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Challenges in the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra

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CHALLENGES IN THE DELIVERY OF LOW-COST HOUSING IN ALEXANDRA

by

Gloria Nomasotsha Phashe

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and Management, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Masters of Management
(Public and Development Management)

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ABSTRACT

The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) is finding it difficult to cope with the persistent housing backlog in Alexandra Township, despite the considerable efforts made to respond to the housing challenge through the Project's initiatives. Although different researchers, for differing reasons, have conducted extensive research in Alexandra, there has been little focus on the aspects pertaining to the increasing demand for low-cost housing. Focus has been lacking, particularly on the different factors such as migration and urbanisation, which contribute to the continued upsurge in the demand for low-cost houses in Alexandra. The purpose of this research was to explore and understand the nature of the challenges experienced by the ARP in their delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. An emphasis was placed on those challenges resulting from an increased overall demand for low-cost housing, and both migration and urbanisation were used as the main parameters within which the study was contextualised. The research used the qualitative methodology approach and interviews as a means of collating in-depth information from various informants.

The research shows that there is an increase in the overall demand for low-cost housing and this is one of the main reasons why the process of housing delivery in Alexandra has been challenging thus far. Many people from rural areas, other provinces around the country and from several other townships have migrated to Alexandra over the years and both migration and urbanisation have exacerbated the challenges. In light of this, the research recommends the need for all relevant stakeholders to develop a clear, concrete strategy that is aimed at addressing migration and urbanisation issues in the township in the future.

DECLARATION

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management in the field of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. It has not been submitted before for any examination in any other University.

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Gloria Nomasotsha Phashe **Date**

DEDICATION

This research report is dedicated to my late grandfather, Alfred Magwazana, “Skorokoro”, Mdluli: for all that you were and for all that you could have ever been. I know that you would have been very proud to see me obtain yet another degree. This one is for you, **the passerby who passed on**...

“In the drizzling rains pouring down glaring skies
You walked away silently with the winds
And bid farewell to the soil you toiled
The soil you cultivated at Ruigtesloot beckoned you
Eighty four years is a travel long and wild
Memory clogged with anecdotes of passing episodes of life
We were not there when you honoured your name and passed
You the passerby who passed on and left the past with an echoing void

...

Who will nurture the seeds sown and scattered everywhere
Now that you have parted
They mourned in Alexandra, Giyane and Ruigtesloot
When you passed on passerby, leaving in the past an echoing voice
Who will guide us now in this crazy world of the wild and twisted
Thought you remembered the child that cries when pierced by a thorn
In the song you danced to always with passionate bravado

...

I speak to you now in the foreign language you asked me to speak in
In defiance to streaming tears of mournful sorrow screaming
The guitar that kept you sane for nine years is silent now

Unless you say there is song and dance still amongst the dead
Then we shall come and sing around your grave
And never miss the sounds of Skorokoro"[1]

Lala ngoxolo Mdluli omuhle, omude, omnyama!

[1] Cited from the poem "For the passerby who passed on" by M. N. K. Mtileni.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to the following individuals for their contributions:

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- To my dearest mother, **Ellen Phasha (Mdluli**), for the love and your unwavering support over the years. I would never have done it without you. Keyaleboga Mdluli, Silinda, Mthombeni!

- To mme **Deliwe Khemisi**: You have been so consistent over the years, it is unbelievable. Thank you for all the love and support, you are appreciated.

- To my father, the late **Archibald, Senatla, Phasha**: Even though you were not always around, I know that you loved us. Etsela ka kgotso **Phasha! Nkwana! Moroka! Kgoshi hlaba kgomo badidi baje!**

- To a very dedicated librarian, the late **Hilbrey Revington**. Thank you for seeing me through many of my toughest moments as a student. May your soul rest in peace.

- To my sisters **Mmabatho** and **Balekane**, and my nieces **Ofentse**, **Lebogang, Lesedi** and **Bontle** ─ thank you for being there. I love you girls.

- **Maiguru Ndo**: Your contributions over the years have not gone unnoticed. Not only have you been a pillar of strength, but you equally fought to see me progress in life, and for that I will always be grateful to you.

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- To my dearest friends for their understanding and support, especially my two anchors, **Siyanda Mahlasela** and **Thandekile Madikana**– ndiyanithanda bahlekazi bam.

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- Ausi **Tebello Mokhema,** for being a pillar of strength – you are most appreciated.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS & ABBREVIATIONS

ALEX	Alexandra Township
ANC	African National Congress
ARP	Alexandra Renewal Project
ASGI-SA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative
CBD	Central Business District
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
DBS	Discount Benefit Scheme
DLGH	Department of Local Government & Housing
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GDoLGH	Gauteng Department of Local Government & Housing
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GJMC	Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council
GNP	Gross National Product
GSDF	Gauteng Spatial Development Framework
HSS	Housing Subsidy Scheme
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
JCC	Johannesburg City Council
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
LIDP	Local Integrated Development Plan
NHF	National Housing Forum
PHDB	Provincial Housing Development Boards
PSHRP	Public Sector Hostels Redevelopment Programme
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
UDF	Urban Development Framework
WBPP	World Bank Policy Paper

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Housing the Nation is one of the greatest challenges facing the Government of National Unity. The extent of the challenge derives not only from the enormous size of the housing backlog and the desperation and impatience of the homeless, but stems also from the extremely complicated bureaucratic, administrative, financial and institutional framework inherited from the previous government"
(Housing White Paper, 1994).

South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 marked the long-awaited end to the oppression of the black majority, and signaled new hope of liberation from historical, social and economic deprivation (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). This meant that the Government of National Unity had the mammoth task of addressing and redressing issues of inequality, inequity, unemployment and poverty inherited from the apartheid regime, taking into account challenges such as the large housing backlog that they were faced with.

The government has to an extent managed to address this particular key consequence of apartheid, namely the housing backlog. The Gauteng Department of Housing has delivered 264 075 serviced stands and 168 526 units between 1994 and October 2001 (Tomlinson, 2002 in Harrison, Huchzermeyer and Mayekiso, 2003: 82). The National Department of housing has since 1994 housed almost 5 million people and by 2003 it had built about 1129 million houses throughout South Africa (Khan and Thring, 2003).

It is, nonetheless, in the spheres of housing provision that problems associated with delivery have heightened. It is acknowledged on one hand that the government has between 1994 and 2008 built approximately 2 million houses. It is also noted, however, that the government's own estimates suggest that there is still a housing backlog of 2 million houses (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

One of government's strategies to address the extensive housing backlog is to provide low-cost houses to poor, qualifying[2] citizens of the country, who were previously disadvantaged and unfairly excluded from housing opportunities by the apartheid government.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1.1 General Overview of Policy and Legislative Framework

Unlike the majority of policy and legislative frameworks in South Africa, which came in with the democratic transition, the core pillars of the current housing policy are rooted in the pre-1994 era (Khan and Thring, 2003). Institutionalised racial policies such as the Land Act of 1913, the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923, the Group Areas Act of 1950 and other related racially biased legislative policies meant that the poor and low income earning groups in South Africa were reduced to living in undesirable parts of the country.

The Apartheid regime had a segregation principle that confined those who did not belong to the White community in townships, usually some distance from urban areas. In light of this, the state remained hesitant to provide the people in townships with adequate houses (Nokwane, 2006). Smith (2001) raised a strong argument to say that this propelled many low income families into informal settlements. He went on to argue that rising

[2] As per the criteria outlined in the housing code.

numbers in backyard shack populations, alarming numbers of informal settlements and the overcrowding in townships were the net result of the unjust housing policies of the past.

The policies of the apartheid regime undoubtedly left South Africa with deep-rooted scars of poverty, as well as racial and social inequalities, which presented a challenge for the new democratic government post-1994. After April 27th 1994, racially based policies were discarded and South African citizens were allowed to own property which included houses and land that were situated both in and out of the city (Nokwane, 2006). In addition to this, new policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994, the Housing White Paper of 1994 and the South African Constitution of 1996 were introduced.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme of 1994 entailed the vision of the ANC government, a programme whose intention was to co-ordinate the new government's developmental policies through national construction, development, growth, employment and redistribution. Through the RDP, the inadequate provision of basic services and housing development in urban townships and rural settlements was recognized. In addition, the RDP was instrumental in upholding the principle that all South Africans had the right to a secure and decent place to live in (African National Congress, 1994; Matsepe, 2009).

The White Paper of 1994 ─ A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa – explains that government strives to establish viable socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas that allow for convenient access to economic opportunities, health, educational as well as social amenities. The White Paper goes on to say that all South Africans will have access progressively, to a permanent residential structure with a secure tenure, to ensure privacy and to provide adequate protection. Also on a progressive basis, South African citizens will have

access to domestic electricity supply, potable water and adequate sanitary facilities that include waste disposal (Khan, 1998).

Over and above these, the policy committed the South African Government to the delivery of one million low-income houses over a period of five years (within their first term of office), by use of a people-centred housing delivery process that prioritized the needs of the poor, vulnerable (women, children and the disabled) and previously disadvantaged groups. The government's commitment to the provision of access to housing is mainly underpinned by an understanding that in order for poverty to be eliminated, physical assets must be provided for Smit (as cited in Khan and Thring, 2003). This understanding therefore implies that government must provide the poor with shelter, so as to decrease the levels of poverty within the affected groups and communities.

The South African housing policy understands the challenge of inadequate shelter as an element of a lack of income of the poor Kentridge (as cited in Khan and Thring, 2003). The policy further makes an implicitly bold contention that people are inadequately housed because they lack enough income that will allow them to be participants in the housing market. Linked to that is its acknowledgement that the housing market and housing finance are domains that are characterized by imperfections. Given these, the state should therefore, through the use of macroeconomic and other associated policies, improve people's incomes and ensure that the manner in which housing markets operate is improved (Khan, cited in Khan and Thring, 2003).

The Macro Economic Research Group recognizes that housing plays a critical role in the economy and also views it as a significant sector that can generate income and employment while acting as some form of stimulus to growth in catalytic scenarios (Micro Economic Research Group, 1993).

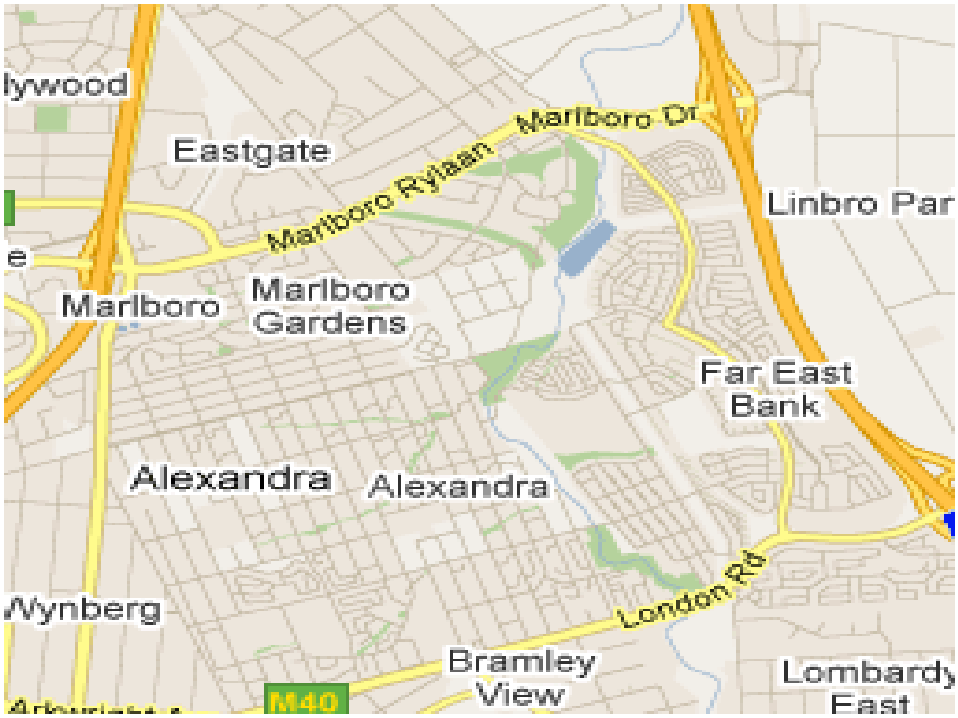
1.1.2 Alexandra Township: an overview

The purpose of the next few sections is to provide an overview of the township, its history, and to recognize the current structures that have been put in place by the government to bring development into the township, and in this research document the Alexandra Renewal Project is discussed. The aim of these discussions is to provide a deeper understanding of the township from its establishment until the present time.

Alexandra Township is located in the City of Johannesburg, the largest city in South Africa, with a population of 3.2 million people living in 1 million households. Alexandra itself covers an area of over 800 hectares and is located on land that is almost rectangular in shape, approximately 16 kilometres to the north of central Johannesburg. Some of its main landmarks/features include commercial and industrial zones to the north, a busy road to the south, and the polluted Jukskei River as its eastern border (Roefs, Naidoo, Meyer and Makalela, 2003).

Unlike other South African urban townships that are normally situated further away from urban centres, Alexandra is within close proximity to the economic opportunities that are presented by Sandton, Midrand, Wynberg, Kempton Park and several neighbouring industrial and commercial areas. It is also located very close to the centre of Johannesburg and very near to the main transport routes (Roefs, *et al*., 2003; Matsepe, 2009). (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Location of Alexandra Township



Source: Adapted from Google Maps

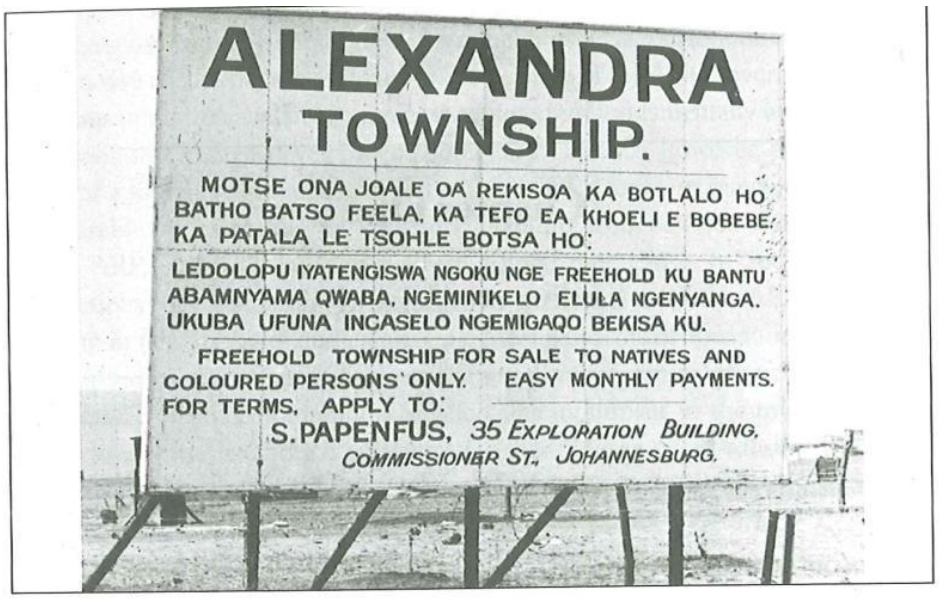
1.1.3 Alexandra Township- A Brief History

"And Alexandra,
My beginning was knotted to you,
Just like you knot my destiny.
You throb in my inside silences
You are silent in my heart-beat that's loud to me
[...]
Alexandra, I love you;
I know
When all these worlds became funny to me,
I silently waded back to you
And amid the rubble I lay,
Simple and black".
Mongane Wally Serote

The above is an extract from the poem “Alexandra” by South African poet Mongane Wally Serote who attempts to convey the sentiments of many inhabitants of the township; the many men and women who grew up to love and appreciate the small township that was originally a home for hundreds of migrant workers from all parts of South Africa.

Alexandra Township was laid out in 1912 as a freehold township for Africans and Coloured persons. The billboard depicted below, written in Sotho, Zulu and English, was put up in 1912, as a means of advertising the sale of the 2 500 stands that were sold to individuals around that time.

Figure 2: Billboard advertising the sale of land in Alexandra, 1912



Establishment of Alexandra as a freehold township (Source: Museum Africa).

Many of the original inhabitants of the township were immigrants who worked on white-owned farms as sharecroppers and labour tenants. The township was originally part of a farm owned by Mr. Herbert Papenfus, an attorney by profession, who had political influence around the early 1900s.

About 40 Coloured and African people bought the land from Papenfus in the late 1930s and since then, the township's population has grown exponentially to such a point that about 80 000 people were reported to be living in Alexandra by 1948 (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

A number of population determination initiatives have been carried out since then, one of the most recent being the 2001 Census, which reported approximately 360 000 people estimated to be living in Greater Alexandra. Due to these large numbers of people, over a third of a million in the township alone, the City of Johannesburg has found itself struggling in its attempt to provide adequate low-cost housing and reportedly has a backlog estimated to be around 240 000 units, with 160 informal settlements which are inclusive of components of Alexandra. These approximately 360 000 people are reported to be residing in about 4 060 formal houses, 34 000 shacks, hostels, flats and even warehouses (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006).

Statistics reveal that one in every three households resides in informal settlements and this, according to the Department of Provincial and Local Government (2006), is one of the highest densities ever recorded in South Africa. The population estimates in the township are presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Population Estimates and Sample details

Name of Area	Estimated Number of house-holds	Estim-ated Popu-lation (ARP)	Estimated Total Population (Survey)	Estimate Adult Popu-lation (Survey)	Actual sample	% Sample
Old Alexandra	75,200	263,200	272,915	178,720	764	30.6%
Old Alex Hostels	4,982	8,379	13,841	10,440	251	10.1%
Old Alex Flats	1,855	9,500	7,340	4,780	240	9.6%
Warehouses/ Marlboro	2,286	8,000	6,110	4,140	250	10.0%
Setswetla	4,000	15,500	11,728	7,760	251	10.1%
East Bank	820	3,000	3,849	2,620	191	7.7%
Far East Bank	2,500	8,750	10,451	6,620	128	5.1%
Tsutsumani	1,700	7,250	7,158	4,200	121	4.8%
River park	748	3,100	2,822	1,770	200	8.0%
Alex Transit Camp	527	1,900	1,464	1,020	100	4.0%
Total	94,618	328,579	337,678	222,070	2,496	100.0%

Source: Alex Benchmark Survey (2005)

In recognition of the severity of the problems facing Alexandra and several other townships, former President Thabo Mbeki announced the National Urban Renewal Programme (URP) in 2001. The main argument for the formation of the URP was informed by Mbeki's vision of finding ways to bridge the gap that existed between the first and second economies inherent in the South African developmental context. This programme was founded on two key policies ─ the National Spatial Development Framework of 1995 and the Department of Housing National Urban

Development Framework of 1997 (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006).

