:1789) the right to the city is the 'right to urban life' in a 'renewed form' and it is not a mere 'visiting right'. Lefebvre critiques the domination of capitalism where the exchange value of land is more important than its use value, which results in exclusion and fragmentation between the affluent and the poor class (Lefebvre, 1993). In most African cities, failing to reform land and property markets has contributed to the exclusion of the urban poor (Charlton, 2006).

Harvey (2008:23) notes that, 'the right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city'. Harvey (2008) further critique the capitalist society that focuses on creation of surplus value through reinvestment. Neoliberal policies have 'restored class power to rich elites' which has resulted in the establishment of 'gated communities and privatised public spaces' (Harvey, 2008:32). The urban poor are compelled to live in the peripheral areas away from economic opportunities. This often becomes a cyclical process as children from poor households are entangled and have limited opportunities to escape such situations.

Therefore, the right to the city is a critique on how the urban space is manipulated to further the interest of capitalism and is a call for spatial approaches to struggles of the urban poor (Dikec, 2001). The notions of spatial justice and inclusion have evolved in the 1990s and provide a 'critique of systematic exclusion, domination and oppression' using the lense of the right to the city (Dikec, 2001:1793). Therefore, the spatial justice principle provides 'parameters' in 'which the right to the city' can be assessed (Dikec, 2001:1794).

2.2.5 Nexus of spatial justice and global frameworks

The New Urban Agenda (NUA), which was adopted in 2016, strives to make 'cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable' in line with the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) No. 11 (Habitat III, 2016:4). Inclusive cities are the main theme of both the NUA and SDGs. It can be underscored that this inclusive development aims at enhancing access to basic services by all urban residents, thereby achieving greater spatial justice in cities. 'The right to the city principles are understood to be captured in the NUA through statements on equality, freedom, inclusion and justice' (Huchzermeyer, 2018:632). Article 13 of the NUA is the basis for this investigation as it 'envisages cities and human settlements that fulfil their social function… the right to adequate housing…' (Habitat III,

2016:5). Table 2.1 lists some important targets and visions of the SDGs and NUA that contribute to spatial justice. Achieving these targets leads to greater spatial justice in housing.

Table 2.1: Global frameworks and inclusive cities

Framework	Relevance to the spatial justice principle
SDGs 2015	Target 1.4: Equal rights to economic resources; Target 1.5: Build resilience of the urban poor; Target 6.1: Equitable access to drinking water; Target 6.2: Equitable access to sanitation; Target 10.2: Promote social, economic and political inclusion; Target 10.3: Ensure equal opportunity; Target 10.4: Adopt policies to achieve greater equality; Target 11.1: Access to adequate housing, basic services and upgrading of slums; Target 11.2: Access for all to transport systems; Target 11.3: Enhance inclusive urbanisation; Target 11. b: Implement integrated policies and plans towards inclusion;
New Urban Agenda, 2016 (NUA)	Shared Visions: Cities for all- just, safe, healthy, accessible, affordable and resilient. Human settlement that fulfils the social function: **Adequate housing**, affordable drinking water and sanitation.

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to UN General Assembly (2015) and Habitat III (2016)

2.2.6 Forms of spatial injustices

According to Soja (2009:3) it is easier to list forms of spatial injustice but 'difficult to identify and understand the underlying processes producing unjust geographies'. Therefore, this research attempts to understand the root causes of the perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra. 'Class, race and gender' are the 'familiar forces shaping locational and spatial discrimination' (Soja, 2009:3). For instance, during the apartheid era, race relations used to shape the spatial inequalities in South Africa (Maylam, 1995). In the post-apartheid era, class and race shapes the spatial inequalities within urban areas (Socio-Economic Rights Institute, 2016; The Integrated Urban Development Framework, 2016).

According to Soja (2009:3) 'the political organisation of space is a… powerful source of spatial injustice'. The use of spatial targeting policies, zoning and institutionalised residential segregation are some examples of political organisation of space that aid spatial injustice (ibid). Gentrification has been associated with the displacement of the urban poor, leading to spatial injustice (ibid). Forced evictions and demolitions are typical forms of extreme use of power to dominate and subjugate the urban poor living in precarious informal settlements.

The establishment of townships in peripheral areas away from economic opportunities is a form of exclusion. In Cape Town, for instance, slum dwellers close to the city centre were removed and relocated to peripheral areas of the city away from economic opportunities during the apartheid era (Turok, 2012 cited in Buckley *et al*, 2016).

2.2.7 Approaches to spatial injustice

Soja (2010 cited in Fainstein 2013:12) 'argues that the pursuit of justice requires gaining control over the processes producing unjust urban geographies'. This view echoes those of Lefebvre (1968/1996), Dikec (2001) and Harvey (2008). According to Soja (2010 cited in Fainstein 2013:12), strategies of achieving a just city require 'coalitions of groups demanding the right to the city'. Soja (2009:5) details the use of legal action by the Bus Riders Union (BRU) in Los Angeles as a 'spatial approach in the search for justice'. In 1996, the BRU successfully challenged the plans by the Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA) to create 'a multi-billion dollar fixed rail system' to serve wealthy suburban residents at the expense of the working class who depended on the bus network (Soja, 2009:5).

Harvey (2008:40) advocates for the adoption of 'the right to the city as both working slogan and political ideal'. The Arab spring protests in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya are practical examples on how social movements can demand back their rights to the city. The recent service delivery protests in Alexandra are a clear manifestation of the spatial injustice and the demand for justice to prevail (Mjo, 2019).

In South Africa, pro bono legal organisations such as the Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) and the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) have played a pivotal role in the promotion of governance, human rights and holding government officials to account. Other recent accountability initiatives are the Alexandra Inquiry and the Commission of Inquiry into State Capture. It seems, however, these inquiries are reactive and retrospective as the damage has already been done. In the latter, it is unlikely that the government will recoup the lost billions of money to corruption. There have been calls for a pro-active approach in the promotion of governance and accountability (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002).

There is debate on the approach to achieve greater spatial justice. Harvey views 'justice as unattainable under capitalism' and there is a need for more radical approaches to reclaim the right to the city (Fainstein, 2013:13). Fainstein (2013:13) is 'willing to embrace reform

through existing political-economic processes'. Therefore, should the Alexandra residents adopt a radical approach in demanding their right to the city or push for housing and property reforms?

Oranje and van Wyk (2019:112) assess how land reform in South Africa can contribute to the 'creation of fair and viable post-apartheid urban human settlements'. Using a case of Rwanda and the Netherlands, they provide pointers on how the post-expropriation in South Africa can be addressed so that it contributes to spatial transformation particularly in urban areas. In order for this to happen, they suggest the crafting of 'national spatial reconstruction act' and 'effective legislation on intergovernmental relations' (ibid:121).

2.3 Seeking Spatial Justice in the Global South

It is crucial to critique the application of the principle of spatial justice through the review of global south experiences. Case study boxes below provide approaches on the conceptualisation and application of the spatial justice principle in three countries of the global south. Fainstein (2013:5) maintains that 'most theoretical scholarship' on spatial justice in the global south focuses on analysing regions and nations 'rather than the city'. For instance, 'the dependency theory attributes widespread poverty in the global south through 'domination' by the global north (Amin, 1976; Fainstein, 2013:5).

There is, however, a recent application of the spatial justice principle at the city level. In the global south, there is growing interest in analysing the forced removals and demolitions of informal settlements and the sprouting of gated communities (Fainstein, 2013). Huchzermeyer (2014) chronicles the right to the city of people living in informal settlements in South Africa. Van Wyk (2015) examines legislative instruments earmarked to address spatial injustice in South Africa. Strauss and Liebenberg (2014) analysed jurisprudence on evictions and housing rights in post-apartheid South Africa. Based on the reviewed literature which is limited by the scope of the research report requirements, it seems the post-apartheid causes of the perpetuation of spatial injustice have not been explored adequately.

2.3.1 The quest for spatial justice in South Africa

The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) incorporated the principle of spatial justice in the use and development of land by all organs of the State. Section 7 (i) of the Act, states that 'past spatial and other development imbalances must be redressed through improved access to, and use of land'. However, Oranje and van Wyk,

(2019:119) emphasise the need for 'sustained, enforced large-scale intergovernmental cooperation and strong, centralised governance' for the success of SPLUMA in 'creating sustainable human settlements'. Table 2.2 show how some South African legislation and policies seek to address spatial injustice in housing.

Case Study Box 1, summarises the Grootboom Case which provides a precedent that courts of law can adjudicate on the reasonableness of government actions and/or in-actions (Williams, 2005). In this instance, 'the national housing programme failed the test of reasonableness in Grootboom because it did not sufficiently address the plight of the poorest…' (Williams, 2005:226). This case reflects how courts can be incorporated in furthering the rights of the urban poor.

Case Study Box 1: Wallacedene Informal Settlement, Cape Town

A group of 390 adults and 510 children who occupied land in 1998 was evicted in Cape Town. They resorted to occupying Wallacedene sports field where they faced another imminent eviction and lack of basic services. The Legal Resource Centre (LRC) took this matter to court in 2000 on behalf of the Grootboom community to test the enforceability of the constitutional right to housing in post-apartheid South Africa. The High Court ruled that in terms of Section 28 (1) of the Constitution, children and parents are entitled to shelter. It ordered all the spheres of government to provide the Grootboom community with tents and basic services. However, the government appealed the High Court decision, and the matter was then referred to the Constitutional Court. The Constitutional Court ruled that the State must provide housing, basic services, and favourable conditions to enable citizens to gain access to land and that the citizens have a right to demand all the above services from the State. The Constitutional Court further ruled that the failure to implement pro-poor housing policies by the State amounts to violation of the rights to adequate housing.

Source: Adapted from Williams (2005) and Strauss and Liebenberg (2014)

Strauss and Liebenberg (2014) evaluated several jurisprudence of the Constitutional Court relating to the eviction of the people and housing rights in South Africa. Strauss and Liebenberg (2014:442) noted that Courts focuses on 'the reasonableness of the state's actions… provision of alternative accommodation and' meaningful engagement in considering eviction cases. However, the same Courts fails to 'consider the 'systemic issues' that forces many South Africans to live in informal settlements and other precarious

environments (ibid:442). These systematic issues are related to planning, barriers to access to land, marginalisation, apartheid legacy, market forces and forced removals (ibid).

The New Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (2004) 'promotes the development of medium density and mixed housing developments' as a measure to integrate different social groups (Landman, Matsebe and Mmonwa, 2009:15). To support this government initiative, Landman *et al* (2009) developed a spatial analysis tool to measure the success of medium-density mixed housing and social housing in South Africa. The spatial analysis tool measures principles of integration, efficiency, accessibility, image and aesthetics, surveillance, target-hardening, ownership and territoriality on government housing developments (ibid). Osman and Herthogs (2010) suggests the inclusion of adaptability and changeability principles in the spatial analysis tool. These initiatives are important in evaluating the success of government housing projects in South Africa and contributing to the creation of inclusive and integrated cities.

2.3.2 The quest for spatial justice in Brazil

Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa constitutes the association called the BRICS, hence, the use of Brazil and India as cases in this study. There is growing referencing of BRICS case studies to inform policy and practice in South Africa. The South African Cities Network (SACN, 2017) developed factsheets for cities in BRICS. In line with the current momentum, Brazil has been used as a case study to demonstrate the innovative approach to promote the right to the city of people living in informal settlements. The case of Brazil shows how pressure groups can positively influence government to craft legislation that protects the rights of the urban poor.

Case Study Box 2: The right to the city: Brazil

Brazil is regarded as one of the pioneering countries to incorporate the notion of the right to the city. Organisations representing the interest of the urban poor advocated and helped government in the crafting of the City Statute, which regulates urban development in Brazil. Amongst others, the federal law encourages the regularisation and integration of informal settlements. It incorporated the social use value of land in the determination of land values for urban development. Thus, the law recognises 'that urban space serves a complex social function besides its economic function. The City Statute serves as an important inspiration and precedent for groups elsewhere advocating a right to the city'.

Source: Purcell (2013:142, 143).

2.3.3 Spatial justice and environmental sustainability in India

The 'Solar Park' initiative of the Indian government has been used as a case study to show that some countries in the global south are yet to infuse the principle of spatial justice in developmental projects. In addition, the case of India reflects the need to strike a balance in pursuing development principles. The principle of environmental sustainability outweighed the principle of spatial justice, which negatively affected the *Rabaris* community as explained in case study box 3.

Case Study Box 3: Spatial justice and environmental sustainability: India

The Charanka Solar Park Project in Gujarat, India is a typical example of how land and livelihoods of the poor are dispossessed by government in the name of sustainability and large-scale developments. The *Rabaris* and agricultural labourers depended on government land prior to the solar park project. However, the government removed them from their customary lifestyle to pave way for the Solar Park Project. The forced removal of peasants and pastoralists by the government in the name of large developments is common practice in India. For instance, parastatals and local authorities acquire large tracts of land and dispossess peasants whilst redistributing the same land to the affluent class who are deemed capable to utilise the land.

Source: Adopted from Yenneti, Day and Golubchikov (2016:18).

2.4 Housing Policy making in Sub-Saharan Africa

Tipple (2015:413), an academic and international consultant on National Urban Housing Profiles in Malawi, Ghana, Zambia, Liberia and Lesotho, listed ten fallacious assumptions that rule policymaking in these countries. These assumptions 'lead to inefficiencies and failures in [housing] supply' that perpetuate spatial inequalities (ibid:417). Some of the fallacious assumptions include:

i. 'Solution to the housing problem is to build housing more cheaply': this assumption clouds the fact that incomes are too low, and that there is need to improve the macro-economic environment to increase productivity and incomes (Tipple, 2015:416).
ii. 'New supply policy should be based on single household villas on serviced plots': it has been noted that most governments seek to convert renter populations into owners of self-contained dwellings (Tipple, 2015:416). However, in most cases, this leads to 'allocatees' selling or letting the dwellings (Tipple, 2015:417).
iii. Every household should become an owner of housing: most government policies regard renting as 'failed ownership in policy making' (Tipple, 2015:417). 'As many households will continue to rent throughout their life', housing policy needs to acknowledge and provide affordable rental accommodation (Tipple, 2015:417).

Tipple's assumptions are a reflection of most housing policies in Africa, including South Africa. Todes and Turok (2018) emphasise the importance of analysing assumptions in designing spatial policies in South Africa. Most of the housing programmes seek to provide single dwelling houses with title ownership. However, owing to population growth and migration, these ambitious housing programmes are failing to reduce spatial injustices.

2.5 Housing in South Africa

2.5.1 Large-scale housing developments in South Africa: A critique

The government housing programmes have assisted millions of households to own a decent house. However, are the present housing delivery approaches spatially just? 'Public provision and mass production of social housing… have left a mixed legacy' (Buckley *et al*, 2016:199). 'The technocratic framing around quantity and speed of standardised unit delivery tends to produce inflexible, segregated housing forms in a top-down process' (Sengupta, 2013, cited in Huchzermeyer and Misselwitz, 2016:74). According to Buckley *et al* (2016) public

housing provision in South Africa fails to meet the sustainability test. Since 1994, government has provided over 3 million dwelling units, however, 'there is a larger backlog of people in need of housing than there was when the housing programme commenced' (Buckley *et al*, 2016:204). Gunter (2013:280) concludes that 'social housing programmes are simply not effective in eliminating housing shortages'. Is government adequately addressing the reasons why more people seek social housing programmes or is government pre-occupied in delivering houses to meet the backlog? This raises important and complex discussion on injustice of spatiality (root causes) and spatial injustices (manifestation of injustices) in South Africa.

Buckley *et al* (2016:205) critique the public housing provision in South Africa for omitting 'the question of land', which greatly affects the spatial allocation of projects. This has resulted in cities with high density at the periphery as compared to the central areas (Buckley *et al*, 2016; Todes and Turok, 2018). This shows that the government housing projects failed to reverse the apartheid legacy that forbade Africans to live in city centres (Buckley *etal*, 2016; Todes and Turok, 2018). In addition, the low-cost housing developments contribute to urban sprawl as government mainly focuses on the provision of single dwelling houses (Gunter, 2013). Based on the above observation, I concur that public housing provision is not a panacea to housing challenges. As has long been argued, there is need to rethink the housing policies in South Africa to influence the designing of responsive policies that addresses these shortcomings.

2.5.2 Housing policies and legislation in South Africa

This section outlines the key housing policies and legislation in South Africa from 1994 onwards.

Table 2.2: Housing Policies and Legislation in South Africa

Year	Legislation/Policy	Objectives to address spatial injustices
1994 ▼	White Paper on Housing and Reconstruction and Development Programme	Encouraged equity, and expeditious provision of residential structure with supporting services to the previously disadvantaged black Africans.
1994 ▼	Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)	Provided the framework for the provision of basic services that included adequate housing for all.
1996 ▼	The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996	Section 26 of the Constitution, provides for the right to adequate housing and prevention of forced eviction without a court order.

1997 ▼	Housing Act 107 of 1997	Provided a framework for the provision of sustainable housing. Housing ownership as a means to empower Africans and address the apartheid era legacy.
1998 ▼	Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19 of 1998	Prohibited unlawful eviction and gave unlawful occupiers some form of rights when they occupied land or a building for more than 6 months.
2004 ▼	Breaking New Ground- A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements	Provided subsidies to lower middle-income groups. Shifts from product uniformity to flexible and demand responsiveness. Advocates for 'progressive informal settlement eradication' and integration.
2007 ▼	Framework for an Inclusionary Housing Policy in South Africa	Harnessing of private initiative in housing delivery.
2008 ▼	Social Housing Act 16 of 2008	Rental or co-operative housing option for low to medium-income households.
2016 ▼	The Integrated Urban Development Framework of 2016	Developed the following eight (8) policy levers to address structural drivers of spatial inequality: Integrated spatial planning, integrated transport and mobility, integrated and sustainable human settlements, integrated urban infrastructure, efficient land governance and management, inclusive economic development, empowered active communities and effective governance

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference Tissington (2010) and The Integrated Urban Development Framework (2016).

Policies that promoted redistribution and accelerated housing delivery for the urban poor characterised the period between 1994 and 2000. The same period was also characterised by provision of full title to housing beneficiaries (Gunter, 2013). The period since early 2000 was characterised by promotion of co-operative governance and transparency. In 2004, the government revived its redistributive policies based on the experiences over the years.

Seekings and Nattrass (2002:1) investigated the reasons 'why the demise of apartheid and the onset of democracy' did not result in a decline in inequality in South Africa. They noted that 'high levels of inequality are increasingly based on intra-racial, not inter-racial inequalities' (ibid:2). They uncovered that most redistributive policies were designed for the working middle class at the expense of the marginalised class comprising the unemployed, agricultural and domestic workers (ibid). Thus, 'the poor have little leverage over policy making' (ibid:4). They further argue that the continued blaming of apartheid legacy for the current injustices is a scapegoat to hide poor performance (ibid). In a nutshell, Seekings and

Nattrass (2002) point out that poor redistributive policies and government failures contributed to the perpetuation of spatial injustice in South Africa.

