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Occupancy density shifts in the Jeppestown Area

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Occupancy density shifts in the Jeppestown Area

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Honours in Urban and Regional Planning.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University. It is being submitted for the degree of Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning to the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg.

..... 09 December 2016

Adelaide Nkoane

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Chapter 1

1. Introduction

The city of Johannesburg has high rates of inadequately housed people and these people are migrants as well as longer-term residents. They come to the city (often the inner city) seeking for better opportunities that could change or improve the quality in their lives. However, the shortage of affordable housing in the inner city is an issue because they get access to accommodation in the informal market, consequently living in overcrowded and poor living conditions. The occupation of buildings in the inner city has not only captured the attention of government officials, but it has also widely been documented in literature. This occupation includes processes of densification, which is discussed in detail later in this study.

This study aims to better understand and describe the occupancy density shifts and changes in the inner city, with a particular emphasis on three housing typologies: private residential buildings, occupied buildings (i.e. bad buildings) and hostels in the Jeppestown area. A shift in occupancy density is the increase or decrease in the number of people in a building or an area due to the change in how people use buildings or due to new developments in an area. The study sets out the challenges as well as different approaches to occupancy density, that have been adopted internationally and locally, before presenting a case study of Jeppestown in the inner city of Johannesburg, South Africa. This case study is explored on the basis of density. It is significant to outline that the study seeks to interrogate and better understand the logic behind the change in the functional use of space in Jeppestown and the change in the number of people occupying the area. However, the key part of the study is identifying and describing these changes. The study is not aimed at accurately counting the actual number of people in occupation at particular points in time, rather it focuses on identifying various trends in occupancy density and the characteristics associated with these trends.

The study is significant for various reasons: one is that the low income residents living in the inner city densified buildings endure poor living conditions, through the attempt of creating livelihoods in the informal housing market. Although living conditions are not the key issue the study intends to address, it is essential to note that these living conditions are not well understood, and there haven't been any clear responses aiming to grapple with them. A density lens enables the study to contribute in the existing literature by illuminating particular aspects of the situations that become apparent when considered from a density perspective.

Structure of the research report

The study aims to provide the reader with a better understanding of population density and changes in population density, which is phrased as 'occupancy density' throughout the

paper. In doing so, the document firstly discusses density and its complex fundamentals in the following section. Chapter two then provides literature that has been documented on the concepts and processes of the topic, thus framing the study. This section is done in order to have a theoretical framework which subsequently guides the study. The findings from this section are used to review fieldwork analysis and findings. Chapter three outlines the research approach which involves a qualitative case study method. This chapter discusses the argument behind the chosen data collecting methods consequently introducing the case study. Chapter four and five provide the reader with findings and conclusion respectively.

Background (*What is density?)*

Density is a crucial concept in planning, architecture and urban design because it is essential when describing, predicting and controlling the use of land (Boyko and Cooper, 2011). Density has been defined in various ways, depending on the type of density being pursued. This section discusses some of the well-known definitions of density relating to different professions. Bickford and Khoza (2016) argue that density by definition is a multifaceted concept which is both fixed and dynamic in nature. The Oxford Dictionary defines density as the ‘’closeness of substance, crowded state, and in physics, the ratio of mass to volume or by quantity of matter in unit of bulk” (Roberts, 2007:723). In the spatial science, it is defined as the measure of concentration or clustering of beings or things within a defined space or territory (Roberts, 2007). One needs to take into account the attributes of behavior or flow within density, because it can be a measure of perception that is associated with overcrowding or congestion (ibid.). Although various scholars have explored this concept, the majority of literature has been ambiguous in terms of explaining and indicating aspects that affect an understanding of density such as the land-uses and flows of people (Bickford and Khoza, 2016).

Densification occurs in two different ways, either through an increase in physical structures where compaction takes place or through an increase in residential population which is mainly an indication of housing demand (Turok, 2011). However, physical density acquires most of the attention, especially from urban planners (ibid.). This is partly because physical density is viewed as a sustainable solution to urban sprawl. Physical density is “tangible, measurable and located in space” (Bickford and Khoza, 2016:7). Occupancy density is “an index of the number of persons per unit land area” (James et.al, 2000). This study focuses on occupancy density and how it has changed over time.

Problem Statement and rationale

The city of Johannesburg is widely known as the 'city of extremes' and those extremes are around the City grappling with the conflict between "poverty and destitution, on the one hand and wealthy suburbs, shopping malls and gated communities, on the other" (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015:3). A major issue is that the majority of the state subsidized housing is located on the peripheries, with little state subsidized rental housing in the inner city (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2015). As 'a world class African city' Johannesburg has become a destination to a large number of people who seek better economic opportunities. The population of the city has increased extensively over the past years. Census reported that the population of the city of Johannesburg had increased from 3,226,055 to 4,434,827 between 2001 and 2011 (Census, 2001 and Census, 2011). This indicated a growth rate of 23% and the growth in the number of households was lower than the population growth rate (Malavolti, 2015). In 2001, it was reported that the number of households in the inner city were 82968 which only increased to 87772 in 2011 (ibid.).

The inner city among other things consists of derelict buildings and unlawfully occupied buildings that are largely referred to as 'bad buildings', with overcrowded conditions. The city of Johannesburg lacks formal accommodation that caters for poor people in the inner city and that is the main rationale behind people living in occupied buildings and other forms of accommodation in the informal sector. Although the city has developed a number of programmes that are run by different companies or organizations, such as Johannesburg Social Housing Company, to facilitate low-income housing, there still is conflict because the city regeneration agenda allows for private developments to occur in the city and some of these have consequently displaced the poor. In addition there is no formally provided rental accommodation available that poor people can afford.

Property investors got attracted to the inner city in early 2000 when the City promoted inner city regeneration (SERI, 2013). The property investors started developing middle to upper income residential accommodation consequently having to evict thousands of people from occupied buildings (SERI, 2013). These evictions have been attracting resistance from existing residents, causing an increase in "high profile eviction judgments from courts" and these have been preventing arbitrary displacement in many occasions (SERI, 2013:12).

Occupancy density has been increasing in South African cities through unlawful invasion of vacant land and vacant buildings but as noted above it has been given minimal attention when compared with physical density (Turok, 2011). The lack of adequate research and empirical data on this type of density is challenging when having to assess densification

policies in developing countries, hence making a contribution in this issue is a major research priority for scholars (Jenks and Burgess, 2001). This research is focusing on occupancy density because it is a predominant issue that needs more attention, as it is under-studied and in addition there are a lot of unforeseen consequences of some forms of occupation which relate to insecurity, instability and inadequate infrastructure (ibid.). The study helps draw attention to additional conceptualizations of density, therefore moving beyond one type of density. It aims to link occupancy density with other issues that have been identified in the study area. It is fundamental for the reader to understand that density is "more than a ratio of units to an area and that it involves thinking about context and other qualitative issues" (Boyko and Cooper, 2011: p4). In other words, Jeppestown's complexities and its distinctiveness needs to be well thought out and well understood in order to understand its density.

Aims and objectives of the research

The aim of the research is to explore a sub-region in the inner city of Johannesburg, specifically the western part of Jeppestown through an occupancy density lens. The study seeks to better understand and describe the occupancy density shifts and changes in the area, with a particular emphasis on three housing typologies: private residential buildings, occupied buildings (bad buildings) and hostels. The private residential typology has been chosen because there is gentrification that occurs through the conversion of work spaces such as manufacturing buildings and there is likely to be de-densification occurring from gentrification, hence this is linked to the occupied buildings, as there are evictions which mostly cause many conflicts and tensions in the area. These other two housing typologies have been chosen because of their existence in the Jeppestown area, their complexities in terms of living environments, their densifying nature and the way they are able to accommodate a lot of people in the inner city.

Jeppestown has been chosen as an area of study because it has gone through an urban decay in the 1990s consequently leaving a large number of industrial buildings vacant (Sandile, 2006).This became the beginning of changes or conversions of industrial buildings into residential buildings (ibid.). The study seeks to better understand the area as there are a variety of changes occurring (formal and informal) that need thorough researching.

The research question

This study explores the following research question**: What are the Occupancy Density Shifts in Jeppestown (evident in three building typologies) and how can they be explained?**

In addressing the main research question, the following sub questions were posed and answered in relation to the three typologies

- What are the forms of occupation in Jeppestown (formal and informal)?
- What shifts are evident in recent years in the forms of occupation and occupancy densities?
- What is driving these shifts in forms of occupation and occupancy densities?

This research forms part of a bigger densification project that has been investigating resilient densification in four different parts of Johannesburg (conducted by South African Research Chair in Spatial Analysis and City Planning in 2015). The study demonstrated the need for further examination regarding densification effects and in order to contribute in that study, this study aims to understand formal and informal forces that have driven densification in the city, how they have changed and how they can be explained.

Conclusion

The chapter provided an overview and context of the research report as well as the problem it aims to investigate. The background managed to encapsulate the importance of conducting the research by highlighting the key issues, objectives as well as research questions. These were essential to include because theyallow the reader to get an understanding of what the study hopes to achieve.

A thorough discussion of substantial concepts of the study is done in the next chapter. The concepts play a significant role in an attempt to answering the research question as well as analyzing the findings later in the report. In addition; the concepts also provided the author with an informed background that was needed in order to make recommendations at the end of the report.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

Introduction

This chapter examines three grouping of literature. In the first part it seeks to examine the forms of density.This is followed by discussing unauthorized density shifts together with the informal processes of occupancy density such as 'bad buildings' in the South African and Johannesburg context. The second grouping of literature is on authorized density shifts and its processes in the residential character of the inner city, such as urban renewal initiatives (i.e. gentrification).The last and third part of the chapter will engage in the third housing typology (i.e. hostels).

Research by SERI (Socio-Economic Rights Institute of South Africa) and South African Research Chair in Spatial Analysis and City Planning was significant to look at; as they have conducted similar or related research, which was very helpful to analyze so as to unpack this topic. The above sources along with other journals, books and grey literature have enabled the research to identify the forms and processes of occupancy density that have been occurring in the inner city that relate to the study area.

Forms of density

Density is a significant concept that is used by disciplines and professions such as planning, architecture and urban design because it can enable the use of land to be predicted and controlled effectively (Boyko and Cooper, 2011). Critics have argued that density may be problematic to define as it is dependent on the kind of density explored i.e. urban dwelling or people (ibid). There has been an over-emphasis on dwelling density discussed in a variety of policies and it could be argued that this has been implying that other densities are not equally important (ibid). Below is a discussion on the forms of density and various shifts in occupancy density which have been evident in the city of Johannesburg and are relevant to this study.

Shifts in density through unauthorized mechanisms

Unauthorized mechanisms of densification are mechanisms adopted by low income residents in cities or as Huchzermeyer (2007) and Mayson and Charlton (2015) show, by landlords who provide and manage accommodation. Although this discussion focuses on unauthorized mechanisms of densification, it is essential to note that there could also be unauthorized mechanisms of de-densification which include illegal evictions occurring without due process of going through courts and acquiring court orders. Through various attempts of understanding unauthorized mechanisms of densification, Huchzermeyer (2007) speaks about private landlordism in unregulated circumstances while Mayson and Charlton

(2015) speaks about ‘mastanda’ which means ‘the one who owns the stand’, and both these terms are used to refer to managers in the informal market.

These mechanisms occur as a form of establishing shelter outside the “formal” spectrum and are often not approved by the local authority and the existing bylaws. The consequence of these mechanisms is an increase in occupancy density. With an increasing housing backlog in South Africa, a large number of people in the inner city of Johannesburg have been depending on such mechanism. They are settled in low-income rental accommodation such as rooms and spaces (Mayson and Charlton, 2015). In noting the prevalence of these mechanism, Mayson (2014: piii) indicates that “‘Rooms’ and ‘spaces’ are two closely linked forms of accommodation where the unit of occupation and exchange is a portion of a larger building or property, within which services and facilities are shared”. Rooms and spaces are unauthorized in terms of the City of Johannesburg’s bylaw on Accommodation Establishment (2004) and Draft bylaw on Problem Properties (2013) (Mayson, 2014). These bylaws have been opposing unauthorized housing mechanisms and allowed the displacement of the residents because a large amount of occupants have been evicted in the past, based on these bylaws (Mayson, 2014).