The URP was made up of seven-year projects, which were divided into eight nodes, around six cities in South Africa. The nodal areas had common features including high levels of poverty, inequality and very low economic growth. Equally, the asset base of the people who were residing in these areas, according to the Department of Provincial and Local Government, was very low.

1.1.4. The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP)

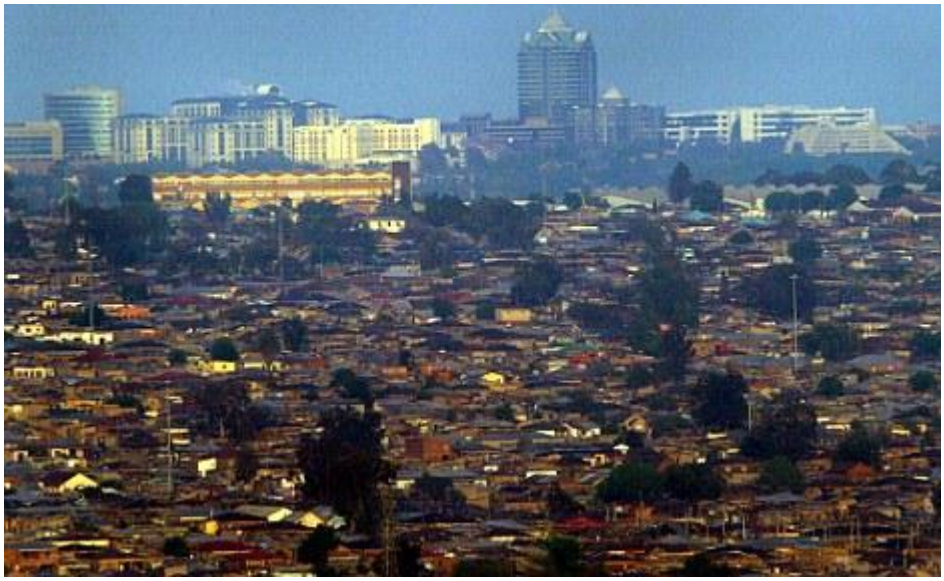
In September 2000, a document entitled “Overall Business Plan for the reconstruction and urban renewal of Alexandra” was finalised. The cost of implementation of the projects identified in this proposal was estimated at R1.3 billion. With this study as a basis, former State President Thabo Mbeki, at the official opening of Parliament in February 2001, announced a seven-year project to redevelop Greater Alexandra in Johannesburg; this signalled the birth of the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) (Alexandra Renewal Project, 2006).

The ARP is a joint venture implemented between National, Provincial and Local Government. A project team has since been established within the Provincial Housing Department to facilitate the implementation of the project, under the leadership of a Programme Manager. There is also a Local Government Project Manager, who has been appointed by the City of Johannesburg (at a local government level) to officially oversee the implementation of the project (Roefs, Naidoo, Meyer and Makalela, 2003).

The ARP reach is over a large area which is part of Region 7 of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (approximately 128 square kilometres). The area includes 'Old Alex’, the East Bank, the Far East

Bank, Marlboro Industrial Area, Wynberg (a retail/industrial area), Kew (retail/industrial), Marlboro South (an industrial and buffer area) and Marlboro Gardens (Roefs, *et al.*, 2003).

Figure 3: A picture of old Alex

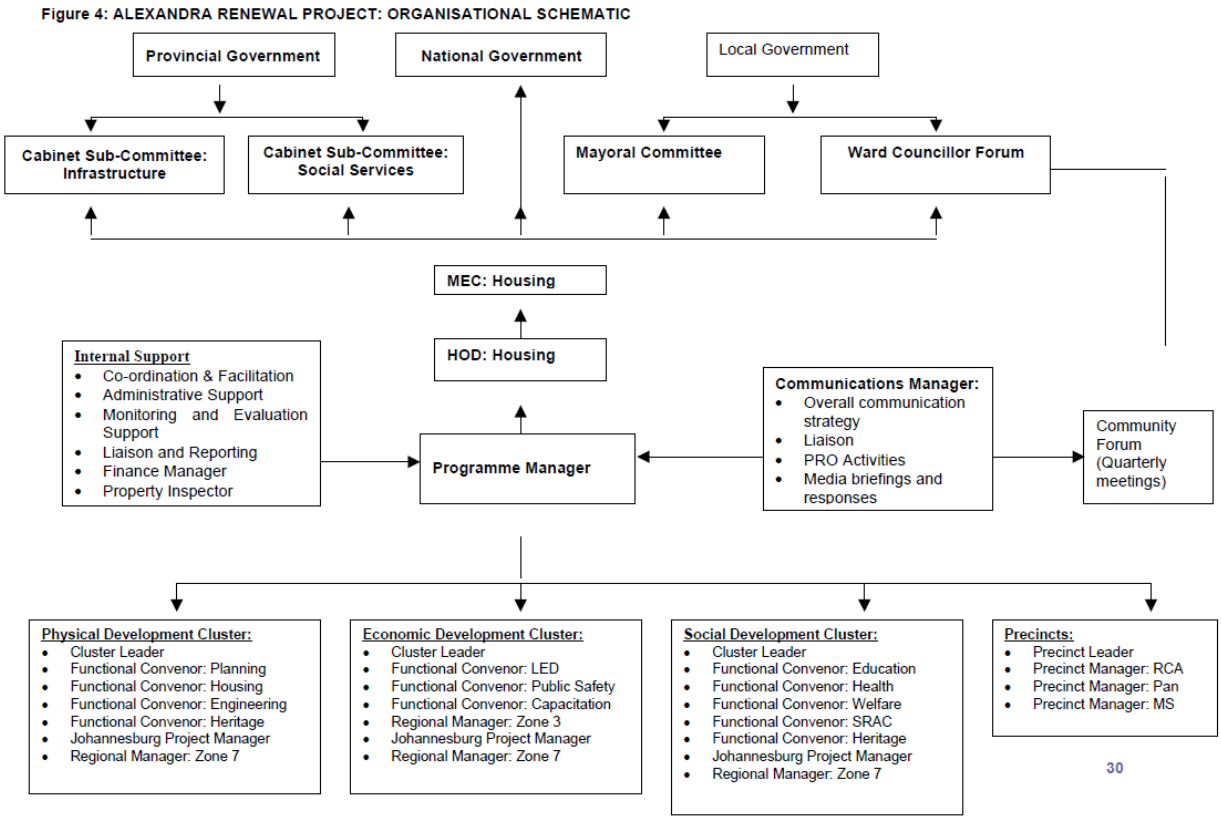


Source: Mail Online, 25 January, 2010

The ARP has eleven functional areas, each of which has a list of projects, as listed below:

Education; Engineering; Environment; Health; Heritage; Housing; Local Economic Development; Local government capacity building; Safety and security; Sport and recreation; and Welfare. These functional areas have since been grouped into four primary categories which are Local Economic Development, Housing Developments, Social Infrastructure and Urban Services respectively (Alexandra Renewal Project, 2006). Below is an organisational schematic representation of the ARP:

Figure 4: Alexandra Renewal Project: Organisational Schematic



Source: Roefs, Naidoo, Meyer and Makalela (2003)

Following its inception in 2001, the ARP had a number of desired outcomes and these include, *inter alia*, the stimulation of income-generating opportunities for the economically involved residents of the township, as a means of decreasing the levels of unemployment; the provision of affordable and appropriate services; and the provision of a variety of well-regulated (in terms of density and quality), affordable and sustainable housing that has security of tenure (Thwala, 2006). One of its fundamental objectives regarding housing was to de-densify Old Alexandra, which the Programme estimates has a gross density of 450 and a net density of 770 structures per hectare. The gross density refers to the number of households staying in areas zoned for housing and public space, while net density is the actual density that remains after all public space is discounted (Alexandra Renewal Project, 2006).

According to the ARP (2006) the original housing backlog in Alexandra was 45 000 units. It was envisaged that 21 500 units would be developed outside Old Alexandra and 23 500 units in Old Alexandra. The ARP had an original target and objective of relocating 21 500 households from Old Alexandra and of this, only 11 503 have been moved out of the area, indicating a 54% attainment of the initial target (City of Johannesburg, 2008). A number of constraints led the ARP to set new targets in 2005 to provide 9 500 RDP housing units, 5 700 affordable rental housing units, 2 500 upgraded hostel units, 2 850 social housing and 950 bonded and credit-linked houses in order to meet the 21 500 target. Since that time, only 35% of the new targets have been met (ARP, 2006).

Towards the end of 2004, it was becoming more apparent that the ARP was facing a crisis. The people of Alexandra were becoming more despondent as a result of the slow service delivery and because there was little sign of the development that had been promised when the ARP was launched. The ARP was also faced with many other challenges, particularly when it came to delivering houses to the poor people of Alexandra. Some of the challenges that were attributed to this slow delivery of housing resulted from what the ARP perceived to be a ‘poor housing strategy’, which was based on a number of incorrect assumptions (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008).

Other factors that could have slowed down the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra include the housing backlog that was inherited from the apartheid government, which has increased significantly since the 1980s (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). There is also the aspect of limited financial resources and land (amongst other things) which are necessary in providing houses to the relevant beneficiaries (Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2006). Another problematic factor in this regard is the high rate of migration into the township, particularly because

Alexandra has historically been an area for migrant workers who worked on white-owned farms around the Johannesburg area.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

This research is contextualized in Alexandra, within the period 2001 to 2008 when the ARP was put in place with the objective being to upgrade living conditions and human development potential in the township. This included, amongst other things, the delivery of low-cost housing to qualifying residents of the township.

The ARP is finding it difficult to cope with the persistent housing backlog in Alexandra despite the considerable efforts made to respond to the housing challenge through the Project's initiatives. In one of its reports, the Alexandra Renewal Project (2006) noted a housing backlog of 45 000 units which was set as their original delivery target; only 54% was attained (City of Johannesburg, 2008). This is an indication that the ARP's supply of low-cost housing in the township is not aligned with the existing demand and this ultimately poses a challenge in their delivery of low-cost housing, as an objective to eradicate poverty and to reduce the enormous housing backlog in that township.

Pertinent to this issue is the challenge of dealing with an increasing population that demands more low-cost housing. According to Dlamini (2008), the township's infrastructure was initially designed to accommodate 70 000 people but because of the inflow of people into Alexandra over the years, the population has escalated to an estimated 350 000 to date. Not only has this put a strain on the infrastructure in the area, but it has also (in more ways than one) frustrated the overall delivery of services.

Although different researchers (such as Roefs, *et al.,* 2003; Matsepe, 2009; and Misago, Gindrey, Duponchel, Landau and Polzer, 2010), for differing reasons, have conducted much research in Alexandra, there has been little focus on the aspect pertaining to challenges associated with the increasing demand for low-cost housing in that area. Focus has been lacking particularly on factors such as migration and urbanisation (amongst others), which contribute to the upsurge in the demand for low-cost houses in Alexandra. There is a need, therefore, to understand these factors and to learn more precisely about their implications for low-cost housing delivery in the township of Alexandra. This report hopes to make a distinct contribution to the greater understanding of these challenges insofar as low-cost housing delivery in Alexandra is concerned.

1.3. PURPOSE STATEMENT

The purpose of this research was to explore and understand the nature of the challenges experienced by the ARP in their delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. The research was carried out against the backdrop of a continuously increasing demand for low-cost housing, with migration and urbanisation as the main parameters within which the study was contextualised. This research provides a practical and useful approach that will promote a better understanding of the challenges faced by the ARP in their objective to eradicate poverty and to reduce the enormous housing backlog in Alexandra. It can further be used as a guide for other areas and/or townships experiencing similar challenges.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research was underpinned and guided by the following set of questions:

1. Why has the housing backlog persisted in Alexandra despite the considerable efforts made to respond to the housing challenge through the Alexandra Renewal Project?
2. To what extent has migration and urbanisation played a role in increasing the demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra?
3. How can the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra be conceptualised and carried out in future in light of migration and urbanisation?

1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The report comprises six chapters as outlined below:

Chapter One: Introduction

The first chapter is an introductory part of this research report, and its primary objective is to introduce the research problem at hand and to take the reader through the contextual background to the research. This includes the presentation of the problem statement, purpose statement and the research questions therein. Essentially, chapter one sets the tone for the rest of the research report, as it channels the reader's attention towards the specific problems under scrutiny.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Chapter two presents an in-depth discussion of the literature review and is informed by the research problem section introduced in chapter one. The main objective of this chapter is to communicate and express the knowledge and ideas that have been captured by different scholars throughout the years, about the 'problematics', complexities and other factors influencing housing delivery on a broader scale and what they have understood by these. Chapter two is by and large the key to gaining an in-depth understanding of the research topic and aids in interrogating those challenges (amongst other things) that are specific and related to

those experienced by the ARP delivery in their delivery of low-cost housing delivery in Alexandra, in light of its growing population and the increasing demand for low-cost housing in that area.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Chapter three is a presentation of the research methodology used in the study. It describes the research approach, methods and techniques, sampling, data collection and data analysis techniques that were used in the study.

Chapter Four: Research Findings

While chapter three focused on research methodology, this chapter was dedicated to presenting the findings of the study. In other words, it is a presentation of the different responses and views of the respondents as collated by the researcher. These are then presented in the form of categories and/or themes as informed by the research questions.

Chapter Five: Research Analysis

Chapter five focuses on the analysis of the research data where the data as presented in chapter four is contextualized and placed into the relevant categories and themes, as a means of highlighting the key arguments and discussions identified by the respondents. The main objective of the chapter is to provide a discussion and argument as measured against the existing body of academic knowledge.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Recommendations

Chapter six is a synthesis of all the other chapters, based on the trends and debates raised in the study. The main aim of the chapter was to bring to the fore the main issues and findings of the research in order to reflect on the dynamics that are inherent in Alexandra Township. It goes on to further postulate recommendations that can be utilized by the ARP in the future, in order to improve the manner in which low-cost housing delivery

is conceptualized and carried out in Alexandra, so as to assist and benefit the poor residents of the township.

1.6. SUMMARY

Chapter one introduced the research topic and background information by presenting an overview and history of Alexandra Township. It then examined the different legislative, political and socio-economic issues pertaining to the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. For the purposes of the research, the section on the ARP was introduced and thereafter the problem statement, purpose of the research and research questions were presented, to inform the arguments put forward in the research, the objective being to establish the different challenges that are experienced by the ARP with regard to their objective of delivering low-cost houses in Alexandra and the extent to which migration and urbanization affect the delivery process. The following chapter will then communicate and express the knowledge and ideas that have been captured by different scholars throughout the years, about the issues relating to low-income housing, migration and urbanization, amongst other things.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

According to Neuman (2006), literature review is based on the assumption that knowledge accumulates and that people learn from and build on what others have done. It shares with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related to the current study and it relates the study to a larger ongoing dialogue in the literature about a particular topic. The purpose of this section is to communicate and express the knowledge and ideas that have been captured by different scholars throughout the years, about the 'problematics' and complexities of low-cost housing.

The first component of the literature review contextualises the issue of housing delivery in South Africa and further unpacks the key policies upon which housing delivery in South Africa is premised. The second component discusses the different elements that broadly affect housing delivery and looks at the current challenges facing housing delivery in South Africa. It goes on to further assess the role played by government in housing delivery. The third and final component of this chapter unpacks Turner's concept of self-help housing and then deliberates on issues relating to migration and urbanization.

2.2. CONTEXT OF HOUSING DELIVERY

The whole notion of housing delivery is underpinned by the bigger challenge of poverty eradication. Nokwane (2006) and Khan and Thring (2003) similarly acknowledge this and further argue that the housing

context is much more complex and needs to be thought of on the same footing as poverty, which is one of the main elements that is strongly linked to the housing issue.

According to Khan and Thring (2003), in discussing South Africa's housing policy, it is suggested that the problem of inadequate shelter is an outcome of income poverty. It is implicitly suggested in the policy that poor South Africans are inadequately housed because they lack enough income that will allow them to effectively participate in the 'highly imperfect' housing market. It is this train of thought that informs the housing delivery system of South Africa and that forms the foundation of the different understandings of the housing question.

According to Muller, Parnell and Van Ryneveld (2003), poverty goes far beyond a lack of income. It exists whenever an individual's or a household's access to income, jobs, infrastructure and basic services is inadequate to ensure full access to opportunities. It is caused by a combination of factors including economic, social, political, spatial and environmental factors. According to Tomlinson (2007) and the World Bank (2000), the recent processes on development place an emphasis on the reduction of poverty through the provision of basic needs as opposed to simply raising average incomes.

In the period before 1994, there was a tendency for the apartheid government to house poor people in areas that were located far from urban opportunities. As a means of addressing the housing inequalities that existed after 1994, the government of national unity through its Department of Housing embarked on a journey to "Housing the Nation". Their main objective in this regard, was to address the needs of disadvantaged households who were inadequately housed, through progressive access to secure tenure (10 Year Review, as cited in Burgoyne, 2008).

Housing delivery is a government prerogative and it is against this backdrop that the following section on South Africa's housing policy is discussed. Due to the fact that policy development is a process driven mainly by government, the following section relies heavily on government publications. Section 2.3 presents the main principles upon which housing delivery in South Africa is based and it further sets the context for the entire literature review.

2.3. HOUSING POLICY CONTEXT

South Africa's housing policy is based on a fundamental understanding that housing is a basic need. The people's right to have access to adequate housing was first expressed in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of 1994 and was later enshrined in the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Huchzermeyer, 2000). It is in this document that the right to housing is prescribed:

1. "Everyone has the right to have access to adequate housing.
2. The State must take reasonable legislative and other measures within its available resources to achieve the progressive realization of this right" (Housing Code, 2009).

In terms of providing content to the National Department of Housing's mandate, two fundamental documents are considered: these are the Housing White Paper of 1994 and the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements of 2004. The current housing policy in South Africa is based on the 1994 Housing White Paper, a policy document whose policy and development principles still remain relevant to date and a document that still plays a role in guiding all developments relating to housing policy and implementation (Housing Code, 2009).

2.3.1. The Housing White Paper

The Housing White Paper of 1994 envisioned the notion of 'adequate housing' and interprets it as consisting of "…viable, socially and economically integrated communities, situated in areas allowing convenient access to economic opportunities as well as health and social amenities, within which all South African people will have access to a permanent residential structure and with secure tenure, ensuring privacy and providing adequate protection…" (Department of Housing, 1994: 12). This reference to a 'permanent housing structure' set a standard for housing that differentiated itself from the service schemes and sites (known as toilet towns) constructed under the apartheid government. Instead, there was a focus on a product which was inclusive of a house/top structure, in accordance with the commitment that was reinforced in the White Paper, to deliver a million houses within the first five years of government (Department of Housing, 1994).