2.5.3 Housing and inclusion in South Africa

The Integrated Urban Development Framework (2016:7) acknowledges that 'South Africa's cities and towns are shaped by apartheid legacy of racial segregation, poverty, and exclusion from social and economic opportunities'. The apartheid spatial legacy includes urban 'sprawl, low densities, functional segregation… and overlapping racial and class separations' (The Integrated Urban Development Framework, 2016:15). Charlton (2006:52) suggest various approaches on 'making the urban land markets work for the poor in South Africa'. These approaches include intervening in the existing thriving market, encouraging practices that benefit the poor, engaging with practices of the poor, and intervening in the 'rules of the game' amongst others (Charlton, 2006).

Charlton (2010) critiques the provision of subsidised government housing in South Africa and freehold ownership as solutions to address the exclusion of the poor who live in informal settlements. Access to services is widely recognised as a form of inclusion (Charlton, 2010). But does the provision of subsidised housing and freehold ownership result in inclusion? Do government and policy makers understand why both domestic and international migrants flock to peripheral areas and to informal settlements? If these migrants are looking for economic opportunities, as widely known, then the provision of subsidised government housing in the peripheral areas is not a panacea to the needs of the migrants. Charlton (2010) concludes that freehold ownership is not effective, given the current context of poverty, poor location of the RDPs and less satisfaction from the perspective of the beneficiaries. Charlton (2010:9) advocates for provision of 'cheap rental accommodation in well-located areas' and a paradigm shift in provision of services in areas other than formal residences to enhance access to services.

2.5.4 Housing and inclusion in Gauteng Province

Cascading down to the Gauteng Province, there is acknowledgement by the provincial government of the growing spatial fragmentation in human settlements in the province. Figure 2.2 depicts the spatial fragmentation in human settlements in Gauteng. The Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (GSDF) 2030 lists the following as the main spatial challenges in the province: urban sprawl, peripheral location of the poorest communities

away from economic opportunities, poor integration of different residential areas and sprouting of gated communities. As noted on figure 2.1, there is a concentration of gated communities towards the northern parts of Gauteng resulting in spatial fragmentation. The Mega Human Settlements programme further contributed to spatial fragmentation because of the poor housing location away from economic opportunities.

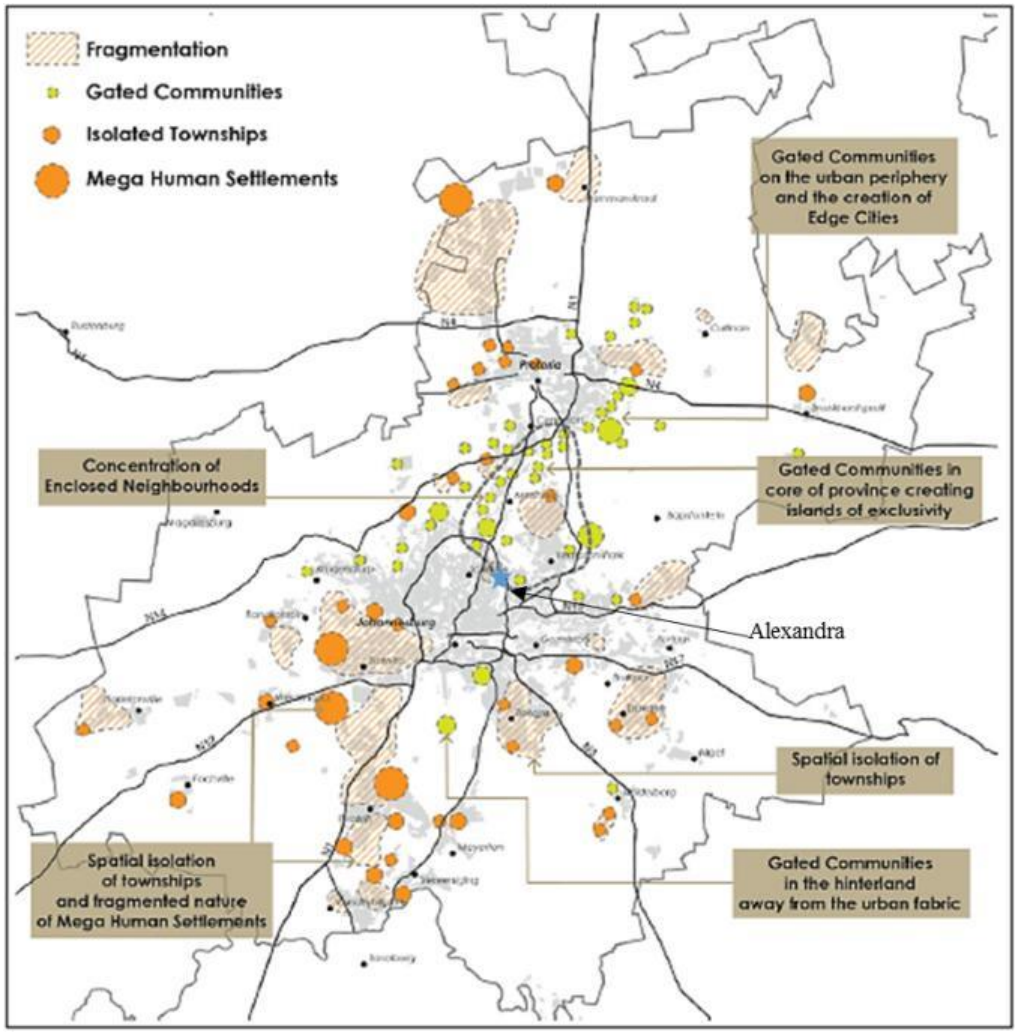


Figure 2.1: Settlement and Housing in Gauteng

Source: Gauteng Spatial Development Framework (2030)

2.6 Planning in South Africa

Zoning has been used as a land use management tool in South Africa during the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid era. According to Nel (2015:83,84) 'zoning creates and maintains exclusivity of land use and income group'… creates 'sprawling suburbs and townships'… creates swathes of residential areas populated by similar income and class

groups' and 'entrenches unjust spaces'. Hence, the continued use of zoning regulations perpetuates the apartheid era segregation that is inconsistent with the SPLUMA development principles of spatial justice, spatial sustainability, spatial efficiency and spatial resilience (Nel, 2015). Are there any prospects of achieving greater spatial justice using the current land use management system in South Africa? It is hoped that the planning experts and professionals will help to provide clarity and practical solutions to this and other pertinent questions.

2.6.1 Planners and spatial injustice

Williams (2010) bemoans the planning bureaucrats for failing to pro-actively respond to the basic requirements of democratic practices. Almost five decades ago, Goodman (1971 cited in Williams, 2010:12) argued that 'planners often promote inequity, injustice and oppression'. Williams (2010) notes that post-apartheid South Africa continues to use apartheid planning approaches. Property rates and real estate valuations reinforce exclusion of the poor (ibid). Despite the repeal of the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 in 1991, planning has failed to create spatially integrated residential areas (ibid:23). The enactment of SPLUMA in 2013 was a positive step in addressing the above concerns.

The unwillingness by financial institutions to provide loans for housing developments in townships, dubbed redlining, has exacerbated the poor living conditions in townships (Williams, 2010). Failure to provide decent services has resulted in increasing incidences of protests and demonstrations in most municipalities in South Africa. In the 2004/2005 financial year, there were an average of 16 protests each day across South Africa (ibid). Hence, Williams (2010) recommends planning and social policy reforms.

2.6.2 Spatial planning policies in South Africa

There are three distinct forms of spatial policies; namely, spatially blind policies, spatial targeting policies and integrated place-based policies (Donaldson, du Plessis, Spocter and Massey, 2013). The implementation of these spatial planning approaches, reveal the endeavours of the post-apartheid government in addressing spatial injustices. Despite these many attempts, there is continued perpetuation of spatial injustices and inequalities. Todes and Turok (2018) critique both the housing programmes and planning approaches for reinforcing and re-producing spatial injustice. There is a consensus that all the policies and plans failed to 're-engineer the spatial legacy of systematic exclusion…' (Bhorat and Mayet,

2013 cited in Todes and Turok, 2018:9). This is a clear testament of the need for a paradigm shift in the formulation of housing and planning policies. However, the ability to formulate innovative policies depends on the clear understanding of the root causes and processes that are perpetuating these spatial injustices, which is the focus of this research.

2.7 The Conceptual Framework

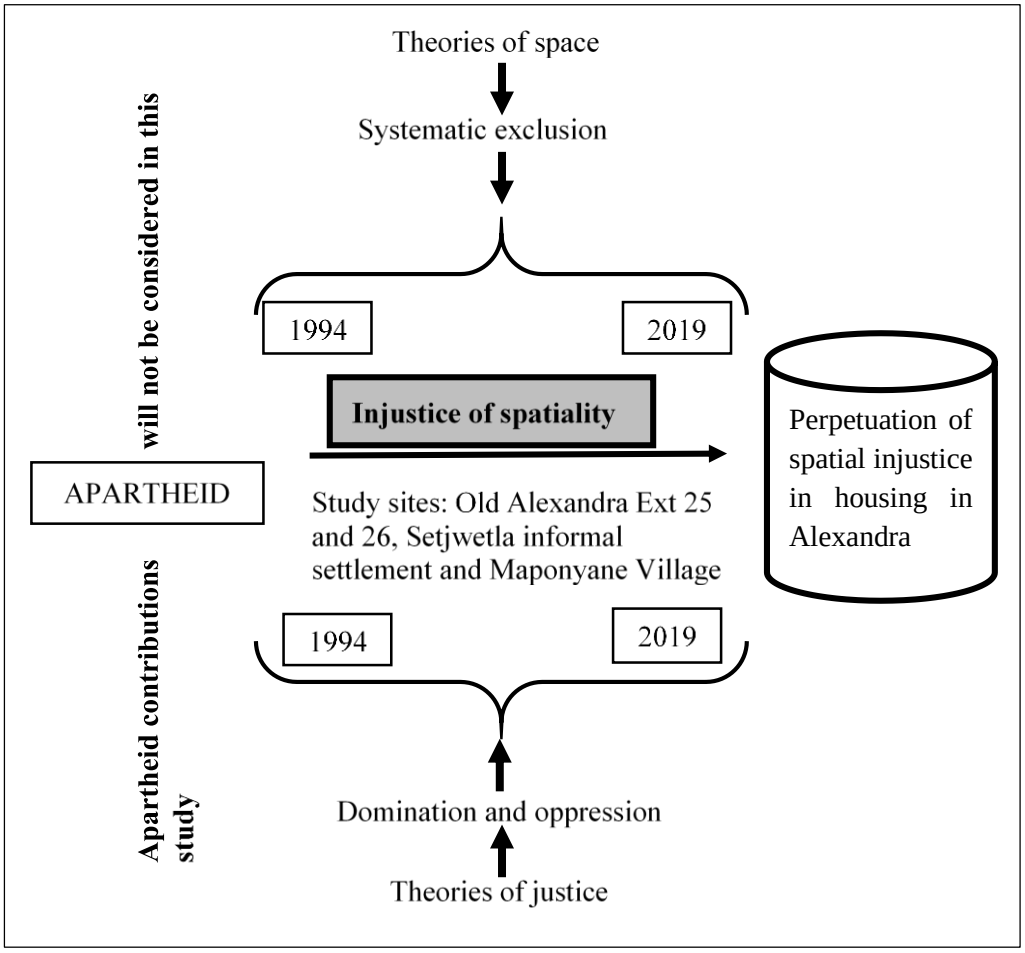


Figure 2.2: The Conceptual Framework

Source: Mareere (2019)

The conceptual framework provides a diagrammatic representation of the concepts underpinning this study. This research seeks to unpacks some of the root causes (injustice of spatiality) for the perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing using a case of Alexandra (highlighted as a grey area in figure 2.2). Spatial injustice refers to unjust geographies in housing in Alexandra (Soja, 2009). These include under-provision of services, forced demolitions and living in precarious environments amongst others (Bonner and Nieftagodien,

2008; ARP, 2009; Kotze and Mathola, 2012). The reviewed literature attributes spatial injustice in South Africa as a factor of both apartheid and post-apartheid practices (The Integrated Urban Development Framework, 2016). However, as indicated on figure 2.2, this study focuses only on understanding the post-apartheid practices (between 1994-2019) that have been producing and re-producing spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra. The conceptual framework incorporates theories of space and justice to understand the production of urban space and how such space excludes the urban poor. The reviewed literature acknowledges that legislation, governance and certain practices of individuals and different levels of government result in exclusion, domination and oppression of the urban poor. It is hoped, such understanding might inform practice in the planning for inclusive communities.

2.8 Conclusion

Chapter 2 has presented the theoretical and conceptual framework underpinning this study. The institutionalisation of the right to the city in Brazil represents best practice in the application of the spatial justice. The 'Solar Park' initiative in India illustrates the need to balance sustainability and spatial justice concepts. The reviewed literature has attributed the perpetuation of spatial injustices in housing to the provision of single dwelling houses away from economic opportunities, failure to reform land markets and the current planning approaches. Chapter 3 explains the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter articulates the methods used to achieve the set objectives of the study. The selection of the research methods for this study aims at improving the validity, generalisability and reliability of the research findings and conclusions.

3.2 Research Paradigm and Design

According to de Vaus (2001) research design is critical in ensuring that the data collected in the field answers the research questions without ambiguity. The research was based on a case study approach and relied on the collection of qualitative data. I have used Alexandra as a case study. Alexandra was a convenient area on which to base this research about spatial injustices as it is a microcosm of townships in South Africa. A case study approach was most suitable for this study as it supports the collection of extensive data from different information sources, which included interviews, observations and literature review (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 1994). I covered some contextual conditions in Alexandra using the case study approach. The contextual conditions as detailed on paragraph 4.6 are useful in understanding whether there is a perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra. In addition, the approach was useful in narrowing down the scope of the study to suit my capacity in terms of time and other resources.

The research questions guide the type of social research (de Vaus, 2001; Yin, 1994). This study was based on the exploratory research paradigm as it examined why there is a perpetuation of spatial injustices in housing. I determined some of the the root causes of the perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing through constructing and interpreting meanings from the research participants (Cao Thanh and Le Thanh, 2015; Creswell, 2007). The goal of using an exploratory case study approach in this research was to ‘develop… hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry’ into injustice of spatiality and housing in South Africa (Yin, 1994:5).

3.3 Population and Sampling

As alluded, I purposively selected Alexandra as a case study because it acts as a microcosm of the political economy and spatial challenges of townships in South Africa and an epitome of the current thinking on spatial injustice at all spheres of government. The ARP envisioned the upgrading of infrastructure and construction of new houses as solutions to urban poverty and underdevelopment in Alexandra (Roefs et al, 2003). However, Dikec (2001:1799) claims that such misconception focuses on the distribution of injustice and fails to consider how injustice is 'produced and re-produced' through the 'production of space'.

Within Alexandra, I purposively selected sites to conduct in-depth site visits to map the spatial injustices. I based this decision on capacity constraints to conduct an in-depth analysis of the whole of Alexandra. Extensions 25 and 26 Old Alexandra, Setjwetla Informal Settlement and Maponyane Village are the study sites. I purposefully selected Extensions 25 and 26 Alexandra as they provide a glimpse of the Old Alexandra. Setjwetla Informal Settlement and Maponyane Village were further purposefully selected as study sites to find out how and why these areas came into existence. Refer to figures 4.1-4.3 for the locality map of Alexandra and the selected study sites.

The researcher also incorporated the use of purposive sampling method to identify the key informants. Key informant interviews were conducted to understand the root causes of the perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra. In qualitative research, the magnitude of participants is less important than the quality of information gathered, but it is vital to achieve data saturation (Tuckett, 2004). The key informants were purposefully selected, ranging from the organisations that were involved in the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) to pressure groups and the housing and planning experts. The purposeful sampling technique is recommended when one is aware of the source of information needed to complete a study (Crossman, 2018). In such circumstances, not so many people may have the data needed to complete the study (Crossman, 2018). Thus, given the nature and objectives of the research, twelve key informants were interviewed. In this study, the scope of a master's research report, time and cost played a role in the determination of sample size of 12 key informant interviews. Table 3.1 lists all the key informants and the rationale for their selection.

Table 3.1: List of Key Informants

Key informants	Rationale for their selection
Two City of Johannesburg (CoJ) Planning and Housing Officials	City officials directly involved in spatial planning and housing in Alexandra. Understanding how city officials are planning for equity in spatial planning and land use management. Soliciting the views of city officials on what the root causes of post-apartheid spatial injustice are.
One Gauteng Provincial Government Housing Official involved in the ARP Management and Coordination.	Understanding how the GPG supported local government in conceptualisation and planning for spatial justice in ARP. Soliciting the views of the GPG official on what the chief causes of post-apartheid spatial injustice are.
One Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) Official	Represent an institution that advocates the interest of the urban poor, inclusive and just societies. Understanding the role of SERI in advocating the rights of the marginalised groups in Johannesburg. Soliciting the views of the SERI official on what the underlying causes of post-apartheid spatial injustice are.
Three Professional Planners in Private Sector	Have vast experience in spatial planning and act on behalf of private developers in development applications. Understanding how planning consultants and firms are advocating spatial justice in planning praxis. Soliciting the views of three professional planners on what the main reasons for the post-apartheid spatial injustice are.
Three Planning, Housing and Urban Geography experts at the University of Witwatersrand and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich in Switzerland	Renowned experts who are involved in planning and housing education in South Africa. Understanding the experts` views on what the overarching causes of post-apartheid spatial injustice are.
One Housing Development Agency (HDA)	Involved in acquiring land for human settlements and provision of project delivery services on behalf of all spheres of government. Understanding the challenges, the HDA encounters in acquiring strategically located land for housing developments. Understanding the views of the HDA official on the origins of the post-apartheid spatial injustice.
One Social Researcher and Activist in Alexandra	Lives, and involved in activism in Alexandra. Understanding the current housing status and how spatial injustice is being re-produced.

Source: Mareere (2019)

3.4 Data Collection Methods

3.4.1 Document analysis

I reviewed existing literature on urban and housing policies inclusive of the ARP to understand the conceptualisation of spatial injustice by all spheres of government. I obtained Alexandra maps from the CoJ online Geographic Information System (GIS) to prepare spatial analysis maps of Alexandra (refer to figures 4.5-4.11).

3.4.2 Face-to-face interviews

Interview guides were used to conduct twelve interviews with key informants (refer to Appendix C). In addition, a Skype video call was used to interview an urban geography expert who was involved in studies on structural spatial inequalities in Johannesburg and now based at ETH, Zurich, in Switzerland. I used my cellphone to record the interviews after receiving consent to do so from the key informants. Face-to-face interviews were most suitable in this study as they allowed for the collection of in-depth information through further probing.