This type of accommodation is extensive in the inner city of Johannesburg and occurs in the informal market, regardless of being unsanctioned by the municipality (Mayson and Charlton, 2015). This process commonly involves occupants subletting portions of their room or space to bring in income and to cut down accommodation costs, along with facilities being shared among varied households within the same house or flat (ibid.). This typology has been dominant in settlements around sub-Saharan Africa, for example “in Thika, an industrial hub neighboring Nairobi, Kenya, 90% of low-income households live in a single rented room, and as many as 75% share the room with co-tenants or others unrelated by family” (Andreasen, 1989 in Mayson, 2014: p17).The mechanisms are popular in varying cities with informal housing in Sao Paulo and Johannesburg having been found to be similar in relation to scale and history in a study during early 2000. Sao Paulo had a larger informal housing sector with half of the population and Johannesburg with an estimated 18% of the population living in informal dwellings (Few et.al, 2004). The distinction between the two cities lies in the experience they have in the informal housing sector because Sao Paulo has been dealing with it for a while (dating from the 19th century) whereas, it has only been relatively recent in Johannesburg (ibid.).

The City has acknowledged that the demand for low-income accommodation in the inner city exceeds the supply, consequently affecting the poor residents (SERI, 2013). However, the

city's response has not managed to tackle the causes of poverty that are physically evident in various spaces in the inner city (ibid,). Few et.al (2004) argue that formal residential and commercial buildings have largely been converted into high density; informal housing consequently making this is a major policy issue in different inner cities of developing countries. The utilization of abandoned commercial or industrial buildings such as offices, factories along with warehouses and for residential functions primarily started in Johannesburg in the late 1980s or early 1990s (Few et.al, 2004). Non residential buildings have turned out to be destinations for homeless people, consequently becoming shelter for a large proportion of the urban poor living in the inner city. The majority of the informally occupied buildings are characterized by deteriorated public services "due to neglect by owners and the municipality, the latter cutting off water and sanitation and refuse removal services to buildings" (SERI, 2013: p31).

A decline in traditional activities or land uses has been found to be the main shift because a decline in one activity creates space or an opportunity for other activities. For example, if a factory is closing down, or an office relocates to the north of Johannesburg, there will be an opportunity for either authorized occupation or unauthorized occupation. This means that during a shift in occupation, a building might be appropriated or refurbished by private developers (Wilhem-Solomon, 2016). A decline in occupation goes back to the 1960s and 1970s when middle- to upper- class households along with businesses moved to the northern suburbs, leading to the occupation of inner city buildings by low income groups (SERI, 2013). The majority of these buildings have become unmaintained due to owners who left or due to non-payment of rates and services by managers (ibid.).

Informally occupied buildings, denoted as Corticos in Sao Paulo have been densifying in terms of population. Despite the implementation of other social housing alternatives in the 20th century, Corticos have been an option to a large number of inner city dwellers (Few et.al, 2004). Similar to rooms and spaces in Johannesburg, Corticos are an officially recognized housing typology characterized by communal occupancies, sub-divided into numerous rented rooms with shared access, circulation and sanitary amenities (ibid.). A study conducted in this typology has estimated a total population of 600,000 people occupying these buildings; however, there was lack of data available concerning the living conditions, needs, social concerns as well as management schemes in position (ibid.).

During early 2000 in Johannesburg, it was found that some single house dwellings housed over 72 people and although there isn't available accurate data, it has become evident that informal occupations of buildings have been increasing rapidly (ibid.). The number above includes both South Africans and migrants, however, due to administrative constraints, some

formal accommodation exclude potential residents such as migrants (Mayson and Charlton, 2015). Unlike South Africa, informal rental housing has a long history in Nairobi, taking place as large-scale private rental (i.e. multi-storey tenements) and these tenements have densified over the past two decades without stagnation (Huchzermeyer, 2007).The tenements in Nairobi had up to eight storeys, in which seven floors above ground were made for residential purposes (ibid.). It is significant to note that the density in the seven floors led to the neighborhood being identified as the densest tenement in urban history (ibid.). The neighborhood of Huruma in Nairobi was sampled with densities amounting to 1,638 dwelling units per hectare, or 5,242 people per hectare (ibid.). In contrast, the densest tenement neighborhood in the nineteenth century New York reached "1,294 people per hectare, while the density of Manhattan averaged at 282 people per hectare (Day, 1999: 8)" (Huchzermeyer, 2007: p715). The density of Berlin and New York are higher than Nairobi's, where the tenements are along 'slums' (the largest being Kibera) housing 600, 000 people (ibid.). The numbers presented above indicate that unauthorized mechanisms of occupation are characterized by high density and below are the living conditions in thistypology.

Living conditions

Mayson and Charlton (2015) found that residents undergo pressure on relationships resulting from the limited space and threats of being evicted. The occupants usually go through shocks and stresses as a result of lack of services, lack of safety and issues relating to health and hygiene (ibid.). The Sao Paulo and Johannesburg research that was discussed earlier has found commonalities between the two cities in terms of the housing crises. The residents in the two cities have similar living conditions and the characteristics of their subdivided dwellings include:

- Very small rooms;
- Dense occupation;
- Poor ventilation and insulation;
- A lack of privacy;
- Inadequate lighting;
- Common access and circulation routes;
- Inadequate sanitation facilities and water supply.

(Few et.al, 2004: p440).

Informal densification processes

Tenements

Huchzermeyer (2007) conducted research that focused on large-scale private landlordism dominating low-income housing provision in Nairobi. Huchzermeyer (2007: p715) argues that the term 'tenement city' has not been used in developing countries; however, the typology "is characterized by 'immigrant enclaves, the lower paid wage workers and the respectable poor". The tenement research is essential to discuss in this study because tenements are informally occupied buildings, termed in a different way and the insight provides the study with how density occurs in a different context outside South Africa.

The tenements in New York comprised of five to six floors above basement and the residents in this case often had to take in 'lodgers' in order to be able to pay rent, consequently leading to an increase in the number of occupants (above five people per unit) (Huchzermeyer, 2007). On the other hand, the tenements of the working class in Berlin were five storeys and their absorption of the 'squatter population' resulted in occupation rates of 13 people per room (ibid.). Nairobi's high residential density resulted from an unregulated maximization of unit figures without enforcing standards for building layout or height (ibid.).

Bad-buildings

Bad buildings are defined by Mayson (2014: xiv) as

> "buildings 'which were once sound in physical structure, management, use and occupancy, but have become dysfunctional in one or more ways. They are buildings which fail to meet the requirements of municipal, provincial or national legislation and by-law in ways that threaten the health and safety of occupants, neighboring buildings and the environment".

The defining criterion takes account of buildings that threaten the safety and wellbeing of occupants, neighboring buildings and the environment (Zack et.al, 2009). These buildings have inadequate services, poor conditions and high levels of overcrowding and this contravenes a number of building by-laws (ibid). The rationale behind people living in inner city 'bad buildings' is similar to that of people living in informal settlements and backyard shacks as there is a lack of affordable formal housing options (SERI, 2013). SERI (2013) estimates that 40% of households that rent in the inner city of Johannesburg live in what could be characterized as slum conditions, emphasizing a significant need for affordable, better quality accommodation.

The supply and demand of low income housing is a crisis. SERI (2013) has found that the bad buildings occupants in the inner city mostly work as car guards, domestic workers, cleaners, taxi drivers, informal traders, security guards, painters etc.; with a wage or income range of R1 746-R3 300 per month. It can be argued that these people are the ones who service the city and make it function. SERI (2013:52) notes that “according to a 2011 report by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), the City has identified 1 305 “slum buildings” in Johannesburg, which house an estimated population of more than 250 000 people, 82 inner city buildings where an estimated 50 000 to 60 000 people live in slum conditions.” (SERI, 2013).

Similar to other African cities, the inner city of Johannesburg has inadequate housing initiatives for the low income groups or those who have next-to-nothing at all; society's most vulnerable citizens. Investment in low-income housing scheme has been low as compared to private developments. It is significant to note however that in 2003, the metropolitan council adopted a 'Better Building Programme' (BBP) aiming to revitalize bad buildings, consequently turning them into ‘formalized’ residential buildings through the establishment of the Johannesburg Property Company (JPC) (Johnson, 2012).

The BBP programme offered incentives to private developers on the renovation of these ‘bad buildings’, aiming to achieve high rentals (Johnson, 2012). In 2004, the City established a social housing company (Joscho) in partnership with the private sector, in order to create low-income rental housing and the main approach has been the creation of 'Urban Development Zones' (UDZ) providing tax refunds for new investments in the inner-city for a period of five years (ibid). Johnson (2012:27) argues that “many of these housing schemes fall within a monthly rental of more than Rl500 per month and this is still unaffordable to hundreds of thousands of people living and working in the 'informal' sector who earn less than the income bracket stipulated above and indeed many thousands more that live in 'bad buildings'”.

In 2005 it was published and estimated that ‘bad buildings’ in Johannesburg housed 67,000 people (Wilson, 2011). Many of the residents in the above figure were not paying rental to slum lords and those who did, only paid rates that were below the market rates for formal residential accommodation in the inner city (ibid.). There have been mass evictions in the inner city of Johannesburg regardless of the existing housing and eviction law in the country. “Section **26(3)** of the Constitution prescribes that no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation allowing for arbitrary evictions was permitted” (Wilson,

2011: 136). An estimated 10,000 people who occupied such buildings were evicted from 122 buildings in the inner city of Johannesburg between the year of 2002 and 2006 (Wilson, 2011). The sad reality is that temporary alternative accommodation provided by the City eventually becomes permanent because the evicted residents stay longer as they have nowhere else to go (SERI, 2013). Additionally, the shelter provided by the state is problematic as they consist of rules such as day time lock out and gender differentiation (ibid.).

Residents in these buildings wish to be centrally located and this is seen through the study conducted by the centre on Housing Rights and evictions (COHRE). The study indicated that a high amount of residents interviewed preferred to tolerate the dreadful living conditions in the occupied buildings, than moving to the peripheries because the inner city is convenient in terms of employment (Winkler, 2009).

Unauthorized mechanisms result through these processes

- A privately owned building is sublet by the owner;
- A vacant building is taken over through a planned invasion of homeless people;
- A vacant building is spontaneously invaded by homeless people.
  (Few et.al, 2004:436)

Building hijacking is also among the processes that amplify unauthorized mechanisms in Johannesburg. The process involves slumlords intimidating tenants to pay their rental and municipal charges to them which consequently bypass the owner of the building (Wood, 2012). The last process to mention is where individual flats become sub-let by individual owners and tenants. The above processes indicate thatthere are diverse ways in which buildings become occupied, in addition to diverse systems of management.

Shifts in density through City authorized mechanisms

Authorized mechanisms are those processes that are officially permitted and approved by the City. The authorized mechanism can include a shift in occupancy density. The following text will be discussing processes such as urban regeneration and neighborhoods which have been revitalized through these processes.

Formal densification processes

Urban regeneration

Urban regeneration is defined as a process of addressing urban decay, especially in inner city areas, with the intention of revitalizing the physical, social and economic environment of the area (The Housing Development Agency, 2013). According to Ritchie and Adair (2004), the concept of regeneration comprises of a physical dimension as well as architecture and image; however, a social dimension is incorporated in order to improve the quality in people's lives. The concept was adopted in South Africa during the 1990s as a key restructuring tool. It was primarily guided by property owners as well as businesses as they were concerned about their investments in areas that were going through urban decay in the central business district (ibid.). In partnership with the City of Johannesburg (COJ), the above mentioned stakeholders addressed urban decay through the implementation of Community or Business Improvement Districts (CIDs and BIDs), accordingly dealing with issues of 'crime and grime' in the CBD (ibid.).

The main objective of the urban regeneration concept lies in the attraction of private investments and the upgrading of urban centres, which in most cases involves mechanisms of 'slum clearance'. The weakness of urban regeneration lies in its absence of social housing or affordable housing strategies in the inner city. Although Breaking New Ground (BNG) emphasizes on social housing becoming a driver of urban regeneration, social housing developments still remain small in scale due to weak funding mechanisms (Tomlinson, 2006).

In 2004, the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) announced its plan to remake the inner city as a "World-Class African City" by 2040 (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2014) consequently implementing regeneration initiatives in different parts of the inner city such as the Newtown and Maboneng precincts. The inner-city regeneration program was identified as the most important initiative within the Local Economic Development (LED) to revive and place the city at the desired position. The private sector plays an integral role in the rebuilding of the local economy. The importance of involving it in the inner city regeneration is that it is able to ease the financial burden on the state in urban management efforts such as Central Improvement Districts (CIDs). Moreover, private-public urban regeneration partnerships provide synergistic benefits forboth the private sector and the state (Ball, Le Nyl and Maginn, 2003). Thus, private sector's capital tends to augment public costs and also provides the necessary skills required to ensure that the programs are effective (Lum et al, 2004).

The city regeneration agenda involves the attraction of private investment in deteriorating areas. It is significant to note that over time, this has resulted in a decrease in occupancy density linked to the change in demographic profile of occupiers (which has shifted from low income to middle income). This has been involving various processes such as gentrification which has led to the eviction of a large number of people in occupied buildings (SERI, 2013). Gentrification causes evictions because private property developers target run-down buildings which are occupied by low income groups and replace them with middle income groups.