In order for this commitment to be realized, the government through its National Housing Policy outlined seven main strategies, namely stabilising the housing environment, mobilising housing credit, providing subsidy assistance, supporting the People's Housing Process, rationalising institutional capacity, facilitating speedy release and servicing of land, and co-ordinating government investment in development (National Department of Housing, 2000). For the purposes of this research, attention will be given to two of these strategies, that speak to the provision of subsidy assistance and the strategy to rationalise institutional capacity.

2.3.2. The provision of subsidy assistance

According to Burgoyne (2008), this strategy is about providing subsidy assistance and supporting those households that are unable to independently satisfy their own housing needs. Burgoyne further asserts

that the most fundamental principle to this strategy, “is based on the constraints imposed by the need for financial discipline – as the government is not able to supply a sufficient subsidy to cover the costs of providing a formal complete house to every South African family in need” (Burgoyne, 2008: 32). As a result, the South African housing policy is premised on the principle of ‘width’ as opposed to ‘depth’, which translates into a large number of families receiving a lesser subsidy, as opposed to a smaller number of families receiving a larger subsidy (National Department of Housing, 2000).

This strategy to provide subsidy assistance is composed of three programmes that made up the National Housing Programme, namely:

- Housing Subsidy Scheme (HSS)
- Discount Benefit Scheme (DBS)
- Public Sector Hostels Redevelopment Programme (PSHRP).

The HSS will be the only programme discussed for the purposes of this research, as it was mentioned earlier in chapter 1 of the research. This programme started operating as the only government subsidy programme since March 1994 and replaced all previous government subsidy programmes. The scheme accords households earning up to R3 500 per month a subsidy that will assist them to obtain basic services, secure tenure, and a top structure (Burgoyne, 2008).

An individual is only eligible for a housing subsidy subject to the following set criteria: “his/her household income is not more than R3 500 per month; he/she is a South African citizen or permanent resident; he/she is legally competent to contract (i.e. over the age of 21 and of sound mind); he/she is married or cohabitating; he/she is single and has dependants; he/she is acquiring a home for the first time, and lastly, he/she has not

received a housing subsidy previously" (National Department of Housing, 2000: 31).

There is a variety of subsidy mechanisms available and these include the individual subsidy, the project-linked subsidy, the consolidation subsidy, the institutional subsidy, the relocation assistance subsidy and the rural subsidy (National Department of Housing, 2000). There are also several further housing strategies, but for the relevance of this research, a discussion on two of these strategies is provided below.

2.3.3. Rationalising Institutional Capacity

The main objective of this strategy is to create a single transparent housing process and institutional system. The process culminated in the Housing Act of 1997, which became operational on 1st April 1998. Not only does the Act establish a new institutional framework but it also outlines the different housing roles and responsibilities in the public sector. It further identifies capacity building as a fundamental component for the creation of an enabling environment in all spheres (national, provincial and municipal) of government within which implementers and regulators can operate (Housing Code, 2009).

2.3.4. Comprehensive Plan for Development of Sustainable Human Settlements: Breaking New Ground

Since the release of the National Housing Policy of 1998 there has been a number of policy and statutory developments which have given effect to the new approach to housing. These include the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 1996; the Housing Act (Act No. 107 of 1997); the Public Finance Management Act (Act No. 1 of 1999); the Municipal Finance Management Act (Act No. 56 of 2003); the Division of Revenue Act (Act No. 7 of 2003); the Growth, Employment and Redistribution

Strategy (GEAR) of 1996; the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP); the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP); the Accelerated & Shared Growth Initiative in South Africa (ASGI-SA); and the White Paper and policy frameworks pertaining to local government and the public service (Housing Code, 2009).

Based on insights that Government gained through the implementation of the 1994 Housing White Paper, the need to integrate the existing policy framework and related programmes with the significant policy shift (that arose from the provision of housing only as a means to establishing sustainable human settlements), became increasingly evident. To accomplish the above, Cabinet approved the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements in 2004. The Comprehensive Plan has been vigorously implemented and several legal, policy and institutional amendments have followed (Housing Code, 2009).

Even in light of the above efforts by government, there still remains a number of challenges and/or constraints insofar as policy implementation is concerned, and these are outlined in the following discussion:

2.3.5. Existing Policy Constraints

According to the New Housing Policy and Strategy, there are a number of constraints that affect the general delivery of housing. For the purpose of this research these are identified and discussed below.

2.3.5.1. The Policy Framework

The provision of an inclusive housing strategy is identified as one of the key shortcomings of the housing policy framework in South Africa. There is an inadequate definition of the roles and responsibilities of all the key

stakeholders that need to participate in the housing sector (Housing White Paper, 1994).

2.3.5.2. The Scale of the Housing Problem

According to the Housing White Paper (1994), there are enormous geographic disparities inherent in the current housing conditions; not only do these exist between the nine South African provinces but they also occur between urban and rural areas.

2.3.5.3. The Configuration of South Africa's Human Settlements

According to the Housing White Paper (1994), the country's apartheid history left a number of ailments insofar as the structure of human settlement is concerned, and inherent in this structure are a number of constraints which include the following:

- discriminatory and disorganized cities, which separate people according to class and race;
- high levels of urbanisation, resulting in housing needs that are focused on urban areas;
- a disseminated rural settlement structure, which impedes service delivery in a number of ways.

2.3.5.4. Institutional Framework

The Housing White Paper (1994) goes on to identify a number of shortcomings emanating from the earlier housing institutional framework. Below is a short summary thereof:

- An inherent duplication of funding mechanisms and housing institutions, mainly racially and geographically, resulting in

significant amounts of duplication, overlap and further causing confusion between and within the different housing institutions.

- The inability for many authorities to carry out their duties and responsibilities, thus causing delays in the process of housing development, public administration and the general public environment.

In addition to the abovementioned policy constraints, there are a few other elements affecting the delivery of housing in South Africa, as identified below.

2.4. GENERAL ELEMENTS AFFECTING HOUSING DELIVERY

In line with the objective of delivering low-cost housing in order to satisfy the existing demand and to contribute to the eradication of poverty, it is critical to consider and understand the different issues surrounding housing and housing delivery. According to Charlton (2004), housing is more than just the provision of shelter but is rather, *inter alia*, also about considering the form of tenure that exists in a housing situation. According to this scholar, housing is about considering the relationship that exists between house-dweller and land, or the accommodation and the land, which may range from various informal occupations and rental scenarios to full freehold ownership. They further allude to security of tenure as being the most critical and fundamental from the occupier or house-dweller's point of view (Charlton, 2004, as cited in Burgoyne, 2008).

Further to this, other elements such as the physical attributes of the actual house need to be taken into consideration. This goes beyond the tangible house structure and speaks to the service and infrastructure (i.e. water and energy supply, sanitation, etc.) that supply the house (Burgoyne, 2008). Another critical element for consideration is the neighbourhood in which the house is located, as the living experience of a residential area,

is predominantly reliant on the availability and accessibility of amenities and facilities such as clinics, school, police stations and sporting facilities (amongst others) in urban areas (Charlton, 2004).

The link between housing and income generation is equally important. More often than not, an emphasis is placed on the location of housing in relation to the 'çritical' services and facilities in an urban area, such as hospitals and educational institutions, and particularly the location of employment opportunities. In light of this, travel and transport are equally important since these determine the safety, convenience and affordability for people to move from the homes to work and/or to other facilities (Charlton, 2004).

The previous sections have looked at a number of critical issues inherent in several housing debates. It has also deliberated on the different housing policies that have existed in South Africa over time, looked at some of the constraints associated with these, and finally discussed some of the elements that generally affect housing delivery in the country. It is against this backdrop that the research will identify the different government institutions involved in the process of housing delivery in South Africa and their respective roles in this regard.

2.5. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS: ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN HOUSING DEVELOPMENT

The South African government is separated into three spheres, the local, provincial and national levels. According to the Department of Housing (1997), an investment in housing and infrastructure is a pivotal step towards the provision of basic needs to the poor. It is a means of removing the inequities in society that were inherited from the previous apartheid government, with the objective of ensuring viable communities and sustainable human settlements. This idea was expressed through the

Urban Development Framework (UDF), a policy paper which sought to integrate the infrastructure, social, economic and governance elements of development in urban areas. This was done through the development of four core programmes: spatial integration, housing and infrastructure, economic development linked to urban development, and institutional capacity building (Roefs, Naidoo, Meyer and Makalela, 2003).

The Department of Housing (1997) makes a distinction between the three different levels of government and these are tabled below as follows:

Table 2: The three spheres of government, their roles and responsibilities

Government Sphere:	**National Government**	**Provincial Government**	**Municipalities**
Responsibilities:	To provide a national framework of laws, policy (including standards) and funding mechanisms to support urban development throughout South Africa.	To establish a provincial framework of laws, policy and funding mechanisms sensitive to the specific realities and needs of the cities and towns within the province and capacity building and support for municipalities.	To ensure integrated urban planning and management for the efficient functioning of cities and towns.

Source: Adapted from Department of Housing, (1997)

As previously mentioned in Chapter one, the ARP is a joint venture implemented between National, Provincial and Local Government. The responsibility has therefore been placed on all the spheres of government to ensure that there is proper guidance and leadership for the successful implementation of the project. At a national level, the Department of

Housing has developed a framework of laws and policies that guide housing development in South Africa. As part of their mandate, they have to further become the financial muscle that will fund the housing initiatives carried out at provincial and municipal level.

The provincial and local governments (municipalities) are required to implement the policies and funding mechanisms related to the specific realities and needs of the cities and towns. The provincial government has a further mandate to provide support and capacity building for municipalities (Department of Housing, 1997). In this case, the Gauteng provincial government funds the projects of the City of Johannesburg (CoJ), and the CoJ in turn ensures the implementation of projects such as the ARP.

2.6. CURRENT CHALLENGES FACING HOUSING DELIVERY

There are several challenges associated with the delivery of housing in South Africa. Some of these challenges are identified and discussed below.

2.6.1. Land

Burgoyne (2008) argues that one of the main challenges in housing development is the unavailability of appropriate land, particularly in light of the reality that many South African citizens reside in housing that is often inadequate, poorly located and without land tenure.

The Land Act of 1913 proclaimed an end to the sale of freehold land for black ownership. The outcome of this, according to Morris (2000), was a scarcity of land and the movement of a substantial number of migrants into Johannesburg, especially after the Second World War in 1939 when there was an increasing need for labour for the purposes of expanding the industrial and commercial sectors. Not only did areas such as Alexandra,

Sophiatown and the then Western Native Location (areas formally set aside for ‘black occupation’) become increasingly overcrowded, but this also led to the rapid deterioration in basic services that were provided at that time (Morris, 2000).

The white middle-class property owners saw the expansion of these areas, Alexandra in particular, as a threat which would eventually lead to the decrease in value of their own land. As was the case in the 1940s, there is hardly any access to this land (or any other land located near middle-income suburbs) for the purposes of developing low income houses. This phenomenon was known to many as the ‘not in my backyard’ or NIMBY syndrome (Morris, 2000).

Thellane (2008) is of the view that the principles of demand and supply play a role in influencing global land markets. More specifically, he argues that the prevalent features of land markets are the economic forces of demand and supply, which dictate the extent to which land can be made available for development purposes. In a nutshell, these either impede on the inclusion of poor people into urban land markets or it advances segregation in this regard.

Farvacque and McAuslan (as cited in Thellane, 2008), argue that the demand for land in urban areas is influenced by a number of factors such as the income of households, their access to credit, their capacity to save and the number of people, wanting to keep land as a form of investment. Land supply on the other hand is influenced (amongst other things) by the willingness of landowners to make land available on the market and the restrictions made by government on how the land must be used.

In addition to this, Sivam (2003) identifies a number of impediments that hamper the access to land for poor people living in urban areas, including laws and regulations, policies and financial constraints. Thellane (2008)

argues that the lack of financial resources for the poor is one of the main challenges preventing them from accessing land through the market. Land policies also exclude poor people from accessing land, due to their ambiguous and inflexible nature. This is analogous to the current political turmoil which has befallen Zimbabwe and the social conflict in countries such as Colombia, Cote d'Ivoire and Cambodia, which stems from their land policies (World Bank Report, as cited in Thellane, 2008).

Other land-related challenges which are more synonymous in the area of housing include high land prices and an inadequate adjustment in the land market due to the low land supply in relation to existing demand. In relation to this, there is also the extensive process for acquiring land which is due in part to the considerable number of officials and the related operations that need to be involved in this regard (UNCHS, 1991). Erguden (2001) argues that apart from increased land prices, the shortage of land can further lead to the expansion of squatter settlements and the unlawful invasion of unoccupied land. The strengthening of technical and financial power of municipalities and putting in place mechanisms that would facilitate the expansion of private land development agencies are some of the possible solutions to increasing the supply of urban land (Erguden, 2001).

2.6.2. Location

For poor people, the location of their houses is more important than the quality of the houses, as this has a direct impact on their ability to access urban opportunities and forms the foundation for social networks that are crucial for their survival (Department of Local Government and Housing, 2005, as cited in Burgoyne,2008).

With the systematic demolition of several locations on the Witwatersrand during the apartheid era, scores of people looked for accommodation in

Alexandra as opposed to other townships such as Daveyton, Tembisa, Vosloorus and Soweto, which are located on the borders of urban areas. Among the main reasons why many people chose to reside in Alexandra include it being conveniently located, near a lot of industrial areas where they worked and also because of the minimised control over movement (into the area) as opposed to the other townships (Morris, 2000).

Aucamp and Moodley (2002) are of the view that the location of low-cost housing initiatives has a direct impact on the cost and provision of public transport, particularly because low-income earners depend entirely on public transport for movement. Further locations would imply higher transport costs for the travellers and this would necessitate higher public transport subsidies. Huchzermeyer (2000) argues that as households become poorer, the poverty cycle necessitates an increased expenditure on transport. Evidence of this can be seen in the decisions taken by 'squatters' when choosing locations to settle in or those who take risks in the form of illegal land invasions.

Venter, *et al*. (2006) compare different benefits and costs related to the provision of low-cost housing in settlements which were located in more central locations as opposed to those located further away (on the periphery). Alexandra and Diepsloot were used as case studies, the latter being located on the periphery. It was then established that the average total transport costs for people residing in more central locations was less than those residing in areas located further away from the Central Business District (CBD) (see Table 3 below) .

Table 3: Average transport costs per person (R/month).

	JHB		ETHEKWINI					
	Peri-pheral	*Central*	*Rural*	*Peri-urban*		*Urban periphery*		*Urban core*
	Dieps	**Alex**	**Fredv**	**W'loo**	**Lovu**	**MVal**	**QH/W**	**CM**
Infrastructure costs	10.42	9.82	7.26	9.86	8.58	6.47	6.15	5.99
Direct operating costs								
Op. costs: Private	18.36	26.30	28.06	57.39	23.21	9.15	14.58	18.83
Op. subsidies: Bus	11.41	1.81	--	--	--	7.64	4.72	2.26
Op. subsidies: Rail	--	--	0.18	1.10	0.76	0.01	0.45	0.20
Public tr. fares	75.67	66.49	50.26	46.64	64.81	44.74	41.03	39.42
Travel time costs	31.35	34.28	24.29	34.49	32.49	29.82	26.54	24.21
Indirect op. costs								
Accident costs	1.67	1.60	0.92	1.30	1.29	1.03	0.60	0.63
TOTAL	148.88	140.30	110.97	150.77	131.14	98.87	94.07	91.54

Source: Venter, Biermann and van Ryneveld (2006)

Another comparison was made to establish the distance travelled from these locations. It was established that the average travel distance was much higher for people residing in more remote settlements, but only in the instances where public transport is used (Venter, *et al*., 2006) (Table 4).

Table 4: Average travel distances per mode (km)

	JHB		ETHEKWINI					
	Peri-pheral	*Central*	*Rural*	*Peri-urban*		*Urban periphery*		*Urban core*
	Dieps	**Alex**	**Fredv**	**W'loo**	**Lovu**	**MVal**	**QH/W**	**CM**
By car (all trips)	18.6	16.9	18.4	15.2	5.4	10.9	17.0	8.5
By bus/taxi/rail (to work)	19.9	17.1	21.9	18.6	18.3	21.9	13.2	9.7

Source: Venter, Biermann and van Ryneveld (2006)

The Department of Local Government and Housing (2005) identified three of the main cost implications in relation to location: The first speaks to the intolerable financial burden faced by low-income households in the form of unreasonably extended travelling times and the high transport costs associated with them. Second is the high costs apportioned to authorities for the provision of bulk services in remote areas. The last cost implication

relates to the high environmental costs associated with the rather disproportionate transport sector and wasteful land use patterns (Department of Local Government and Housing, 2005 as cited in Burgoyne, 2008).

2.6.3. Budget Constraints to Housing

Rauch (2002) argues that one of the main challenges with regards to urban renewal projects (which are challenges also identified by the ARP) is the inadequate budget allocated to them. According to Rauch, the government bases its funding approach for urban renewal projects on a notion of 're-prioritisation', that is already within the existence of budgets at a national, provincial and local level. It is within this context that local authorities are expected to prioritise their allocations towards the urban renewal nodes.

There are, however, challenges that have been identified with this approach; the first of these is embedded in the different budget cycles utilised at the local, provincial and national levels of government. Second is the insufficient reprioritisation by the different government departments, and the third challenge that is identified in this regard speaks to the absence of discretionary programme budgets (Rauch, 2002).

Another manner in which government provides funds for the construction of low-cost housing is through its housing subsidy (explained in section 2.3.2 above). Even in light of this, the government acknowledges that the subsidy itself is insufficient for the purchase of an adequate house and would therefore from time to time rely on the different partnerships that it promotes between the provision of housing credit or personal resources (such as savings and labour) on one end and the provision of state subsidies on the other (National Department of Housing, 2000).

2.6.4. Housing Split and/or Decrease in Household Size

Another issue that poses a challenge for housing delivery initiatives in South Africa is the decrease in household sizes. This phenomenon is better known as the 'housing split'. Recent housing reports (such as the one by Todes, Kok, Wentzel, van Zyl, J. and Cross, 2010) indicate a decrease in the average size of South African households, which means that more South Africans are breaking away from their main households to live independently.

In 2001, the average household size was reported to be 3.9% as opposed to 4.5% in 1996, indicating an increase of 30% in the number of households. According to a recent study by the University of South Africa, the size of households has further decreased to 3.69% in 2005 (Todes, *et al*., 2010).Todes, *et al.* (2010) argues that one of the elements contributing to the decrease in households (often unrecognised) is the migration of youth. The migration of youth results in smaller new households that are seen as being less stable that the parent households. Not only does this result in a smaller household in the context of South Africa, but it also increases the risk for poverty to spread even further (Todes, *et al*., 2010).