3.4.3 Direct observation and photography

I observed respondents` gestures during interview sessions to substantiate verbal responses. In addition, I visited Alexandra to observe and take photographs on the physical manifestation of injustice in housing. The observation of the current status quo seeks to validate the problem statement, substantiate secondary data sources and map the current spatial injustices. I visited the study area three times in order to understand and appreciate the spatial injustices. I made the first visit in the morning of 28 September 2019 to familiarise myself with Alexandra area. The second visit on 18 October 2019 was to visit the selected study sites and interview Mr Mopasi a social researcher and activist in Alexandra. Mr Mopasi consented to the use of his actual name in this research report. The third visit in the morning of 28 December 2019 was for taking additional site pictures.

3.5 Data Organisation and Analysis

I transcribed audio recorded data. The data analysis involved grouping the responses from all participants into thematic areas that address the study objectives. Thereafter, I narrated and analysed the grouped responses. The responses from the participants were cross-examined

with information gathered during literature review. Lastly, conclusions and recommendations were drawn based on the responses of the key informants.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

I cited and referenced all the reviewed literature. An application for ethical clearance to conduct this study was approved by the University of Witwatersrand School Ethics Committee and is attached as an Appendix A. I furnished participant information sheets and questionnaires to all the key informants prior the interview session in order to establish rapport and obtain voluntary consent. No vulnerable groups participated in this study and no sensitive information was solicited from the key informants. Views and responses from the respondents were presented as they are and no fabrication was done in this study. All photographs taken in the field excluded peoples` faces. This study, uses the real names of two academic experts, namely Professor Harrison and Professor Charlton, SERI official, Mr Molopi and Alexandra activist, Mr Mopasi. The CoJ officials are referred to as official 1 and 2, and planners in private sector are referred to as planner 1, 2 and 3 in this study.

3.7 Positionality of the researcher

I have never lived nor been in Alexandra prior to conducting this study and I have no relative(s) that live in Alexandra. However, I declare that I grew up in Dangamvura, a high-density suburb in Zimbabwe, and experienced many spatial injustices in access to services and opportunities. Even though townships have their own unique challenges, I experienced and noted that townships in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa have common challenges relating to access to basic services and opportunities. These life experiences, coupled with my current studies in urban management, kindled the desire to research on the principle of spatial justice.

3.8 Research Limitations

I was limited by the scope of a master's research report, to conduct a detailed study in Alexandra, hence only twelve key informant interviews were conducted. Despite several attempts, I failed to schedule an appointment with housing officials from CoJ. Thus, I could not get the other side of the story regarding many allegations levelled against housing officials. However, interviews with housing officials from the Housing Development Agency and Gauteng Provincial Government helped to shed more light on housing practices. Because

of language barrier and resource constraints, the researcher could not interview the residents of Alexandra without a translator or research assistants. However, an interview with a social researcher and activist Mr Mopasi who lives in Alexandra was very helpful.

3.9 Conclusion

This qualitative research was based on the exploratory case study approach. The approach as useful in narrowing down the scope of the study to suit my capacity in terms of time and other resources. Extensions 25 and 26, Setjwetla Informal Settlement and Maponyane Village are the study sites in Alexandra. The study involved twelve key informant interviews, document analysis, and three site visits. The upcoming Chapter 4 focus on the context and preliminary findings from the review of existing literature on Alexandra and site visits.

CHAPTER FOUR: TOWARDS A TIMELINE OF SPATIAL INJUSTICES IN ALEXANDRA

Alexandra lingers as a 'quintessential black spot' (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008:386)

4.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 provides preliminary findings on the review of literature on the study area and the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP). The intention is to understand the implementation of the ARP and infer the implied application of the principle of spatial justice. This chapter also provides a timeline of spatial injustices since the establishment of Alexandra about 110 years ago.

4.2 Location of Alexandra

Alexandra is located +-12 km north-east of Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) and +- 3 km from Sandton, the financial hub of Johannesburg (ARP, 2009). Figure 4.1 depicts the locality of Alexandra and the selected study sites. The study sites are Extensions 25 and 26 Old Alexandra, Setjwetla Informal Settlement and Maponyane Village. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 are aerial photographs of these study sites. Extensions 25 and 26 were purposefully selected as they provide a glimpse of the Old Alexandra. As illustrated in figure 4.2, Extensions 25 and 26 are characterised by informal dwellings and resembles the aerial photograph of Setjwetla Informal Settlement (see figure 4.3). Therefore, it was prudent to explore and map the spatial injustices in Old Alexandra Extensions 25 and 26. I further selected Setjwetla Informal Settlement and Maponyane Village as study sites to find out how and why these areas come into existence. The reviewed literature indicates that the Setjwetla Informal Settlement originated as a transit camp for residents earmarked to be relocated outside Alexandra (Harrison, Masson and Sinwell, 2014).

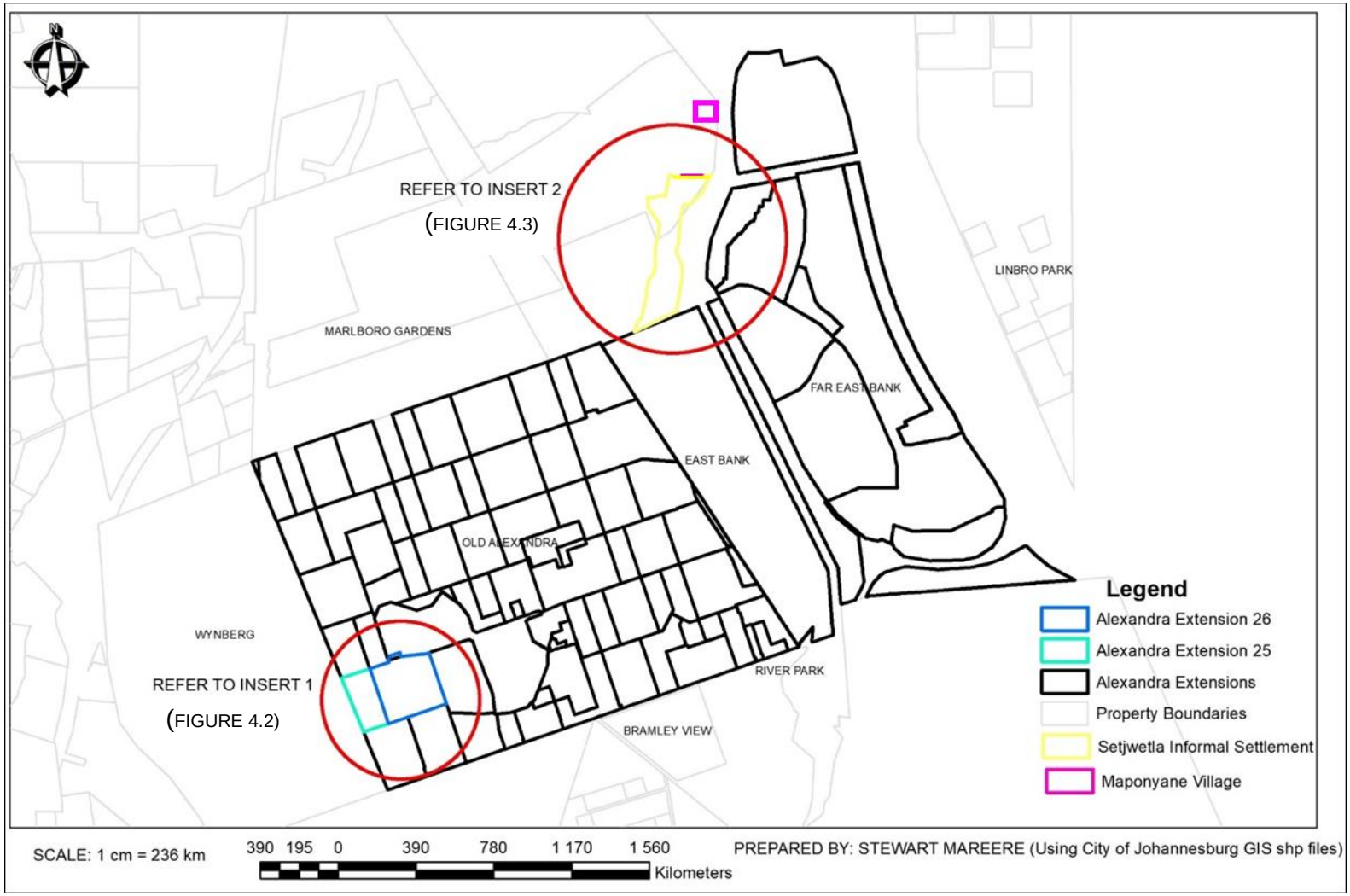


Figure 4.1: Locality Plan of Alexandra

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to CoJ online GIS (2019)



Figure 4.2: Old Alexandra Extensions 25 and 26

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to CoJ online GIS (2019)

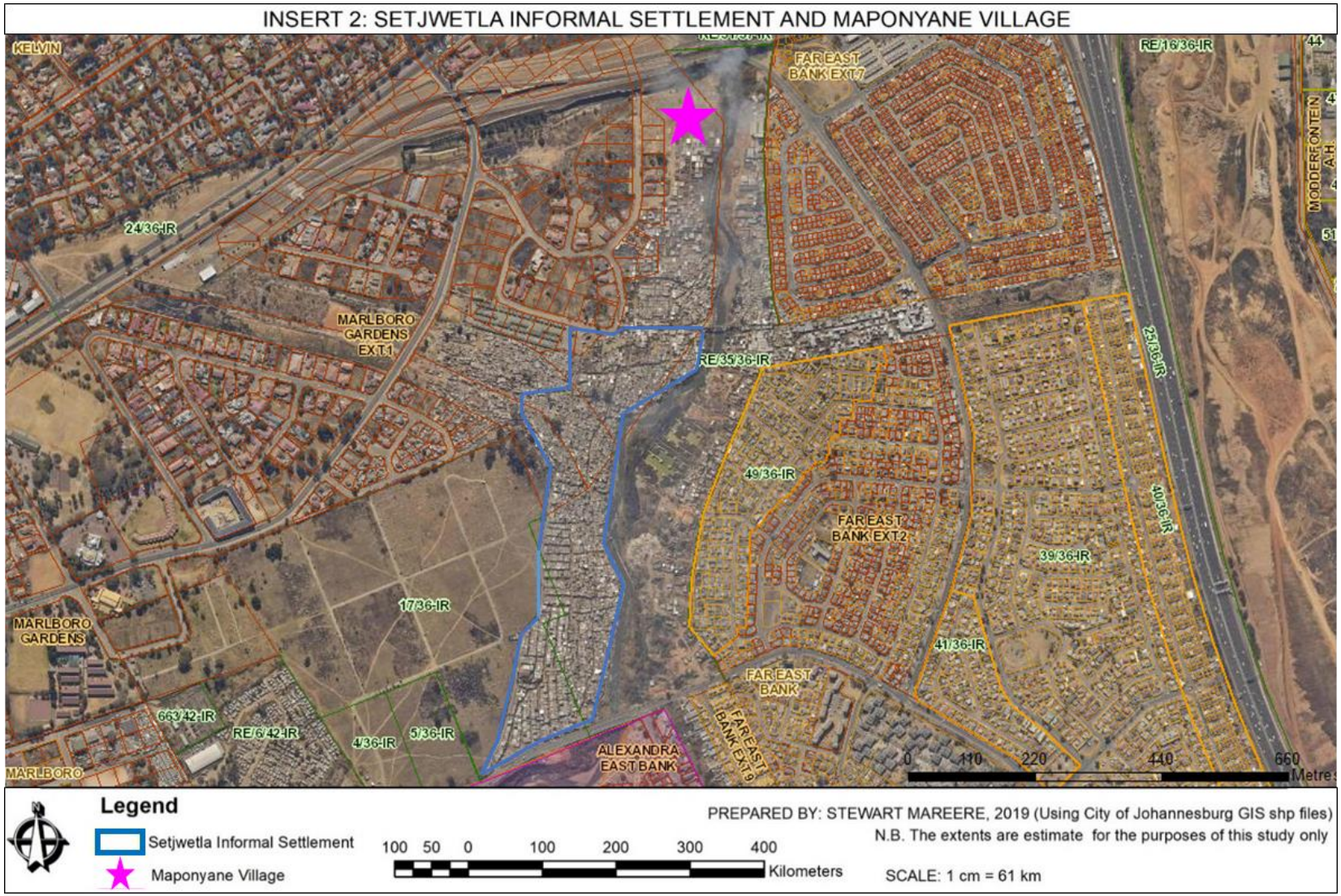


Figure 4.3: Setjwetla Informal Settlement and Maponyane Village

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to CoJ online GIS (2019)

4.3 Spatial Injustices in Alexandra

It is critical to consider how the spatial injustices in Alexandra have been produced and re-produced during and post-apartheid epochs. This insight is central in appreciating general processes that shape most townships in South Africa. Spatial injustices in Alexandra date back to the apartheid era. Demolitions, forced relocations, and under-provision of basic services are the major forms of injustices in Alexandra. Alexandra was established as a native township in 1905 and was proclaimed in 1910 (Kotze and Mathola, 2012). The original landowners in Alexandra comprised of farmers and labourers that were moved out of white area farms (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Matlapeng (2012) notes that Alexandra was established as a freehold township for 'natives' and 'coloureds' who acquired the 2500 stands from Papenfus, the township owner. This explains how the spatial injustice in Alexandra were produced through apartheid legislation that authorised forced relocations and creation of separate areas for black Africans.

According to ARP (2009) bulk service infrastructure in Alexandra was originally designed for 70 000 inhabitants. The period between 1945 and 1948 saw the township experiencing an influx of people (de Jager, 1990). In 1953, the Mentz Committee recommended that the population of Alexandra should not be allowed to increase but should be reduced through relocations (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Only Alexandra residents working in northern suburbs were allowed to remain, whilst those working in the southern and central Johannesburg were relocated to townships near their places of employment (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

An upgrading programme was instituted in 1963 that required only 35 000 people to reside in the built houses (de Jager, 1990). More than 56 000 people were forcibly relocated to Soweto and approximately 15 000 were forcibly relocated to Tembisa, because of the upgrading programme (de Jager, 1990). This reflects how the spatial injustices in Alexandra were further re-produced using apartheid legislation that permitted forced relocations in the name of decongesting overcrowded areas. According to Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) the forced relocations reflected the wishes and aspirations of the apartheid government to restrict black Africans from owning property in urban areas.

Black Africans were unhappy about all these injustices, prompting murmurs of disapproval at every opportunity. The Black Sash and the Progressive Party criticised the apartheid government plans to force black Africans to live in hostels (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). This did not, however, deter the apartheid government, which remained insolent in the face of these complaints. The change of administration in Alexandra from the Department of Native Affairs and the Peri-Urban Areas Health Board (PUAHB) to West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) in 1973 resulted in more stringent measures (ibid). Black African property owners were dispossessed, declared tenants and forced to pay rentals to the WRAB (ibid).

Forced removals and dispossession of ownership of property in Alexandra were not the only injustices that bedevilled the Alexandra residents. The deliberate under-provision of services resulted in poor living conditions. For example, there was an accumulation of industrial waste material from Kew and Wynberg industries (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). In addition, hostels such as City Deep were poorly maintained, resulting in inhumane living conditions (ibid). There was much jubilation, and high expectation for the improvement of living conditions in Alexandra from 1994 onwards. As demonstrated below, the injustices in Alexandra have been continuously produced and re-produced through various processes and actions of individuals, government and civic organisations.

Like any other urban areas in South Africa, the removal of apartheid legislation and policies that restricted free movement of people resulted in the influx of people in Alexandra from rural areas in search of employment (ARP, 2009). The economic turmoil in neighbouring countries also contributed to the influx of people in Alexandra (ARP, 2009; de Wet, Mathee and Barnes, 2001). This culminated in increased pressure on the existing infrastructure and sprouting of informal settlements.

Kotze and Mathola (2012:251) noted that there was ‘suffocating dirt, flowing sewage and shacks built on river banks and in graveyards’ and overcrowding in Alexandra. This situation prompted the launch of the ARP in 2001 by the then President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki (ARP, 2009). However, the question is: Did the ARP achieve its aims and objectives, particularly of social integration and reduction of spatial injustices in Alexandra?

4.4 The timeline of Spatial Injustice in Alexandra

Figure 4.4 provides a graphical representation of the timeline of spatial injustices in Alexandra. What can really be done with the situation of Alexandra? Is another ARP the answer?

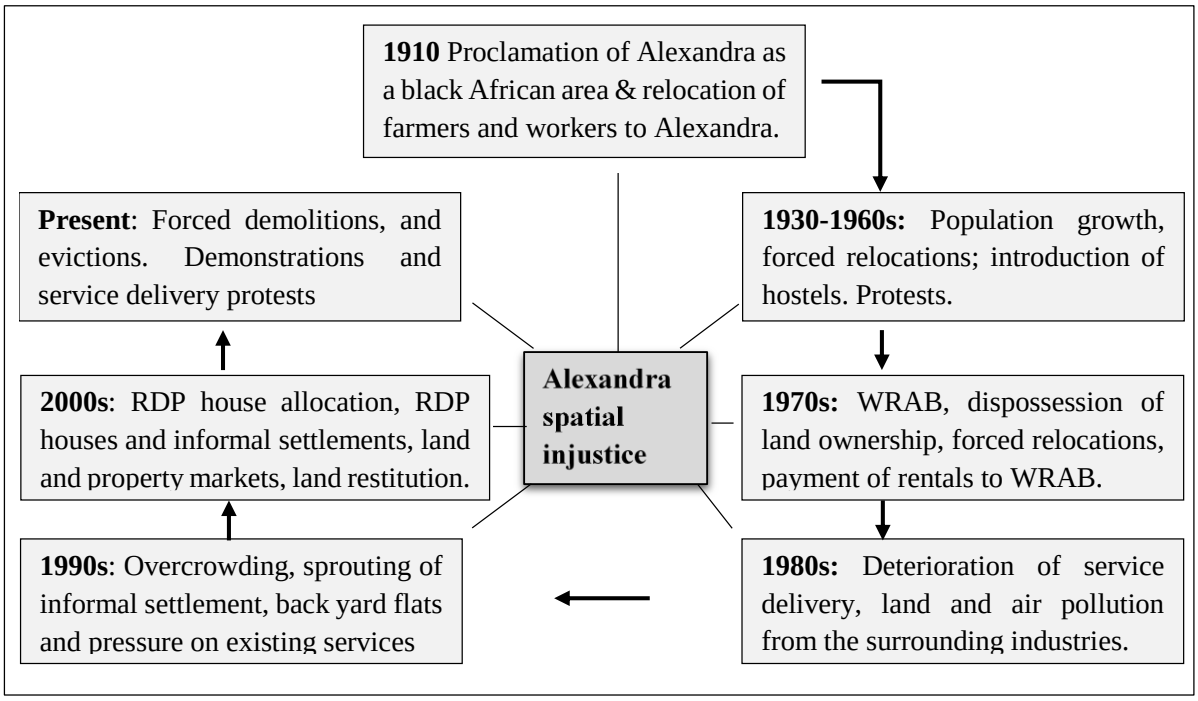


Figure 4.4: Timeline of Spatial Injustices in Alexandra

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to literature reviewed above

As shown in figure 4.4, Alexandra has been an area of contestation and protests. According to Kotze and Mathola (2012), there was continued protest and a high level of dissatisfaction in Alexandra. In 2019, Alexandra was rocked by protests dubbed 'shut down Alex' as residents bemoan the crime… lack of service delivery and the alleged lack of earnestness by the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) in addressing their pleas (Mjo, 2019). The protests reflect the growing dissatisfaction against systematic exclusion and the fight against injustice by Alexandra residents.