In better understanding evictions, it has to be noted that entering into democracy, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa changed the 'common law' because this law allowed the eviction of black people and the restriction of black landownership (SERI, 2013). The change of the constitution was along the lines of legally protecting occupiers through the establishment of 'the right to adequate housing' (ibid.). Section 26 of the Constitution consists of three sub-sections:

> "section 26(1) provides that "everyone" has a right of access to adequate housing, section 26(2) obliges the state to take reasonable steps to progressively provide access to adequate housing, and section 26(3) prohibits arbitrary evictions by requiring that evictions be authorized by a court order made after having regard to "all the relevant circumstances"(ibid.8).

Regeneration in Newtown cultural precinct

Newtown regeneration was included in this section in order to provide a detailed illustration of how regeneration is significant in the city and how it has manifested in the area. It was discussed in detail so as to exemplify the difference between regeneration and gentrification which will unfold later in this section.

The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC) and other stakeholders have been promoting Newtown as a creative and cultural precinct so as to enhance its tourism potential (Mbhiza, 2013). The area consists of a wide range of cultural organizations as well as landmarks, performance and entertainment centers, visitors' attractions and shopping malls (ibid.). In this case, culture was identified as having the potential to stimulate the local economy. The Newtown Cultural Precinct was later supported by the opening of the Nelson Mandela Bridge in July 2003 as a symbolic landmark associated with the revitalization of the inner city of Johannesburg (Rogerson, 2003).

The redevelopment of Newtown is a major regeneration development in the inner city because it has attracted massive investment in culture and tourism (ibid.). Mbhiza (2013:

p39) indicates that “the provincial government contributes 70% of the annual budget via the Blue IQ and JDA” and in this 70% figure, 30% is contributed by private property owners. The JDA aims to attract retailers, investors and business into the area, with the intention of stimulating economic development (ibid.). These amounts of investment was dedicated to the area with the intention that the precinct could change the poor image of Johannesburg and attract local as well as international tourists. It has been transforming and enabling the city to be re-imagined as a world-class African city.

Gentrification

The research is looking at the shift in occupancy density of buildings that are initially used for a certain land use and later become residential (informally or formally), in addition to formal residential (such as sectional title flats) that remain residential but become more densely occupied. These are the same buildings that have been found to be subject to eviction, and becoming re-occupied formally. A variety of private property developers take control of urban slum properties then evict several hundred of occupiers. These evictions have been occurring over the years in different ways (some following the Prevention of Illegal Evictions Act of 1998 processes, others not). It is difficult to get the accurate number of people evicted because the population in the building would increase from the period the court order is issued to the eviction period because the flexibility of the informal housing market frequently attracts a lot of poor people (SERI, 2013).

The country’s courts have been acting as the mediator throughout the litigated process between the evicted residents and the owners of occupied buildings. SERI (2013, p16) declares that “the implementation of Johannesburg’s inner city regeneration strategy and its consequences has generated a range of key cases before the courts”. A significant court case to discuss is that of occupiers in 51 Olivia Road *Berea Township and 197 Main Street Johannesburg v City of Johannesburg.* The case commenced due to the eviction of several hundred occupiers in two buildings in the inner city (SERI, 2013). One of the two buildings was selected for renewal and resulted in the issuing of a notice by the City and the application of an eviction order (ibid.). The high court interdicted the City from evicting the occupiers until alternative accommodation could be provided to them (ibid.). It further ordered the City to engage with the affected group in relation to their displacements (ibid.). Another key court case to refer to is the Blue Moonlight eviction case which was on occupiers of a disused industrial property in Berea, Johannesburg. This case is significant in this discussion seeing that the occupiers opposed the eviction application, pointing out that they could not be evicted until the City of Johannesburg fulfilled its constitutional obligation of

providing them with alternative accommodation (ibid.). The final judgment declared the City's housing policy irrational, discriminatory and unconstitutional, consequently ordering the City to provide the occupiers with alternative accommodation (ibid.). The above discussion is essential to this research because it enables us to have a better understanding on occupancy density and how informal shifts of occupation contains complex issues that are difficult to grapple with;for example evictions and the City lacking financial resources to provide alternative accommodation.

Maboneng precinct

There have been dramatic transformations in re-envisioning the City of Johannesburg. Regenerating neighborhoods has attracted private and public investment consequently providing opportunities for suburbanites to re-engage with the city (Vejby, 2015). Maboneng precinct is claimed to be "one of the inner city's trendiest regenerating neighborhoods" (Vejby, 2015: p4). The precinct is located in the former light industrial area of the city (Jeppestown), managed by Propertuity Development. The precinct consists of industrial buildings that have been converted to mixed-use development (apartments, restaurant, art galleries, theatres, clothing boutiques and retail shops). It is a tourist destination for both domestic and international travelers (Vejby, 2015).

The precinct started with Arts on Main which enabled expansion in the neighborhood. The building was bought from D.F. Corlett Construction Company in 2008 and opened in 2009 with a variety of uses (Vejby, 2015). The success of Arts on Main was seen as an opportunity to open Main Street Life in 2010. These two developments attracted various artists, entrepreneurs, suburbanites and tourists to the inner city and this allowed the growth of the precinct (ibid). In 2014, the owner of Maboneng (Jonathan Liebmann) indicated that due to the precinct growth, the number of residents will grow consequently accommodating 3000 residents in future (ibid). In 2015 the rental amount for an apartment in Maboneng ranges from R 2750 per month for student accommodation in the Remeds View building, to R 25,000 per month for a penthouse in the Fox Street Studio building. There are also apartments for purchase under the range price of R 420,000 for a 33 square meter loft style apartment in Main Street Life to R 3,900,000 for a 282 square meter penthouse apartment in the Townhouse building (ibid).

Re-investment in the area has strengthened the economic activities as well as the improvement in housing; however, employment opportunities have been excluding the low income residents living near the precinct (ARPL3013, 2015.). Although Propertuity has been successful in branding Maboneng as an inclusive development, it has ultimately contributed

to the exclusion and displacement of low income residents in the inner city and this is seen through the eviction protests in the Jeppestown area. The residents who were protesting shouted “Maboneng must go” and “Sifuna u kudla iSushi no Maboneng,” - “We want to eat sushi in Maboneng” (Vejby, 2015: p5). The protesting residents have anger towards Maboneng because they feel it is exclusive, catering for middle- and upper-income people.

It can be argued that the developments in Maboneng contradict with the initiative of urban regeneration andthat it is instead gentrification. This is because gentrification is different from regeneration given that, gentrification displaces the lower income households while regeneration upgrades the built environment and at the same time promoting economic development without displacing the poor (Davidson, 2008). The development process in Maboneng is gentrification because according to Davidson and Lees (2005), gentrification is characterized by reinvestment of capital, social upgrading of locals by incoming high-income groups, landscape change, and direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups. In addition, Davidson (2008:p238) has indicated that negative effects of gentrification include “displacement; harassment and eviction; community conflict; loss of affordable housing; homelessness; change to local service provision; social displacement; crime; and, population loss”

Consequences or outcomes of changes in occupancy density

In understanding the dynamics of occupancy density in Johannesburg, it is significant to discuss the key findings of a study that was conducted in Hillbrow on ‘bad buildings’ and resilient densification as it is important and relevant to what is currently occurring in Jeppestown (the findings are relevant because Jeppestown consist of bad buildings and is currently densifying).

The informal housing market allows the low income group to survive because there is a wide range of affordable accommodation options ranging from residing for free to shared accommodation. Although the informal market consists of positive benefits, negative implications have been evident (Todes, Harrison and Weakley, 2015) and these implications will be discussed later in the document.

Hillbrow was chosen as an area of study in one of the pieces of research under discussion because it indicated a typology of densification that was an outcome of an increase in population without substantial changes in the built form (ibid.) and this is significant for the Jeppestown study because it is also experiencing the same changes. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods which were both relevant because the census data indicated an increase in population over time and this was aligning with the residents’ comments about how they were aware of more people moving into the area. Moreover, it

found that densification in the area contributed to resilience through creating an environment that allowed poorer people to survive and in some cases - thrive (ibid.).

A majority of the findings about the living conditions and the reasons why people live in densifying (or in some cases crowded) buildings in the study of Hillbrow (Todes, Harrison and Weakley, 2015) are similar to the comparison study between Sao Paulo, Brazil and Johannesburg that was conducted by Coulson (2001) as it indicated that the majority of the people interviewed during the qualitative study, spoke about difficulties around the lack of low cost housing and access to services. In the case of Hillbrow, increased density allowed the intensification of land use and that resulted in a clustering of activities and increased vibrancy (Todes, Harrison and Weakley, 2015). As such, the residents are able to have access to a variety of goods and services within a walking distance consequently cutting down transportation costs (ibid.). These are desirable, therefore attracting more people into the area causing it to be more dense. Living conditions vary from building to building, however the most common characteristics of occupied buildings are: running water resulting from the lack of infrastructure maintenance, poor sanitation, poor infrastructure and build-up of rubbish outside the buildings (Mayson and Charlton, 2015).

This discussion has highlighted that changes in occupancy density are occurring in different parts of the city and the outcomes are both negative and positive depending on a given location. Below is a discussion looking at hostels in South Africa and narrowing it down to the hostel in Jeppestown.

Occupancy density shifts in hostels

This section looks at the last housing typology in Jeppestown (i.e. hostels). Hostels emerged under the apartheid system and the mandate was to discourage permanent settlement of black African people (usually men) in historically white areas and support influx control policies. “Badly designed, poorly built and suffering many years of neglect, hostels were primarily designed for the containment of labor and not for the comfort of hostel dwellers“ (Moloto, 2015:p16). Hostels are increasingly being confronted as spaces with rigorous social injustices such as poor living conditions, lack of privacy and over-crowdedness (Moloto, 2015).

Prevailing three types of hostels are: public sector, private sector and grey sector hostels (Ramphele, 1993). Public sector hostels were built and managed by municipalities in order to accommodate workers from different locations (ibid.). Private sector hostels on the other hand, were built by enterprises that aimed at housing the private sector laborers (ibid.). Grey sector hostels were largely managed by the private sector; however, the hostels were built on government-owned land in both the provincial and local municipalities (ibid.). All the

hostels in the three sectors are distinct in terms of customs, elements of tribalism and dimensions of conflicts (ibid.). The hostel dwellers were also characterized by varied backgrounds and who they worked for.

It has largely been argued that the regulations and the hostel life in itself made it challenging to maintain family life; hence men would leave their families behind in the rural areas to find work in the city (Pienaar and Crofton, 2005). Hostels in the urban context have had a strictly controlled character, this was essentially through physical boundaries in a form of high walls and fences that restricted entry and exit point (ibid.). Hostels had government bureaucracies that were in charge and responsible for managing and maintaining the premises (ibid.). This type of housing accommodated a large number of people; however, the living conditions in the public sector hostels were generally poor as the administrative processes were under strain (ibid.). Challenges have been encountered due to the lack of records of the people living in hostels or entering and exiting the hostel and this is an issue for both the public and private sector hostels because numbers of people living in hostels have become very unclear (Moloto, 2015).

Various writers have characterized hostel dwellers as “men of four worlds: the hostels, the black townships, their places of work as well as their rural homes” (Segal, 1991: p194). Segal (1991) argues that the importance of hostels in urban environment has been neglected and overlooked by academic writers; they are characterized just as a struggling community, for this reason Segal is suggesting they should be seen more diversely or differently. After influx control was eradicated, the number of people in hostels increased because a large number of people were able to migrate from rural areas to towns regardless of employment (Segal, 1991). The hostels, to a greater extent than before, became shelter to unemployed people and they were mostly the first destination for people entering urban environments (Segal, 1991).

A research study was conducted by Segal (1991) and the participants were hostel dwellers who gave a meaningful insight through interview sessions. The dwellers indicated that the hostels are full and often harbor their unemployment brothers whom during the night go to the extent of sleeping on the floor (Segal, 1991).The study also showed that Johannesburg is not home to the hostel dwellers and most of them visit their homes once or twice in a month (ibid.).

Hostels are in their nature uncomfortable and uninviting. The only element that makes the environment a home to the dwellers is a bed because every feature of life in a hostel revolves around a bed (Moloto, 2015). In most cases, bed-holders have tended to become mediators by becoming informal ‘landlords’, consequently becoming administrators of the

bed-hold system (Moloto, 2015). Moloto (2015) argues that this was problematic because it affected the way the hostel dwellers perceived themselves relative to their environment.