2.7. SELF-HELP HOUSING

While the above section looked at some of the main challenges associated with housing delivery, this section discusses a possible alternative to the current housing crisis through the provision of 'self-help housing'. Since the late 1940s, a number of experts and international agencies have advocated their support of self-help when it came to low-cost housing. Turner is one such advocate, whose ideas around the notion of self-help housing around the 1960s changed the way in which people perceive low-cost housing broadly. His ideas, amongst other things, speak to the value of self-help and assistance for self-help and he further alludes to squatter settlements and the rationality of the poor (Harris, 2003). Self-help refers

not only to the investment of ‘sweat equity’ by owners in their homes, it also refers to the processes of owner design and management. Self-help is the element of autonomy that speaks to a critical issue of ‘who decides’ (Turner, as cited in Harris, 2003). Throughout his debates, Turner expresses his preference for owner-built homes as opposed to public housing. He explains that the best results can be obtained by a user who is in full control of not only the design and construction of the house itself, but also the management of the home. Turner’s definition of ‘best results’ refers to houses that best suit the evolving needs and circumstances of their occupants (Turner, 1972).

Turner’s work not only put an emphasis on housing, but it went on to express his interest in the larger processes of community development, where one of his major arguments was that poor families acted as rationally as any other person by building the types of homes and communities they did. His observations and experiences in the urban *barriadas* of Peru between 1957 and 1965 supported this view and led him to the conclusion that urban squatters in the developing world are the best judges of their own needs, and they have a better understanding (as opposed to government or any other person) on how to address them.

Turner argued that the settlements created by squatters better suit their immediate needs and reality than those that could be devised by any government (Turner, 1967). Even though the settlements may appear to be inadequate or disorganised in their early stages of development, they expressed their own logic and can be enhanced over time with the changing financial standing of the family. Turner referred to this process of improvement as ‘progressive development’ and advocated strongly for this approach as opposed to the ‘instant development’ public housing scheme (Turner, cited in Harris, 2003).

Turner's argument on self-help housing is multipronged and can be understood better by being broken down into three components: firstly, the elementary idea that there is value in self-help, particularly as a method of housing the poor. Secondly, there is the related idea that governments must provide assistance to owner-builders, and third is the favourable consideration of squatter settlements as solutions as opposed to being problems, coupled with the idea of having some faith in the rationality of poor people (Harris, 2003).

2.8. MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION

"South Africa has a sad history of racially based government intervention in the movement and settlement patterns of its own people and those from other countries in the region, with grave effects on the well-being of most of its population. The dramatic political changes that took place in the early 1990s did remove the cause of this pain for most but not necessarily the lasting effects."
Wentzel and Tlabela (as cited in Kok and Collinson, 2006: 1).

The increasing demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra can most likely be attributed to a number of reasons, but for the purposes of this research, attention is given to migration and urbanisation as the two parameters for research, and possibly the key contributors to the housing backlog in the township.

2.8.1. Migration

South Africa's economy, society and economics, are characterised by elaborate controls on human mobility and the often subterranean efforts aimed at undermining them. In light of the country's first democratic elections in 1994, South Africa has seen hundreds of thousands of migrants from around the country, across the continent, and beyond, settling in the previously prohibited cities which have become their primary destination (Balbo and Marconi, 2005; Dorrington, 2005).

The concept or notion of migration is a complex one and there cannot be one clear definition of what it is. Foote, Hill and Martin (1993) argue that the continuous nature of migration as a repeated process, as opposed to being a single event, makes it increasingly difficult to measure. Sheldon (1990) points out that migration analyses should not just be restricted by what the available data have to offer. It must be acknowledged that the reality exists that an analysis of census-based migration data inevitably has to fit in with the available data.

Landau and Gindrey (2008) further argue that more than most other public policy fields, migration is prone to a lot of inconsistencies that exit between policy options and the actual knowledge at hand. They attribute these inconsistencies to three elements that speak to (1) the complexity of measuring (precisely) migration, in view of its different contexts and variables; (2) the connotation it has with highly politicized issues that speak to citizenship, belonging and nation-building; and (3) the deficiency of qualified (in demography and other migration-related fields) personnel within and out of government (Landau and Gindrey, 2008). The understanding and definition of migration cannot therefore only be a mere academic exercise, but has to involve a broader comprehension of the above mentioned issues/factors.

Roux (2009) defines migration as a change of people's residential place, which involves the crossing of some sort of a migration-defining boundary such as a provincial (i.e. provinces, local governments or administrative units) or international border (the country's border). It is suggested that migration should be defined, both theoretically and operationally, as "*the crossing of the boundary of a predefined spatial unit by persons involved in a change of residence".* (Kok and Collinson, 2006: 12). Arango (2000) defines migration as a response to structural disequilibria between and within sectors of an economy, or between countries and goes on further to

state that the economic disparities that occur between and within countries have a strong influence on migration. The increasing and widening inequality in opportunities and incomes within nations and an increase in the number of people exposed to poverty and extreme hardship, concomitantly increases the pressure for people to migrate (Straubhaar, 1993).

According to Cross, Seager, Wentzel, Mafukidze, Hoosen and van Zyl (2008), South Africa is on the edge of economic, social and demographic change for the African continent and key trends generally start by appearing in this country. There are signs that vital changes are taking place in the flows of migration, affecting Africa as both the household economy and national economies come under immense pressure and the two already raise the level of human migration flows into the southern cone; this trend seems to be continuing into the future (Cross*, et al.,* 2008). Roux (2009) further argues that in more ways than one, migration can be viewed as a response to structural disequilibria that occurs between countries or within and between the different sectors of the economy. He goes on to argue that some of the main reasons that pressurise people to migrate include the increasing inequality in opportunities and income within nations.

2.8.1.1 The different types of migration

Migration can occur in different forms, mainly at an international and an internal level. For international migration, the country's border is the migration-defining boundary. Kok, *et al* (2006) alludes to some of the different types of international migration, including:

- Labour mobility
- Refugee movements, and
- More permanent migration.

In the case of internal migration the boundary type that is used to define migration is dependent on the specific study at hand. Spatial units can be selected for the purposes of the study and the migration-defining units can either be administrative (e.g. census enumerator areas) or political entities, namely local or provincial governments (Kok & Collinson, cited in Roux, 2009).

The most common type of internal migration is in the form of circular migration. Landau and Gindrey (2008) argue that there are long-standing patterns of circular migration that continue to exist from the rural parts of the country and other parts of the region. These are predominant in urban centres and townships. Another form of internal migration is in the form of urbanization and a detailed discussion on urbanization is provided in section 2.7.2 of this document.

This research places more emphasis on internal migration as a possible contributor to the increasing demand for low-cost houses in Alexandra and the broader challenge in the delivery thereof.

2.8.1.2. Determinants of Migration

Kok and Collinson (2006) argue that generalising the determinants of migration is a difficult exercise, particularly as these are theoretically complex and multilevel in nature. They further acknowledge that even though several studies have been conducted globally on this topic, the relevant theory that necessitates the establishment of migration causes has only come to the fore during the last two decades or so, following the contributions of De Jong and Gardner in 1981, Massey, *et al.,* in 1993 and 1994, and De Jong in 2000.

According to Greenwood (1985), there are a number of elements that can contribute to an individual's decision to migrate. He argues that there are different characteristics of sending and receiving regions which present a

potential incentive for relocation, and individual and/or family traits can assist in conditioning the response to the perceived value that may arise from these 'different characteristics'. Given an individual's personal attributes and their accumulated work skills, the employment composition and the general labour market at that time will help determine the probability of gaining employment during a period of job search. He also adds that the prevailing conditions in housing markets and land may equally be vital in this regard.

According to the recent research conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council people intend to migrate on a 'permanent' basis for several reasons. The first reason is when their expectations of an alternative place of residence become higher than those of their current area. These expectations are usually influenced by the information they receive from relatives and friends (who are already living there) about the alternative place of residence. The second reason is if they have faith that these relatives and friends at the intended destination will support and assist them during and after the move, particularly if they have reached a point of dissatisfaction with the status quo in the current area of residence (Kok, 2004).

Over time, large cities have provided a significant attraction for movement from other areas within the country. Table 5 below provides a clear picture of this:

Table 5: Populations of the largest cities 1996-2007 and their growth rates since 1946: Census and community surveys

Indicator	Data date	Johannesburg	eThekwini	Cape Town	Ekurhuleni	Tshwane	Nelson Mandela	Buffalo City	Mangaung
Community Survey Population	2007	3,888,180	3,468,086	3,497,097	2,724,229	2,345,908	1,050,930	724312	752906
Census population	2001	3,225,812	3,090,122	2,893,247	2,480,276	1,985,983	1,005,778	701,890	645,441
	1996	2,639,110	2,751,193	2,563,612	2,026,807	1,682,701	969,771	682,287	603,704
Average annual population growth rate	2001-2007	3.16%	1.94%	3.20%	1.57%	2.81%	0.73%	0.52%	2.60%
	1996-2001	4.10%	2.35%	2.45%	4.12%	3.37%	0.73%	0.57%	1.35%
	1970-1996	2.04%	3.62%	2.97%	2.90%	3.78%	2.78%	3.79%	4.63%
	1946-1970	2.67%	4.41%	3.70%	2.74%	4.15%	3.86%	4.11%	4.49%

Source: Statistics South Africa as cited in Todes, Kok, Wentzel, van Zyl and Cross (2008)

According to the above table, there is an indication that there is a continual population growth in the city of Johannesburg. This is according to the census population studies of 1996 and 2001 and the Community Survey that was conducted in 2007. The average annual growth rate is said to have been 2.04% in the period 1970 to 1996; 4.10% between 1996 and 2001, and 3.16% between 2001 and 2007. Looking at the different growth levels across the nine largest cities in South Africa in the period 2001 to 2007, both the city of Cape Town and the city of Johannesburg have the highest average annual growth rate of 3.20 % and 3.16% respectively (Todes, *et al.*, 2008).

2.8.1.3. Government measures to control migration to cities (pre-1994)

One of the main objectives of the apartheid regime was to regulate the movement of Africans and to ensure that they remained temporary residents in towns. The notion of temporariness was encapsulated in the system of influx control (Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho and van Zyl, 2006). Several legal measures were taken since the early 1920s that severely limited the movement of African people in urban areas, as these were

initially recognised as ‘white only’ areas. These measures are briefly outlined below.

2.8.1.4. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was used by urban local authorities to house those Africans that were working in urban areas and also to allocate land for African occupation (not ownership) in separate areas that were known as ‘locations’. This Act also required white employers to accommodate those employees who did not live in locations and to implement a system of influx control at a basic level. According to this Act, landowners who were situated within five kilometres of publicly declared urban areas were not permitted to allow Africans who were not their employees to reside on their property. This provision served as a measure to prevent urban congestion (Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho and van Zyl, 2006).

In 1948, when there was a stricter enforcement of influx control measures in Alexandra, a system of permits was introduced for tenants. As a means of ensuring compliance in this regard, the police raided homes to check permits and passes and people were often ‘endorsed’ out of the area (Morris, 2000).

2.8.1.5. The Native Law Amendment Act of 1937

The Native Law Amendment Act of 1937 allowed for a more systematic means of influx control. The Act permitted Africans to spend a maximum of fourteen days in urban areas while job hunting (which was then reduced to three days in 1945). After this period, if their job hunt was unsuccessful, they could be arrested as trespassers in the city. There was also a reinforcement of the entry of women into urban areas, though at that stage they were not required to carry passes. Urban authorities were forced to keep a record of all the Africans that lived in that area and in the event that

the African population exceeded the labour requirements of that particular area, the then Minister of Native Affairs could expel the excess numbers (Lemon, 1991).

2.8.1.6. The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and the Native Laws Amendments Act of 1952

A further restriction was added in 1945, which permitted Africans to claim permanent residence in urban areas only if they had resided continuously in that area since birth, if they had worked for the same employer for a period of ten years or more and/or if they had resided in that area for fifteen(15) or more years. The Natives Laws Amendments Act of 1952 was the foundation for all state intervention laws to be able to control the distribution of African workers between the home towns and country and between towns (Lemon, 1991, cited in Kok, *et al.,* 2006).

2.8.1.7. The Group Areas Act, No 41 of 1950

This Act has for years, served as one of the pillars for racial segregation in South Africa. The crux of this legislation was to deny people of different racial groups the right to stay in the same residential areas. A central element was the removal of racially integrated areas that were found in several urban hubs. These presented challenges to the government due to their racial diversity, mainly because they had become major centres of the black working class mobilisation during the post-war era. It was their continued existence that presented a threat to the government's notion of racial segregation (Gelderblom and Kok, 1994, cited in Kok, *et al.,* 2006). Landsberg (2005) argues that the increase in demand for housing in conveniently located areas has only came about after the abolishment of the Group Areas Act.

For areas such as Alexandra, Sophiatown and Newclare in Johannesburg, where Africans were initially granted permission to own land, the Native

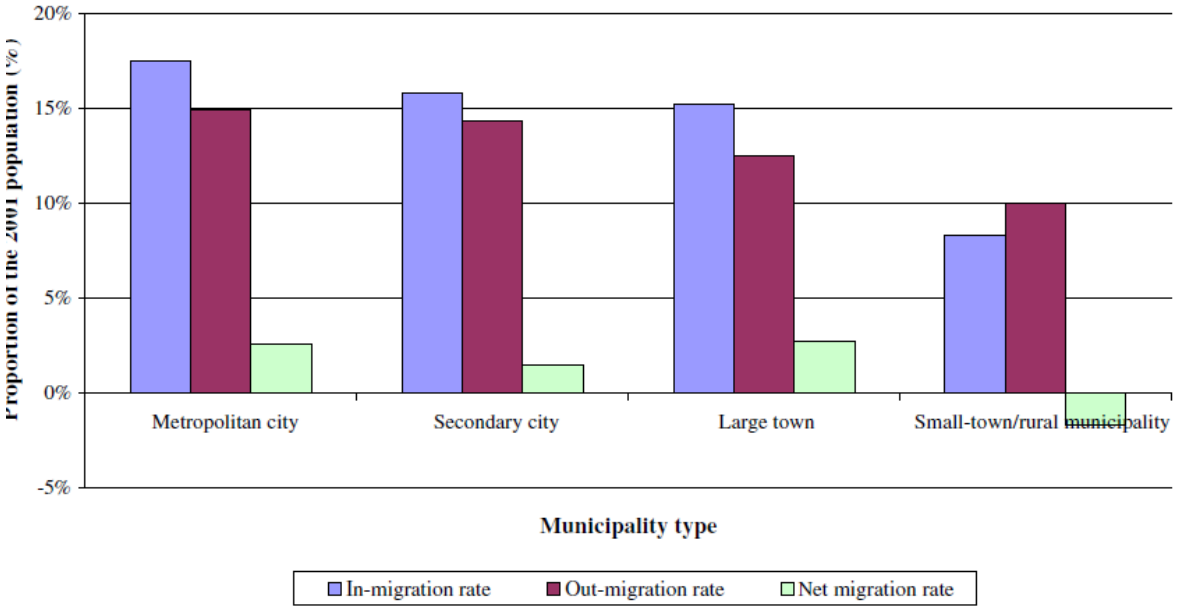
(Urban Areas) Act of 1937 was administered. This Act criminalised the purchase of land in urban areas by Africans and it was also through this Act that the government had the power to abolish African freehold rights to their properties. The government exacerbated the state of squatting and overcrowding in the townships by making very little land available for development purposes (Kok, *et al.,* 2006).

2.8.1.8. Migration since 1994

Throughout the years South Africa has experienced migration at different rates and levels. According to Statistics South Africa (2007), the average annual population growth for Gauteng between 2001 and 2007 has been 3.16%, with the population increasing from 3,225,812 in 2001 to 3,888,180 in 2007.

For the purposes of this research, one clearly interrogates migration as it occurs in metropolitan cities, secondary cities, large towns and small/rural municipalities. Figure 5 below indicates that small town/rural municipalities had experienced an overall net out-migration, while the metros, cities and large towns, on the other hand, were net migrant attractors. This indicates that metropolitan cities such as the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) have over the years proved to be attracting a high number of migrants from other areas within South Africa and around Gauteng, while a lesser number of people leave the area.

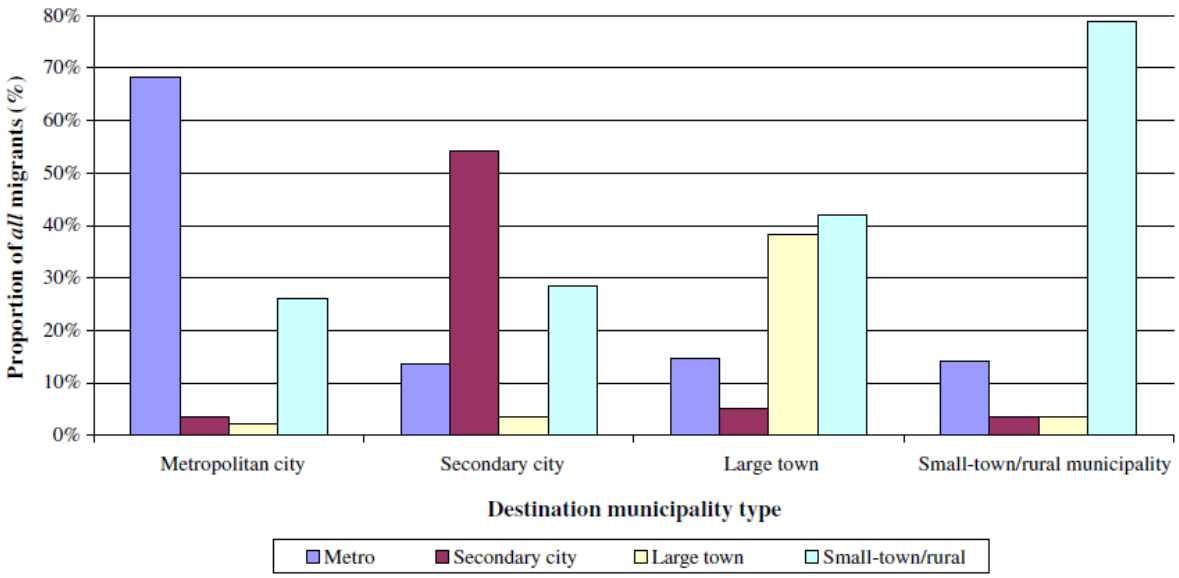
Figure 5: Migration Rates (1996-2001) for the various municipality types (in 2001)



Source: Statistics South Africa (2005).

As indicated in Todes, Kok, Wentzel, van Zyl and Cross (2008), the municipality level analyses indicate that the second-highest proportion of migrants that move to metropolitan cities originate from small town/rural municipalities (25%). More than two-thirds (69%) of migrants that move to metropolitan cities originate from other metros; the largest proportion by far is the 78% of inter-municipality migrants moving between small towns and rural municipalities. This is clearly indicated in Figure 4 below.