In addition, several families were rendered homeless by forced demolitions of about '80 illegally built houses' in Maponyane Village in 2019 (Ntshidi, 2019). The forced demolitions echo the continued use of force, domination and oppression of the urban poor. Therefore, these examples reveal the injustices the Alexandra residents continue to endure despite government interventions.

4.5 The Alexandra Renewal Project

In 2001, the Urban Renewal Projects (URP) were launched in eight townships of 5 different provinces namely: Alexandra in Gauteng, KwaMashu and Inanda in Kwazulu-Natal, Mdantsane and Motherwell in the Eastern Cape, Khayelitsha and Mitchell`s Plain in the Western Cape and Galeshewe in the Northern Cape (Sinwell, 2009). These eight townships were meant to be pilot projects that informs future URPs (Donaldson, du Plessis, Spocter and Massey, 2013). The URPs were area-based approaches that aimed at reducing poverty and underdevelopment in townships (Donaldson et al, 2013).

The ARP consisted of several projects, that include 'housing, infrastructure development, local economic development, urban management, environmental management and development of human skills' in addressing urbanisation challenges (ARP, 2009:3). Table 4.1 summarises the challenges that prompted the implementation of ARP, list eleven functional areas, tasks and the objectives of ARP.

Table 4.1: Alexandra Challenges and the ARP Intervention

Alexandra challenges that prompted ARP	**Intervention aspects of the ARP**
Lack of investment and poverty Lack of public parks Shacks along Jukskei River Overcrowding and informal housing Intense pressure on existing bulk services Illegal electricity connections Poor service delivery Collapse of basic services High crime rate	**11 functional areas**: 'education, engineering, environment, health, heritage, **housing**, local economic development, local government capacity building, safety and security, sport and recreation, and welfare' (ARP, 2009:4).
	Tasks: Upgrade of existing houses; provision of affordable housing, provision of employment opportunities, creation of a healthy and clean environment; reducing levels of crime and violence; Service provision and De-densification.
	Objectives: Create integrated and functional settlement; rehabilitate dysfunctional urban areas.

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to Roefs et al (2003); ARP (2009)

4.5.1 The triumphs of the ARP

The (ARP, 2009:7) described ARP as having a 'far-reaching success'. 'The successful implementation of ARP has improved the living conditions and human development potential' through provision of employment, skills development and housing development (ibid:7). Besides the provision of houses for ownership, the ARP developed two housing models to provide an 'affordable alternative to shack dwelling' (Charlton, 2010:9). Charlton

(2010:9) submitted that these two models ensured inclusion of the urban poor through provision of cheap accommodation at 'convenient places'. Thus, Charlton (2010:9) advocated for 'cheap rental accommodation in well-located areas'. Table 4.2 below summarises some of the triumphs of the ARP.

Table 4.2: Summary of ARP Triumphs

POSITIVE IMPACTS OF ARP	
Housing Construction of 14 500 housing units; Renovation and remodelling of 3 hostels; Relocation of 7 500 residents from Jukskei River Bank Relocation of 3 800 households from infill site Upgrading of existing houses; Transferred publicly owned housing stocks to local residents; Redevelopment of hostels; Voluntary relocation of informal dwellers along London Road;	**Socio-Economic** Building and refurbishment of 18 schools, library, business support centre and 4 clinics; Upgrading of road network and bridge construction; Upgrading of 2 Alexandra cemeteries; Upgrading of health and social service facilities; Improved policing; Upgrade of sewerage system; Provision of 65 000 refuse bins; More residents have access to water and sanitation; More residents have access to electricity; Pan Africa Shopping Centre; Gautrain station a catalyst for development Employment creation;
Environment Urban greening strategy; Development of parks and recreational areas; Upgrading of Alexandra Stadium and Altrek Sports Precinct Development of parkland with walkways along Jukskei River; Construction of Waste Recycling facility; Construction of air quality monitoring station;	**Sustainability** Small business development; Establishment of Local Economic Development Unit; Attracted funding from all spheres of government and private sector.

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to ARP (2009); Kotze and Mathola (2012)

4.5.2 The limitations of the ARP

The ARP has been criticised for, *inter alia*, its pre-occupation with quantity and figures at the expense of quality. Harrison *et al* (2014) concluded that the ARP promoted a 'spatial objective of de-densification' akin to the same aim of the apartheid era – forced relocations. In addition, the ARP falls short in addressing the sustainability aspects of the housing provision. The relocation of 7 500 residents of the informal settlement along the Jukskei

River resulted in new informal dwellers occupying the same area. As Charlton (2010) has put it, some residents who were relocated under the ARP returned to Setjwetla Informal Settlement. In addition, it seems the housing demand in Alexandra has been growing instead of decreasing despite government implementing the ARP as exemplified by the continuous expansion of Setjwetla Informal Settlement and growth of Maponyane Village (refer to paragraph 4.5).

The ARP, like any other government housing programmes, failed to address the land claims and land markets. Land restitution and compensation stalled the implementation of housing programmes in Old Alexandra since 2005. Cirota (2017) pointed out that the Alexandra Land and Property Owner's Association (ALPOA) and the Alexandra Property Owner's Rights Organisation (APOR) were dissatisfied with the R50 000.00 from government as compensation for the land claims. This resulted in the ALPOA and APOR obtaining a court interdict against the CoJ on 12 June 2005 (Cirota, 2017). Cirota (2017) observed that the court interdict was meant to prevent the expropriation of land and prevent demolition of properties in Old Alexandra without compensation.

The court interdict by ALPOA and APOR mirrors Lefebvre's views on the domination of capitalism where the exchange value of land is more important than its use value, which results in exclusion and fragmentation between the affluent and the poor class (Lefebvre, 1993 cited in Dikec, 2001). The court interdict is a unique case since private property owners, instituted against government programme that sought to uplift the welfare and well-being of Alexandra residents. It is therefore, pertinent to ask, at what point, the government intervenes in the land market to ensure that government housing programmes are not frustrated by private interest. Should the exchange value of land continue to override the use value of land especially for housing?

Most government housing programmes, including the ARP, have been criticised for failing to encourage community participation and, in most cases, the housing stocks have been occupied by outsiders (Gunter, 2013; Charlton, 2013). For instance, the Tsutsumani area (Far East Bank) in Alexandra, built in 1999 as an athlete village, which was later converted to low cost housing and allocated to people mostly outside Alexandra (ARP, 2009; Gunter, 2013:281).

The issue of state subsidised housing being occupied by outsiders extends also to foreign nationals (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008; Charlton, 2010; 2013). The anti-foreigner violence that occurred in May 2008 was 'either directly related' 'or opportunistically linked' to frustrations over foreign nationals occupying 'state subsidised houses' (Charlton, 2010:13). Harrison *et al* (2014:345) acknowledge that, 'insiders and outsiders' characterise the 'socio-spatial history of Alexandra'. These examples raise the questions whether the right to housing in South Africa is limited to a community in which one applies for social housing and whether immigrants from other countries have limited right to the city.

If the right to housing is limited to a community in which one grew up and applied for social housing and if the immigrants have limited rights to the city, then what distinguishes the current thinking and practice from apartheid era practices? According to Boshoff (1989) cited in Boshoff (2003:4) the apartheid era created imaginary borders and boundaries 'by seeking to have blacks in their own homelands' and seeing them only 'as temporary sojourners in white South African cities, to satisfy the demand for labour'. However, these issues are highly contentious and they require honest discussions and further research.

4.6 Spatial Analysis of Alexandra, 2000 to 2019

Figures 4.5-4.11 depicts aerial images of Alexandra with a brief analysis of spatial trends between 2000 and 2019. Further attempts were made to obtain aerial images of Alexandra from 1970s onwards to no avail. The analysis of spatial trends in Alexandra was important, as it provided a context to this study.

By 2000, a buffer area separated the newly established Tsutsumani village from East Bank as shown in figure 4.5. Only two bridges provided access from Old Alexandra to East Bank. Far East bank was characterised by pockets of vacant land. Old Alexandra and Setjwetla Informal Settlement are depicted as densely populated.

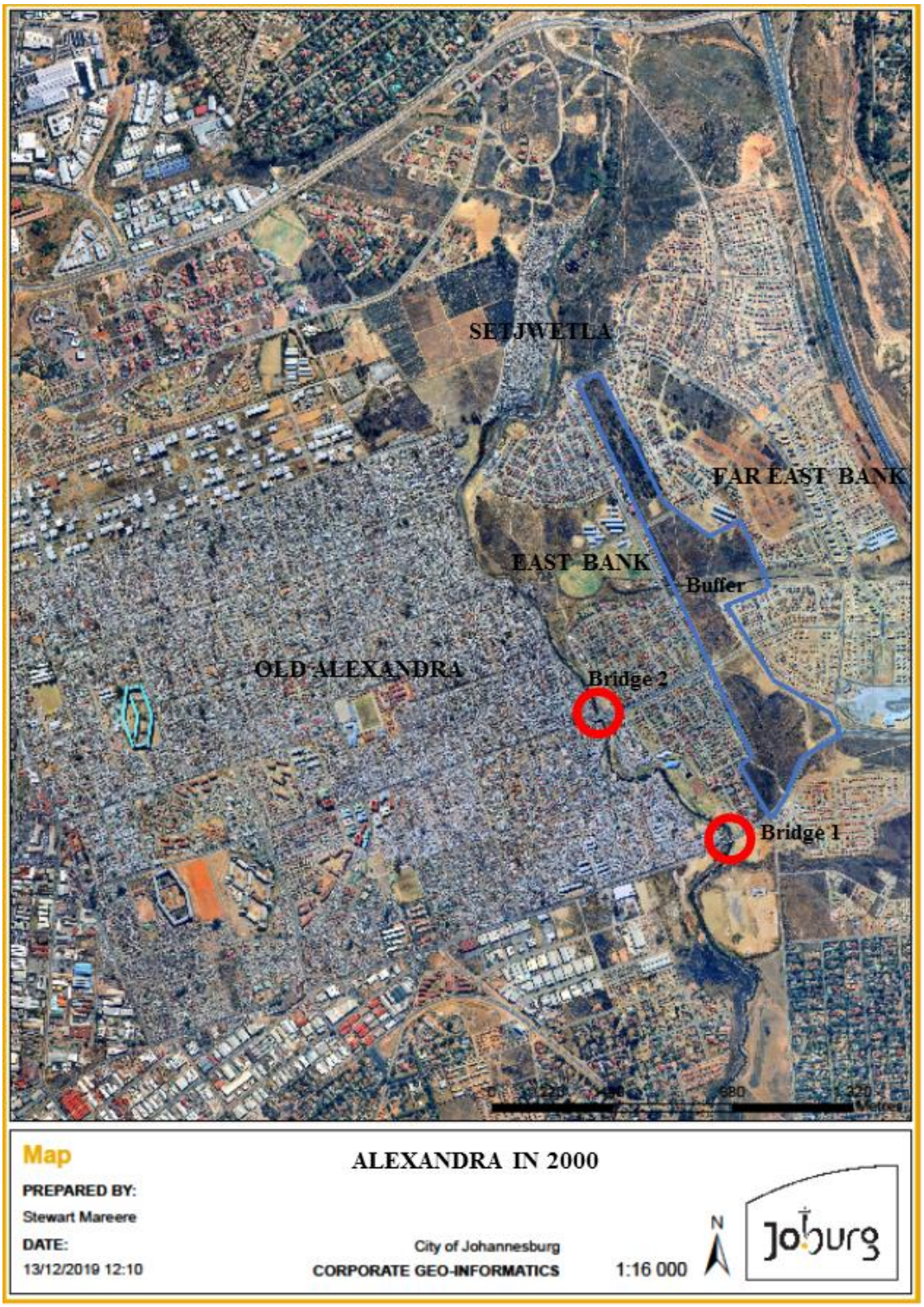


Figure 4.5: Alexandra in 2000

Source: Adapted from CoJ online GIS (2019)

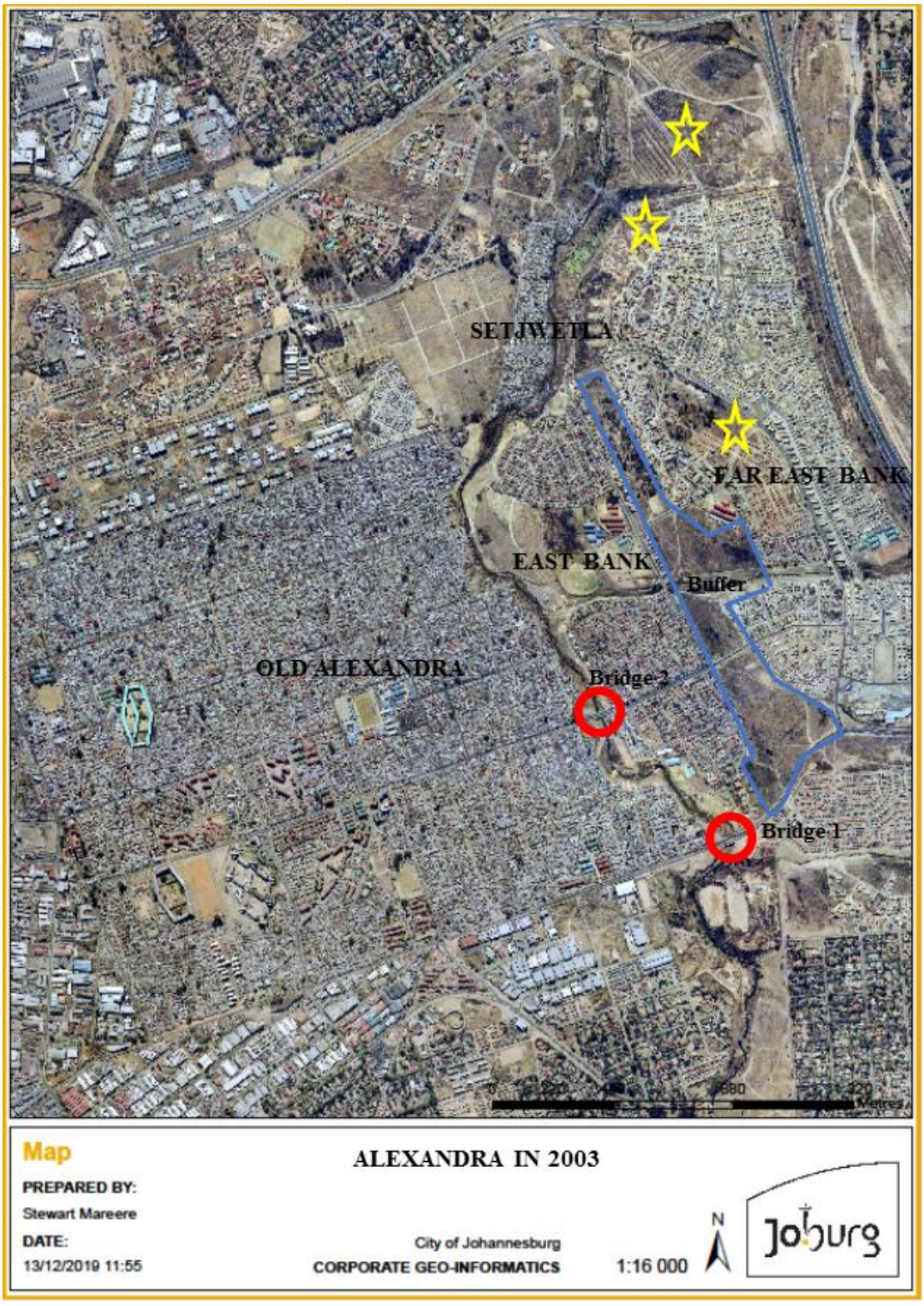


Figure 4.6: Alexandra in 2003

Source: Adapted from CoJ online GIS (2019)

In 2003, numerous housing developments in Far East Bank had commenced under the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) as depicted in figure 4.6.



Figure 4.7: Alexandra in 2006

Source: Adapted from CoJ online GIS (2019)

By the year 2006, the ARP had developed houses adjacent to Jukskei River (directly opposite Setjwetla) and further north of Tsutsumani Village as illustrated in figure 4.7.



Figure 4.8: Alexandra in 2009

Source: Adapted from CoJ online GIS (2019)

In 2009, the construction of the underground Gautrain line and Marlboro Gautrain station had commenced towards the northern part of Far East Bank as shown in figure 4.8. The buffer strips along N3 and between East Bank and Tsutsumani were converted into housing developments under the ARP. The ARP further constructed a bridge along Florence Maposho street to link Old Alexandra and East bank.

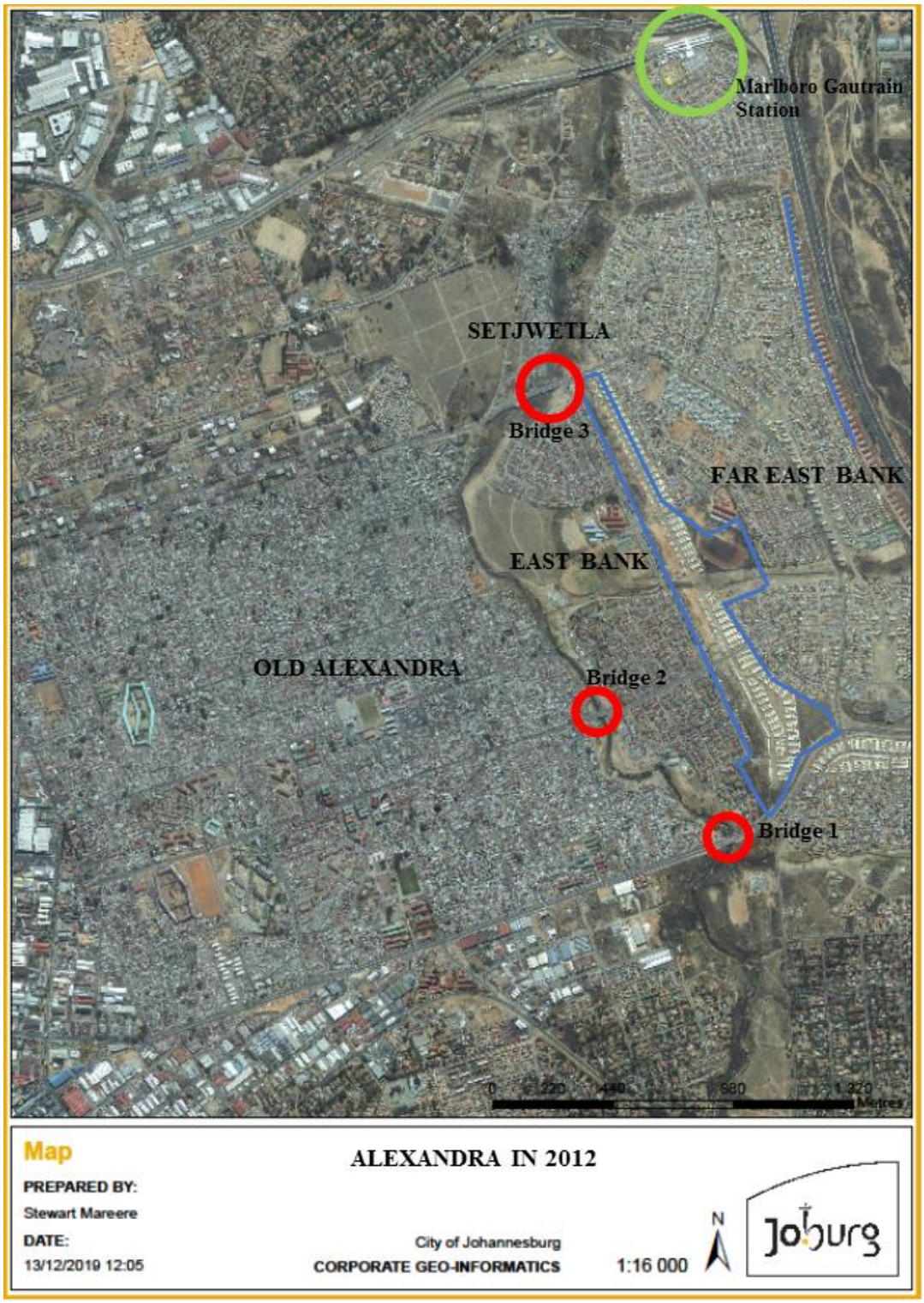


Figure 4.9: Alexandra in 2012

Source: Adapted from CoJ online GIS (2019)

By the year 2012, vacant pockets of land in Far East Bank were developed under the ARP as depicted in figure 4.9. The Marlboro Gautrain Station was completed and functional by 2010.