This brief overview of hostels has highlighted that hostels are characterized by congested living conditions and increasing lack of control by authorities, which creates more opportunities for people to come in and out without any restrictions. Lack of a formal system has resulted in hostel dwellers controlling how space is allocated and occupied.

Development of the Conceptual Framework

The concept of occupancy density has not been extensively explored in literature, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. In summary the previous discussion on literature has indicated that a change in traditional land uses occurs through new developments as well as processes of appropriation. These were discussed in terms of authorized changes which are changes that are officially permitted and approved by the local authority; in addition to unauthorized changes which occur as a form of establishing shelter outside the "formal" spectrum and are often not approved by the local authority and the existing bylaws. These mechanisms result in more people occupying a building (densification), however they can also result in fewer people in a building (de-densification). The two shifts (authorized and unauthorized) are not necessarily separate from each other, as they overlap or intersect where authorized processes of development meet occupied buildings. In the case of hostels, the state is one of authorized land use, but within a possibly informal or unauthorized practice of occupation and management, thus changes can as a result occur through different processes.

For this reason the research is interested in investigating the overall issues that arise in the three building typologies identified earlier in the document. Below is a summary of the concepts that have been evident and will be discussed throughout the research report.

1) Decline and change in traditional/original land uses
2) The new usage and occupational density (shifts in occupation)
3) The process of change through gentrification and appropriation
4) The process of change through evictions

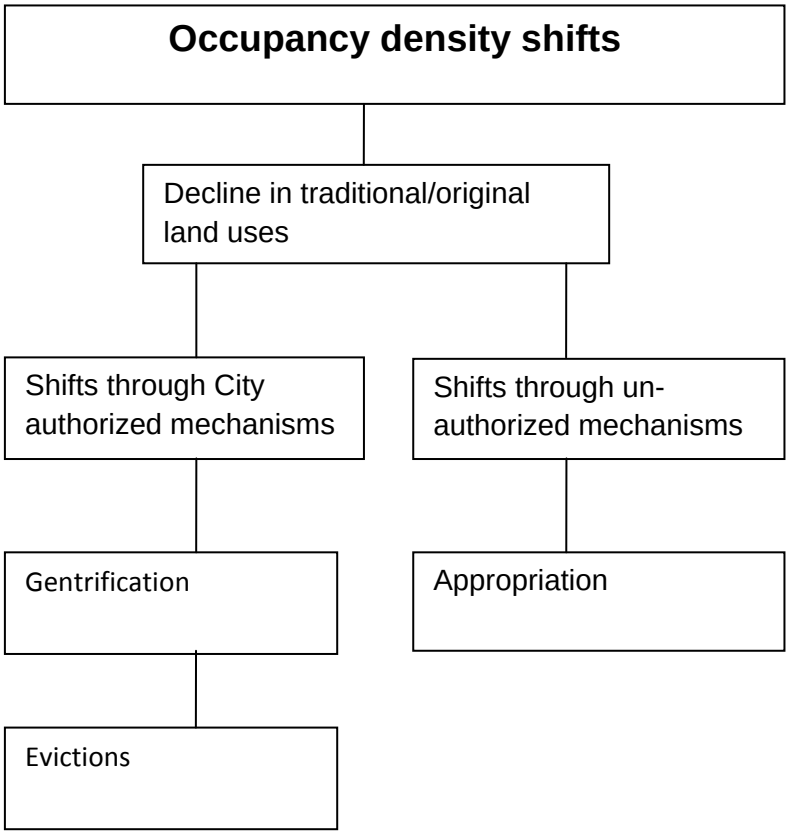


Fig1. Conceptual framework

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the method that was undertaken in the study. It explains the approach that was used to arrive to the findings that will be discussed later in chapter 4. It describes the case study through a brief background of the area and this is followed by an outline of the methods that were used in order to obtain the qualitative and quantitative data. The last section of this chapter discusses the research ethics and challenges that were encountered during field work.

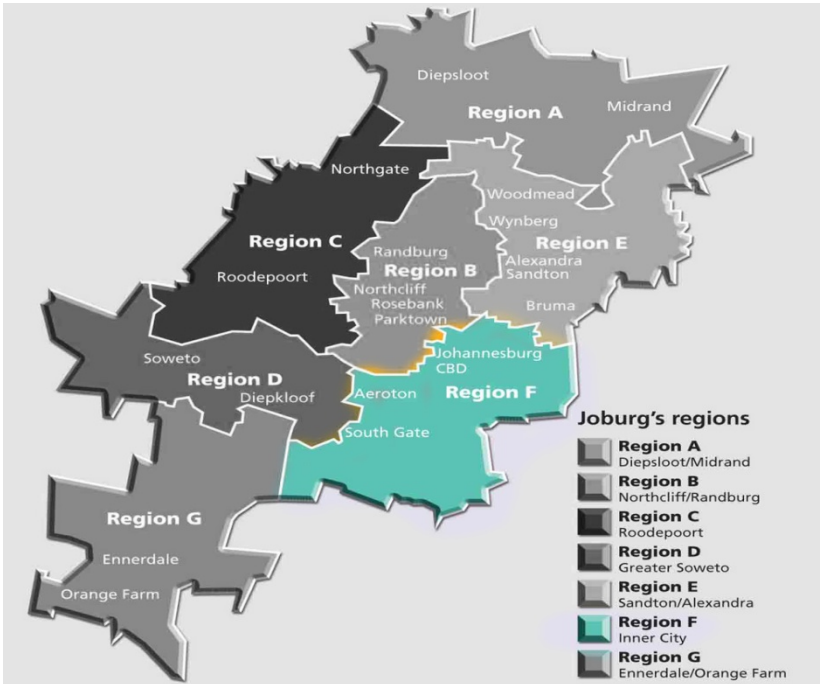
The strategic data collection methods that have been used in the study were carefully chosen. In answering the research question, the study has used both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. Qualitative research can comprise of the usage and the collection of a variety of empirical material-case study, personal experiences, and interviews that describe moments and values in an individual's life (Trumbull, 2005). The qualitative method has been suitable for this study because it has allowed the author to study or investigate things in their natural setting. The method has also assisted the study to make sense of various occurrences through the meanings people have brought into place. It has also helped in answering an element of the research question as it was interested in finding out how these shifts can be explained.

The qualitative method involves a process of collecting, analyzing and capturing the results in the study. The method is significant because the study is looking at occupancy density, which is the population density of how many people are living in the area. A large number of the residential unit density data is drawn from people's views and perceptions because the study was to some extent relying on key informant sources from the area. These sources were used due to their leadership role and because of the lack of published data on the density existing in the area. The quantitative method enabled the study to draw its data from available census reports and to also quantify the data obtained by the researcher.

The study has focused on three housing typologies; one privately owned property in Maboneng precinct (Main Street Life building), two occupied buildings and the Wolhuter hostel. It is significant to note that these typologies vary in terms of safety, density and character; thus for this reason, each typology had its own relevant method. In these three housing typologies the study aimed at finding out the number of people estimated to be in each building, their socio-economic profile, what the building was used for, prior to the current usage, and the evident shifts or changes. The researcher managed to interview Teboho Mosikili (SERI senior attorney) and Geoffrey Bickford (South African Cities Network Researcher). These two interviews were important in this study as they have shed light on

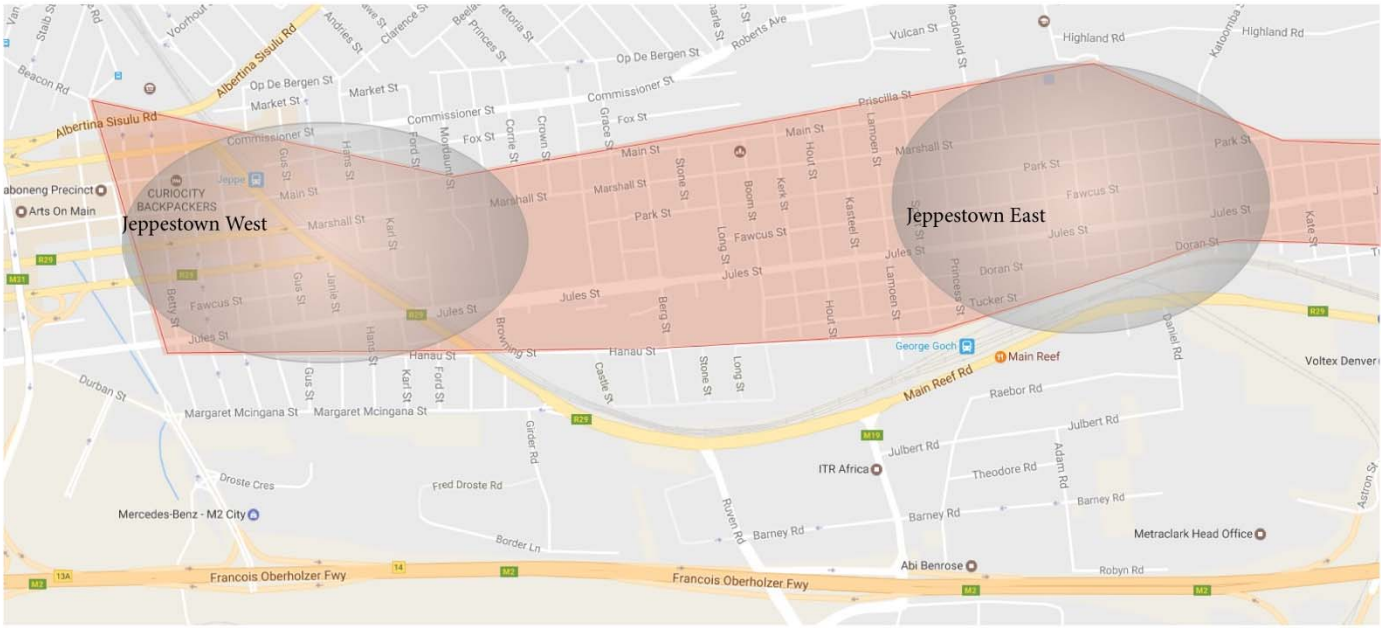
how density could be understood and how informal shifts and formal shifts relate to each other.

Background of the case study



Source (CoJ, 2016)

Jeppestown is a neighborhood located in region F of the inner city of Johannesburg.There are two parts of Jeppestown- the Jeppestown east which mostly comprises of semi-detached and detached housing, and the Jeppestown west consisting of industrial buildings and warehouses.



Source (google maps, 2016)

It is a predominantly black “suburb” experiencing tensions and conflicts between low income accommodation and gentrification. The western section was originally zoned industrial; however, it is gradually used for residential functions. The majority of the industrial buildings (i.e. factories) have been abandoned and changed into low income residential. The change in the building usage has mostly occurred informally, without the City being notified, nor having received rezoning application (Malavolti, 2015).

The neighborhood of Jeppestown is characterized by derelict and overcrowded accommodation with informally occupied buildings or hijacked buildings. There has been a gradual shift in terms of occupation in this area because there has been de-densification resulting from evictions where low-income residents are displaced in order to make space for private developments in a few scattered buildings. In the past (before 1994), the area was an industrial area and the Wolhuter’s Men’s hostel was one of the few places housing black people (Sandile, 2006). Jeppestown was originally a white only suburb; and it has changed in character, thus becoming a home to blacks, coloureds, Indians and Chinese. The majority of the existing buildings were built during the 1880s. It is a low income neighborhood consisting of migrant communities (Malavolti, 2015).

A film was shot in Jeppestown aiming to reflect the spirit of the people in the area captured in a single day (Smart Monkey Tv, 2013). The film *(Jeppe on a Friday)* was inspired by the everyday life in the inner city and the process of gentrification that was happening in different parts of the city. According to the documentary, Jeppestown is a very old suburb that has gone through many changes. These changes are indicated through a character who survived xenophobic attacks, a character that has been living in the area for over 30 years, hostel dwellers and a private developer. The film is important to reference because it captured the urban fabric of the suburb and it can be seen that the area has a lot of manufacturing buildings and some of these buildings are now residential. The documentary indicates that there are contestations in the inner city. The regeneration in the inner city started in 2010 when the COJ encouraged private capital to invest in the inner city, and this was a positive initiative because the city started being renewed although it was displacing a lot of people.

There has been a new precinct (Maboneng) created in Jeppestown, situated around Fox street. The Maboneng precinct has been a regeneration initiative undertaken by a private developer called Propertuity. This initiative has attracted middle to high income population into the area, as a result creating tensions resulting from de-densification caused from the

gentrification (i.e. evictions). These tensions have been reported in media articles and will be discussed further later in the report.