Figure 6: Destination types of inter-municipality migration (1996-2001) by municipality type of origin



Source: Statistics South Africa (2005)

There has not, however, been sufficient data that can be used to inform migration patterns since 2001, given that no new census has been undertaken. The annual provincial population estimates have been heavily reliant on Statistics South Africa's projections, and these form the basis for municipal estimates by some agencies. Others use their own estimates and projections.

Statistics South Africa conducted a Community Survey in 2007, encompassing around 275 000 households. The data was not necessarily a replacement of the census, and the municipal figures that had been reported in the study were weighted through the use of a variety of demographic and statistical techniques based on provincial figures and projections of the 1996 and 2001 censuses. The figures are therefore estimations, whose accuracy is still in question, given the challenges regarding weighting, amongst other things (Todes, *et al.*, 2008).

The following section of this research will present a discussion on the second and final variable to the study, namely urbanization. As with migration, urbanization is another key contributor to the housing backlog in Alexandra Township.

2.8.2. Urbanization

Urbanization in South Africa has been shaped historically by policies which attempted to control the movement and settlement of black people in urban areas. The apartheid government developed these policies so as to limit access for South Africans who were classified as “Africans” to cities and to confine many of the Africans to “homelands”, most of which were rural and characterized by minimal economic activity (Todes, Kok, Wentzel, van Zyl and Cross, 2010: 332).

According to Roux (2009: 9), urbanisation can be defined as “the process of transition from a rural to a more urban society”, which indicates an increasing proportion of the population living in urban settlements. For the purposes of this research, urbanisation will be defined as the increase in the urban population of a country or area as a result of the following components of urban population growth: (a) the reclassification of parts of the rural population into the category ‘urban’; (b) urban natural increase; and (c) urban net migration (Kok, O’Donovan, Bouare and van Zyl, 2003, cited in Roux, 2009).

Beall (1993) argues that urbanisation is not merely about the movement of people but equally involves the changes in economic and social structures, including the processes governing such movements.

Unlike any other form of urbanization (i.e. Afrikaner urbanization), the migration of Africans into urban city centres (urbanization) took the form of labour migration. It was as early as the 1840s where a significant number

of African males had moved into urban areas in search of employment opportunities. The first discovery of diamonds in 1867 and the opening of the Witwatersrand goldfields in 1886 prompted an explosion of economic activity in the urban centres of Johannesburg and Kimberley, bringing about new market opportunities and an increased demand for labour (Burger, 2002).

Another critical source of African urbanization related to the conditions that led to the migration of Africans from rural areas, where African squatter farmers found themselves renting land from white farmers, absentee landlords, and land companies. Urbanization was on the rise around that time and this created several new markets of labour. According to Gelderblom and Kok (1994), it was at this point that farmers identified squatter farms as a potential labour force.

The farmers utilized their political influence in getting squatter farming to be declared illegal so as to convert these ‘‘illegal squatters’’ into being labourers on their farms. The Black labour tenants resisted and started migrating into urban areas in search of better work opportunities and conditions (Gelderblom and Kok, 1994). The farmers understood the consequences of the departure of labour and consequently influenced a number of government measures that were put in place to immobilize Black farm labourers and to provide the farmers with leverage to exercise more power over them. This is not clear, white workers or black workers??

A number of policies were introduced as a result, including the following:

- The Land Acts (Act No. 27 of 1913 and Act No. 18 of 1936), that defined reserves for African occupation which were named ‘scheduled areas’ and which declared the form of black land purchases or rent tenancy outside these reserves as illegal (Burger, 2002).

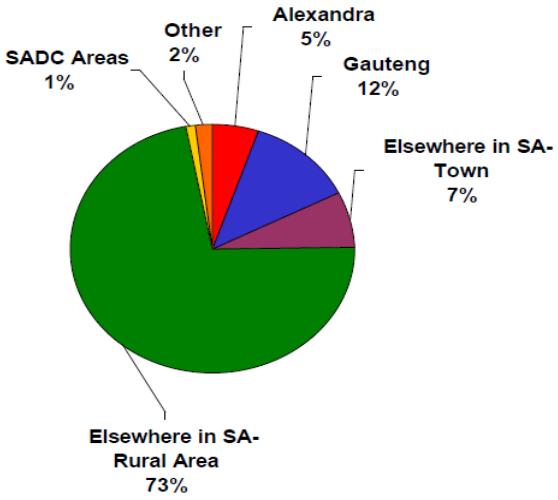
- The Natives Laws Amendment Act of 1952, which further increased restrictions on the mobility of farm workers. This brought about a system of labour bureaux that forced African men to remain on farms unless they had obtained permission of the farmer (Grenberg, cited in Gelderblom and Kok, 1994).
- The Black Labour Act of 1964 was one such Act that promoted further expansion of the labour bureaux.

Despite these attempts by government to keep Africans on white owned farms, there was still a significant movement of Africans to urban areas and as a result, the government initiated measures to regulate the conditions under which Africans were permitted to live in urban areas (Kok, *et al.,* 2006).

2.8.3. Internal migration and urbanization trends in Alexandra Township

According to the benchmark study that was conducted in Alexandra in 2005, there is a suggestion that 73% of the township's residents originate from other rural areas within South Africa, while smaller percentages come from other South African towns (7%), within the province of Gauteng (12%), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (1%), other areas (2%), and only 5% of then actually originate in Alexandra, as per Figure 7 below:

Figure 7: Alexandra: location of home elsewhere



Source: Adopted from Alexandra Benchmark Survey (2005)

In order to provide more insight on the profile of residents living in Alexandra, Table 4 below indicates that of the many individuals residing in the township, 83% of these are internal migrants; 915 are foreign-born nationals and 80% of the long-term residents Alexandra live in a multi-family apartment, a backyard, a domestic worker's quarters, a hostel, a self-built house or a shelter.

Table 6: Housing conditions by place of living and migration history

			Lives in a multi-family apartment, a backyard, a domestic worker's quarter, an hostel, a self-built house, a shelter	Access to electricity in the current dwelling	Access to water inside the current dwelling
Place of living and migration history	Alexandra	Long term residents	80%	71%	14%
		Internal migrants	83%	65%	14%
		Foreign-born	91%	45%	7%
	Joburg inner-city	Long term resident	30%	96%	93%
		Internal migrants	37%	97%	96%
		Foreign-born	55%	98%	97%
Country of birth		South Africa	63%	80%	46%
		Zimbabwe	66%	89%	75%
		Mozambique	89%	36%	13%
		DRC	44%	100%	100%
		Malawi	66%	73%	71%

Source: FMSP-OCHA-SCRC Vulnerability Survey (2009)

2.8.4. International urbanization trends

According to Landau, *et al.* (2011), urbanisation has over the last century proved itself a key challenge. Statistics reveal that 30% of the world population had already been residing in urban areas in the 1950s. The number increased substantially by 2005 to 49%. By 2008, at least half of

the world's population lived in urban areas and it is foreseen that most regions of the developing world will be largely urban by the middle of the present century. Based on this growth, which takes both migration and natural growth into account, it is suggested that at least five million new urban residents are created on a monthly basis. In the less developed regions during the period 1975 to 2005, the annual urban population rate change was 3.4% per year in comparison with the 0.8% in the more developed regions. It is projected that the growth rate will be on the rise in urban areas of the lesser developed regions at an average of 2.2% per annum between 2005 and 2030 as compared to 0.5 % in more developed countries (Landau, *et al.,* 2011).

2.9. CONCLUSION

While important housing policies such as the Housing Act of 1997, the National Housing policy of 1998, the more recent Breaking New Ground housing policy and the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (approved by cabinet in 2004) provide the *modus operandi* on how to address the housing challenge in South Africa, there are still persistent challenges faced by the Government of National Unity in addressing the housing backlog to date. Some of these can be attributed to the scale of the housing problem, the existing policy framework, the institutional framework, and even the manner in which South Africa's human settlements are currently configured.

One could go a step further to identify those specific challenges that frustrate the government's attempts in their delivery of adequate low-cost housing to poor, qualifying citizens of South Africa. These include, *inter alia*, budget constraints to housing, the unavailability of land, issues relating to housing location, and the decrease in the size of South African households or what is termed the 'housing split'.

The current housing backlog can also be ascribed to the general increasing demand for low cost housing in the country. In the case of Alexandra Township, and for the purposes of this research, migration and urbanization are identified and chosen as critical variables or parameters of the study.

It is in light of the above-mentioned issues and within this context that the literature review draws on the necessary body of knowledge to further examine, discuss and provide an academically informed understanding of the above-mentioned issues.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This section will discuss the various research methods that were followed. It describes the nature of the research, the design, data collection techniques, and data analysis. It also examines the issues of sampling, data analysis, validity and reliability.

The purpose of this research, as explained in Chapter One, was to explore and understand the nature of the challenges experienced by the ARP in their delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. An emphasis was placed on the challenges that resulted from an increased overall demand for low-cost housing and this was done in light of migration and urbanisation as possible challenges which contributed to the increasing housing demand in Alexandra Township.

The research has since made an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Why has the housing backlog persisted in Alexandra despite the considerable efforts made to respond to the housing challenge through the Alexandra Renewal Project?
2. To what extent has migration and urbanisation played a role in increasing the demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra?
3. How has the supply of low-cost housing in Alexandra been conceptualised (and carried out) and how can this be improved in future low-cost housing initiatives in Alexandra?

3.2. RESEARCH APPROACH

This research is located in the realm of qualitative research. In qualitative research, the researcher seeks to gain a better understanding of complex situations, usually with the purpose of describing and understanding the phenomena from the participants' viewpoint (Neuman, 2003). Qualitative research is often exploratory in nature and it uses observations to construct theory (Leedy, 2004). Qualitative research is usually undertaken because of its explorative nature. This means that the topic or the population in question has been least explored and the researcher wants to engage the participants so as to gain a better understanding from their views (Creswell, 2003). According to Mouton and Marais (1988), the qualitative research process is more holistic and emergent with a specific focus.

The use therefore of a qualitative research approach has enabled the researcher in this regard to obtain an holistic understanding of the nature of the challenges that are inherent in the delivery of low-cost housing by the ARP in Alexandra, in light of migration and urbanisation. In addition to this, the researcher has also been able to tackle this kind of research with a clear and open mind and by the mere fact of it being qualitative, is able to engage in the complexity of the problem at hand through the willingness of participants to engage freely and openly so as to gain a better understanding from their ideas.

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

In this qualitative research project, the case study research method is used as the preferred research design approach and as a means of understanding the challenges that are inherent in the process of delivering low-cost housing in Alexandra, in light of migration and urbanisation. According to Yin (1994), a case study is an 'empirical inquiry' that

investigates how a contemporary phenomenon is presented in real-life, particularly when there is no clarity in the boundaries between phenomenon and context. When a researcher needs to do a holistic, in-depth investigation, the case study method is most suitable (Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg, 1991). Becker (1968) adds that the purpose of a case study can be understood in two ways ─ the first being to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of groups under study and secondly, to develop general theoretical statements about regularities in social structures and processes.

Yin (1994) further argues that case study inquiry depends on multiple sources of evidence in order to be triangulated. It also benefits from preceding development of theoretical propositions, in order to guide the data collection and data analysis processes. The researcher will be able to make use of the theoretical propositions from other researchers who have read widely and produced literature about Alexandra and the housing issue in particular. This will, in turn, allow them to conduct a holistic and in-depth investigation of the challenges that are inherent in the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra.

A case study is a bounded study with a clearly defined boundary of existence (Merriam, 2002). Cases are also bounded by time and an activity and researchers collect detailed information using an array of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. A case study looks intensively at something and draws conclusions only about the group being focused on, in that specific context (Creswell, 1998). The unit of analysis for this research is Alexandra and how low-cost houses are delivered in the township. The research is activity bound.

Yin (1993) identifies specific types of case studies, which are categorized into three groups ─ exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. This research has made use of an exploratory type of case study, and as a result, the

researcher was able to explore the challenges in the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra, with a clear and open mind.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is one of the most crucial components of a research project. In this particular research, semi-structured (or in-depth) interviews were used as a method for data collection with purposively selected key stakeholders from the ARP, the CoJ, and the Provincial Department of Housing. The collection of data also involved the analysis of documents (from some of the stakeholders) pertaining to studies that were carried out in Alexandra.

Creswell (2003) argues that qualitative research makes use of multiple procedures for data collection that are both interactive and humanistic. These methods of data collection are growing and they increasingly involve active participation by participants and a level of sensitivity towards the participants in the study. According to Strauss and Corbin (1990), the "theoretical sensitivity" of a researcher is crucial in qualitative research as it emphasizes the personal quality of a researcher. In data collection, this entails the attribute of insight, ability to give meaning to data, capacity to understand data, and capability to separate what is pertinent from what is not.

The principal data collection techniques used in this research were semi-structured interviews, whereby a list of questions was developed and administered to the identified key informants as highlighted in point 3.4.1 below. According to Merriam (2002) and Patton (2002), there are three major sources of data for a qualitative research study: these are interviews, observations and documents. In choosing from these sources, the researcher must be conscious of the fact that the data collection strategy used is determined by the question/s being posed by the study

and by establishing which source(s) of data will best give the information necessary in answering the major research question. Further to this, Kumar (2005) argues that one of the critical determinants of the quality of data collected is the purpose and relevance of the study.

3.4.1. Primary Data

Primary data is information that is acquired and/or gathered from the primary sources of information, also known as “key informants or respondents”, such as those identified in Table 5 below. Yin (1994) argues that data collection for case studies can rely on several other sources such as interviews, direct observations, participant observation, documentation, archival information, focus group discussions, and physical artefacts. For the purposes of this research, the primary data was collected through the use of semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders from the ARP, CoJ and the Provincial Department of Housing, who directly and indirectly contribute to low-cost housing delivery in Alexandra.

The use of interviews in this research project has enabled the researcher to engage one-on-one with the relevant stakeholders. These have proven to be useful, as they have created a platform for the interviewees to be free and open as they responded to the different questions administered by the researcher. It is through these that they were able to speak on their observed (and perceived) challenges in the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra, in light of the fluctuating need for accommodation and increased housing demand by residents of the township . For the purposes of this research, semi-structured interviews were used to collect data from a total of five respondents. These have been administered individually and formally. All interviewees were comfortable with the researcher’s use of a tape recorder that was utilized as a means of validating the information that has been captured.

3.4.2. Secondary Data

Over and above the use of primary data, researchers can also utilize secondary data techniques in an effort to address the research question at hand. Presented below is a list of the different types of secondary data that can be used:

- Documents (both published and unpublished)
- Audio and visual literature
- Photographs
- In addition to these, the researcher may choose to analyze documents, making use of public documents (such as government publications, newspapers, relevant minutes of meetings); private documents (such as journals, letters); and archival records and e-mail discussions.

For the purposes of this research, different documents (both published and unpublished), government publications and newspapers were used as a means of gaining greater insight into the research at hand.

3.4.3. Sampling

A sample refers to a small collection of units taken from a larger collection or population. This is done in such a way that allows the researcher to study the smaller group and produce an accurate overview about the larger group (Neuman, 2006).

A purposive sample was used in this research, as it allowed for the researcher to select a unique and informative case. This type of sample is used in exploratory or field research and makes use of an expert's judgment in selecting cases (Neuman, 2006). One of the advantages about purposive samples is that it enables the researcher to choose

specific participants who will assist him/her in understanding both the problem and the research question at hand. For this research, the researcher deliberately chose a sample comprising five high-level government officials, with the intention of understanding the challenges they experienced in their attempt to deliver housing in Alexandra.

Through the use of semi-structured interviews, several questions were administered to the five participants in an attempt to respond to the three key research questions as stated in chapter one. These were informed mainly by the increasing demand for low-cost housing in the township and the inadequate supply thereof. Furthermore, migration and urbanization were identified as the main parameters in the study.

The sample comprised mainly of two senior directors from the ARP, a housing project manager from the ARP, one representative from the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) and a senior representative from the Gauteng Department of Housing. Table 7 below profiles the five respondents that participated in the study:

Table 7: Profile of the Respondents

Respondent:	**Position:**	**Employed By:**
Respondent A	CEO/Director	The ARP
Respondent A 1	Deputy Director	The ARP
Respondent A 2	Project Manager	The ARP
Respondent B	Chief Director	The Gauteng Department of Local Government and Housing (housing division)
Respondent C	Deputy Director	The City of Johannesburg

3.5. DATA ANALYSIS

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) define qualitative data analysis as working with data, organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learnt and deciding what information will be shared. Data analysis also involves a thorough reading of the findings; data break-down, elaborating and interpreting the information.

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) identify five steps that are necessary in data analysis. These are firstly, a process of 'familiarisation and immersion' of the information. This is a stage where the researcher will be fully involved with the notes and transcripts they would have attained during the interviews. They will thoroughly examine the material in order to make sense of it. For this research, the researcher will go through all the information and data that was collected from the interviews and the focus group discussions and try and identify the main debates and how these seek to answer the research question.

Secondly, there is 'theme inducing', which is the step that captures the process where the researcher categorizes the data according to the order of the research questions, while trying to make sense of it This step helps the researcher to stay focused on the overall objective of their study. In this step, the entire question will be put in order and the answers that highlight, for instance, the issue of migration and/or immigration as being the main challenge in delivering low-cost housing will be put on its own.

The third step is the process of 'coding', whereby data is systematically coded and categorised according to its theoretical framework. The findings from the collected data will then be compared to each other to establish links or correlations.

The fourth stage is known as ‘elaboration’; this simply denotes the researcher’s activity of continuously exploring the research themes, in an attempt to avoid sampling redundancy (Moulton and Marais, 1988).

The fifth and final step of this process is ‘interpretation and checking’. In this stage, the analysed data of the research study is contextualized within the framework of the research problem. This is the stage where the researcher will compile a coherent report of the challenges associated with the delivery of houses. The researcher at this stage is also afforded the opportunity to relate their personal involvement in the study and highlight how it has influenced the data analysis process.

3.6. VALIDATION AND RELIABILITY

According to Yin (1994), the objective of a research design is to produce a coherent and logical set of arguments and these can be judged through the use of certain logical tests. The case study research method allows for the use of four tests, namely construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability.

3.6.1 Construct Validity

Construct validity is a case study tactic that involves, amongst other things, the use of multiple sources for evidence and it occurs at the data collection and composition phase (Yin, 1994). In this research, construct validity was considered when interviews were conducted and also when focus group discussions are administered in order to strengthen the credibility of the researcher and that of the information obtained.

3.6.2. Internal Validity

Internal validity refers to another form of case study tactic that involves, amongst other things, pattern-matching and explanation building which occur during the data analysis phase. This tactic is only used in explanatory and causal studies (Yin, 1994) and is therefore not applicable for this particular research.