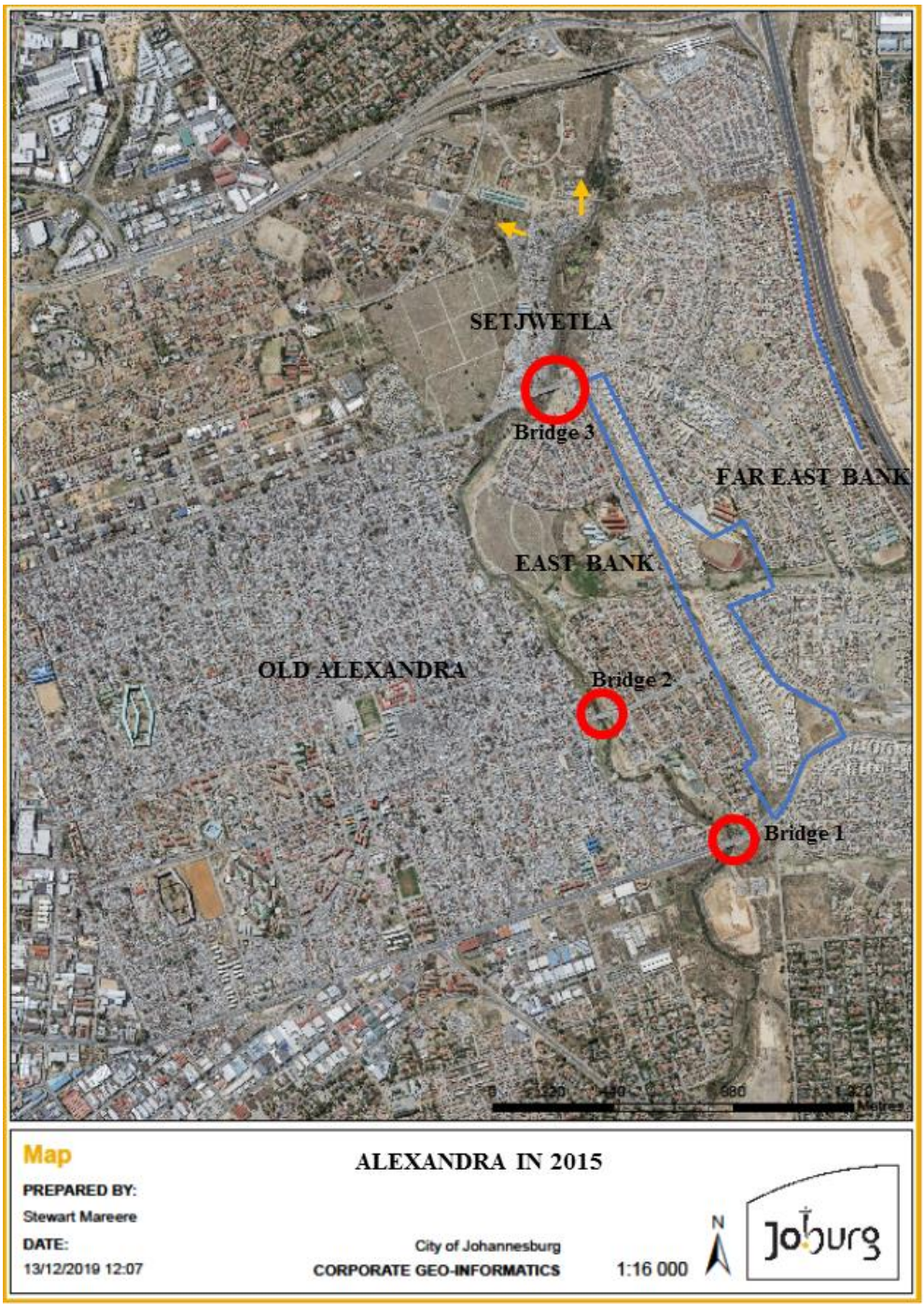


Figure 4.10: Alexandra in 2015

Source: Adapted from CoJ online GIS (2019)

Figure 4.10 demonstrates that the ARP failed to re-develop Old Alexandra owing to a plethora of factors that include the 2005 court interdict. Instead, the ARP focused on the development of Far East Bank. It seems the Old Alexandra and Setjwetla Informal Settlement are increasingly becoming densely populated as compared to the year 2001, when the ARP was launched.

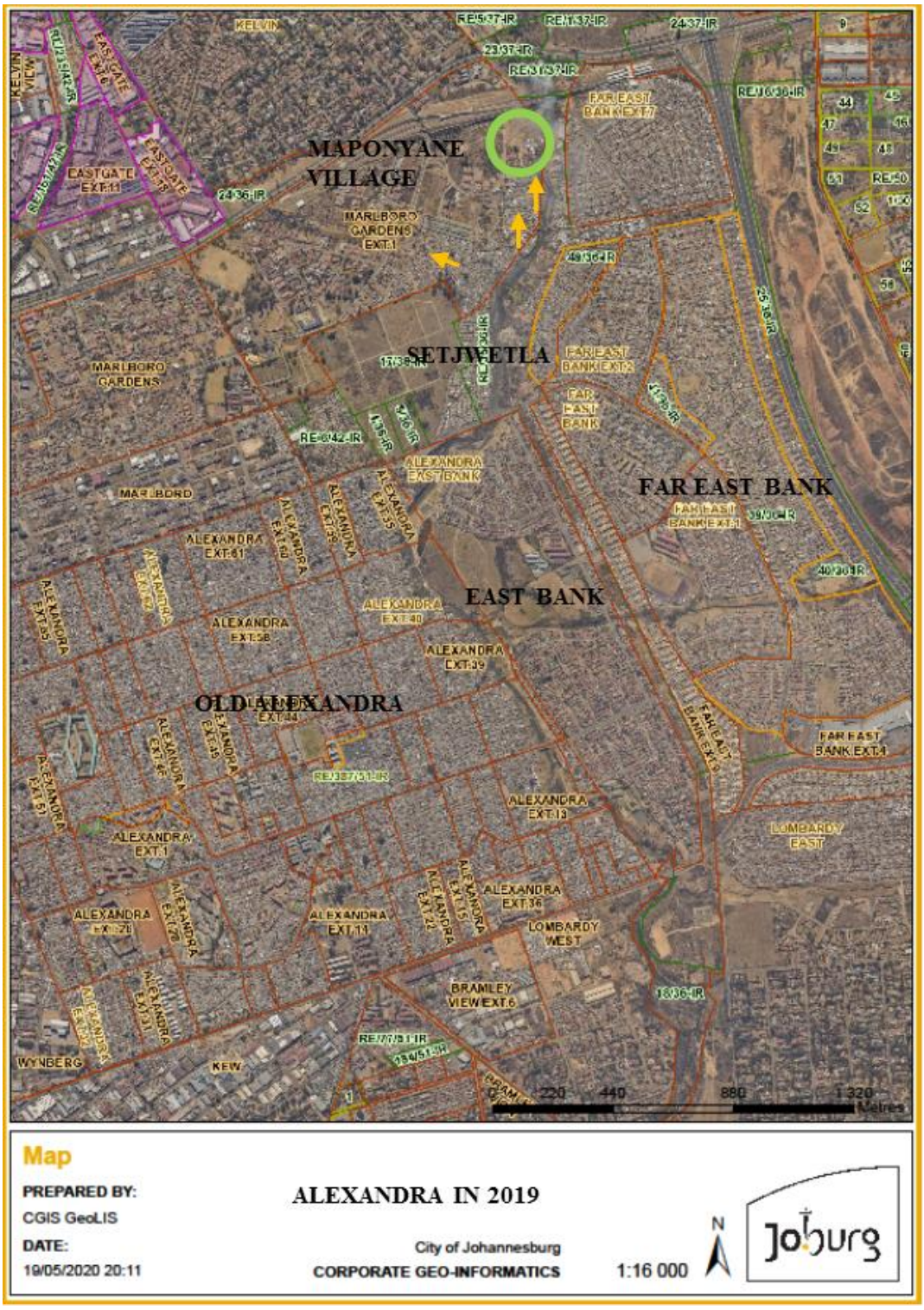


Figure 4.11: Alexandra in 2019

Source: Adapted from CoJ online GIS (2019)

Between 2015 and 2019, it seems there was gradual expansion of Setjwetla Informal Settlement towards the north-western and northern sides. The same period saw the sprouting of Maponyane Village.

4.7 Discussion

Did the ARP, transformed the spatial arrangement of houses in Old Alexandra? Based on the analysis of aerial images between 2000 and 2019, sadly, the answer is NO. The spatial configuration of Old Alexandra and Setjwetla have changed little over the years. Backyard flats and informal structures still characterise Old Alexandra and Setjwetla reflecting overcrowding and appalling living conditions. Would it have been spatially just if the ARP relocated more households from backyard flats and informal settlements in Alexandra to temporary relocation sites such as Diepsloot? Mass relocations to temporary relocation sites is not spatially just endeavour as it destroys social networks (Strauss and Liebenberg, 2014). Thus, increasing spatial justice in Alexandra is a complex undertaking.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the study area and highlighted the spatial injustices that characterised Alexandra for over 110 years. The chapter has also unpacked the intentions, successes and limitations of the ARP with specific reference to how it addressed the spatial injustices in Alexandra. The ALPOA court interdict had a far-reaching negative impact on the success of ARP in Old Alexandra as depicted in the spatial analysis maps. Chapter 5 presents the findings and analysis of data collected from key informant interviews and site visits.

CHAPTER FIVE: POINTERS ON THE ROOT CAUSES OF SPATIAL INJUSTICE IN ALEXANDRA

'We will just deliver [houses] where we can' (Gauteng Provincial Government official, interview 07 February 2020)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected during the key informant interviews and site visits. The chapter maps the forms of spatial injustices and thereafter, presents some of the causes of spatial injustice in Alexandra. Twelve key informant interviews were conducted with housing and planning experts. These informants were drawn from academia, social activist groups, planners in private and public sectors.

5.2 Application of the Spatial Justice Principle in South Africa

All twelve respondents reflected an in-depth understanding of the principle of spatial justice. However, it seems the principle meant different things to different respondents, which reflects the elasticity of the principle. Three respondents drawn from the planners in private sector struggled to explain how they apply the principle in planning and housing.

A housing official from the Housing Development Agency (HDA, interview 30 September 2019) aptly captured that 'spatial justice is more than about integration, it is a feeling and experience one gets from living in an environment with standard services regardless of their social standing'. The HDA official further noted that the principle of spatial justice is integrated in the 'identification of well-located land for housing developments, market studies and township layout designs' within their organisation.

Professor Harrison, the South African Research Chair in Spatial Analysis and City Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand (interview 01 October 2019), described spatial justice as 'spatial arrangements and spatial processes that promote equitable access to quality services' for the current and future generation. The Research and Advocacy Officer from Socio-Economic Research Institute (SERI), Mr Molopi (interview 01 October 2019), further amplified that the principle of spatial justice acknowledges past racial injustices and endeavours to ensure that 'there is greater access to services and housing in well-located

areas'. According to Mr Molopi, SERI contributes to housing rights of the urban poor through research, litigation, community and policy advocacy.

The official 1 (interview 03 October 2019) revealed that the principle of spatial justice is a focus area of the City Transformation Department. He explained that the name of the department entails the 'need to transform the city and is a recognition that spatial inequalities exist' in the city. The official 1 further stated that, the Spatial Development Framework (SDF, 2040), Inclusionary Housing Incentives, Regulations and Mechanisms, (IHIRM), 2019 and the Draft Nodal Review, 2019 are all policy frameworks crafted by the City Transformation Department to address spatial inequalities. The Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) official within the Human Settlements Department (interview 07 February 2020) viewed spatial justice in terms of 'access and secure tenure'. She mentioned that the GPG fuses the concept of spatial justice through conducting research and the implementation of site service schemes, rapid land release and 'walk-ups' programmes.

Most of the above responses except for that of Professor Harrison, did not interpret spatial justice as a process as put forward by Dikec (2001) and Soja (2009). The varied conceptualisation of spatial justice partly explains why most government interventions in South Africa focus on addressing the spatial manifestation of spatial injustice instead of targeting the processes that result in spatial injustice. However, targeting the injustices of spatiality is a complex and difficult endeavor given the role of politics in policy formulation and decision making.

5.3 Perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra

Most key informants confirmed that there is a perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra whilst two informants acknowledged improvements in Alexandra. Professor Harrison remarked that 'the present day Alexandra is much better in terms of service provision than the Alexandra of 1995, when it was referred as the dark city owing to non-availability of electricity'. Professor Charlton (interview 21 October 2019) explained that 'a lot has been done under the ARP and it is not a simple story of lots of money and energy and no achievement'. All respondents explained some processes and factors that have been contributing to the perpetuation of spatial injustices in Alexandra.

5.4 Mapping of spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra

Figures 5.5 and 5.9 depict the spatial injustices in the study sites in Alexandra, based on the site visits and responses mostly from Mr Mopasi, a social researcher and activist in Alexandra. Mr Mopasi was a member of the Development Forum that was involved in the establishment of Tsutsumani village during the All Africa Games in 1999. He is also a member of the Civil Society group that was formed to resolve the stalemate between the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) and Alexandra Land and Property Owner's Association (ALPOA) after the 2005 court interdict.

5.4.1 The study site: Extensions 25 and 26 Old Alexandra

According to Mr Mopasi (interview 18 October 2019) the locality where Extensions 25 and 26 are situated is known as the Reconstruction Area (RCA) and was previously known as Beirut. He clarified that the term RCA is a commemoration of peace and tranquillity following the turmoil and 'violence between the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters'. The Madala hostel, also known as the M1 hostel, was built in the 1970s to accommodate male workers (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Mr Mopasi further alleged that the turmoil between ANC and IFP, and the construction of the M1 hostel, seem to have played a significant role in the sprouting of informal dwellings and informality in the RCA. Because only male workers were permitted to live in the M1 hostel, their family members resorted to the erection of informal dwellings around the M1 hostel to live closest to the male workers. This resulted in overcrowding and deterioration of infrastructure as depicted in figures 5.1-5.4 and the site analysis map in figure 5.5.



Figure 5.1: Dilapidated Madala (M1) Hostel

Source: Mareere (October, 2019)

Figure 5.1 shows the dilapidated and occupied M1 hostel. To the right of the hostel, the garbage accumulation reflects a great deal about poor waste management. To the far right, there are informal structures erected near the M1 hostel.



Figure 5.2: Informality and Industriousness of Alexandra residents

Source: Mareere (October, 2019)

At face value, figure 5.2 illustrates forms of informality in RCA. However, properties along Roosevelt Street and 3rd Avenue have been informally converted to small-scale businesses: car repairs, hair salons, taverns and *spaza* shops typifying the corridor development concept of planning.

Figure 5.3 nullifies the common assumption that Alexandra is predominantly inhabited by low-income earners. To the far left, dilapidated shacks are juxtaposed to decent houses. Figure 5.3 further depicts public infrastructure (electricity lines and roads) and private investments in houses. Goats and sheep roam the narrow streets, scavenging on accumulated garbage. The ultimate impact of overcrowding is the overload on infrastructure. Figure 5.4 depicts sewage overflows, a common problem in RCA.