Informal shifts

The research chose a focus group as a data collecting method for the informal housing typology (occupied buildings). The residents of occupied buildings were considered a key source of information because their perspectives and experiences shed light on the processes of occupation as they are informed aboutthe number of people living in the building, some information on how they came to be there and conditions in buildings. For safety purposes the author went to one of the occupied buildings accompanied by one of the sources that the 2015 Wits third year housing group managed to acquire fortheir 'Jeppestown housing portrait' project. The source also managed to invite 8 residents to the interview sessions (four residents for each session). Two sessions of semi-structured discussions were conducted, each taking approximately one hour long. This method was relevant because it enabled the study to better understand the dynamics and complexities in the area through an insight from the residents.

Before beginning with the discussion, the residents were given a brief background of the study and also asked for permission to record the whole session, in order for it to be transcribed, and they were mostly welcome to say no if they do not feel comfortable to be recorded. Questions on access to services were included during the interview because the researcher was interested in getting to know the kind of environment and the living conditions that also arise from occupational density.In acquiring a different view as well as additional information, Siyakhula Trust (an informal owner of an occupied building) and a staff member from the NGO PLANACT (an organization assisting the Trust) were also interviewed.

In addition, it was important for the study to use writings on court cases due to the lack of published material on occupancy density (indicating the number of people) in occupied buildings. The cases were relevant for this typology because they discuss eviction cases from 'bad buildings' which were analyzed and used as background information. Below is a discussion on the data collection methods for the shifts in occupancy density in formally authorized buildings.

Formal shifts

In this typology, the study needed to be acquainted with the number of people in each unit, the number of residential units and the residents' socio-economic profile. This data was gathered through the property website and by going to this building to request for more information from the relevant people in order to strengthen the material. The initial objective

was to calculate density and to estimate it using floor plans that were supposed to be accessed from the building manager, however, the study did not succeed with this objective and consequently had to use available resources online as the manager was out of the country and was only going to be reached after the thesis submission. Propertuity was unable to assist the researcher with accessing the required information as the field work was done during a very busy period in their company.

The hostel

A desktop study using grey literature of hostels was useful in understanding the background of this typology. The study also used data from the city of Johannesburg and data from the Jeppestown housing portrait project that was conducted recently by Wits third year students (in 2015). This was complemented by key informant interviews with knowledgeable people who live in the study area.The author and a field work research partner also visited the hostel and interviewed the induna (chief) who clarified a lot of misconceptions regarding violence in the hostel. This was relevant to an understanding of how different residents of Jeppestown are perceived, which in the endconnects to who might be considered to be appropriate or desirable residents of the area.

Ethical Considerations

Ethics involve the morality of human behavior. In relation to this research, it concerns honesty and respect. The study followed two dimensions of ethics, specifically procedural ethics and ethics in practice. The procedural ethics involved the researcher to seek approval from the relevant committee at the University of the Witwatersrand, in order to undertake the research as it involved the interactions with humans. The ethics in practice involved how the researcher responded to ethical issues or concerns that arose in the field work.This involved the ethical obligations the researcher has toward a research participant in terms of interacting with them in a humane, non-exploitative way while at the same time being mindful of one's role as a researcher.The participants were given an information sheet which explained that their participation is voluntary and the interviews were recorded through their permission, nonetheless; they will be anonymous in the final report. A consent form was also provided to the participants, informing them about their rights and confidentiality.

Figure 2. List of respondents

Name of participants	**Position**
Geoff Bickford	South African Cities Network Researcher
Eunice Mabasa	Owner of Siyakhula Trust (owning an informal building)
Mike Makwela	PLANACT employee
Induna	Wolhuter Hostel headman
Teboho Mosikili	SERI senior attorney
10 Anonymous participants	Jeppestown residents (Lalanathi informally occupied building)
The caretaker	(Lalanathi informally occupied building)
Angel	Former Lalanathi resident
Shruthi	Propertuity employee (i.e. Maboneng)

Chapter 4 Understanding the findings in relation to literature

Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of occupancy density in the area of Jeppestown. The chapter is divided according to the concepts that were identified in literature review. Subsequent to a discussion of the findings, an analysis will summarize the relationship between the literature review that was discussed earlier and the existing contentions that were found during the field work. The findings were summarized by taking the facts which were relevant for the research question.

How density can be understood

During the study, an interview was conducted with a South African Cities Network researcher, Geoffrey Bickford. Through this interview, the study managed to understand that density is very complex and should be understood extensively and differently. During his interview in July 2016, Geoffrey Bickford explained that his exploration of density was interested in finding out what is meant by density that supports public transport. Moreover, the exploration prompted an investigation that revolved around thinking about density in a wider frame than its normative 'people or unit per hectare' or in architecture terms-'floor area ratio' (Bickford 2016, pers.comm., July). The researcher found this discussion very helpful because this study also aims to better understand density and its complexities as well as the qualitative issues that result from very dense environments. Bickford noted that he found a lot of literature specifically out of Australia and America that grapple with very similar sprawl or urban form type of problems to the onesSouth Africa is grappling with.

> "Asian cities have a very different kind of land-use conundrum that they are trying to solve and every city in the world, every region has a kind of sprawling problem but the manifestation of that is quite different. In European cities it is quite different; you find that you won't often see a lot of density in the way that South Africans think about it because the scale is quite different as well" (Bickford 2016, pers.comm., July).

As discussed earlier in the report, Bickford also agreed that density in its nature is broad and that's the main reason different scholars argue that a static kind of population density isn't useful in understanding life in cities as well as demand on resources and demand on space. Bickford demonstrated that, population density might be useful for residential infrastructure planning which becomes very useful as to how many people are living in that area, therefore demanding a set of resources.

A useful argument he made was that population density is the number of people per residential unit, however; “it’s not an occupancy density- it’s static and derived from an average number of people per residential unit. He further highlighted that population density is not even quantified because it’s not a counted number of people, it’s rather, an average for a broader area of people” (Bickford 2016, pers.comm., July). He is suggesting that a dynamic way of understanding density is through taking into account people moving in and out of an area and its buildings, according to different times of the day, week or year.

This interview has indicated that there are a lot of gaps in literature about density because the existing literature in South Africa does not extensively explore density; rather it focuses a lot on one component (i.e. physical density). What we could learn from the study conducted by Bickford is that density is multifaceted and it has both quantitative as well as qualitative fundamentals that need to be well examined. The interview also indicates that this Jeppestown research is dealing with one dimension which is actually a static dimension (i.e. people occupying buildings) and not the variations of activity density. This has indicated that there are still a lot of aspects to be explored and studied such as studying the movement of people within the occupied buildings (exploring when the buildings are full or emptier, during the course of the day or week or month).

Shifts in density

This section provides the reader with a brief description on the state that Jeppestown was in during 2011. This is essential because it helps in providing a background in order to get a sense of the population dynamics.

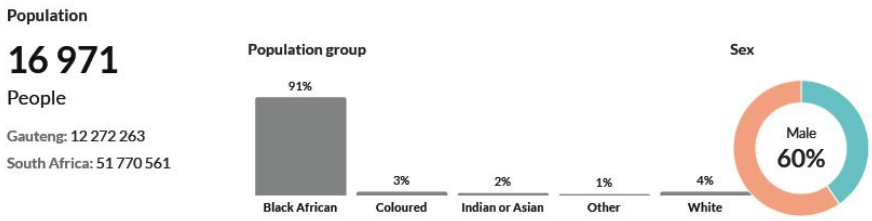


Figure3. Population group in Jeppestown (Census, 2011)

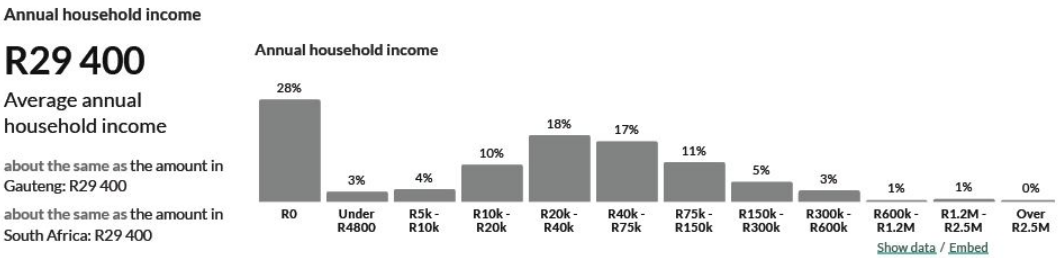


Figure4.Annual household income (Census,2011)

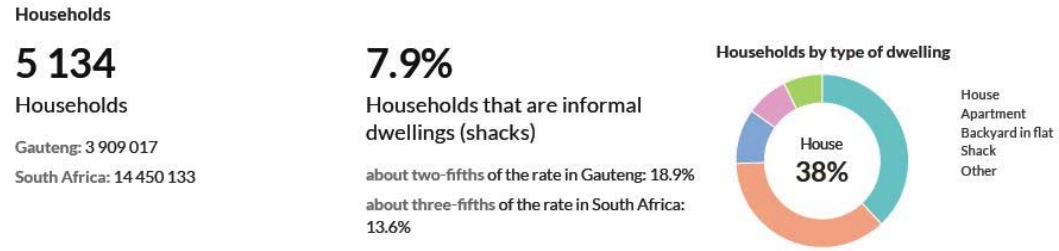


Figure5. Household by type of dwelling (Census, 2011)

As graphically represented in figure1, Jeppestown has a population of 16 971 and the majority of the people are Black, constituting 91% of the total population. The suburb is currently populated by lower income groups comparable in socio-economic profile to those that are in need of accessible and affordable housing. As stipulated on figure 2, the average annual household income is R29400.00 meaning that the average monthly household income amounts to less than R2450.00.

The suburb is situated next to transport interchanges such as taxi ranks and the George Goch as well as the Jeppe train stations which provide the residents with adequate access to the CBD and beyond. For this reason, along with high rates of urbanization, there has been major housing expansion as more people are coming into the area. These expansions have been occurring in various typologies that are both through formal and informal dwellings. Figure3 indicates that there are 7.9% households that are living in informal dwellings. However, it can be assumed that the totality of this population could have been overlooked because the population in occupied buildings increases in a short period of time and it is not known if the census enumerators went inside these buildings to do the counting.

Informal shifts

Occupiers of erf 2823, 20 Janie Street (Lalanathi)



Occupied building 'Lalanathi' at 20 Janie Street (Nkoane, 2016)

In understanding both the formal and informal shifts that have been occurring in the area, the study focused on an occupied building that was subjective to evictions in 2015. This eviction case is important to discuss because of the comparatively little information that was found for another occupied building owned by Siyakhula Trust (which will be discussed later in the document). Most of the questions that were asked to the Trust were not answered as expected (i.e.detailed information was not forthcoming) hence it was vital for the research to look at different media articles and multiple sources discussing occupied buildings. The bulk of the information in this section comes from SERI's documents because of its involvement in relevant court cases assisting residents of buildings threatened by eviction. Below is a brief background discussion of a particular building, outlining the socio-economic status of the evicted residents as well as the court decision on the case.

The property is in 20 Janie Street in Jeppestown. It was legally owned by Sherberg (a close corporation) that buys and renovates properties; hence it applied for an eviction order because it said it couldn't carry on its business as the residents had hijacked the property (SERI, 2016). However this was not true as the company rented out the property to the residents for several years (SERI, 2016). For a long time the rent ranged from R350 to R500 per month - things started to go wrong when the rent doubled and the residents couldn't

afford to pay and later the property was sold and bought by Mr. Rynners (SERI, 2016). Years went by without any contact with the residents, thus the building was abandoned and the residents had to make arrangements to maintain the property (SERI, 2016).

> "Sherberg alleged that, despite having once been rented out to willing tenants, the property was now illegally taken over by people who refused to enter into lease agreements. Sherberg also alleged that the property is not suitable for human occupation, has no water and no electricity, and has poor sanitation" (SERI, 2016: p9).

The residents of the building lived in the property for quite a number of years (a period of six years) and they comprised of 97 households with 343 adults and 125 children (SERI, 2016). It was found that, in these households a minimum of 25 residents are headed by women and at least two of the residents are disabled and one of the residents is a pensioner (SERI, 2016).

Their monthly household income is typically, R2260 per month and is generally in the range of R1500 to R2500 per month (SERI, 2016). SERI completed an analysis which indicated that these residents cannot afford any other accommodation unless they occupy a slum property hence their eviction was going to lead to homelessness.

The court managed to save the residents through rescinding an eviction order against them. The residents received the eviction hearing notice on 2 March 2015 while they were requested to present themselves in court on 17 February 2015 (SERI, 2016).This delay in receiving the notice resulted in the absence of the residents at the hearing; however, they approached SERI seeking for assistance (SERI, 2016). SERI managed to rescind the eviction order by arguing that there was defects in the notice and the eviction would result to homelessness because the residents have no alternative accommodation readily available to them.