3.6.3. External Validity

External validity occurs when the researcher makes use of logic in multiple case studies; this occurs at the research design level (Yin, 1994). For this test, the researcher establishes the area where the findings can be generalized and in the case of this research undertaking, the researcher must establish whether or not the different challenges that transpire during the process of low-cost housing delivery in Alexandra are challenges that are experienced elsewhere in the province or even in other parts of South Africa.

3.6.4. Reliability

The consistency with which a measuring instrument achieves particular results when the entity being measured remains unchanged, is known as reliability (Leedy, 2003). It is a demonstration of how it is possible to attain the same results in a study by making use of repetitive procedures during data collection, for instance (Yin, 1994). For this research, the researcher made use of an array of reliable sources such as books, journals, interviews with government officials, and statistics reports in gathering specific information relating to the issues pertaining to low-cost housing delivery. This exercise will enable other researchers, who wish to conduct research of a similar nature, to acquire the same information.

3.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research is significant because there has been limited examination of the challenges that impede the efficient and effective delivery of low-cost housing to poor, eligible residents of Alexandra. Further to that, there has been little written on how migration and urbanization in Alexandra can contribute to increased demand for low-cost housing, further frustrating the delivery process. In light of this, there is a need to learn more precisely about these challenges and how they can be avoided in the future. It is imperative to understand how the increased demand for houses, which is one of the fundamental challenges resulting from internal migration and urbanisation, can impede the efficient and effective delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra.This report hopes to make a distinct contribution to the greater understanding of the research problem at hand.

3.8. LIMITATIONS

There are limitations inherent in any study and this particular study is no exception. Creswell (2003) notes that the limitations to a study need to be highlighted, as these identify weaknesses of the study and as these will assist the researcher to devise alternative or precautionary measures.

This is a ‘policy process’ type of research, which means that the research is contextualized within a management and policy perspective. The limitation associated with this type of research is that the views of the community have been excluded and the researcher has only engaged with the stakeholders that are involved in the low-cost housing delivery process and not those who are affected by the process (in this case, community members). Linked to this is the limitation that the respondents could be subjective in their responses and this would then lead to the information being distorted.

An additional limitation is presented by the fact that the research findings might somewhat reflect the values and the beliefs of the researcher's background, although great care was taken to avoid such an occurrence.

Another limitation of this study is that it only focuses on the problems or challenges that are associated with the delivery of low-cost housing for the poor in Alexandra. It is therefore unable to engage directly with the challenges in housing delivery in other townships or provinces in South Africa. Furthermore, the study only examines the period from 2001 to 2008, as opposed to other periods before or beyond that.

In conclusion, the researcher makes no claims to have covered all the literature written on low-cost housing, particularly around the dynamics of migration and urbanization, but does, however, believe that justice has been done to the discussions in chapter two.

3.9. SUMMARY

The aim of this chapter on research methodology was to serve as a guide to the reader, in explaining the research design and method. In addition to this, the chapter went on to outline and discuss the different methods of data collection, sampling and data analysis and to justify why these were used in this regard. Finally, the limitations of the research and the significance of this study were discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

While the previous chapter discussed methodology, this chapter is a presentation of data that has been gathered from primary sources by means of in-depth interviews. The presentation of information in this chapter is multi-pronged. The first component is the background to the findings, a section which introduces the informants with the aim of justifying their relevance to this study and the roles they play in the housing delivery process. The second broad component of the chapter is the actual data presentation, which is presented in the form of themes. The first theme is based on the key challenges inherent in the process of housing delivery and these include the challenge of land/space, location, a continuously moving target, housing allocation and budget constraints. The second theme speaks to the defining parameters to the study, namely migration and urbanisation, and concludes with a section that seeks to outline the relationship between the key challenges and the defining parameters. The third and final theme presents the suggested interventions (made by the informants) on how housing delivery can be improved in Alexandra.

4.2. BACKGROUND TO THE FINDINGS

As previously stated in the methodology section, semi-structured interviews were conducted with informants from the ARP, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (the City of Johannesburg), and the Gauteng Department of Local Government and Housing.

The presentation of data uses the following symbols: A, A1, A2, B and C to represent the informants in order to maintain anonymity. Below is a brief outline about who the respondents are and what roles they play insofar as housing delivery in Alexandra is concerned. This provides for some crucial background detail, against which further analyses will be carried out:

A: Informant A is a member of the senior management team within the ARP**.** He has a presiding role of "ensuring that the ARP pursues its objective of concentrating on the rehabilitation, redevelopment and renewal of Alexandra, ensuring that the township gets integrated in the mainstream projects of the country".[3]

A1: Informant A1 is equally a member of the senior management team within the ARP, who has been with the ARP since its establishment and has been involved in the development of the ARP housing strategy in 2005. He has since then been involved in the implementation of various housing projects of the ARP from the conceptualisation of the products to the construction phase.[4]

A2: Informant A2 is one of the ARP's Project Managers. He has had the privilege of managing housing projects for the ARP and is responsible for new projects and the management of the beneficiaries. His role as such is that of making sure that the projects are initiated and completed. He oversees and manages the projects from start to finish, making sure that logistics are managed, processes are followed, quality is maintained and that the houses are rolled out to the beneficiaries.[5]

B: Informant B is one of the Chief Director's for the Gauteng Department of Local Government and Housing (DLGH). As a Chief Director for the

[3] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.
[4] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.
[5] Interview with Informant 'A2', 09 March 2011.

Provincial Housing Department, Informant B is not directly involved in the implementation of projects in Alexandra. “The Provincial Department of Housing is a co-partner of the ARP and as such I might not have played a specific role myself, I have participated in various aspects such as community-stakeholder processes, I have participated in the revision of the strategy and have also assisted from the policy perspective with the allocation policy and the rental policy”.[6]

C: Informant C is one of the Deputy Director’s for the City of Johannesburg (CoJ). Informant C, a Deputy Director at the CoJ, is not directly involved in housing delivery for the area, but plays a critical role in the CoJ’s housing policy and research analysis division. “My role is such that there is an understanding and information about the trends and patterns that affect housing delivery in the CoJ”.[7]

These five respondents were chosen as part of this study because of the pivotal roles they play in the housing delivery process in and around Alexandra. Not only have they been able to analyse the trends and patterns of the housing needs in Alexandra, but they have gone a step further in their conceptualisation of how to best respond to those needs while ensuring that resources were allocated and that implementation occurred in an attempt to meet those needs. It is for these reasons that these individuals can be denoted as the core phase of housing delivery in Alexandra.

4.3. DATA PRESENTATION

During interviews with the different informants, a number of critical issues relating to housing delivery came to the fore. Amongst these were the specific challenges that were pertinent to what seemed to be the lack of

[6] Interview with Informant ‘B’, 02 March 2011.
[7] Interview with Informant ‘C’, 24 February 2011.

progress, in their attempt to deliver sufficient numbers of low-cost houses to the relevant beneficiaries. The researcher analysed these and looked for all the consistently recurring issues within the raw data, and these were categorised into the following main themes:

(a) The key challenges for housing delivery in Alexandra;
(b) Migration and urbanisation as defining parameters to the study;
(c) Suggested interventions by informants to improve housing delivery.

4.3.1. Key challenges in housing delivery

A number of challenges relating to housing delivery were identified by the different informants for the purposes of this study. These are summarised in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Identified Challenges

MAIN CHALLENGES	RELATED CHALLENGES
1. Land/ Space	• Little space for expansion • Overcrowding • Barriers e.g. highway, Jukskei river • Land unavailability • Difficulty in acquiring additional land
2. Physical Location	• Well located area on prime land • Good transport infrastructure • Short proximity to industrial areas which attracts more people into the area
3. Budget Constraints	• Not enough budget to respond to the housing need • Increasing building costs • Lack of personnel • Inability of the current housing subsidy to respond to policy developments/shifts
4. A Continuously Moving Target	• Growing community • Housing split • Shack farming
5. Housing Allocation	• Adopting the block-to-block approach vs. the old housing list • Prioritising old residents of Alex vs. prioritising the new ones

4.3.1.1. Land/Space

During the course of the interviews, space was identified as one of the main challenges that impeded the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. The general issues raised in this regard pertained to the limited

availability of land and/or space in the township that could be used for further development. This was mainly as a result of the large numbers of people that resided on the small land area of just over 800 hectares. It is this unavailability of land, according to the respondents, that led to overcrowding and other social challenges within the township.

Other factors that were identified, which also limited the space in and around Alexandra, were physical barriers such as the Jukskei River that is located to the eastern border of the township, a busy highway that extends to the south of the township and several commercial and industrial zones located to the north. Below is an account of what some of the respondents had to say in this regard.

According to Informant A, land unavailability is one of their biggest challenges they are experiencing, as there is no longer land to develop in the township. "In addition to this, you have to deal with the reality that there is a court order that prohibits you from touching certain pieces of land within the township, until such time that the processes are finalised in court. We are therefore sitting with this court order that constrains us from doing certain things, while the demand for housing does not stop".[8]

He went on to express their (ARP) frustration insofar as land acquisition was concerned. "I mean it has taken us over 5 years to negotiate with Linbro Park residents to sell land to us and to date, those negotiations are not yet concluded. There is also Frankenwald, that has been negotiated for over 10 years and we are no nearer to concluding those sets of negotiations. So it will take another couple of years before we are able to buy more land in surrounding areas, as we are in the mercy of those who have means to own land. We have to in the meantime, move people around, get some space build, move other people around, get some space and build. That is how we basically survive and until we get a substantial

[8] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.

piece of land it will be difficult to change the realities in Alex, as this is a prerequisite for any development to occur in the area".[9]

Like Informant A, all the other informants (Informant A1, Informant A2, Informant B and Informant C) feel that the lack of space and the unavailability of additional land that can be utilised for development in Alexandra hampers progress insofar as low-cost housing delivery is concerned. "Spatially, there is an issue. I mean for one, we are talking about a large mass of people in an area that should not house so many people, vertically or horizontally, whichever one you want to choose. Linked to that, are other constraints within the Alexandra context - we have a national highway on the one side, there is Buccleuch and something else on the other side, then you've got Marlboro and other communities close by. So there are all these barriers that have squeezed this little neighbourhood together".[10]

Informant A1's concern is more around the community's refusal to move to other areas: "This community is refusing to be moved to other areas where there is land available for building the new housing units, as they feel that they should stay in the township where they can have access to cheaper transport, amongst other things. A good illustration of this is the Braam Fischerville case, whereby the residents who were allocated houses in that area, resisted the move, saying that Braamfischerville is in Soweto and they wanted to be in Alex instead".[11]

Informant B, on the other hand, felt that the size of Alexandra equally seemed like a problem: "the size of Alex presents us with a challenge because there is nowhere else really to expand into and given the funding mechanisms that we have at the moment, the reality is that we almost have a one size fits all approach - if you don't do RDP and if you do rental

[9] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.
[10] Interview with Informant 'C', 24 February 2011.
[11] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.

housing (in the form of flats, which occupies lesser space) for instance, the price goes up 5 or 6 times so you are almost delivering more expensive opportunities to people who earn more, which then skews the whole process as well".[12]

4.3.1.2. Physical Location

One of the most unique and outstanding features about Alexandra is its location. Not only is it located on prime land, next to developed areas such as Sandton, but it is in close proximity to most industrial and urban centres. As such, it is convenient for thousands of its inhabitants to get to their employment destinations with ease. Ironically this is the very same reason that was identified by most, if not all the respondents**,** as one of the challenges that prevent them from delivering low-cost housing optimally.

Informants A, A1 and B were explicit about the issue of location. They highlighted the aspect of Alexandra's proximity to industrial and urban nodes and how that attracts more people into the township. Informant A1 went to the extent of linking this challenge of location to current policy stipulations: "You cannot move people to areas/ locations they do not want to be in (i.e. the Braam Fischerville case). Because Alex is so well located, people do not have to (as is the case when they are living in Braam Fischerville) spend too much money on transport, where they will be required to use more than one taxi to work. Not only is it cheaper for them to live in Alex, but it is also convenient for them to get to work and to save money. In line with the Breaking New Ground housing policy, we need to create sustainable human settlements, meaning that people must be situated on land that is well located, so as to expose residents to all the urban opportunities that the cities can provide to them".[13]

[12] Interview with Informant 'B', 02 March 2011.
[13] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.

Informant B further expatiated on this particular challenge: “I think Alex is a very specific project, one, for its location -I mean it is so near Sandton, Rosebank and other areas like that, so location is very important. It is one of the few government projects that is so well located. The land that Alex is built on is prime land and we very seldom get land that’s like that as government. So people do want to be there, that is why it so dense. Generally Gauteng does have a small land area; therefore it is much denser than other provinces - in Alex you find that multiplied because of the location that it is in”.[14]

This is what Informant B had to say in this regard: “We have a substantial number of people who come from other provinces, who want to be accommodated in Alexandra as this makes life easier for them. This is because of the proximity of the township to industrial areas such as Sandton, the Johannesburg CBD, Kempton Park, Pretoria, Midrand (and many other areas) and one can move around easily to these areas because the transport infrastructure is not that bad, so as a result, we are forever under pressure, we are not building enough houses and as a result we are unable to deal substantially with the housing challenge in Alex”.[15]

4.3.1.3. A Continuously Moving Target

The third of the major challenges experienced by their informants in their efforts to deliver services (including housing) is to have to constantly chase a moving target. This constant change in the form of increasing housing needs can be attributed to a number of reasons, mainly to the growing size of the community, shack farming and the decrease in household sizes, commonly known as ‘housing split’. According to Informant A, Informant A1, Informant B and Informant C, the constantly increasing, undeterminable and unstable housing need from both

[14] Interview with Informant ‘B’, 02 March 2011.
[15] Interview with Informant ‘A’, 11 March 2011.

residents and non-residents of Alex, has posed a serious challenge to them insofar as service delivery is concerned.

Below is what informant A had to say, when asked to explain how the notion of a 'constantly moving target' has presented itself as one of the main challenges they experienced in housing delivery. "The last time when people asked me about the number of inhabitants in Alex, I would refer to the last statistics that were provided by Stats SA that approximately 350 000 people lived in Alexandra. If you were to ask me the same question today, 10 years later, I will still tell you that there are still approximately 350 000 people because we do not move, even if we move people, the number that is moved is replaced by those that are arriving. So if you build 10 houses and think that you have moved 10 families but there will be 10 other families arriving, so you are back to square one and are ever working from zero because anything you do is replaced. Families will always go back to fetch their children from rural areas for purposes of educating them or for employment opportunities and the ARP has to accommodate these individuals somehow".[16]

Informant A went on to express what he felt were major challenges in this regard, particularly in the old township. "You will find that when you go to one yard, there are 30 families and these families have actually doubled to 60, because each family had a child who went out to build their own room. So now, if you were to build 1 000 houses, it means that you were going to allocate these houses to people living in one yard".[17]

Informant B spoke more about the decreasing size of housing units: "We now see a change in family sizes whereby families, for different reasons, become smaller and smaller as compared to large families that used to stay in bond houses up until the early 1990s. It is as a result of this that we

[16] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.
[17] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.

see backyard shacks being erected, to accommodate those members of the families who are moving out of the main house".[18].

4.3.1.4. Housing Allocation

The process of housing allocation and delivery in Alexandra is a highly contentious and controversial issue, inherently plagued by several difficulties. It is mainly informants from the ARP, who identified housing allocation as one of the main impediments to housing delivery in the township. Below is what informants A and A1 had to say in this regard.

According to Informant A1, the ARP (as an attempt to improve the housing allocation process and in line with the stipulations in the new housing policy) did away with the dysfunctional housing list approach when it came to the allocation of houses. Instead, they made use of the block-by-block approach, which they envisioned would have more impact in so far as housing delivery was concerned. The ARP went about this approach firstly by packaging a new housing project, then they identified the communities in Alexandra that would move to that new housing development. After housing beneficiaries move in to their newly allocated houses, their old housing structures would then be demolished and the ARP would reclaim that land for use at a later stage for development. Not only has the new approach been challenging to adopt, it has also brought about a number of unintended consequences, which ultimately impact the housing delivery process in Alexandra.[19]

Informant A1 argued that "the block-by-block approach has not been flawless, because even though it did address the housing backlog, many of the people who are moved to these new areas of development are not long-standing community members of Alex and most of them did not put their names on the housing list that dates back from 1996, but yet they

[18] Interview with Informant 'B', 02 March 2011.
[19] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.

benefited from a system that still leaves the majority of Alexandra residents destitute".[20]

Informant A added that if one had to look at people whom they allocated housing to, it would be realised that the bulk of those people originated from areas such as Limpopo or from the Eastern Cape, for instance, and they arrived in Alexandra and found accommodation in the informal settlements. "The challenge presented to us, is that with any area we identify for development (particularly informal settlements) where we prioritise the people coming from areas outside of Alex (living in informal settlements), those that have been in the township since the olden days will then say that they are "bonifieds" (bona fide) residents of the township and they are not being attended to. There is a need therefore to balance the two, in as far as dealing with the old township and dealing with the informal settlements is concerned".[21]

4.3.1.5. Budget Constraints

Another challenge that is experienced by the informants, at different levels and in their different environments (as the ARP, municipality and the province) is posed by the very limited housing budget. As a result of this limited budget, the ARP finds itself with limited means for housing development.

According to Informant A1, "to accommodate the people of Alex and their needs, we need to build different types of housing configurations which include rental housing, ownership housing, free standing houses, semi-detached housing and flats. It costs a lot of money to produce these units and the biggest challenge has been to make the units as affordable as possible for government so that we can stretch the money available, as far as possible. Housing is delivered based on a housing subsidy which is

[20] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.
[21] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.

pre-determined by government on an annual basis. The biggest challenge to that is that while this subsidy ─ although there is an annual increase to the subsidy which is linked to the consumer price index ─ is so limited, so much so that it has not responded to the new housing approach that has been introduced by government called the Breaking New Ground housing policy and it is also not talking to the City's Integrated Development Plan and the Growth and Development Strategy".[22]

Informant B, who is one of the Chief Directors for the Gauteng Department of Local Government and Housing, similarly acknowledges the aspect of limited budget for housing: "We do not have money as a province to deliver everything, so we had to work with the private sector, other departments, national and provincial'. Given the funding mechanisms that we have at the moment, the reality is that we almost have a one-size-fits-all approach, if you do not do RDP and do rental for instance, the price goes up five or six times. So you are almost delivering more expensive opportunities to people who earn more and this then skews the whole process".[23]

4.3.2 Migration and Urbanisation as Defining Parameters to the Study

4.3.2.1. Defining Parameter One: Migration

For the purposes of this study, migration has been defined as the change of people's residential place, which involves the crossing of some sort of a migration defining boundary such as a provincial (i.e. provinces, local governments or administrative units) or international border (the country's border) (Roux, 2009).The study has argued that migration is an important contributor to the increasing housing demand in Alexandra.

[22] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.
[23] Interview with Informant 'B', 02 March 2011.