Figure 5.3: Juxtaposition of Different Social Income Groups in RCA

Source: Mareere (October, 2019)



Figure 5.4: Sewage Overflows in RCA

Source: Mareere (October, 2019)

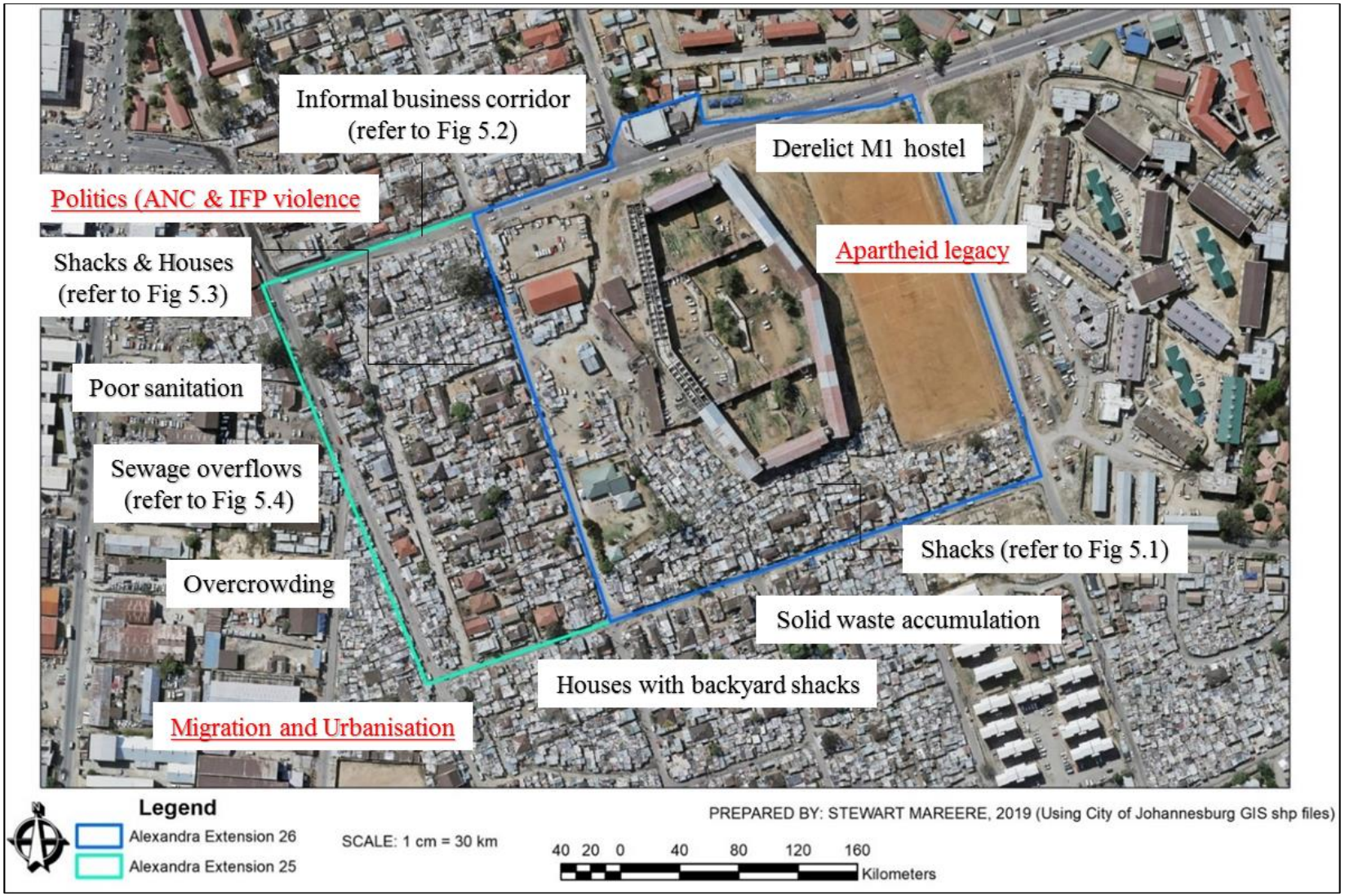


Figure 5.5: Forms of Spatial Injustices and the Contributing Factors in Extension 25 and 26 Alexandra

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to the reviewed literature, key informant interviews and CoJ online GIS (2019)

5.4.2 The study site: Setjwetla Informal Settlement

Setjwetla is situated between Alexandra cemetery to the north and Jukskei River to the south, with access from the Florence Maposho Street and Voilet Crescent. According to Mr Mopasi, Setjwetla started as 'a camp for semi-skilled migrant workers involved in the construction activities in Sandton'. These semi-skilled migrant workers were from Mozambique, hence the area used to be called 'Maputo area' in early 2000s. Mr Mopasi alleges that after the completion of construction activities in Sandton, the construction companies never destroyed the camp, and gradually people from Alexandra resorted to building informal structures. Thus, the erection of temporary accommodation for Sandton construction workers was a catalyst for the formation of the Setjwetla Informal Settlement. Mr Mopasi added that Setjwetla refers to 'dancing naked', which is derived from the partying practices by gangsters who preferred the secluded Setjwetla area. It is further alleged that these gangsters used to hijack cars and hide them in Setjwetla.

Setjwetla is a haven for housing and land speculators. Mr Mopasi claims that 'up to 10 shacks in Setjwetla are predominantly owned by one person'. In addition, the practice of people erecting shacks in anticipation of being allocated a house by government is common in Setjwetla and other parts of Alexandra. Mr Mopasi stated that, 'in 2006, some Setjwetla residents who were relocated under the ARP later returned to Setjwetla', confirming the findings of Charlton (2010). Figures 5.6 and 5.7 depict the site pictures of the Setjwetla Informal Settlement. As portrayed in figure 5.6, the ablution facilities in Setjwetla are next to a busy access road, increasing the likelihood of accidents involving children crossing the road.



Figure 5.6: Ablution Facilities

Source: Mareere (December, 2019)

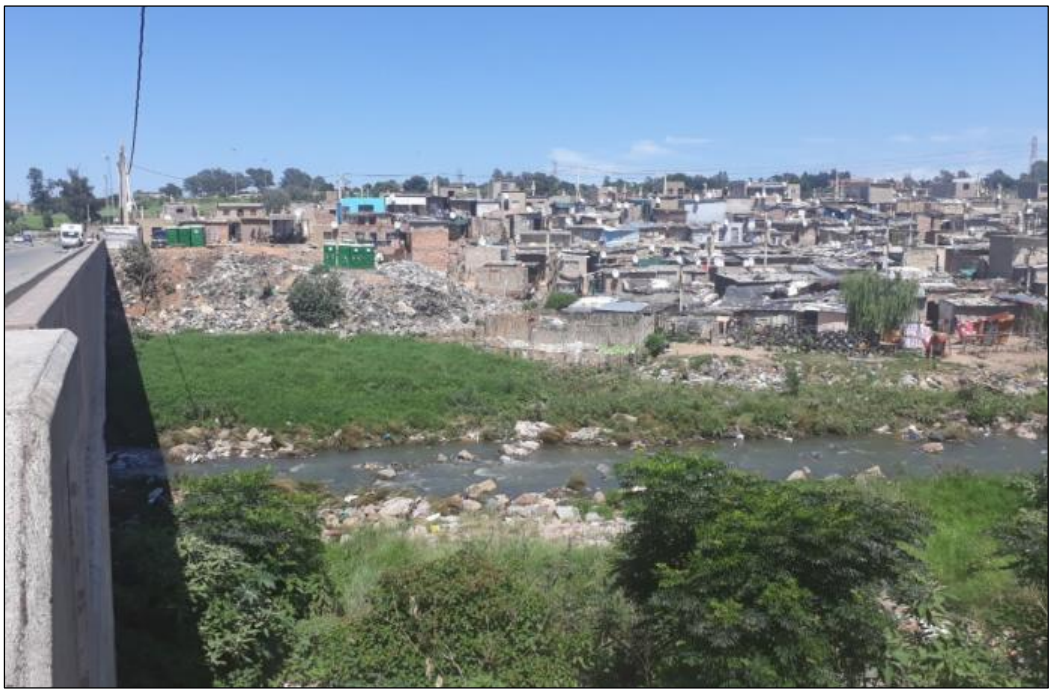


Figure 5.7: Setjwetla along Jukskei River

Source: Mareere (December, 2019)

Figure 5.7 shows the precarious living conditions of the Setjwetla residents along the Jukskei River. The settlement is vulnerable to flooding as siltation flattened the river banks.

5.4.3 The study site: Maponyane Village

Maponyane Village, formerly known as Maputo Park, is located further north of Setjwetla Informal Settlement. According to Mr Mopasi, Maponyane Village was a brainchild of the ANC National Youth League (ANCYL). After the dismissal of Julius Malema from ANC, and his subsequent formation of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) party, there was a void on the renaming of the Maputo Park. The EFF Councillor of Ward 109, Maponyane, saw an opportunity and renamed the area Maponyane Village against the proposals to call it Malema Park.

Maponyane Village shows the role played by politicians in influencing landless urban dwellers to occupy land illegally. Mr Mopasi noted that, 'the EFF leadership urged people to occupy land in Maponyane Village'. Similar to Setjwetla Informal Settlement, Maponyane Village experienced the same fate of negative externalities from surrounding suburbs. For example, Mr Mopasi narrates how the former Councillor, Mr Harley of a ward next to Maponyane Village, intended to create a golf course in Marlboro. This resulted in trucks from Sandton dumping sand near Jukskei River. In addition, during the construction of the underground train by Gautrain, Mr Mopasi claims 'excavated material was dumped along the Jukskei river banks'. This is believed to have exacerbated the likelihood of flooding, which eventually killed many people along Jukskei River. Thus, the dumping of sand and rubbles by Sandton construction companies and Gautrain contributed to the siltation of Jukskei River, which increased flooding risk.

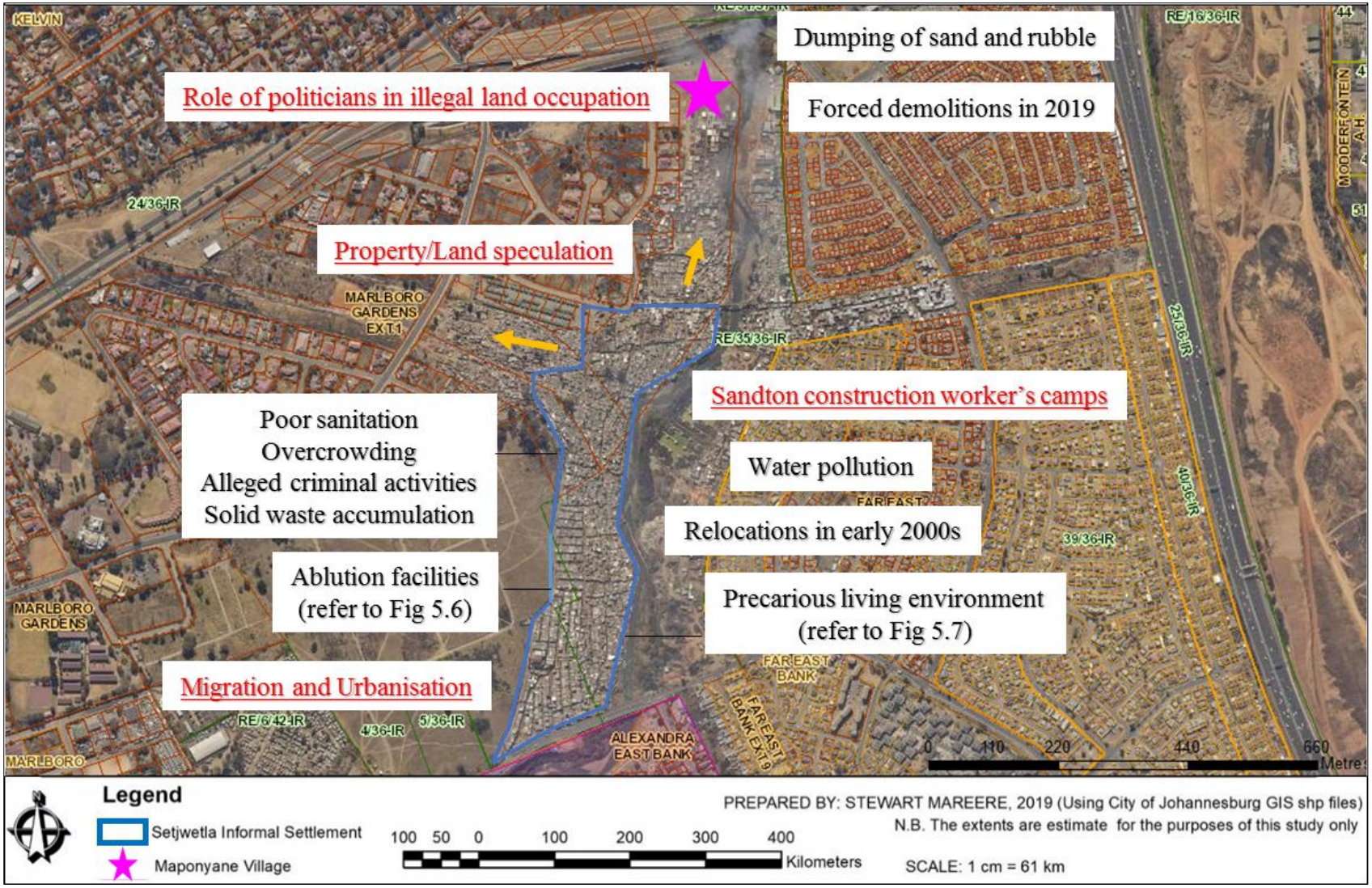


Figure 5.8: Forms of Spatial Injustices and the Contributing Factors in Setjwetla and Mopanyane Village

Source: Compiled by Mareere (2019) with reference to the reviewed literature, key informant interviews and CoJ online GIS (2019)

5.5 Pointers on the root causes of spatial injustice in Alexandra

This section answers the main research question and forms the cornerstone of this study. I have attempted to group the causes and processes into generic and context-specific factors to the extent that this was possible from the limited scope of my data collection. These causes and processes are the injustice of spatiality as explained in paragraph 1.9. The causes are intertwined, and the distinctions are merely for clarity purposes.

5.5.1 Generic factors

For this study, the generic factors are causes and practices that influence injustice in housing in South Africa, Gauteng Province and CoJ. Generic factors have a direct and indirect effect on Alexandra.

a. Land market and land ownership

All twelve respondents agreed that 'well-located land' is expensive and smaller than land in the peripheries. Mr Molopi notes that the 'land markets determine who gets access to what, where and how to commute to work'. There was a unanimous agreement that most housing projects in Gauteng province are located in peripheral areas where the government owns land. The GPG official agreed that most provincial housing developments are in the outskirts as market values deter them from acquiring well-located land. Most housing developments in the central areas are unaffordable to low-income earners. Planner 1 (interview 09 October 2019) stated that 'property developers cannot afford to purchase the land, develop and sell it at a lower rate below the market value'.

Therefore, spatial injustice in housing becomes a factor of both land ownership and location of residential areas in relation to economic opportunities. Mr Molopi pointed to a study on spatial justice conducted by SERI in 2016 that concluded that the 'further one is from economic opportunities, the greater the likelihood of one being unemployed'. Mr Molopi and Professor Charlton concurred that the state is not putting enough measures in place to disrupt the places of privilege. In Alexandra, the 2005 court interdict shows how land market and land ownership negatively affected government housing projects. In addition, the apartheid era expropriation and subsequent land restitution process which remains contested negatively affects location of government housing projects in South Africa.

The negative effect of land market in housing in South Africa, inclusive of Alexandra, reflects the denunciation of the capitalist society by Lefebvre and Harvey. Lefebvre (1993) explored the domination of capitalism where the exchange value of land is more important than its use value, which produces exclusion and fragmentation between the affluent and the poor class. Most key informants were in favour of incorporation of social use value of land but were critical that it is not an easy solution, as it requires careful planning and negotiation.

b. Migration and urbanisation

All twelve respondents concurred that Alexandra is a well-located township close to economic opportunities. However, during fieldwork, I realised that the locational advantage of Alexandra can also be seen as a curse, as it resulted in a huge influx of people. According to Professor Harrison, the ARP successfully installed bulk infrastructure. However, because of migration over the years, the infrastructure has failed to cope with additional demand. He concluded that 'the issue becomes how to keep up with the increase of people in Alexandra'. Hence, migration and urbanisation exacerbates spatial injustice in housing if it over-strips infrastructure development. Maponyane Village is a case in point to highlight what happens if the housing provision cannot keep up with migration and urbanisation rates. Politicians can take advantage of the urban poor and incite them to occupy land illegally.

The negative consequences of migration reinforce findings made by Angel *et al*, (2005) and Westaway, (2006). Westaway (2006) remarked that urbanisation exceeds municipal infrastructure development, especially in township areas, whilst Angel (2005) penned similar conclusions as Professor Harrison that policymakers are faced with a key question on how to prepare for the effects of urbanisation.

c. Alleged role of planning firms in maintaining the status quo

The official 2 (interview 08 October 2019) noted with concern the conduct of planners in the private sector who scrutinise Council policies and frameworks with an intention to unearth loopholes. The same official mentions that some planning firms have identified residential density loopholes in the CoJ Land Use Management Scheme, 2018, and have embarked on submitting rezoning applications without showing densities. The intention of this approach is to evade the compulsory requirement for all private developments of over 20 dwelling units to contribute to inclusionary housing. Even though this is more of an upmarket development

trend, Alexandra is indirectly affected as less inclusionary housing development are brought into the housing market, which negatively affects the integration efforts.

Some respondents lamented the lack of checks and balance by the South African Council for Planners (SACPlan). For instance, there are no penalties for planners engaging in practices that are contrary to development principles enshrined in the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013 (SPLUMA) especially the principle of spatial justice. Some professional planners are working hand in glove with private developers in establishing gated communities that goes against the principles of spatial justice and integration. The official 2 concluded that, 'their [planning firms and private developers] agenda represent people who do not want to see spatial transformation'. Thus, the alleged role of planning firms in maintaining the status quo might be one of the many reasons why since 1994, urban areas in South Africa are spatially fragmented.

d. Economic marginalisation

Professor Harrison clarified that 'Alexandra people are marginalised economically' and there are 'high unemployment levels' in Alexandra. He pointed out that 'if people were working, they could have bought themselves out of those conditions'. Professor Harrison further acknowledged that the ARP was better placed to address infrastructure provision but had limited instruments to address unemployment, even though it contributed to short-term employment in construction activities. According to an urban geography expert from the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich, Switzerland (interview 08 October 2019), 'most of the Alexandra residents are trapped in a poverty cycle and the children born in these environments have limited chances to make it in life'. However, the same Alexandra residents might be better-off in terms of proximity to employment opportunities as compared to people who were relocated to Diepsloot.

The official 1 explained that the gap between the haves and the have-nots is increasing, despite the tremendous growth of the middle class in South Africa. He further noted that 'lack of private business investment' in townships is a major call for concern. Therefore, without economic opportunities and employment, most township renewal projects are bound to fail as the subject communities have limited capacity to contribute to the maintenance of government infrastructure and/or even pay for services.

e. Housing policies

Half of the respondents blamed the notable speech by Mandela on housing for all, for creating a sense of 'entitlement'. When I solicited the views of Professor Charlton on this matter, she disagreed on the whole notion of 'entitlement' as it creates the impression that the 'housing beneficiaries are lazy, which is not true'. But, she was quick to mention that the current housing policies are 'vulnerable to manipulation, cheating and growing speculation'. She further stated that protests and demonstrations are a 'form of expressing grievances' but not a sign of 'entitlement'. This ties well with the views of Harvey (2008) that the marginalised people must demand back their rights through protests and demonstrations. The issue of housing speculators is further put into perspective on what happened during the relocations and housing allocations in Alexandra, as discussed under the site-specific contexts.

f. Failure to fully reform planning and housing approaches

It is saddening to note that all twelve key informants spoke in unison on the shortcomings and failures of the planning and housing approaches. Mr Molopi from SERI preferred to call this scenario 'disjuncture between theory and practice'. The official 1 stated that the 'housing developments since 1994 happened the same way as housing developments during the apartheid era' [developments in the outskirts away from economic opportunities]. The official mentioned the establishment of Diepsloot, Bram Fischerville and Cosmo City, all located in Johannesburg to substantiate the above claim. These views are similar to that of Williams (2010) who noted that post-apartheid South Africa continues to use apartheid planning approaches. The apartheid planning approaches have reinforced and re-produced spatial injustices (Todes and Turok, 2018).

The official 1 further highlighted the animosity between the City Transformation and the Housing Department. The official blamed politicians in the Housing Departments at CoJ and Gauteng Provincial Government for 'pushing numbers' and disregarding the spatial frameworks, in so doing exacerbating spatial injustices. This view is appropriately summarised in the following statement:

> 'They want to show in the budget speech or in a state of the nation or province address speech that they have created a lot of dwelling houses, but they do not mention where they have provided these houses' (Planner 2, interview 09 October 2019).