SERI indicated that The Prevention of Illegal Eviction from an Unlawful Occupation of Land Act (PIE Act) was not followed. This is an act of the parliament of South Africa which came into effect on 5 June, 1998; it sets out to prevent arbitrary evictions. As stated in the constitution (1996) "no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions". SERI argued that the PIE Act was not followed and for that reason, the issued notice was not served at the property and did not in any case inform the residents to attend court on a date in advance (SERI, 2016).

Interview Findings

An interview session was conducted with the residents of 20 Janie Street. Below is a discussion outlining the rationale behind them living in this kind of typology. The discussion will start off by providing the reader with an insight from a SERI official around his contribution in the issue of occupied buildings and evictions. The findings have been grouped according to the following core themes: Evictions, location and affordability, the way the building is organized or managed as well asthe living conditions.

Evictions

A SERI official was interviewed and he gave a brief insight about what he does as well as his experience within the litigation of housing. He is a senior attorney and director of litigation. His role was to identify and provide strategic guidance in litigation. In particular, he would identify strategic cases and represent the poor in defending eviction cases against them in the inner city of Johannesburg.The aim was to defend unlawful evictions, but most significantly, especially in bad building, ensure that the City of Johannesburg provides the occupiers with suitable alternative accommodation within the inner city.

He represented more than 10 000 people in the past 7 years in the inner city. The people he represented were usually people working as petrol attendants, security guards, odd job men, domestic workers, waiters or waitresses and hawkers earning far below R3500 a month. The buildings that they were being evicted from are converted into luxurious accommodation then they are rented to people at higher prices. The prices would not be affordable to the previous occupiers. Around 2008 – 2010, most buildings were apprehended and used to build hotels and accommodation facilities for the 2010 World Cup. There was one building where people were evicted and it was demolished to build the Newtown Junxion Mall. These residents were taken to Moth Building and some were taken to Linatex in Jeppestown. These buildings are owned by the City and they are used as “temporary alternative accommodation”.

During the site visit to the Lalanathi building, the researcher found the police and two men as well as the residents vigorously discussing the evictions issue. When one of the residents was asked what was going on, he explained that the two men were claiming that they own the building and they want the residents gone. The SERI official was informed about this in order to understand how this could be because, the residents were represented by SERI a while back and they said they were not supposed to be evicted since that would result into homelessness.

He declared that unfortunately he was not aware of this matter and their case. However, the law has developed to an extent that people who are poor, earning less than R 3500, will not be evicted, even if there is a new owner until such time that an alternative accommodations has been found for them. Section 26 (1) of the Constitutions says that everyone has the right to shelter. So it is unlikely that the court will order their eviction without ordering alternative accommodation, especially where there are children, women and the elderly involved.

Location and Affordability

This theme was developed looking at the way the residents responded when they were asked why they are Jeppestown residents. The residents reported that Jeppestown is a favorably located neighborhood as it isin close proximity to transport interchanges as well as the central business district which is currently providing people with employment opportunities. A 24 year old male resident reported that he came to Jeppestown in 2011 visiting his mom and he became a permanent resident from 2012. He does not pay rent in this building and he indicated that they all don't. He stated that the biggest advantage is that they have free access to water and electricity. He noted that he is not planning to leave Jeppestown because he believes that it is an amazing place to live in as it is located near most of the things that he needs. He likes the fact that he does not pay anything and that makes his life easier because he only has to worry about food expenses.

The SERI official explained that people do not live in informal settlements or bad buildings by choice. What is apparent is that people leave their homesteads in the rural areas to Johannesburg in search of economic opportunities to improve their lives. However, as in the apartheid time, the City of Johannesburg does not cater for the accommodation of the poor or low income earning people. Many people are thus forced to live in informal settlements and squalid conditions or bad buildings such as those around Jeppestown, just to be close to their work.

Another resident who has previously lived in multiple informally occupied buildings was interviewed and below is her narrative regarding costs and shifting out of crowded conditions to formal rental accommodation:

> She is a mother of three children, originally from Kwazulu-Natal. She came in the inner city and resided in Hillbrow from 1995; however, she had to move to Jeppestown in late 1997 because Hillbrow was expensive. She explained during her interview that it is important for one to know that Jeppestown had a lot of firms which

were left during the conflict or war of political parties (ANC and IFP) and those buildings are now hijacked and have become shelter to a lot of people.

She lived at Fox Street when she arrived in 1997, and the accommodation rental was R400. She then moved and stayed in the Dukathole building for two years and shewas not paying rent. Dukathole is a building located on 10 Fox Street, corner Wolhuter Avenue. The building is a three storey walk-up that was occupied informally. In 2015, the inner city gazette reported that about 3000 residents were evicted in the Dukathole building and this was done by private developers assisted by the red ants (Moyo, 2015).

"I had to move again from the Dukathole because there was a lot of crime in the building and I felt unsafe. I moved and went to another informally occupied flat were I was paying R350.00. The flat had services but at a very poor condition. The space was not enough for my family and children, we would bath in front of each other- there was no privacy. I had to move to a formal flat and I am currently paying R4000.00 at the Bjala building".

This strongly aligns with the previously discussed literature such as Mayson (2014) because it indicates that the informal housing market is affordable, although with minimal space and security for the residents. The resident noted that she is a single parent- the father of her children died a few years back. Her children are grown and about to go to varsity and she still doesn't own a house. When she was asked about private developers in the area, she explained that having private developers in the area is a good initiative because the place gets controllable, but the increase in rental is a big challenge for the low income residents. For example her current flat (Bjala) is charging her a rental amount, electricity amount and she also receives water bills. All these amounts are expected to be paid separately because they are charged separately. The water bills alone amounts to R700.00 per month. "Bjala is an expensive building; I hardly go home in KZN due to the high cost of living. I like the building though because there is security and adequate services."

Management and organization

In Lalanathi there are people who have been elected to collect money in the case of emergencies and to also clear out the rubbish in the building. A caretaker of the building stated during an interview that he has been responsible for taking care of the building for a number of years now. He has been staying in the building for over twelve years. His duty as a caretaker is to take out dustbins (collected by the CoJ) however; he noted that everyone in the building has the obligation to clean their rooms and spaces. The owner of the building

abandoned it and as a result there is currently no administration whatsoever. He clarified that when someone needs to live in the building, they talk to security (sometimes they don't even do this, they just move in). There are no papers to sign-there is no lease.

Living conditions

The building has four floors with over 50 rooms (of different sizes) and over 400 people in the building (with four as the minimum number of people in each unit). Each floor has two to three toilets and no bathrooms. The caretaker stated that the building is overcrowded and this is due to its flexibility of not paying rent as well as rates for electricity and water- staying for free in this building is an advantage. All the interviewed residents noted that the building has a lot of unemployed people and that leads to crime in the building. The 24 years male explained that living in this building tremendously affects his lifestyle and he gave an example ofhis career as an actor and a photographer. He noted that the lackof inspiration and resourcesin the building affects him hencehe believeshe would be at a different state had he lived elsewhere (at a formal accommodation). He critically stated that he has observed that this is not an environment to raise children in. It is unsafe because the gates are not locked at night and there was an incident where two residents were shot and killed a few weeks before the date of the interview



The images above were captured by the author inside the building of 20 Janie Street in July 2016. The building has been divided by residents using bricks and hard cardboard to make more rooms. One of the residents indicated that the rooms are also subdivided inside and are able to accommodate approximately 6-10 people; however the researcher could not capture inside the rooms because she had to respect their privacy. Some of the corridors were very dark although it was during the day and this might be because of the lack of lighting coming inside the building since most the rooms have blocked the windows. The majority of the rooms do not have windows and it can be assumed that the only form of ventilation that they have is accessed through the door.

Every floor has toilets - some floors have 2 and others have 3 toilets. Water can only be accessed from the ground floor and the building only has one pipeline, therefore people

have to carry water to their rooms. The residents have access to a washing line on the ground floor; although it is not enough for the whole building because it is overpopulated. The building has a room on the ground floor next to the washing line where all the residents can dump their waste. The room has rubbish bins that are collected at a certain day and this is done by the caretaker.

Second occupied building (anonymous address)

During an interview with the informal owner of the occupied building, the researcher managed to get an insight on the living conditions as well as the background of the building. The owner is informal because she does not have a title deed or any form of documentation to show that she is the owner and the building is originally owned by someone else. The interviewer managed to unpack a lot of information that one could not know without a meaningful engagement with a resident or an owner

Interview findings

Building Background

The building was originally built as a small factory for manufacturing and informally converted into residential spaces. It is informally owned by Siyakhula Trust. The founder of the trust noted that they are registered with the Master of High Court as a trust, thus they have an authority certificate, and they are also registered with the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) as a non-governmental organization (NGO). Siyakhula has three entities, the housing Trust, an orphanage and children's home. The occupied building in Jeppestown is a programme that has been running for a number of years. During the interview, the founder also noted that the original or legal owner of the building donated it to the Trust seeing that it is good initiative. The issue is that the Trust does not legally own the building because the lawyer, who was appointed by the legal owner to transfer the building to Siyakhula Trust, is delaying the process. She explained that this is the only way the Trust could get a transfer because it cannot afford to have its own legal representative (it is relying on the appointed lawyer).

The building is a two storey walk-up occupied by 30-50 people who used to be accommodated at an orphanage home. Due to their ages they had to be released and this building served as shelter. The rooms in this building have been sub-divided and they are occupied by multiple families which have been affiliated by marriage or child birth (one room accommodates 1-3 families). Space can be divided in so many ways. In the same building, underground, there is a space divided with shacks currently occupied by a lot of families.

Management and organization

The building owes the COJ a very large amount of money and the rate is escalating because nobody is willing to pay for the services (water and electricity). These people collect money on a monthly basis. When there is an electrical issue, people put money together to fix it informally. They used to pay their rentals monthly but they stopped because they did not see any developments in the building. Once they stopped, a large number of people came in the building. The place is relatively clean but not clean like other normal places. The major problem is that the pipes are old, the water is not clean and there is running water inside the building. The building does not have any rules and a committee to enforce rules that are likely to be found at a formal building, hence general rules are followed – the residents need to tolerate each other because theyare both young and old people staying there so mutual respect is the general rule followed. With people moving into the occupied Siyakhula Trustbuilding, it has moved from small to big in terms of numbers of people in occupation. The building has become over populated consequently decreasing security. It is overpopulated because it is a small scale two floorsbuilding and not big enough to accommodate 30-50 people.

Living conditions

When the informal owner was asked what she doesn't like about the building she vividly uttered that she would like the building to be renovated "so that it looks like people stay there instead of animals". She also noted that it gets very dark without electricity and no one could see anything. Moreover, safety is a major concern and the lives of the residents are in danger because of the electrical connections and the usage of paraffin (the building could catch fire anytime). The children who stay in the building cannot attend ECDs (early childhood development) due to financial predicaments and these children may grow up and partake in criminal activities. This is because staying in such a place promotes the spread of crimedue to theamount of poverty in the environmentand they will be affected psychologically or be different as compared to children who grow up in a normal environment.

Location and affordability

Although she mentioned how the living conditions are poor, she also stated that the building is very convenient to live in because Jeppestown is accessible, it has different modes of transport (taxis and trains) and it is located close to town.

Shifts in Jeppestown

In terms of shifts and changes that have been occurring, the area has been zoned industrial but it is now mainly residential- people are informally changing it. The founder of Siyakhula Trust provided an example of another building to substantiate the above statementand she noted that the building is a factory and people work in the factory downstairs while they reside on top. They divide it with shacks. The factory is very big and they have added floors with zinc metal and planks.

Getting assistance to formally own the building

From a discussion with PLANACT during an interview, it was reported that Siyakhula Trust approached PLANACT 2-3 years ago and they said they have a building in Jeppestown. PLANACT is a non-governmental organization aiming to bring about local development for the poor by promoting integrated human settlements of community-based organizations. PLANACT went for a site visit and one of the things that struck them was the cleanness of the building inside, although it's sub-divided. PLANACT was very surprised because if you look at most occupied buildings in the inner city, you won't go inside-they are quite scary and this building was different.

Part of the intervention by PLANACT was to make sure that the residents in the building, together with the Trust, eventually get to own that building. Secondly their objective was to upgrade it to a level where it is habitable, because although it is clean, it is not habitable-it still needs to be renovated. PLANACT wanted to use the institutional subsidy because government has a subsidy where in if the residents of this building want to buy, refurbish the building, they can use the subsidy and it has been observed that the subsidy has been underutilized as can be seen by the limited amount of social housing in the inner city.