Below is an account (based on the responses that have been gathered during the interviews) from each of the informants, of how they understand the notion of migration and how they think it contributes to increasing housing needs. This is how each one of them says they have incorporated migration trends and patterns into the planning of low-cost housing for the area.

A. The informants' understanding of migration and whether or not they think it contributes to the current housing backlog in Alexandra

Responses:

For all the five informants, migration was generally understood to be the movement of people from one place to another, either from one country to another (external migration) or from one province to another (internal migration) .

Informant A went on to further acknowledge that historically, migrants have always settled in Alexandra, mainly because of its proximity to many industrial areas such as Midrand and Kempton Park, amongst others, and also because historically, people could come in and stay freely and not be given problems by the authorities. "To date, the primary reason for many people to be in Alex during the course of the year is for employment purposes. If you come here in December, Alex is almost empty but if you come back in January you cannot even move in Alex. That is the nature of the township and this tells you that we have a substantial number of people from rural areas that might have migrated and relocated to an urban area for possibilities of jobs and a better life - that is how it is"![24]

This is what Informant C had to say about his understanding of migration as an aspect of the different cities: "As far as I understand, migration is an important aspect of the cities. It is part of the process of urbanisation. As

[24] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.

cities grow and improve, then of course you become a larger magnet for a range of people from different parts. Internally you would have a range of migrants from other parts of the city that gravitate to areas that are suddenly growing and that when some of your informal settlements suddenly spring up".[25] He further added that it is important for one to understand that migration is a natural process which he felt that South Africans were unfortunately shut out of for a long time despite our own history. He is convinced that we are all migrants except for the original inhabitants of this country.

Informant C went on to further contextualise this question to the specific situation in Alexandra and this is what he had to say: " In Alex in particular, I think it is the understanding that people continuously move and if they continuously move, then you want to provide a permanent structure you know. You are giving somebody something that is related to permanence which means they have got to be permanent reversely, but if they have got to spend 60% of their income on transportation to get to their jobs somewhere else, they are not going to take your permanent structure and that is one of the problems we are starting to have".[26]

Informant A1, on the other hand, alludes to the large number of people who stay in Alexandra. He believes that the location of the township plays an important role in attracting the people into the small area and also points out the fact that the residents of Alex are making a lot of income as a result of renting out accommodation. "We all know that Alex has a huge transit population. People are coming in and out of the township mainly because of its locality, as it is close to many urban opportunities. It is right at the centre of everything and that is what makes it so popular. That is also why the renting out of space in Alex is the biggest industry because everybody in Alex pays somebody something to stay and it is shocking to see what people are prepared to pay, for what type of accommodating.

[25] Interview with Informant 'C', 24 February 2011.
[26] Interview with Informant 'C', 24 February 2011.

So yes, there is a huge transit population, which also comes with its own set of challenges".[27]

According to Informant A2, one cannot look at migration as a concept on its own, without considering some of the factors that influence it. "Migration for me is the movement of people, either inbound or outbound. Further to that, there are certain factors such as the prospects of employment that influence migration".[28]

Informant B feels that they (as a province) experience internal migration. "As I have said earlier that Alex is a well located land and it is appropriate for those people wanting to work in those areas around it, who are looking for cheap accommodation. You would get in-migration from within the province from people moving from one area to another; you would get migration from other areas such as moving from KZN to Gauteng, so there is movement from other provinces into our province. Our HOD always tells other provinces that they must now pay us for keeping their people (jokingly). We also unfortunately have migration from other countries, especially those closer by".[29]

When asked whether or not they think migration contributes to the current housing backlog in Alex, all five informants felt strongly that migration (both internal and external) did actually contribute to the housing backlog, as explained below.

According to Informant A, in addition to the internal migrants who are already staying in Alex, there are a lot of foreign nationals who come into the township looking for accommodation. They therefore as a result need to be directly and indirectly accommodated and this strains their allocation system and the overall delivery of houses. "To give a practical illustration

[27] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.
[28] Interview with Informant 'A2', 09 March 2011.
[29] Interview with Informant 'B', 02 March 2011.

in this regard, I will refer to the example of the area that we use as a relocation/waiting area. Currently as we speak, we are sitting with about 300 people that are housed in that area we refer to as the ATV. Amongst the 300 people, about 100+ of them who are foreign nationals. You go to another area (called Silverstar) that we built of the people that we moved here in Pan Africa when they were building a shopping mall. Out of the 280 people that are there, about 90 are foreign nationals. Now I am not talking about internal South Africans who have moved from one province to another - I am just talking about foreign nationals. Everywhere that we allocate, anytime, anywhere, you come across a minimum of 30 foreign nationals and they put pressure on the system because we need to find a place for them. So yes migration is a pressure point, whether internal or external, international or national; migration in Alex is just not manageable".

b. How migration trends are incorporated in the overall planning of low-cost housing in the area

In order to ascertain whether or not migration had been considered and/or incorporated in the overall planning of low-cost housing delivery in the area, the following set of questions was asked:

- Does the ARP, Municipality or Provisional Housing Department consider and cater for migration in their housing strategy?
- How does their housing strategy plan for and anticipate the movements of people in and out of Alexandra? If so, how do they do so?
- Are there any migration policies that are used or considered in the overall strategy for low-cost housing delivery in Alex?
- How does the ARP, municipality or provisional housing department keep track of the movements of people in and out of Alexandra Township?

- Do they make their own population projections? If not, where do they get their population projections from?

Responses:

An interesting element that emerged from administering the above section of questions relating to providing for migration at a policy or legislation level was how the different respondents addressed the questions. Respondent B (from the Gauteng Department of Local Government and Housing) and Respondent C (from the CoJ) showed a better and clearer understanding of policy-related issues. This was mainly because they were involved directly with either the creation or direct implementation of the policies.

The two respondents have not, however, provided references to any specific policies or legislature, but they did nonetheless show a strong reliance on the current housing policy in stipulating who the low-cost housing beneficiaries should be. "I suppose you cannot really say it is a strategy but the housing policy is very clear as to who can benefit from the housing programme. You have got to be a citizen and already this puts South Africans in the forefront, but having said that, South Africans marry people from other countries and in that way they would also qualify".[30]

Even though all five respondents claim to somewhat accommodate and cater for migration in their implementation strategies and planning, there was no clear answer as to how this is done. Furthermore, there has been an indication for both provincial and local government to rely on other organisations such as Statistics South Africa to provide information and insight regarding their constituencies, as opposed to carrying these out themselves.

[30] Interview with Informant 'B', 02 March 2011.

4.3.2.2. Defining Parameter Two: Urbanisation

For the purposes of this study, urbanisation has been conceptualised and understood to be the increase in the urban population of a country or area as a result of the following components of urban population growth:

a) the reclassification of parts of the rural population into the category ‘urban’
b) urban natural increase, and
c) urban net migration (Kok, O’ Donovan, Bouare and van Zyl, as cited in Roux, 2009).

The study has argued that urbanisation is an important contributor to the increasing housing demand.

Below is an account (based on the responses that have been gathered during the interviews) from each of the informants, of how they understand the notion of urbanisation and how they think it contributes to increasing housing needs. This is how each one of them says they have incorporated urbanisation trends and patterns into the planning of low-cost housing for the area.

A. The informants’ understanding of urbanisation and whether or not they think it contributes to the current housing backlog in Alex

Responses:

The five informants (being Informant A, A1, A2, B and C) understood urbanisation to be the movement of people from rural to urban areas. Informants A1, B and C further categorised it as an international phenomenon. Below is an account of their additional comments in this regard.

According to Informant A, “one might define urbanisation in a classic, scholarly manner, but urbanisation in the practical day-to-day experiences of the ARP is that you have people flocking into an urban area because it provides them with an opportunity to make ends meet”.[31]

Informant B’s understanding of this concept is that it is “… a worldwide phenomenon and I think August 2010 was the breakeven point where more that 50% of the world population was living in cities. It is a fact of life and we are going to see more of it in South African cities and as a planner myself, we have to plan for this influx of people. It is about attractions and detractions/pull and push factors. People are pulled to the cities on one hand because the cities have opportunities that the rural areas do not have and the rural areas are pushing people away because they have lesser opportunities”.[32]

Informant B views urbanisation firstly as an international trend and secondly notes that, “Gauteng is an economic power hub of the country and in fact the continent, so of course people are going to come to the province. Unfortunately for Gauteng the housing backlog is growing and we won’t be able to deal with that. Informal settlements are growing and in a little while we have got over 1 500 informal settlements in Joburg alone as a result of the increase in the number of people (who cannot afford renting) who move into the province”.[33]

As a concept, Informant C asserts that urbanisation is the fact that people want to agglomerate in these urban centres such as large cities and have access to a whole range of services, opportunities, education for their

[31] Interview with Informant ‘A’, 11 March 2011.
[32] Interview with Informant ‘A1’, 02 March 2011.
[33] Interview with Informant ‘B’, 02 March 2011.

children, and similar. According to him, many people are in an exercise in betterment or improvement.[34]

B. How urbanisation trends are incorporated in the overall planning of low-cost housing in the area

In order to ascertain whether or not urbanisation had been considered and/or incorporated in the overall planning of low-cost housing delivery in the area, the following set of questions was asked:

- Do you think urbanisation is a contributing factor to the current housing backlog in Alexandra?
- Does the ARP, municipality or provincial housing department consider and cater for urbanisation in their housing strategy?
- How does their housing strategy plan for and anticipate the movements of people from rural areas into Alexandra? If so, how do they do so?
- Are there any urbanisation policies that are used or considered in the overall strategy for low-cost housing delivery in Alexandra?
- How does the ARP, municipality or provincial housing department keep track of the movements of people in and out of Alexandra Township?
- Do they make their own population projections, and if not where do they get their population projections from?

The responses in this instance were similar to those that were provided by the respondents when they discussed the section on migration. There was a strong feeling from all the respondents that issues relating to migration went hand-in-hand with those regarding urbanisation, mainly because urbanisation was some form of migration.

[34] Interview with Informant 'C', 24 February 2011.

Further to this, all five informants claimed to have somewhat made provision for urbanisation trends in their implementation strategies and planning, but there was no clear indication as to how this was done. In addition to this, it has transpired through the interviews that both the CoJ and DLGH at a provincial and local level relied on other organisations such as Statistics South Africa to provide information and insight regarding their constituencies, as opposed to them administering this information themselves.

4.3.2.3. The relationship between the key challenges and the defining parameters to the study

The last two sections have identified the different challenges inherent in the process of housing delivery in Alexandra and it had identified the two parameters for which the study is contextualised. What this brief section intends doing is to identify the relationship that exists between migration and urbanisation and the five challenges, which are, namely, land/space, location, a continuously moving target, housing allocation, and budget constraints.

As indicated in chapter one earlier, the main objective of this research is to understand how different factors such as migration and urbanisation (which contribute to the increase in the demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra) can consequently contribute to or exacerbate the challenges inherent in the delivery process.

(a) The challenge of land/space in light of migration and/or urbanisation

Migration (in-migration especially) and urbanisation result in an increased number of people living Alexandra, and this translates into an increased demand for low-cost housing in the area. People crowding into small areas in large numbers results in high densities, to an extent that when

you want to properly demarcate the township, you would inevitably run out of land and space.

(b) The challenge of location in light of migration and/or urbanisation

As a result of migration and/or urbanisation, Alexandra has turned into a receiving township for other townships and provinces of South Africa. This means that different people from other areas (both urban and rural) around the country seek accommodation in Alexandra, an area that is not only located on prime land, next to highly developed areas such as Sandton, but is also in close proximity to most industrial areas such as the Johannesburg CBD, Kempton Park, Pretoria, Midrand (and many other areas) and urban centres.

(c) The challenge of 'a moving target' in light of migration and/or urbanisation

It is because of the constant movement of people into the township (mainly due to migration and/or urbanisation) that the targets for housing delivery are constantly changing. This consequently leads to an increased demand for low-cost housing in the area, and a non-matching, lesser supply thereof.

(d) The challenge of housing allocation in light of migration and/or urbanisation

People from different areas within the country find their way into Alexandra and often find their way into the informal settlements of the township. In order to develop land and build more houses, the ARP usually has to move these people into developed housing units, and this means that those who have been waiting for housing for longer periods (and these are usually those who claim to be born residents of the township) are compelled to wait for longer for houses to be allocated to them.

(e) The challenge of budget constraints in light of migration and/or urbanisation

The increase in the number of people in Alexandra consequently leads to an increase in the demand for low-cost housing in the area. The housing budget does not, however, accommodate this, as it does not increase in proportion to housing needs within the area.

This section has made an attempt to link the different challenges to migration and urbanisation. The next section (section 4.6) presents recommendations from the informants about possible interventions for improving housing delivery, against the backdrop of migration and urbanisation.

4.3.3. Suggested interventions by informants to improve housing delivery

During the interviews, all five respondents suggested measures that can be taken in ensuring that housing delivery in Alexandra is at its optimal, against the backdrop of migration and urbanisation. These are categorised according to each respondent's response below.

Informant A1 is of the view, firstly, that the delivery of housing can only be attained if it is done in direct proportion to the resources allocated to it. In a nutshell, how much you can do is dependent on what budget is allocated in this regard. Secondly, the unlocking of land for housing development needs to be streamlined. This means that government must buy this land and make it ready and available for development purposes. Thirdly, according to Informant A, the current government legislation on the procurement of contractors makes it increasingly difficult to work in a government environment and there is a need therefore for these

processes to be streamlined in order to make housing delivery more effective and efficient.[35]

Informant A feels that in order to respond to issues of migration and urbanisation effectively, "One needs to change the realities of the old township and these realities are that you need to de-densify the old township, meaning that you must remove people from the old township. In order to do that, you firstly need enough land for development purposes. Secondly, you need co-operation from those that own land in areas such as Linbro Park, where you would have one family owning a 10 metre squared piece of land, while you have poor people across the highway (in Alex)".[36]

Informant A2 echoed similar sentiments to Informant A and added that there should be more co-operation between the ARP and other relevant community structures and that Alex residents needed to be willing to move out of "old Alex" in order for the ARP to be able to build houses.[37]

Informant B, who is a Chief Director for the Gauteng DLGH, recommends that government should firstly limit the current housing criteria as it qualifies a lot of people, many of whom can provide for themselves. Secondly, she sees the need to get the private sector more involved, especially in the rental sector, to allow for that gap market to be dealt with more effectively.

Informant B further argues that there is a strong need to get the Alex community more involved in formalising the township and emphasizes the need to attain ownership from Alex residents for the project to avoid what she calls a 'wait and see what government will give us' situation. "We also need to have a very aggressive densification strategy or else it just won't

[35] Interview with Informant 'A1', 02 March 2011.
[36] Interview with Informant 'A', 11 March 2011.
[37] Interview with Informant 'A2', 09 March 2011.

work. We also need to find ways of integrating the community into other areas, even in light of the high land costs".[38]

Informant C feels that it is important to understand the dynamics of Alexandra by merit and understanding the nature of the informal processes at hand and how they work, and particularly understanding how they function at their core. He further asserts the importance of moving away from the notion of eradication to that of improving the quality of life.[39]

[38] Interview with Informant 'B', 02 March 2011.
[39] Interview with Informant 'C', 24 February 2011.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Whilst chapter four presented the data that emerged during interviews with informants, the aim of chapter five is to analyse the key findings of the research and to further assess the extent to which these findings address the research questions at hand. This will be achieved by comparing and contrasting three different voices, being that of the research data, the available stock of knowledge, and that of the researcher.

As earlier outlined in chapter one, the purpose of the research was to explore and understand the nature of the challenges experienced by the ARP in their delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. An emphasis was placed on those challenges emanating from an increased overall demand for low-cost housing, and both migration and urbanisation were used as the main parameters within which the study was contextualised.

As presented in the introduction chapter, this research was underpinned and guided by the following set of questions:

1. Why has the housing backlog persisted in Alexandra despite the considerable efforts made to respond to the housing challenge through the Alexandra Renewal Project?
2. To what extent has migration and urbanisation played a role in increasing the demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra?
3. How can the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra be conceptualised and carried out in future?

The research data was obtained from five informants, namely three senior officials from the ARP, an official representing the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, and a senior official from the Gauteng Department of Local Government and Housing.

Data was presented based on categories or themes. After the data presentation the analysis follows, based on themes or categories that emerged from the data presentation:

a) The key challenges for housing delivery in Alexandra;
b) Migration and urbanisation convergence;
c) Suggested interventions to improve housing delivery.

Data analysis is a process that is aimed at making sense out of text and image data. It is about the preparation of data for purposes of analysis, conducting different forms of analysis, gaining an in-depth understanding of the data, and representing and interpreting the broader meaning of the data (Creswell, 2003). All this is done with the aim of gaining an understanding of the different constitutive aspects of one's data by examining the relationships that exist between different concepts, variables or constructs and by establishing any patterns, trends or themes in the data (Mouton, 2001). It is against this backdrop that the three themes identified above will be analysed.

5.2. KEY CHALLENGES IN HOUSING DELIVERY IN ALEXANDRA

Following the in-depth interviews conducted with informants from the ARP, CoJ and the Gauteng DLGH, several challenges relating to housing delivery were identified. Of these, land unavailability and the physical location of Alexandra emerged as the main challenges resulting in an

increased demand for housing in the area, within the parameters of migration and urbanisation.

Alexandra Township covers just over 800 hectares of land and has an estimated population of about 328 579 people. According to the informants, there is no longer space or land available within the township for development purposes, and this is one of the main reasons leading to the increased housing backlog in the area. Other factors limiting the space in and around Alexandra include physical barriers such as the Jukskei River to the east of the township, a busy highway that extends to the South of the township and several commercial and industrial zones located to the north.

Burgoyne (2008) echoes the same sentiment regarding lack of available land, and argues that the lack of appropriate land for housing development is one of the main challenges particularly in light of the of reality many South African citizens residing in housing that is often inadequate, poorly located and without land tenure. In a similar argument, Matsepe (2009) points out that not only is the township overcrowded with an average density of 700 persons per hectare but is also characterised by uncontrolled use of land that is not linked to an effective land use development framework.

Morris (2000) places this challenge in a historical context and points out that it has become increasingly difficult to secure additional land for development purposes in areas around Alexandra, mainly because white middle-class property owners have historically viewed the expansion of areas such as Alexandra, Sophiatown and the then Western Native Township as a threat which would eventually lead to the decrease in values of their own land. As was the case in the 1940s, there is hardly any access to this land (or any other land located near middle-income suburbs) for the purposes of developing houses for the poor. This is

validated by Farvacque and McAuslan (cited in Thellane, 2008), in their argument that, amongst other things, the supply of land is influenced by the willingness of landowners to avail land on the market and the restrictions made by government on how the land must be used.