Planner 2 further alluded that the ‘government is pushing housing developments in [the] outskirts and green field areas where they own land’. He cited the Syferfontein housing project near Gresswold, north of Johannesburg. The project was later abandoned after the technical team advised government against proceeding with the housing project far away from economic opportunities. This shows how the spatial location of housing projects is crucial in addressing or perpetuating spatial injustices.

When I asked the GPG official about the above claims, she agreed that the Department of Human Settlements is pushing housing numbers in poor locations as they cannot acquire well-located land because of market forces. She further stated that:

> ‘It is our mandate to deliver houses, we are Department of Human Settlements, if we cannot deliver houses then what are we doing? We will just deliver [houses] where we can’ (GPG official, interview 07 February 2020).

Professor Charlton clarified that the above views on poor location of housing development do not hold water in Alexandra. She explained that the Far East Bank social housing was well-located close to Marlboro Gautrain Station and in proximity to a good road network. Thus, unlike other housing projects, the ARP contributed positively to spatial justice in the Far East Bank area as provision of housing in prime location was an opportunity for the owners to densify and/or lease the houses. However, Professor Charlton opined that giving low-income earners full title ownership is problematic as it normally leads to ‘downward raiding of houses meant for the poor’. This resonates with the findings of Tipple (2015) that attempts to convert renter populations into owners of self-contained dwellings often results in beneficiaries selling or letting the dwellings.

5.5.2 Context specific factors

This section details the context-specific root causes and conditions that have been perpetuating spatial injustice in Alexandra. All twelve respondents acknowledge the role of the apartheid era in producing the current spatial injustices in Alexandra. Professor Harrison emphasised that ‘there was a tremendous effort to destroy Alexandra during the apartheid era’ through forced relocations and under-provision of services. The following section, unpacks the causes of the perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra despite many government interventions.

a. Land claims

Several respondents cited the 2005 court interdict as one of the reasons that resulted in ARP abandoning housing redevelopment projects planned in Old Alexandra. The official 2 acknowledged the 'short-sightedness of the ARP in failing to deal with land claims before planning any redevelopments'. Mr Mopasi concurred that the 2005 court interdict tied the hands of ARP, however, he explained that the landowners were acting in the public interest of the community of Old Alexandra. He clarified his view that the ARP was engaging in corrupt activities, demolishing houses and heritage sites. He cited a heritage church building at the corner of London Road and the 16th Avenue that was demolished without community participation. Thus, land claims in Alexandra exhibit how the land market and property ownership obstruct the delivery of government housing projects, which in turn perpetuates spatial injustice in housing.

b. Failure to fully adopt a regional solution and approach

Professor Harrison argued that all government interventions in Alexandra, ARP included, 'attempted to deal with the problems of Alexandra just in Alexandra' without taking into consideration the immediate surrounding land. He further explained that Alexandra covers a relatively small area. Thus, the perpetuation of spatial injustice is revealed by failure to allow 'Alexandra problems to be resolved in a regional scale'. Mr Mopasi substantiated this view and state that 'Linbro Park was a better place for Alexandra extension', but was no longer possible as it had already been acquired for private developments. Professor Charlton expressed keen interest to understand how the vacant land next to Frankenwald, north of Alexandra will be developed, whether for affordable housing or for upmarket housing.

Professor Charlton also commented that most early relocations from Alexandra were to far-away places like Diepsloot or Bram Fischerville. However, Professor Charlton mentioned that it was difficult for ARP to focus on the immediate surrounding neighbourhood due to 'entrenched property rights and privileges' of surrounding property owners who resist initiatives that have negative impacts on their properties – the Nimbyism mentality. This illustrates the role played by property owners and land markets in limiting regional intervention approaches to address urban challenges, including housing. Professor Charlton emphasised the 'need to disrupt the places of privileges' if government is serious in permanently addressing the spatial injustice in housing.

c. Allegations of lawlessness in Alexandra versus allegations of corrupt tendencies of government officials

The official 2 mentioned his perception that the high levels of lawlessness in Alexandra exacerbates the spatial injustice in housing. For instance, she noted that 'before a housing project is completed, it is hijacked and the target beneficiaries seldom benefit'. The same official further believed that the 'sprouting of informal settlements [Setjwetla and Mopanyane Village] is a form of spatial manifestation of lawlessness in Alexandra'.

Mr Mopasi, however, shared his perception that poor housing allocation strategies by government are the root causes of spatial injustice and the growing conflicts in Alexandra. He alleged that government houses were allocated to undeserving people, for example relatives of government officials, young people and 'outsiders' at the expense of deserving old people. He further stated that, when government allocated 'quarter box match houses' in 2006 to prospective owners, they also gave them tenants who were to rent a portion of the house. The 'tenants' were simultaneously allocated houses as owners because of poor housing allocations. This created a conflict of interest amongst beneficiaries themselves and those who failed to benefit from the housing allocations.

The Alexandra residents organised themselves to compel government to reconsider the housing allocations. Mr Mopasi alleged that during the reign of Mr Mashatile as the MEC of Human Settlements in Gauteng Provincial Government from 2001 to 2004, a group of 'gangsters' challenged the housing allocation. The movement, however, ended when its leaders were silenced and offered houses. He also shared his view that for the past six years, a group calling themselves the 'Alex bonafides' have been engaging government with evidence of 'undeserving' people who were allocated houses during the ARP to no avail. The Alex bonafides ended up taking the matter into their own hands and started evicting the 'undeserving 'people from the ARP houses. According to his account, the evictions turned violent as many people were killed, including migrants.

As already highlighted, Professor Charlton blamed the housing policies and programmes for 'failing to provide long-term solutions to many housing challenges'. She remarked that the housing policies are 'vulnerable to manipulation, fraudulent activities and growth of property speculators'. She advised government to reconsider transferring full title ownership but to provide housing beneficiaries with long-term leases or provide affordable rental

accommodation to prevent downward raiding. The views of Professor Charlton feed very well into her 2010 study that concluded that freehold ownership is not practical in a South African context. Similarly, Tipple (2015) concluded that an attempt to convert renter population into property owners is not a panacea to housing challenges.

d. Alleged negative externalities from the surrounding neighbourhoods

Mr Mopasi made the link between Alexandra problems (growth of Setjwetla Informal Settlement and siltation of the Jukskei River) and the Sandton construction activities (refer to paragraph 5.3). Professor Charlton endorsed this claim and stated that, 'Alexandra is bearing the brunt of all the negative externalities from the surrounding neighbourhood' inclusive of Sandton. She claimed that such surrounding neighbourhoods do not sufficiently recognise this.

This finding upholds the views of Lefebvre on the production of space. Firstly, space should be understood as a 'set of relations between things' and secondly, 'all social processes and relations of justice are spatially produced' (Lefebvre, 1992:83 cited in Williams, 2013:5). Mr Mopasi and Charlton's insights, when put in the context of Lefebvre's spatial theory suggest that Sandton and other surrounding affluent suburbs played a key role in the production and re-production of spatial injustices in Alexandra.

e. Alleged selective policing and urban management

Professor Charlton rhetorically asked why people occupied Maponyane Village and why not occupy land in Sandton. She opined that authorities might be failing to sufficiently police certain areas, might be complicit in occupation of land and might be sympathetic to the needs of the urban poor. Thus, the selective policing and urban management creates 'opportunities for some people to do certain [informal] activities in certain areas creating huge problems'. Yet, upmarket areas are insulated as 'places of privilege' where informal activities by the poor are prohibited.

f. Institutional dysfunctionality

Professor Harrison cited lack of coordination between various government departments as the main challenge that contributed to the shortcomings of the ARP. In reference to ARP squabbles between CoJ and Gauteng Provincial Government on the allocation and use of financial resources, Professor Harrison outlined that 'the dysfunctionality of the

administration of government' and lack of governmental co-operation are the root causes of the spatial injustice in Alexandra. The official 2 acknowledged that most government departments 'work in silos in their endeavours to achieve their own departmental goals'. According to the GPG official 'more often than not, this approach of working in silos results in conflicting targets, duplication of effort and wastage of resources'. A case in point is the conflict of interest between Housing and City Transformation Departments at CoJ. The Housing Department is viewed as 'chasing numbers', and pushing for township establishments in green fields in contravention of Council's spatial policies and frameworks. Thus, if municipal departments are failing to work in unison, then how ready is government in addressing the root causes of spatial injustice?

g. Development control measures

Planner 3 pointed out that the development control measures enshrined in the CoJ Land Use Management Scheme (LUMS, 2018) 'creates a lot of problems'. Planner 3 is involved in advising CoJ on how best to convert warehouses in Alexandra into dwelling units. Planner 3 further stated that the development control measures: parking requirements, Floor Area Ratio (FAR), coverage, height and density requirements stifle the development potential of warehouses by reducing the potential yield of dwelling units. The same planner also stated that the city officials normally end up stifling development as they are reluctant to waiver some of these development control measures in favour of more dwelling units. Hence, several key informants supported calls for Africanising urban planning. They noted that Africa is facing unique problems such as housing informality, thus using western planning legislation that 'are too strict' unintentionally exacerbates urban problems.

h. Alleged mismanagement

Ten out of twelve respondents alleged that maladministration, corruption, misuse and diversion of funds contributed to the failure of the ARP in achieving its targets. I failed, however, to access financial documents of ARP, and the key informants had no concrete evidence to substantiate such claims. The GPG official shared her view that 'corruption happens at executive level because of lack of monitoring'. The official 2 stated that there is 'a need for the community to trust the government more, whilst the government needs to be more transparent'. There is ongoing inquiry into the ARP by the South African Human Rights

Commission (SAHRC) and it is hoped that the inquiry will shed more light on the alleged ARP financial misuse (SAHRC, 2019).

i. Alleged lack of grassroots engagement

The urban geography expert pointed out that 'the lack of grassroots engagements results in failure to understand the socio-economic dynamics, the needs and wants of the people'. She cited a case of a community centre in Marlboro that was rejected by the local residents who preferred an open sports field. It might be true that the government failed to understand why people were migrating from rural to urban areas. The present housing policies unintentionally assume that all urban residents require a house of their own. The reality, however, is that most people have been sacrificing to stay in informal settlements close to employment opportunities because it makes economic sense to do so (minimum/no rental payments).

j. Alleged lack of visionary leaders in government

Planner 1 shared his analysis that the period between 1995 to 2015, the government 'overstayed its honey moon' and private developers took advantage of the lack of foresight by the government to acquire well-located land and develop gated communities. Thus, according to the Planner 1, the current attempts to undo the 20 years of private developments with the inclusionary housing policy in CoJ is too late. According to Professor Charlton, the inclusionary housing policy is a 'symbolic' gesture of the CoJ efforts, but it might have limited positive results. She underscored the fact that there is a need for a national legislation that 'requires neighbourhoods to have a fair share' of all socio-economic groups to ensure equitable residential neighbourhood, especially in already established suburbs. This finding coincides with the views of Seekings and Nattrass (2002) who pointed out that poor redistributive policies and government failures immensely contributed to the perpetuation of spatial injustices in South Africa.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed that there is varying understanding of the principle of spatial justice and its application in day-to-day planning and housing is limited. Most respondents felt that there has been a general increase in spatial injustice in South Africa and Alexandra in particular. Spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra resulted from a myriad of general and context-specific factors. The construction of the M1 hostel, seem to have played a significant

role in the sprouting of informal dwellings and informality in Extensions 25 and 26 Old Alexandra. The alleged erection of temporary accommodation for Sandton construction workers was a catalyst for the formation of the Setjwetla Informal Settlement. Politicians influenced the landless to occupy land illegally in Maponyane Village. Failing to take a regional approach in addressing Alexandra's challenges, institutional dysfunctionality, land claims, private property market, migration, and the alleged negative externalities from surrounding upmarket areas, amongst others, are practices and conditions that perpetuated spatial injustice in Alexandra from 1994 onwards. The following concluding chapter summarises the study findings.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING AND HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

6.1 Introduction

Having conducted literature review, twelve key informant interviews and site visits, I summarise the research findings, draw conclusions and proffer some implications for planning and housing development in South Africa, in this concluding chapter. More could have been covered in this study, however, I was limited by the scope of a master's research report.

6.2 Summary of findings

The problem statement of the study was based on the view that there is a perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra, despite several government interventions, which include ARP. Furthermore, the problem statement was based on the view that most of the government interventions focus on addressing the physical manifestation of spatial injustices at the expense of the injustice of spatiality. This leaves one wondering what forms of spatial injustices are manifested in Alexandra and what the processes and root causes that are producing and re-producing these spatial injustices are. Therefore, this study explored what might be the post-apartheid root causes and processes that have been contributing to the perpetuation of spatial injustices in housing in Alexandra.

It emerged from this study that land markets play a role in perpetuating spatial injustice in housing, giving substance to the criticism of the capitalist society by Lefebvre (1993) and Harvey (2008). Urbanisation, economic marginalisation, indolent housing and planning approaches, institutional dysfunctionality and the alleged negative externalities from surrounding affluent suburbs like Sandton contributed to the perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra. The limited empirical work carried out for this study has reached similar conclusion drawn by Dikec (2001) that addressing injustice of spatiality is key in pursuing greater spatial justice.

6.2.1 The first objective

Understanding the principle of spatial justice principle in South Africa was the first objective of this study. In South Africa, the SPLUMA has infused the principle of spatial justice in the use and development of land by all organs of the state. This study used the Grootboom case of 2005 to exhibit how Cape Town municipality trampled on the rights of the informal settlement dwellers through forced removals. In addition, the case showed how the courts were used to further the principle of spatial justice and the rights of the urban poor. Cascading to Alexandra, I have observed that most government interventions focus mainly on addressing the physical manifestation of the spatial injustices. For instance, the ARP focused on housing and service delivery provision (Reefs *et al,* 2003). Limited attention was given to addressing the land claims, unemployment and economic marginalisation, all of which are key drivers to spatial injustice in Alexandra. However, there are no easy answers on how to address the key drivers of spatial injustice.

6.2.2 The second objective

The second objective of the study was to map some forms of spatial injustices in Old Alexandra Extensions 25 and 26, Setjwetla Informal Settlement and Maponyane Village. In Extensions 25 and 26 Old Alexandra, the dilapidated M1 hostel continues to be occupied. Sprouting of informal dwellings, dilapidated old houses, overcrowding, deterioration of infrastructure, garbage accumulation and sewage overflows were observed in the study area. The Setjwetla Informal Settlement is sandwiched between the Alexandra Cemetery and Jukskei River with direct access from Florence Maposho Street and Voilet Cressent. The erection of temporary accommodation for Sandton construction workers was a catalyst for the formation of the Setjwetla Informal Settlement. As a double-edged sword, politics played a leading role in the establishment, growth and forced demolitions in Maponyane Village.

6.2.3 The third objective

The third objective was to explore some of the root causes and processes that perpetuate post-apartheid spatial injustices in housing in Alexandra. Towards this end, I conducted twelve key informant interviews. Figure 6.1 summarises some of the root causes as suggested by the limited empirical work carried out for this study. The outer layer represents general factors whilst the inner layer represents context-specific factors that perpetuated spatial injustice in

Alexandra. The blue dotted line represents the inter-linkages between the general and context-specific factors.

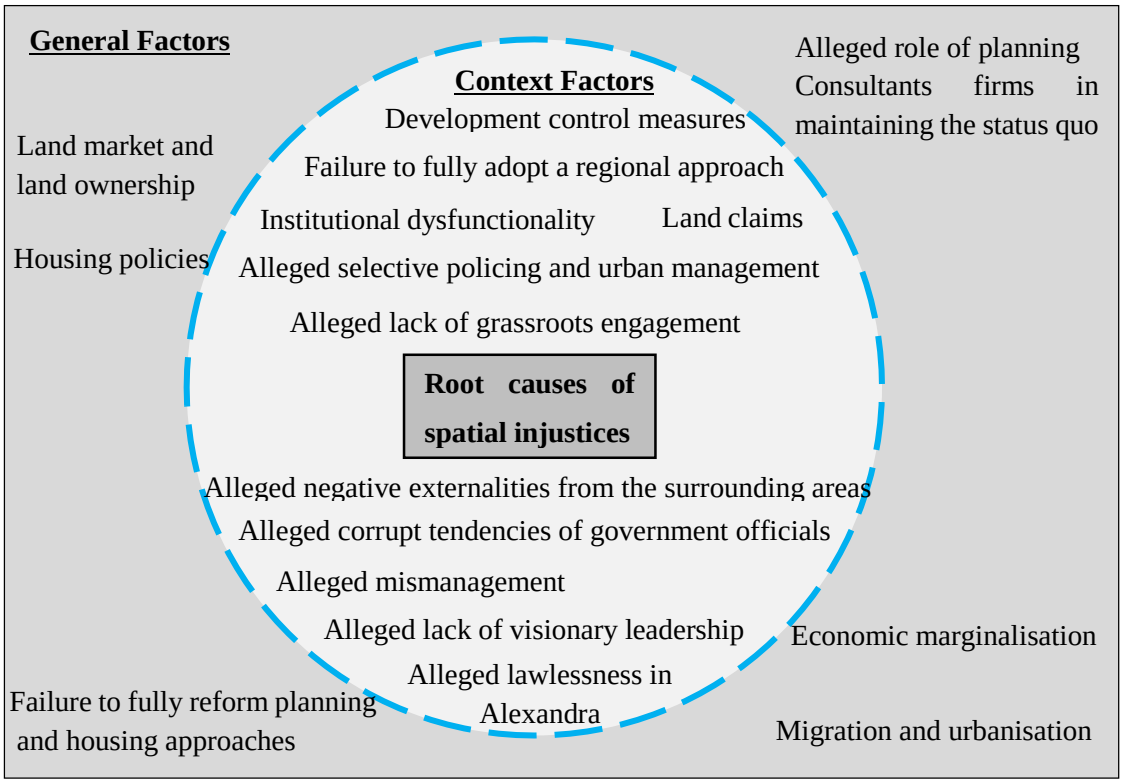


Figure 6.1: Some of the Root Causes of Perpetuation of Spatial Injustices in Alexandra

Source: Mareere (2019)

The failing to adopt a regional approach in addressing Alexandra's challenges, institutional dysfunctionality, land claims, economic marginalisation, planning and housing approaches and the alleged negative externalities from surrounding upmarket areas are some of the post-apartheid practices and conditions that continue to extend spatial injustices in Alexandra. The limited empirical work carried out for this study has reached similar conclusion drawn by Dikec (2001) that addressing injustice of spatiality is key in pursuing greater spatial justice.

6.3 Conclusions

In conclusion, there is a perpetuation of spatial injustices in Alexandra, but purely and primarily not because of lack of government intervention. The government has invested billions in addressing physical manifestation of spatial injustices through the ARP (Reefs *et al*, 2003). However, this is not enough. There is need for government to simultaneously focus on addressing the injustice of spatiality and the physical manifestation of spatial injustices.