PLANACT noted that this is an opportunity to use that subsidy to renovate the building and get it to a proper standard so that it can be able to sustain itself. In renovating it, the ground floor will be for commercial purposes, the first floor will include space that is used as a skill centre. PLANACT would like for the building to maintain itself by having a commercial site – different businesses will lease there and pay rent. Secondly the residents have to be helped through building or increasing their skills capacity because as years go by, a project like this would collapse because the residents might not be able to afford the rental precisely because they are unemployed. The thinking is to give them necessary skills, such as carpentry or other skills in order for them to create a living for themselves.

These kinds of projects are not easy; PLANACT still needs to approach the municipality to rezone the building because it was a factory before. Jeppestown is an industrial area- they need to rezone it for residential, otherwise Siyakhula won't be able to access the institutional subsidy. PLANACT also needs to sort out the issue of full ownership, go back to the lawyers and negotiate and make sure that the property is transferred to Siyakhula because without that they can't really proceed and access funding. This will take time because of the various bureaucracies. PLANACT noted that the COJ is in trouble, the city is going down and they don't have low income housing solutions and they are looking for people to bring them solutions because thing are not working. PLANACT can use that opportunity and say "we would like to contribute around the issue of housing in the inner city- this is a perfect time to strike the iron while it's hot". Furthermore, PLANACT hopesto succeed in this project because if they do, it will illustrate how the city could be regenerated- yes it will be one building but it will have some spinoff to the neighborhood, to say if you organize yourself you can change the face of the city. It is a nice building because it is still in a fairly good condition although unmaintained.

Wolhuter hostel



Source (Nkoane, 2016)

Location and flexibility

The Wolhuter men's hostel is currently owned by the City of Johannesburg and was originally created for migrant laborers. It is very convenient for its residents as it is closely located to the central business district. It is a three storey building (with a basement making a 4th level) characterized by a communal kitchen and communal bathrooms per floor (ARPL

3013, 2015). There are 642 units that accommodate multiple beds adding up to approximately 3200 beds in total. These beds accommodated approximately 10 000 residents which is about three times the number of beds (ibid.)

It is significant to note that this typology is overcrowded because the rental is R27.00pm and is affordable to the low income earning between R0-R300 (ARPL 3013, 2015). Furthermore, similar to other low income buildings, the units are occupied by a large number of people that are above the intended number of occupants per unit; hence most people sleep on the floor because the beds are not enough for everyone (ARPL 3013, 2015). The majority of residents in the hostel are Zulu and almost all the residents are from rural areas and have come to Johannesburg to seek for a better life. A key article to substantiate the above discussion is one that discussed a male (Petros Mtshali) who works as a welder at a local bus company and lives in the hostel. Petros inherited a bed from his father who lived in the hostel for a number of years during apartheid ("Hostel Hangover", 2008). The passing of his father has also meant that he had to take care of eleven dependents in KwaZulu-Natal (ibid.). During an interview, Petros explained that the major problem in KwaZulu-Natal is the lack of employment as compared to Johannesburg, so it is better to move to another province (ibid.).

> “The Wolhuter Hostel, unlike many others, remains single sex - girlfriends, wives and children are forbidden - but Petros said he would not bring his family there even if he could, because the basement hallways are pitch black and raw sewage trickles into the showers and kitchens” ("Hostel Hangover", 2008).

There has been a dominant single narrative amongst different media platforms about hostels acting as incubators of xenophobic violence and crime. The main argument raised is a one sided narrative that has affected people’s perceptions and the image that has been painted in literature has exacerbated the existing stereotypes. “The single story creates stereotypes and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story” (Adichie, 2008).This research does not generalize from other previous studies; however it looks at what is on ground by critically engaging with the issues and misconceptions of the typology. The study in noway seeks to suggest the narrative in the majority of literature to be untrue- there is a different perspective and this has been found through a source that lives in the Jeppestown area as well as through a thorough interview with the hostel residents and ARPL3013 (2015) project. The counter-narrative that will be discussed below aims to change the shared belief and fixed impressions carried by society.

Hostel dwellers have established their own set of beliefs, their own 'unique ethnic formations', which shapes their perceptions of how they act. Similar to that commented by Segal “the problem with urban people is that they want to take law into their own hands, that's what I think is wrong. Even if you try to explain to a township person that the law has to be respected he won't listen to you”(Segal, 1991: p200).The hostel dwellers have been engaging in violence and protests in the past and this is because they act in a manner that they think is appropriate to solve their issues at that certain point. The Induna expressed that the violence is mostly caused by the Jeppestown community as well as the police pinning criminal activities on them (Induna, pers comm., 2016). He mentioned that it’s very upsetting to be accused of thingsthey do not know about and that is the predominant drive to the violence and protests that occur at the hostel (Induna, perscomm., 2016).

The information the Induna provided to the researcher has indicated that the hostel’s occupancy density has been shifting over the years. The density in the hostel has not been consistent over time (it has been increasing) and this is because of the amount of flexibility the typology offers. The number of dwellers has tremendously increased due to affordability. This resonates with Mayson (2014), Mayson and Charlton (2015) and Malavolti (2015) as they have indicated that flexibility in entry and exit from less formal accommodation enables many people with constrained circumstances to access it, potentially leading to overcrowding.

Management and organization

The hostel is formally owned by the City of Johannesburg, however, not managed by them. The Induna manages and controls the process of people using the hostel and paying rent. He does not have a record of all the hostel residents because some of the residents do not go to the Induna when coming to stay, they just move in as they have family ties. The Induna noted that his rent book does not have everyone in it and he does not make a fuss over it anymore because he understands that the system does not work to a certain extent as there are some people who stay at the hostel for free (Induna, perscomm., 2016)

Living conditions

The pictures below indicate that the hostel is not maintained. There is running water and leaking pipes on the sidewalks of the hostel that have seemingly been occurring for a few years. The researcher was not able to capture inside the yard but noted that it almost lookedsimilar to the outside. During a thorough observation, it was evident that the hostel is mostly occupied by unemployed dwellers or those who mostly work during the night because the site visit was during the day, but there were many men who were hanging around. The

dwellers use their windows to hang their clothes thus it can be assumed that the washing lines are not enough to accommodate everyone due to the over-crowdedness.




Source (Nkoane, 2016)

Formal shifts

According to Propertuity there are 61 000 people who are living and working within the 1km^{2}radius area of Maboneng (Propertuity, 2016). In this figure, 21000 people are residents and 4000 people commute into the area for work (Propertuity, 2016). Among these 21000 residents, there are more than 300 people living in the Main Street Life building. Main Street Life is a seven storey building in Maboneng that is located in the Maboneng precinct along the eastern boundary of the inner city of Johannesburg. It has been converted from a 1970s light industrial building into a contemporary mixed use complex (Compton, 2013). It is not known whether the building was empty or occupied at the time of convention; however, there has been media articles reporting that some of the buildings in Maboneng have been subject to evictions in recent years. In 2011 it was reported that about forty people (victims of a building hijacking) were evicted from a building in Maboneng - 238 Main Street (Bauer, 2011). Propertuity attempted to help the evictees by communicating with its networks such as the Central Methodist Church to work on possible short and long-term solutions (ibid.). However, this attempt was seen as an endeavor to move poor residents from this affluent precinct (ibid.).

The Main Street Life building consists of “one and two bedroom medium-led apartments, seven penthouses, a twelve room art hotel and a mix of retail including, shops and restaurant” (Compton, 2013, p19).There are 140 one bedroom and 25 two bedroom apartments in the building and it can be argued that these apartments are middle income (based on the rentals amounting from R3900 per month) and the building also has the Bioscope Independent Cinema and POP Art theatre. Assuming that on average 2 people occupya one bedroom (33m^2) and 3 people occupy a two bedroom (78m^2), residential

occupancy density could be 16.5m^2/person for every one bedroom and 26m^2/person for every two bedrooms. It's important to note that occupancy is not fixed in this case since the building is mixed-use; hence occupation varies at different times of the day.



Source (Nkoane, 2016)

Discussion



Source (google maps, 2016)

The research has indicated that Jeppestown is a neighborhood that has been going through densification processes and shifts thatare formal and informal. These processes and shifts have been better explained through the findings of the three housing typologies.

In the first typology (i.e. informally occupied buildings) the field work revealed that Jeppestown offers affordable ways of living for some people in the inner city. The informal market offers residents with flexibility because the majority of the participants explained that they do not pay rent. The living conditions that were seen inside the 20 Janie street building and those described by the Siyakhula Trust match with those that were discussed in the literature review.

Similar to the findings in Mayson and Charlton (2015) the Jeppestown study has indicated that the informal housing typology is meaningful to occupants as it minimizes expenditure on rent and residents mostly capitalize on locational advantage. Informally occupied buildings in Jeppestown have similar elements to those described by Huchzermeyer (2007) study of tenements. They are similar in that, the residents accommodate friends and family members, and similar to the case of Sao-Paulo, the housing typology is characterized by communal occupancy divided into rooms and spaces with shared access and sanitary amenities. Those

living in the informally occupied buildings live in overcrowded conditions and they endure the situation due to the accommodation's low cost, access to transport and the convenience brought about by the good location of the buildings.

The diversity of people in Jeppestown was noted as the most unique and essential element of the suburb and this is important because it enables people to learn from each other. However the occupiers of the informal buildings investigated are distressed about their security. Although they are happy with the suburb, they live in fear of being evicted. The interviews with the residents have indicated that the suburb has long been experiencing decline. The majority of the buildings were left unmaintained and in a condition to be demolished and these are the same buildings that have been shelter to the low income residents. The eviction dilemma is not a new phenomenon, it has only been refined as years went by- Jeppestown experienced slum eradication in the 90s.

The findings of the two informally occupied buildings have indicated that the typology offers the resident with the ability to have resilience; however there is lack of security. This aligns with various studies such as Mayson and Charlton (2015) and Zack et.al (2009) as they have confirmed that the informal housing market minimizes the low income's living cost while at the same time providing the residents with lack of security. Some of the mechanisms that were evident involved subletting, consequently depending on people overcrowding already occupiedrooms. Moreover, similar to this study's research findings Few et al (2004) and Huchzermeyer (2007) have indicated that this housing typology is mostly crowded and that consequently causes the residents to live in dire living conditions. This study has revealed that informal occupancy density shifts in Jeppestown have occurred due to different reasons and the predominant reason is that there is insufficient formal rental accommodation to meet the needs of low-income households in the inner city of Johannesburg. These shifts have mostly occurred in order for the low income group to secure livelihoods; however the shifts have been occurring specifically in Jeppestown because a number of buildings were abandoned and thus creating an opportunity for the low income group to occupy them informally. A lot of these buildings were used for industrial purposes but they have now been turned into residential (i.e. shelter for the poor). Given the deficit of affordable low income housing related to urbanization, it is to be expected that vacant commercial and industrial buildings will continue to provide shelter to the poor.

Occupants were threatened with evictions notices as well as shocks that weaken their livelihoods. Location and flexibility were reported as the key elements that supported their livelihoods. The two informally occupied buildings have a system of management that works quite well for them, although it is informal and it was essential because it helps by keeping

the buildings clean and also taking care of maintenance issues when required. One of the key findings in the informally occupied buildings is that, the residents as well as the management system cannot afford security costs; however, the residents continue staying there regardless of the lack of safety. This among other aspects such as poor hygiene indicate their level of vulnerability because they all indicated that they would move elsewhere if they had enough money for formal accommodation.

Some of the interviewed residents expressed how it is very upsetting to see the way the government neglects the issues facing this housing typology. This aligns with the findings of Mayson and Charlton (2015:367) indicating that "rooms and spaces are not always viewed in a favorable light by government, particularly those typologies on the informal market". The study therefore argues that it can be assumed that overcrowding in this kind of typology is a phenomenon that has not been fully recognized or given adequate attention in the inner city.

Moving to the second housing typology (i.e. formal shifts), it was evident that the shifts in the neighborhood have been taking place due to entrepreneurial interests. Private property developers renovate deteriorated buildings based on ambitions of attracting affluent residents who are able to pay a minimum rental amount of R3500.00 as seen in the case of Maboneng. This process has been displacing the low income groupsand creating a lot of conflicts as they cannot afford the new rental and as a result have to make space for the middle income residents. There are also private developers (although few) with lower rentals. There is Mafadi in Jeppestown which is not catering for affluent residents however; this is the only developer catering for low income residents in the area.The formal shifts have occurred through different private developers such as Propertuity purchasing industrial buildings and refurbishing them for residential or commercial purposes. Processes such as gentrification in Maboneng have been evident in the area and the Jeppestown residents are pleased that their neighborhood is being improved; however, the fact that the rental in formal accommodation is escalating upsets them as they feel excluded. The study has indicated that the nature of the formal shifts has been through a change in occupancy density through new developments. New developments have been evident in the Maboneng precinct and surrounding areas, hence Mafadi as well as Propertuity have been taking the lead in transforming Jeppestown.