Government makes these restrictions with the good intention to regulate land supply, so as to ensure that there is land available for housing development. However, as with many other policies there are unintended consequences. These are brought to the fore through Sivam's (2003) work, where he identifies a number of impediments to access to land for poor people living in urban areas, some of which are a consequence of the very same laws and regulations that are meant to promote land supply. Other land-related challenges which are more synonymous in the area of housing include high land prices and an inadequate adjustment in the land market due to the limited land supply in relation to existing demand. Not only is there a shortage of space and land in Alexandra, but there is also the reality that land in the immediate surrounding areas is very expensive.

In addition to the above, Bond (2003) argues that the issue of land unavailability cannot only be attributed to the above challenges given that it is a consequence of other related challenges such as budget constraints. He further argues that more often than not, developers are forced to always look for cheaper land on the city's distant periphery, due to the limited housing grant.

In line with this argument, Erguden (2001) proffers that apart from high land prices, the shortage of land can further lead to the expansion of squatter settlements and the unlawful invasion of unoccupied land. To date, this has been the reality in Alexandra, with the number of shacks being on the rise. The number of shacks was estimated to be around 34 000 in 2003 (Wilson, 2003). In order to guard against the perpetuation of this trend, there is a need to strengthen the technical and financial

capacity of municipalities and to put in place mechanisms that will facilitate the expansion of private land development agencies, as possible solutions to increasing the supply of urban land (Erguden, 2001).

The researcher is of the view that land is indeed one of the key resources needed to ensure an effective and efficient housing delivery process and that the lack of same is likely to compromise the ARP in its objective to deliver houses to the poor in Alexandra. While the researcher appreciates and acknowledges the complexities surrounding the availability of land in Alexandra, the researcher is of the view that a lot can still be done by government to improve the situation if this challenge is to be adequately addressed. This can be done firstly by availing money for purposes of buying land, particularly in light of the increasing prices for land in other well located areas nearer to Alexandra. Secondly, there needs to be an amendment to current policy (or a draft of new policy) that will provide for and facilitate the release of land directly to, and at cost or even below cost, for further low-cost housing delivery initiatives. This is especially necessary to assist the ARP to acquire land in areas such as Linbro Park and Frankenwald, given the current difficulties being experienced in this regard.

Another challenge that is closely linked to that of land availability, relates to the physical location of Alexandra. Unlike many other townships and low-cost housing developments that are located on the outskirts of the city and far from economic opportunities, Alexandra Township is located on prime land, close to several urban communities. By virtue of it being so well located, more and more people are inclined to seek residence in the township, primarily because of the convenience it affords them to reach their different areas of employment (in particular) with ease.

The above is consistent with the assertion made by Morris (2000) that a large number of people have over the years searched for accommodation

in Alexandra as opposed to other townships such as Daveyton, Tembisa, Vosloorus and Soweto, which are located on the borders of urban areas, mainly because the area was well located, near a lot of industrial areas where they worked and also because of the minimised control over movement (into the area) when compared with other townships.

Burgoyne's (2008) argument validates the importance of location for poor people. This author argues that the location of houses for poor people is much more important than the quality of the houses, as this has a direct impact on their ability to access urban opportunities and because this forms the foundation for social networks that are crucial for their survival. There are cost implications associated with location and the Department of Local Government and Housing (2005) identified three of the main cost implications in this regard. The first (which is probably the most important and relevant of the three in this regard) speaks to the intolerable financial burden that is faced by low-income households in the form of unreasonably extended travelling times and the high transport costs associated with them.

The above is in line with the findings from Aucamp and Moodley (2002) who argue that the good location of low-cost housing projects is important, as it has a direct impact on the cost and provision of public transport, particularly because the population's low-income earners depends completely on public transport for movement. The further the location, the higher the transport costs for the travellers which would necessitate higher public transport subsidies. In line with this argument, Huchzermeyer (2000) asserts that a direct relationship exists between poverty and transport expenditure, whereby the increase in household poverty in the poverty cycle necessitates increased expenditure on transport. The decision for squatters to choose well located areas for settlement and for many others who illegally invade land is evidence of this. For these individuals, it does not matter if they stay in the informal settlements of

Alexandra or even in one of the hostels in the township; what is critical for them is being able to move from one point to another, with great ease and in the most cost-effective manner.

The above is reaffirmed by Venter, Biermann and van Ryneveld (2006) in a study that was carried out a few years ago to compare different benefits and costs related to the provision of low-cost housing in settlements which were located in more central locations as opposed to those located further away on the periphery. With the use of Alexandra and Diepsloot as case studies, it was established that the average total transport costs for people residing in more central locations was less than those residing in areas located further away from the CBD. Another comparison was made in the same study to establish the distance that was travelled from these locations and it was discovered that the average travel distance was much higher for people residing in more remote settlements, but only where public transport is used.

The researcher argues that even though South Africa's policy on land and urban development is clear on where and how low-cost housing development is supposed to be provided, the reality is that municipalities still continue to build houses in remote, urban peripheries. This is consistent with Venter, *et al*. (2006) who observes that while South Africa's national policy on urban development, land, transportation and housing promotes compact urban areas and densification, low-cost houses are still being developed on the urban peripheries instead of being established on well positioned land in accordance with the standards implied by "integration" and "compact cities".

As cited in Bond (2007), Rebutting, who was at the time the head of one of Johannesburg's largest property sales corporations, Lew Geffen Estates, differs with the above view. He is of the view that developers should continue to develop low-cost houses on peripheral land, in areas where

property is cheaper, as this will allow for higher quality houses to be built. The researcher acknowledges this argument, but feels that it cannot be an alternative for the ARP to consider, particularly because poor people in Alexandra reside in that area mainly because of the affordability and convenience it gives them because of its centrality. Saving money is more a priority for them than living in a good quality house that is located on the outskirts of the city.

As opposed to relocating Alexandra residents, the ARP together with all the relevant stakeholders (such as local and provincial government) need to be creative in considering additional viable and cost-effective housing typologies, that will best accommodate more residents of the township (especially in old Alexandra), in light of the unavailability of land for development purposes. This should be done in line with the more recent BNG housing strategy and the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements document.

5.3. MIGRATION AND URBANISATION CONVERGENCE

One of the main objectives of this study was to understand the extent to which migration and urbanisation have played a role in increasing the demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra. It is against this backdrop that the two concepts were introduced and this study has since argued that both migration and urbanisation are important contributors in this regard.

From the responses gathered during the in-depth interviews, the informants have displayed a broad understanding of the two concepts and have unequivocally expressed how they felt – that the two played a significant role in increasing the demand for low-cost housing in the township. Both migration and urbanisation were understood to be processes that involved the movement of people from one place to another, be it from rural areas, provinces other than Gauteng, or even

from other townships such as Tembisa and Soweto (amongst others). This understanding is mainly attributed to the fact that Alexandra, unlike other townships, is located closely to several urban hubs and according to them; there is a good and affordable transport system to support and facilitate movement to and from these areas.

The argument on the existence of migration and urbanisation trends in Alexandra is in line with the findings of the Alexandra Benchmark Survey (2005), which suggests that 73% of the township's residents originate from other rural areas within South Africa, 7% come from other South African towns, while 12% come from within the province of Gauteng. Based on their study, Roefs *et al*. (2003) argues that the residents of Alexandra perceive their transport system to be in bad condition, contrary to what the informants denote as being a good and affordable transport system.

The five informants claimed to accommodate migration and urbanisation in their implementation strategies and planning even though there was no clear answer as to how this was carried out. Landau, Segatti, Misago and Gindrey (2010) argue that, inasmuch as the officials (informants in this regard) may understand and recognise the significance of human mobility, it is not an indication that they have the information or tools to do this effectively. According to them, the biggest challenge in addressing issues of migration and urbanisation might relate to how little the informants actually know about the people living in their cities.

The researcher is convinced that the informants understand what migration and urbanisation entail and is also of the view that the two contribute to the growing housing need in Alexandra. The researcher believes, however, that the informants have been lacking in their attempt to integrate their knowledge of migration and urbanisation with the existing policy framework. This may partially be attributed to the fact that the current policy environment is not conducive to developing clear and proper

responses to migration and urbanisation. As such, there is not much reason to believe that the informants are able to deal with issues of human mobility at a policy level unless there is a drastic change in the current practice at national, provincial and local (including the ARP project) government levels. This is especially true for those informants who are directly involved in the implementation of the ARP, as their role is only limited to interpreting and working with the existing policy.

5.4. SUGGESTED INTERVENTIONS TO IMPROVE HOUSING DELIVERY

The purpose of this theme is to identify strategies or interventions that could help to improve the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra, particularly in light of the increasing demand for low-cost housing in the context of migration and urbanisation.

It is the view of the respondents that if housing delivery is to be realised as a key driver for service delivery in Alexandra, and if this was to be improved in future, then it is important to properly consider and cater for migration and urbanisation in future interventions, and a number of suggestions were made in this regard.

Firstly, it was suggested that government should increase the current budget allocation towards this project to enable the ARP to develop more housing units. Given the current reality of increased demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra, informants feel that the objective to attain efficient and effective housing delivery can only be a reality if it is done in direct proportion to the resources allocated to it. Linked to this, is the need for government to involve private sector organisations as a means to close the existing market gap for rental housing, thereby decreasing the financial burden on government.

Erguden (2001) maintains the view that there is a need for governments to promote and strengthen housing finance mechanisms for the funding of low-income housing initiatives (which also considers the inclusion of informal settlements.

The reality on the ground is that of a growing need to increase the supply of affordable rental stock in the area, so as to accommodate the growing demand for housing from low-income households. This is in line with Cross's (2006) argument that the government needs to advance the building of new high-rise rental stock that can accommodate low-income households. Cross (2006) further argues that the implementation of rental housing initiatives is critical in responding to the demand for housing, in such a manner that can accommodate in-migration.

The attainment of an aggressive de-densification strategy was identified by the informants as another means of improving housing delivery in Alexandra. They deemed it as necessary for government (especially at provincial and local levels) to come up with ways to facilitate the decrease in numbers of residents living in old Alexandra, so as to enable development to take place in that particular space. For this to materialise, there is an urgent need for government to propose creative ways to integrate the Alexandra community into adjacent communities, and this speaks to them availing and securing additional land for development purposes, even in light of the high land costs they stand to incur.

5.5. SUMMARY

This chapter has analysed and discussed the findings drawn from the data collected. Arguments and discussions were also drawn from the relevant literature to assist in understanding the various challenges that the ARP experiences in its attempts to deliver low-cost houses to Alexandra residents, particularly in light of migration and urbanization. These were

further juxtaposed with the responses from each of the five interviewees in an attempt to gain a richer understanding of the different issues at hand. The research went on to further synthesize the voice of the research data, the voice of the available stock of knowledge, and that of the researcher.

The analysis has revealed that the ARP is finding it difficult to cope with the increasing demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra, particularly in light of the dynamics of migration and urbanisation as key parameters of the study. Furthermore, it has provided a discussion on the issue of the lack of availability of suitable land and that of Alexandra's physical location, as these were identified as the main challenges that prohibited the efficient delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. On the basis of the analysis, the next chapter makes recommendations on how to address these challenges in the future.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

As previously stated in chapter one, the purpose of the research was to explore and understand the nature of the challenges experienced by the ARP in their delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra. An emphasis was placed on those challenges resulting from an increased overall demand for low-cost housing, and both migration and urbanisation were used as the main parameters within which the study was contextualised.

As presented in the introduction chapter, this research was underpinned and guided by the following set of questions:

1. Why has the housing backlog persisted in Alexandra despite the considerable efforts made to respond to the housing challenge through the Alexandra Renewal Project?
2. To what extent has migration and urbanisation played a role in increasing the demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra?
3. How has the supply of low-cost housing in Alexandra been conceptualised (and carried out) and how can this be improved in future low-cost housing initiatives in Alexandra?

The following three themes emerged from the data collected:

a) The key challenges for housing delivery in Alexandra;
b) Migration and urbanisation convergence;
c) Suggested interventions to improve housing delivery.

6.2. CONCLUSION

6.2.1. The unavailability of additional, affordable land for development purposes

Land availability has proved itself to be one of the main challenges facing the ARP with regard to housing delivery. On the one hand, there is a long pending court order which prohibits the ARP from developing old Alexandra, while on the other hand there are large pieces of land in neighbouring areas such as Linbro Park and Frankenwald where land owners refuse to sell their land, for fear of devaluing their properties. Not only is the limited land that is made available to the ARP expensive, but there are also budget constraints in this regard.

6.2.2. The lack of a coherent strategy dealing with migration and urbanisation

Subsequent to the findings of this research, one of the most vital steps in addressing the inadequate supply of low-cost housing in Alexandra is acquiring an in-depth understanding on issues relating to migration and urbanisation. Unlike other townships, Alexandra has its own unique characteristics such as its good location and its excellent transport infrastructure, which attracts a large number of people into the township. The absence of a clear, specific and practical strategy that deals with the movements of people in this regard compromises the levels of both service delivery and housing delivery in Alexandra.

6.2.3. Existing tensions and contradictions within the current housing strategy

While the ARP adheres to the current housing policy as a guideline to providing housing in Alexandra, the policy does not accommodate unique

situations such as that of Alexandra. A classic example of this can be denoted from the Breaking New Ground housing policy, which dictates the need to create sustainable human settlements whereby people need to be situated on well located land (such as Alexandra in this regard). What the policy does not specify, however, is the steps that need to be taken in the event that the so-called 'well located land' runs out of space for developing the housing units, as is now the case in Alexandra.

In conclusion, this research can argue that migration and urbanisation are among the key factors that contribute to increasing housing demand in Alexandra. It calls on all relevant stakeholders to develop a clear, concrete strategy that is aimed at addressing migration and urbanisation issues in the township.

6.3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The observations and analysis of this research have informed the views of the researcher in making the following recommendations for future research.

6.3.1. Ensure easier accessibility to land

There is an urgent need to, firstly, avail enough funds for the acquisition of land for development purposes, and secondly, there needs to be a strategy and/or policy that can be used by government to get land owners (particularly those who are occupying hectors of undeveloped land) to agree to selling part of their land for development purposes.

6.3.2. Dealing with migration and urbanisation

Government departments (particularly at provincial and local level), depend heavily on institutions such as Statistics South Africa with regard

to monitoring the movements of people in and out of the different provinces and respective cities. As a means of addressing the challenge of human mobility, there first needs to be an acknowledgement by all the stakeholders involved that this is indeed a concern, which if not properly addressed, has the potential to worsen service delivery. This therefore requires new policy or guidelines on how migration and urbanisation can be managed nationally at a strategic level. In the interim, the main priority is for government departments and/or divisions to have personnel dedicated to this function in order to ensure the proper monitoring of trends in this regard.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A - Consent Form.

Consent Form: *Statement concerning participation in the research study. Challenges in the Delivery of Low-cost Housing in Alexandra*

I am Gloria Phashe, conducting a study on *Challenges in the Delivery of Low-cost Housing in Alexandra*. I would like to request your participation in the study that I am conducting. I am a full time student pursuing a Master of Management in the field of Public & Development Management (MM P&DM), at the Graduate School of Public and Development Management (P&DM), at the University of the Witwatersrand.

You are not under pressure to participate and your participation is voluntary. The discussion will take about one to one and a half hours (1-1 ½ hrs). You may ask questions during the interviews if you need clarity. You are free to withdraw at any point if you feel that you are no longer comfortable with the interview without giving me explanations why you wish to do so. All the discussions will be kept strictly confidential and the researcher will ensure that your anonymity is maintained throughout the study. No information from this study will be used to expose you.
I would like to know if you are comfortable to participate. Yes/No

Participant's Signature..... Date / / /
Researcher's Signature …… Date / / /

Appendix B. Interview Schedule with the Alexandra Renewal Project Officials

In-depth Interviews:

Challenges in the Delivery of Low-cost Housing in Alexandra

I would like to ask a few questions relating to your experiences and views regarding the topic of my research. During the discussion I will record as well as write down what you will tell me using an audio tape I have in my possession. The tape will be switched on from the onset to record all the questions and responses. Please respond as accurately and honestly as you can as there are no right or wrong answers, so feel free to share what you feel and know of the questions that I will ask you. All information will be kept confidential.

Question 1: Why is the housing backlog persisting in Alexandra despite the considerable efforts made to respond to the housing challenge through the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP)?

- What has been your role in the delivery of low-cost housing in Alex?
- How would you rate your performance thus far (in terms of the work that you do) in decreasing the housing backlog in the township
- What challenges have you experienced thus far?
- Which of these challenges (if any) in your opinion are specific or unique to Alex?
- Municipal/provincial government employee: How does the municipality estimate the number of its inhabitants?

Question 2: To what extent has migration and urbanisation played a role in increasing the demand for low-cost housing in Alexandra, and thus consequently add?

Part A: Migration

- What is your understanding of migration and the issues that relate to it (particularly for internal migration)?
- Do you think migration (both internal and international) is a contributing factor to the current housing backlog in Alex?
- Does the ARP, Municipality or Provisional Housing Department consider and cater for migration in their housing strategy?
- How does their housing strategy plan for and anticipate the movements of people in and out of Alexandra? If so, how do they do so?
- Are there any migration policies that are used or considered in the overall strategy for low-cost housing delivery in Alex?
- How does the ARP, municipality or provisional housing department keep track of the movements of people in and out of Alexandra Township?
- Do they make their own population projections, if not where do they get their population projections from?
- How often are population projections made?
- Do they use population projections for budget and service delivery planning? If yes, how?

- In your view how do you think government or policy makers should cater for migration in urban areas such as Alex?

Part B: Urbanisation

- What is your understanding of urbanisation and the issues that relate to it?
- Do you think urbanisation is a contributing factor to the current housing backlog in Alex?
- Does the ARP, Municipality or Provisional Housing Department consider and cater for urbanisation in their housing strategy?

- **How does their housing strategy plan for and anticipate the movements of people into townships such as Alexandra? If so, how do they do so?**
- Are there any urbanisation policies that are used or considered in the overall strategy for low-cost housing delivery in Alex?
- How does the ARP, municipality or provisional housing department keep track of the movements of people into of Alexandra Township?
- Do they make their own population projections, if not where do they get their population projections from?
- How often are population projections made?
- Do they use population projections for budget and service delivery planning? If yes, how?
- In your view how do you think government or policy makers should cater for urbanisation in urban areas such as Alex?

Question 3: How has the supply of low-cost housing in Alexandra been administered (and carried out) and how can this be improved in future low-cost housing initiatives in Alexandra?

- How have you supplied low-cost housing in Alexandra thus far?
- Was there any particular criterion or strategies that were used in supplying the houses, and if so, what was it?
- Which of these strategies have been successful in ensuring the success of your project?
- Which of these strategies have been unsuccessful and how can they be improved moving forward?
- In you view, how can the delivery of low-cost housing in Alexandra be conceptualised and carried out in future moving forward, in light of migration and urbanisation as challenges?