In Alexandra, the injustice of spatiality includes the effects of land markets, housing and planning approaches, economic marginalisation, institutional dysfunctionality and alleged negative externalities from the surrounding well-to-do suburbs. However, there are no easy ways to address these and further research would be needed to review how to overcome these challenges.

6.4 Validating the research assumption

Based on the study conclusions, the study validates the research assumption that large financial investments in housing and planning programmes without addressing the injustice of spatiality results in limited positive impacts in reducing spatial injustices.

6.5 Implications for Existing Theory

To some extent, in line with the findings of Dikec, (2001:1793), this study has explored how the injustice of spatiality contributes to the 'systematic exclusion, domination and oppression' in Alexandra. The limited empirical work carried out for this study, draw similar conclusions by Dikec (2001) that policies and programmes that solely address the spatiality of injustice have limited success. Therefore, the manifestation of spatial injustice does need to be addressed, but at the same time, the difficult task of coming to grips with the causes and processes reproducing spatial injustices should be tackled.

6.6 Implications for housing and planning development

Considering the conclusions outlined above, it is necessary to outline the various strategies that can be adopted to address the injustice of spatiality. I have integrated the views of the key informants in the recommendations. Acknowledging spatial injustice as an urban challenge, is a significant step towards addressing its root causes. Proper conceptualisation of spatial injustice as a process should follow such acknowledgement. In addition, there is need to take control of injustice of spatiality, which are 'the processes producing unjust urban geographies' (Soja 2009:3). The next set of paragraphs illustrate how government can take control of injustice of spatiality.

6.6.1 Disruption of places of privilege

Based on the reviewed literature and the interviewed key informants the market value of land creates places of privilege which makes it difficult for the government to acquire well-located land for affordable housing development. Failure to formally intervene in the property market through policies and legislation may result in the continuation of poor location of government housing programmes. Therefore, there is need for an incremental approach in disrupting places of privilege through incorporating social use value of land. This can be implemented at national level first and then adapted to provincial and municipal level to suit the local context. The value of urban land should not solely be based on the market values but should include the social use value of land. Most interviewees were in favour of incorporation of social use value of land but were critical that it is not an easy solution, as it requires careful planning and negotiation.

6.6.2 Addressing the causes and effects of urbanisation

Urbanisation without corresponding infrastructure growth contributes to sprouting of informal settlements and creates opportunities for politicians to exploit the urban poor for political mileage (Westaway, 2006). In Alexandra, the ARP successfully installed bulk infrastructure, however because of migration over the years, the infrastructure failed to cope with additional demand (Professor Harrison, interview 01 October 2019). Therefore, national and provincial governments should actively address the causes and effects of urbanisation through policy intervention. Such policy intervention should also deter politicians from making political statements and encouraging illegal occupation of land.

As argued by the key informants, the ARP failed to take a regional approach in addressing the problems of Alexandra. Thus there is need to fully adopt a regional approach in addressing urban challenges at provincial and municipal level. In addition, there is a need to improve integration and transparency among various government departments and all three spheres of government. As alluded to earlier on, Oranje and van Wyk, (2019:119) calls for ‘sustained, enforced large-scale intergovernmental cooperation and strong, centralised governance’.

6.6.3 Africanise urban planning

As alluded to earlier on, some key informants blamed the development control measures for stifling development in the City of Johannesburg. Thus, a number of key informants supported calls for Africanising urban planning. The key informants noted that Africa is facing unique problems such as housing informality, thus using western planning legislation that 'are too strict' unintentionally exacerbates urban challenges. Therefore, there is a need for municipalities to adopt home-grown solutions in land use management that respond to the African needs and context.

6.6.4 Towards responsible planners

There is need for South African Council for Planners (SACPlan), to craft frameworks that criminalise violation of the development principles and ensure heavy penalties (de-registration) for those who do not abide by such rules and regulations. A planner in private sector concluded that 'planning is a social profession, we have a social responsibility, thus there is a need for responsible planners doing responsible planning'.

Planners in public sector need to be well-informed on social facilitation and community engagement. In addition, planners need to be more conversant with negotiations and manipulative skills to sway private developers to contribute towards affordable housing. For this to happen, public officials especially planners need to be knowledgeable with property development and valuations. The official 2 noted that there is a knowledge gap amongst planners on how to appraise property developments. Hence, in most cases, developers always get away with spatially unsustainable developments. Therefore, there is a need for planning schools to pro-actively teach property development subjects to planning students and there is a need for continuous training amongst experienced planners.

6.7 Suggestions for further research

This study explored some of the processes and factors contributing to spatial injustice in Alexandra. During the gestation period of this study, the following areas emerged to be areas of further research:

- Explore the causes and factors contributing to spatial injustice in South African cities post 1994. A further review should be conducted on how some root causes of spatial injustices can be addressed by all spheres of government;
- Investigations on the role of affluent suburbs in the exploitation and underdevelopment of adjacent townships in South Africa.

6.8 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the research findings and proffered recommendations and areas for further research. This chapter concluded that, admittedly, there is a perpetuation of spatial injustice in Alexandra. This study concludes that the manifestation of spatial injustice does need to be addressed, but at the same time, the difficult task of coming to grips with the causes and re-producing processes should be tackled. Studies of this nature should continue to be conducted to explore further the causes and factors contributing to spatial injustice in South African cities and how to address these causes.

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Personal Communication

Charlton, S. (personal communication, 21 October 2019) Associate Professor, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Harrison, P. (personal communication, 01 October 2019) the South African Research Chair in Spatial Analysis and City Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Molopi, E. (personal communication, 01 October 2019) Research and Advocacy Officer, Socio-Economic Rights Institute, Johannesburg.

Mopasi, T. (personal communication, 18 October 2019) social researcher and activist, Alexandra, Johannesburg.

Official 1 (personal communication, 03 October 2019) spatial planning, City of Johannesburg.

Official 2 (personal communication, 08 October 2019) spatial planning official, City of Johannesburg.

Planner 1 (personal communication, 09 October 2019) Professional planner, planning consulting firm, Johannesburg.

Planner 2 (personal communication, 09 October 2019) managing director, planning consulting firm, Johannesburg.

Planner 3 (personal communication, 11 October 2019) managing director, planning consulting firm, Mogale City.

The Gauteng Provincial Government (GPG) official (personal communication, 07 February 2020) policy and research, GPG, Johannesburg.

The Housing Development Agency (HDA) official (personal communication, 30 September 2019) town planner, HDA, Johannesburg.

Urban Geography Expert (personal communication, 08 October 2019) Lecturer and Research Associate, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology (ETH), Zurich, interview by Skype.

APPENDICES

Appendix A1: Ethics Clearance Certificate

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP046/06/2019

PROJECT TITLE:	The Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing Delivery: A case of Alexandra, Johannesburg
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Stewart Mareere (Student No: 1589114)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	Master of Urban Studies (Urban Management)
DATE CONSIDERED	03 September 2019
EXPIRY DATE:	03 September 2020
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	Approved

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Dr Brian Boshoff)

DATE: 9/9/19

cc: Supervisor/s: Tsepang Leuta

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

Signature _____ **Date** 09/09/2019

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Appendix A2: Plagiarism Declaration

Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment

Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa • Telephone (011) 717 – 7007 • Fax: (011) 717 7009 • Email: febe.pg@wits.ac.za

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION TO BE SIGNED BY ALL HIGHER DEGREE STUDENTS

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY: APPENDIX ONE

I STEWART MAREERE (Student number: 1589114) am a student registered for the degree of FCA 16 (URBAN MANAGEMENT) in the academic year 2019.

I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that the work submitted for assessment for the above degree is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this in not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.

Signature: _____ Date: 27/02/2020

Appendix B: Permission Letters

Appendix B1: University of the Witwatersrand Permission Letter

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY REGISTRAR

10 September 2019

Stewart Mareere
Student number 1589114
Masters of Urban Studies of Urban Management
School of Architecture and Planning

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

"The Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing Delivery: A case of Alexandra, Johannesburg"

This letter serves to confirm that the above project has received permission to be conducted on University premises, and/or involving staff and/or students of the University as research participants. In undertaking this research, you agree to abide by all University regulations for conducting research on campus and to respect participants' rights to withdraw from participation at any time.

If you are conducting research on certain student cohorts, year groups or courses within specific Schools and within the teaching term, permission must be sought from Heads of School or individual academics.

Ethical clearance has been obtained. (Protocol number: SOAP046/06/2019)

Nicoleen Potgieter
University Deputy Registrar

Private Bag 3, Wits, 2050, South Africa | **T** +27 11 717 1204/8 | **F** +27 86 553 2271 | www.wits.ac.za

Appendix B2: Gauteng Provincial Government Permission Letter

GAUTENG PROVINCE
HUMAN SETTLEMENTS
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Enquiries: Londeka Thanjekwayo
Email: londeka.thanjekwayo@gauteng.gov.za
Tel No.: 072 202 0539

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

Dear **Stewart Mareere**

The Gauteng Department of Human Settlements has received you request to conduct research in the Department. We understand that you are currently enrolled with the **University of the Witwatersrand**. We understand that the identified research is in pursuit of a **Master's degree in Urban Management**.

We hereby grant you permission to undertake this study with the Department, Directorate Policy & Research will be your point of contact. We recognize that as a postgraduate student you understand confidentiality protocol and that this will be observed at all times, thus the research should not in any way harm the reputation of the Department, thus it should not be distributed to third parties for purposes other than the one stated above, which is fulfillment of your study requirements.

The Department would also expect that once the research project is completed that the findings from the research project will be submitted to the Department.

We look forward to speaking with you soon.

Kind regards,

Phindile Mbanjwa
Head of Department
Date: 19/12/19

Appendix C: Interview Guides

Interview Guide: Planning and Housing experts at the University of the Witwatersrand

Introduction

I am Stewart Mareere, a University of the Witwatersrand student currently studying towards a Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management. I am conducting research on the Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing Delivery in Alexandra Township. The aim of this study is to unravel the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice from the year 1994 to 2019 in housing delivery using a case of Alexandra Township. Therefore, you have been selected as a key informant to represent the views of planning and housing academic experts in relation to this study. Findings from this study will be used solely for academic purposes. In addition, your responses will be treated with confidentiality. May I proceed to ask you questions with regard to this study?

Section 1: Socio-demographic Data

a. Name of Institution represented ……
b. Position ……
c. Roles and Responsibilities: ……
d. Length of time in this position ……

Section 2: Contribution to planning and housing in South Africa

a. What has been your contribution to planning and housing in South Africa and in the City of Johannesburg?
b. To what extent have you been involved in/ with the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) and or any other Housing Project/Programme in City of Johannesburg? Please Explain.

Section 3: Practice of spatial justice concept

a. How do you understand and/or define the concept of spatial injustice?
b. How is the principle of spatial justice being practiced in spatial planning and housing in South Africa, City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (ARP)?

Section 4: Root causes for perpetuation of post-apartheid era spatial injustice

a. Is there a perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing in the City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (period from 1994 to 2019)?
b. What are the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid (period from 1994 to 2019) spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra despite the implementation of the ARP? If possible kindly explain these causes and processes in order of their importance.

Section 5: Innovative approaches- spatial justice in planning and housing

a. What can be done to address the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing delivery in Alexandra?
b. What are the required roles for planners and housing experts in addressing injustice of spatiality in housing?

Interview Guide: City of Johannesburg planning and housing Officials

Introduction

I am Stewart Mareere, a University of the Witwatersrand student currently studying towards a Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management. I am conducting research on the Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing Delivery in Alexandra Township. The aim of this study is to unravel the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice from the year 1994 to 2019 in housing delivery using a case of Alexandra Township. Therefore, you have been selected as a key informant to represent the views of planning and housing academic experts in relation to this study. Findings from this study will be used solely for academic purposes. In addition, your responses will be treated with confidentiality. May I proceed to ask you questions with regard to this study?

Section 1: Socio-demographic Data

a. Name of Institution represented ……
b. Position ……
c. Roles and Responsibilities: ……
d. Length of time in this position ……

Section 2: Role in planning and housing delivery

a. What has been your role in planning and housing delivery in the City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra?
b. To what extent have you been involved in/ with the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP)?

Section 3: Practice of spatial justice concept

a. How do you understand and/or define the concept of spatial justice?
b. How is the principle of spatial justice being practiced in spatial planning and housing in the City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (ARP)?

Section 4: Root causes for perpetuation of post-apartheid era spatial injustices

a. Is there a perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing in the City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (period from 1994 to 2019)?
b. How the ARP attempted to address the spatial injustices in housing in Alexandra?

c. What are the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid (period from 1994 to 2019) spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra? If possible kindly explain these causes and processes in order of their importance.

Section 5: Innovative approaches- spatial justice in planning and housing

a. What can be done to address the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra?
b. What are the required roles for urban managers, planners and housing officials in addressing injustice of spatiality in housing?

Interview Guide: Gauteng Provincial Government Housing Officials

Introduction

I am Stewart Mareere, a University of the Witwatersrand student currently studying towards a Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management. I am conducting research on the Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing Delivery in Alexandra Township. The aim of this study is to unravel the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice from the year 1994 to 2019 in housing delivery using a case of Alexandra Township. Therefore, you have been selected as a key informant to represent the views of planning and housing academic experts in relation to this study. Findings from this study will be used solely for academic purposes. In addition, your responses will be treated with confidentiality. May I proceed to ask you questions with regard to this study?

Section 1: Socio-demographic Data

a. Name of Institution represented ……
b. Position ……
c. Roles and Responsibilities: ……
d. Length of time in this position ……

Section 2: Role in planning and housing

a. What has been your role in planning and housing in Gauteng and the City of Johannesburg?
b. To what extent have you been involved in/ with the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP)? Please Explain how?

Section 3: Practice of spatial justice concept

a. How do you understand and/or define the concept of spatial justice?
b. How is the principle of spatial justice being practiced in spatial planning and housing in South Africa, Gauteng, City of Johannesburg and Alexandra (ARP)?

Section 4: Root causes for perpetuation of post-apartheid era spatial injustice

a. Is there a perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing in Gauteng, City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (period from 1994 to 2019)?
b. How the ARP attempted to address the spatial injustices in housing in Alexandra?

c. What are the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid (period from 1994 to 2019) spatial injustice in housing delivery in Alexandra? If possible kindly explain these causes and processes in order of their importance.

Section 5: Innovative approaches- spatial justice in planning and housing

a. What can be done to address the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra?
b. What are the required roles for planners/housing officials and experts in addressing injustice of spatiality?

Interview Guide: Housing Development Agency (HDA) Officials

Introduction

I am Stewart Mareere, a University of the Witwatersrand student currently studying towards a Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management. I am conducting research on the Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing in Alexandra Township. The aim of this study is to unravel the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice from the year 1994 to 2019 in housing delivery using a case of Alexandra Township. Therefore, you have been selected as a key informant to represent the views of planning and housing experts in relation to this study. Findings from this study will used solely for academic purposes. In addition, your responses will be treated with confidentiality. May I proceed to ask you questions with regard to this study?

Section 1: Socio-demographic Data

a. Name of Institution represented ……
b. Position ……
c. Roles and Responsibilities: ……
d. Length of time in this position ……

Section 2: Role in planning and housing

a. What has been the role of HDA in planning and housing in Gauteng Province and the City of Johannesburg?
b. To what extent have you been involved in the acquiring of land for human settlements and provision of project delivery services in the City of Johannesburg? Please explain.

Section 3: Practice of spatial justice concept

a. How do you understand and/or define the concept of spatial justice?
b. How is the principle of spatial justice being practiced in spatial planning and housing in South Africa, Gauteng, City of Johannesburg and Alexandra (ARP)?

Section 4: Root causes for perpetuation of post-apartheid era spatial injustice

a. Is there a perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing in Gauteng, City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (period from 1994 to 2019)?

b. How the ARP and any housing project in the City of Johannesburg you have been involved attempted to address the spatial injustices in housing?
c. What are the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid (period from 1994 to 2019) spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra? If possible kindly explain these causes and processes in order of their importance.
d. What are the challenges the HDA encounter in acquiring strategically located land for housing developments in Johannesburg?

Section 5: Innovative approaches- spatial justice in planning and housing

a. What can be done to address the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra?
b. What are the required roles for planners/housing officials and experts in addressing injustice of spatiality?

Interview Guide: Professional Planners in private practice

Introduction

I am Stewart Mareere, a University of the Witwatersrand student currently studying towards a Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management. I am conducting research on the Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing Delivery in Alexandra Township. The aim of this study is to unravel the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice from the year 1994 to 2019 in housing delivery using a case of Alexandra Township. Therefore, you have been selected as a key informant to represent the views of planning and housing academic experts in relation to this study. Findings from this study will be used solely for academic purposes. In addition, your responses will be treated with confidentiality. May I proceed to ask you questions with regard to this study?

Section 1: Socio-demographic Data

a. Name of Institution represented ……
b. Position ……
c. Roles and Responsibilities: ……
d. Length of time in this position ……

Section 2: Contribution to planning and housing

a. What has been your contribution to planning and housing in South Africa and in the City of Johannesburg?

Section 3: Practice of spatial justice concept

b. How do you understand and/or define the concept of spatial injustice?
c. How is the principle of spatial justice being practiced in spatial planning and housing in South Africa, City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (ARP)?

Section 4: Root causes for perpetuation of post-apartheid era spatial injustice

a. Is there a perpetuation of spatial injustice in housing in the City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (period from 1994 to 2019)?
b. What are the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid (period from 1994 to 2019) spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra? If possible kindly explain these causes and processes in order of their importance.

Section 5: Innovative approaches- spatial justice in planning and housing

a. What can be done to address the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra?
b. What are the required roles for planners/housing professionals and experts in addressing injustice of spatiality in housing?

Interview Guide: Socio-Economic Rights Institute (SERI) Official

Introduction

I am Stewart Mareere, a University of the Witwatersrand student currently studying towards a Master of Urban Studies in the field of Urban Management. I am conducting research on the Perpetuation of Spatial Injustice in Housing Delivery in Alexandra Township. The aim of this study is to unravel the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice from the year 1994 to 2019 in housing delivery using a case of Alexandra Township. Therefore, you have been selected as a key informant to represent the views of planning and housing academic experts in relation to this study. Findings from this study will be used solely for academic purposes. In addition, your responses will be treated with confidentiality. May I proceed to ask you questions with regard to this study?

Section 1: Socio-demographic Data

a. Name of Institution represented ……
b. Position ……
c. Roles and Responsibilities: ……
d. Length of time in this position ……

Section 2: Contribution to planning and housing

a. What has been your contribution to planning and housing in South Africa and the City of Johannesburg?

Section 3: Practice of spatial justice concept

a. How do you understand and/or define the concept of spatial justice?
b. How is the principle of spatial justice being practiced in spatial planning and housing in South Africa, City of Johannesburg and in Alexandra (ARP)?

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Section 5: Innovative approaches- spatial justice in planning and housing

a. What can be done to address the root causes and processes that are perpetuating post-apartheid spatial injustice in housing in Alexandra?
b. What are the required roles of institutions/organisations that represents the interest of the urban poor in addressing injustice of spatiality?