In the third and last typology, it was evident that the occupancy in the Jeppestown hostel has been continuous throughout the years; however, the density has been increasing at a high rate. It isowned by the City; however, it is not managed by the city anymore as it has been taken over informally. This informal occupation has been taking place in a formal typology resulting in overcrowding. The predominant reason behind the overcrowding is the

affordability and the lack of rules or regulations within the typology. Furthermore, the locational advantage also contributes to the hostel increasingly becoming a destination to a lot of people. The discussions above indicate shifts happening within buildings, often where the built form remains consistent and may even conceal what is occurring within.

Chapter 5- Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide the reader with an overview of the research findings. It will briefly discuss the gaps that exist in literature. The chapter will also debate the implications to planning while also including some recommendations.

The study aimed at identifying occupancy density shifts and understanding the logic behind the shifts. The research question was framed as: What are the occupancy density shifts in Jeppestown and how can they be explained? Below is a short discussion on sub-questions and what the study has found.

The study has found that Jeppestown is a very diverse and multicultural suburb. The site visits as well as the interviews have enabled the study to answer the sub questions below:

What are the forms of occupation in Jeppestown (formal and informal) and what shifts are evident in recent years in the forms of occupation and occupancy densities?

The study has found that forms of occupation in Johannesburg as well as other international cities occur in multiple ways. The research has indicated that Jeppestown is undergoing occupancy density shifts that are both visible and in some way hidden. These shifts are towards higher density in informally occupied buildings and towards lower density in the formal typology (Maboneng developments) if the building was informally occupied more densely before the refurbishment. Some of the visible shifts have been occurring though processes such as gentrification which displaces the low income group in incidences where they are occupying buildings taken over for upgrading. The formal shifts are classified as visible as one can see the building renovation and alteration (though there might be a more hidden dimension of evictions that precedes this). The hidden shifts occur through informal occupation and they are hidden as they are often not visible from outside of the building - the building form remains the same but occupancy changes are occurring and hidden within. Some of these shifts have been manifesting through the conversion of factory buildings into residential buildings that become shelter to a large number of people. The hostel is an authorized form of occupation; however the study has found that it can also be classified as unauthorized because it is not controlled by those who are supposed to be in control (i.e. the City). It is formally owned by the City but it has been taken over informally, thus the hostel dwellers' rental payments go to the new managers. The hostel occupancy shifts have remained hidden for the past few years with an increasing population resulting in squalor living conditions.

The study also found that informally occupied buildings comprise of overcrowding living conditions. This is because the typology is affordable to low income groups that do not afford privately owned accommodation and do not qualify for social housing. The residents live in poor conditions as confirmed by the physical conditions that were encapsulated in the findings. The process of occupation in the hostel was found intriguing because the typology is originally formal, but it has become both formal and informal due to the occupation as well as the management system.

The processes discussed in this studysignify that there is a very poor co-ordination with the government and the private sector; hence this is illustrated by the high amount of evictions and lack of alternative accommodation in the inner city of Johannesburg.The constitution clearlystates that everyone has the right to housing and it is also acknowledged in policies and plans; however, there is little that is being doneto address the gap in supply and demand especially in the private sector. Gentrification as a process has created a lot of conflicts and contestations in the neighborhood and this has been an issue for a number of years. This issue has not been easy to solve because gentrification has been a regeneration tool that is used by the City to bring in investment. The study has found that there is misalignment between gentrification, the city's regeneration initiative as well as its inclusivity vision that has been captured in various policies. It is important to note that although the study was not investigating this misalignment, it has realized that it is an issue which requires immediate attention, equally to the density issues that have been discussed earlier in the paper.

What is driving these shifts in forms of occupation and occupancy densities?

This research started by exploring how densityis understood and consequently discovered various arguments from Bickford and Khoza (2016), Turok (2011) as well as Boyko and Cooper (2011). Through these arguments, the study got to establish that density is difficult to measure and very narrowly understood. It has also found that there is potentially to explore more if one gets to adopt an expanded and more diverse understanding of density and this understanding would allow scholars to focus more on occupancy density instead of physical density alone.

The study established that informal shifts of occupation have been occurring mainly through informal conversion of industrial buildings , as well as through intensified occupation of existing residence (as shown by the hostel). The informal shifts along with shifts arising in the hostel have been increasing in the study area due to the informal housing market flexibility and the lack of formal affordable rental accommodation; hence Jeppestown has

become a significant residential area for low income groups. It is essential to note that, due to the relative lack of literature and data on the topic, the study used different sources (i.e. the media, court cases and interview with officials) in order to get a sense of the density of similar typologies that have been used in the research. The formal shifts of occupation have been taking place through processes of restoration and revitalization of deteriorated buildings by virtue of the influx of more affluent residents, which has resulted in the displacement of low-income residents. However, some few developers such as Mafadi have attempted to be inclusive by developing low-cost innovative housing units. These formal shifts have been driven by the City's regeneration agenda which has intended to attract new private investment to the inner City.

The study found it difficult to establish absolute numbers of whether occupancy density ratios have increased or decreased, however, it was clear that demographics have shifted over the years. The shifts in informally occupied buildings were hard to keep track of because there is lack of documented literature and that indicates that there is little known about this typology from an occupancy density perspective.

Implications for planning

The majority of the housing issues in Johannesburg are due to the uneven distribution of wealth in the population. There are relatively weak interventions from the COJ when it comes to the housing issues in the inner city. There is a very well-known concern all over the city that revolves around the conflict between the city's regeneration agenda aiming to attract private investment and the way this displays the poor. The City is limited to intervene in the case of evictions because of financial constraints; hence it is not always able to provide the poor with alternative accommodation.

Being evicted from your home and becoming homeless is an ethical issue that needs to be attended not only by the City but by the planning profession worldwide. Krumholz (1982:p165) argues that "a planner shall seek to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons, and shall urge the alteration of policies, institutions and decisions which militate against such objectives". The City is struggling to overcome this issue, it would be easier if planners came together and developed a constructive plan that gathered resources, coordinated the relation between the public and the private sector and ensured that the private sector works hard to negotiate profit with social good. The gaps have been identified in housingand issues have been reiterated in a variety of literature. This needs to be used to facilitate private developments and to propose that they can only be permitted provided low income earners also benefit from the development. Planners need to be "activists, risk-taking

in style, and redistributive in objective" (Krumholz, 1982:p172). Based on the findings of the study, it is argued that advocacy and equity are key in planning.

This study has also contributed to other density studies by showing that housing issues in South Africa are escalating as the demand far exceeds supply. The study has also found that the informal housing market houses a tremendous amount of people in which some of the housing mechanisms such as rooms and spaces are causing the low income groups to live in very dense environments with poor living conditions. It is immensely significant for occupancy density to be researched thoroughly instead of preference being given to physical density because the study has shown that there are a range of complexities that need to be well understood in order to bring about change or interventions. Intervention can only be achieved through more research as well as meaningful participation from the state, the private sector and the people. The shifts in occupancy density discussed in this study have indicated that the shortage of affordable housing in the inner city is a tremendous issue that needs immediate attention. A variety of actions need to be undertaken by numerous stakeholders and during that process urban planners would have to draw on practical experiences that concern low income housing to improve the current housing policy. The study has indicated that the hidden unauthorized shifts in occupancy density require a critical level response and engagement that could mitigate the challenges faced by low income residents in informally occupied buildings. However, the response should not only focus on unauthorized issues but also comprehend with the formal or authorized changes since the shifts are connected.

Discussion

Limitations

The study had expected to get a rigorous insight on the three buildings for each typology as well as their density. However, the density of these buildings were hard to calculate because the number of people per unit were unknown and mostly given to the author as estimates. The informally occupied buildings and the hostel were a hard typology to work with because it depended on having access to a focus group and the access was denied in one building. The residents did not want to be part of the study without getting paid and this changed the initial methodology. The occupied building residents as well as the hostel dwellers complained about a large number of people coming to interview them and not changing their circumstances. They stated that researchers continue using them without advocating for their lives to be improved and they are tired of this. The formal typology was easier to work with in the beginning however, access to information became limited as time went on

because the field work was conducted during a busy period for the developers. Lastly, the time frame dedicated to the study affected the study because the field work required an excessive amount of time to complete. It is important to note that the study was bias towards the informally occupied building because the author found it more interesting and challenging; however, the study recognizes the key linkages between all typologies.

Suggestions for future research

A number of research studies on density have been conducted previously; however, they were focusing on physical density. The previously conducted research on the 'bad building' typology has not managed to count the number of people in the buildings, and this was also a tremendous challenge in this study. Although the study will inevitably add value in existing knowledge, there is a need for further research in this field because the level of research done at the given time frame was not enough to fully understand the complexities within the shifts.

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APPENDIXA: Ethics Approval



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP95/24/06/2016

PROJECT TITLE:	Occupational Density Shifts in Jeppestown
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Adelaide Nkoane (Student No. 669558)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	BSc Honours Urban and Regional Planning
DATE CONSIDERED:	19 July 2016
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	APPROVED
EXPIRY DATE:	19 July 2017

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE:

cc: Supervisor/s: Sarah Charlton

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

Signature **Date** 21/July/2016

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APPENDIXB :Participant Information Sheet

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Greetings

My name is Adelaide Nkoane; I am currently registered for BSc (Urban and Regional Planning) Honours degree at the School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand. I am working on my research which is about the shift in occupational density in the Jeppestown area. A shift in occupational density is the increase or decrease in the number of people in a building or an area due to the change in how people use buildings or new developments in an area. The study aims to better understand and describe the occupational density shifts and changes in the area, with a particular emphasis in housing typologies: private residential buildings and occupied buildings (bad buildings) and hostels.

I am inviting you to be part of the study through a group interview process. The interview will take approximately one hour. During the course of the interview you will be asked questions regarding the building you live in, the number of people you think might be living there and the neighborhood in general.

The session will be recorded using an audio recorder because the interview needs to be transcribed, and through hand written notes and you are mostly welcome to say no if you do not feel comfortable to be recorded. You have been selected to participate in the study either as an ordinary resident of the building or because of a leadership role you play. This mix of

people in the will enable the study to better understand the dynamics and complexities in the area... Your participation is voluntary, you may refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable, and you may withdraw at any time without penalty or loss. You will receive no payment or other incentives for your participation. There will be a Trust which can provide support in order to assist with any existing sensitivity.

You will remain completely anonymous as a participant and you will not be personally identified in the final report and all data relating to you will be kept safe on a laptop that has a password and cannot be opened by anyone but me.

The research is solely for academic purposes and once completed will be available electronically and can be accessed publicly in the library.

If you have any questions, concerns or comments or if you would like a copy of the final report, please feel free to contact me at 669558@students.wits.ac.za or my supervisor Sarah Charlton at Sarah.Charlton@wits.ac.za

APPENDIX C: Interview questions

Interview with the occupied building residents

1. How did you come to be a resident in Jeppestown and why?

   a) How long have you been residing here?
   b) Where were you staying before?
   c) What are your future intentions about staying or leaving this neighbourhood?

2. Please describe the building you live in (how many floors, size, how many people live in your building? What makes you say this?)

   a) Please describe your unit-the particular space you live in
   b) Can you describe your access to facilities or services (toilet, where or how do you access water and electricity? How do you cook?)
   c) What do you like and dislike about living in your current building?
   d) What aspects of your current situation do you like and dislike the most? How does it affect your lifestyle?
   e) What was the building used for before?

3. Do you know the owner or the manager of the building?

a) How often do they come to check the building?
b) What are the rules of the building?
c) Who do you go to when you want a room?
d) Are there any application forms?

4. What changes have been evident in terms of building usages in the area? What do you think causes this?

a) What are the changes that you have been noticing with people coming in or moving out?
b) How do you feel about the renovations that have been happening in the area-private developers coming into the area and buying buildings? Explain

Interview with a SERI advocate

1. Please provide me with a background of what you used to do at SERI and explain what your role was, throughout the process of assisting the informal occupiers

2. With your experience in advocating for the residents, what do you think is not well understood about informally occupied buildings or bad buildings as they term them?

3. I went for a site visit today and I was interviewing the residents of 20 Janie street (the building that Nomzamo represented) and the police showed up with a few people claiming that they are the owners...I am not sure what was really happening but I need to know; after the whole court case and the ruling, is it possible that they might still be evicted?

4. What was the number of the residents you represented as well as their socio-economic profile?

5. Can you please provide me with information about the intended use of the building-after having evicted the residents (if you do know...from the court case/s you handled....was it still going to be used for residential purposes or for something different?)