



A SURVEY REPORT ON BASIC SERVICES PROVISION



MARGINALISATION IN SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE INNER CITY OF JOHANNESBURG:
CASE STUDIES OF FIVE 'BAD BUILDINGS'





Preface

The survey report was prepared by Hloniphile Simelane for Planact and the Inner City Resource Centre. The researcher was assisted by Miss Nomathemba Dladla, an intern at Planact.

The fieldwork for this study was conducted by the Inner City Resource Centre staff (Mujinga Yabadi, Thabani Nxumalo, Philemon Makweng, Jeffrey Baloyi and Jabulani Sibanda). ICRC works in collaboration with Planact in implementing development programmes in the inner city of Johannesburg. Many thanks go to Ms Shumani Luruli, Ms Nomcebo Dlamini and Mr Mike Makwela from Planact, and Ms Mujinga Yabadi from ICRC who co-coordinated the fieldwork; Thabani, Muhammad Tayob, Tian Tian and Nomathemba Dladla for capturing the data. Input that Planact and ICRC staff members and some residents of the buildings made into the draft survey questionnaire and the draft survey report were valuable.

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Glossary

Bad buildings	Buildings that are no longer functional in many respects, deserted by owners and often invaded by people in dire need of accommodation.
Building owner	A legal holder of the property by virtue of holding the title deed.
COGTA	Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
ICRC	Inner City Resource Centre
JHB	Johannesburg
Mastandi	A person who has a lease agreement with the legal holder of the property and then sublets in his/her flat without the consent of the legal holder to generate extra income.
Occupier	A person who has invaded or occupied a building without a lease or the consent of the legal holder of the property.
Official Caretaker	A person who has been employed by the legal holder of the property to oversee the day-to-day activities in the building.
Overseer	A person who looks after a neighbour's apartment for a short period when he/she is away.
Slumlord	A person who acts as the owner of the property and collects rentals unlawfully without the consent of the owner or where the owner has absconded.

MARGINALISATION IN SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE INNER CITY OF JOHANNESBURG: CASE STUDIES OF FIVE BAD BUILDINGS

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The twenty-first century has experienced an increased awareness about the importance of embracing participatory and inclusive development approaches in service delivery. However, the vast knowledge, most of which is acquired through academic and non-academic institutions, is not often translated into practice. Instead, as observed by Robert Chambers, the long and painful experience of development over the 50 years has ignored citizen knowledge, expertise and experience (Chambers, 1997). The existence of tyrannies in development practice thrive, and this phenomenon manifests in policies that marginalise the poor. The lack of inclusive development underpins the exclusion and marginalisation of the poor in service delivery, which leads to the limited basic services in the inner city of Johannesburg. This assertion is with specific reference to the buildings that were abandoned by their owners in the inner city due to factors related to the collapse of apartheid and the subsequent devaluing of their properties. Subsequently, these buildings were hijacked by people from different places who needed accommodation. They were not maintained and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Authority cut off water and electricity supplies to these buildings because of accumulated property tax arrears. The state of the buildings therefore deteriorated, resulting in them being referred to as 'bad buildings' in scholarship. The continued withdrawal of services by the Metropolitan Authority from the residents of these buildings is considered marginalisation in this study.

The marginalisation of the poor cannot be separated from international factors such as globalisation and privatisation. Globalisation is the growing interdependence characterised by a transition of individuals and countries from functioning independently to being dependent on each other (Bertucci and Alberti, 2005). Globalisation has ushered in a transition in the way states provide services, a change adversely impacting the citizens of poor countries. States are flexible to subcontract services such as water supply, waste collection and electricity supply for the purpose of improving efficiency and generating revenue. In the case of South Africa, local governments such as the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality are supposed to be the service providers, however, they are also permitted to outsource the delivery of public services if necessary. The high rate of globalisation has led to polarisation between the rich and the poor (Murshed, 2002). Countries embrace globalisation with the intention of improving economic growth, but in the process, there is often a group of people who are excluded. This exclusion is always based on socio-economic, socio-cultural and political environments (Andersen et al., 2009).

The main factors that contribute to exclusion in developed countries are political discourses,

but in developing countries, the factors include both political discourses and economic factors (Andersen et al., 2009; Murshed, 2002). South African apartheid legislation promoted the exclusion of the majority of South Africans in various activities (Carmody, 2002). However, this socio-economic study reveals social exclusion of residents of the 'bad buildings' in the inner city of Johannesburg from basic service delivery.

This marginalisation also manifests in lack of citizen participation in various programmes and development processes. Marginalisation is high in communities which hardly have access to education, housing and healthcare (Baatjes, 2003). The population marginalised in such essential activities lose the platform to express their needs and are unrepresented in development platforms, which accentuates marginalisation in service delivery. The socio-economic study was conducted mainly in the inner city of Johannesburg and covered five 'bad buildings': Bekezela, Jossana Court, Malvern and Sandringham, all in the inner city of Johannesburg, and Alexandra, which is located outside the inner city.

1.1 Summary of findings

- The five buildings had all the basic services cut off by the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, thus residents resort to either unofficial electricity and water connections or access services available in the closest public facilities.
- The most common form of tenure in these buildings is occupiers with no formal agreement to occupy the buildings from either the municipality or the building owners or any other authority. Currently, the residents derive a sense of social security and legitimacy based on the number of years stayed in the community and a sense of community belonging.
- 31 percent employed, 23 percent self-employed and 46 percent unemployed.
- Economic factors underpin residents' decision to move into the so-called 'bad buildings'.
- Ninety-six percent of the interviewees have good access to health facilities.
- Lack of organised structures representing the residents of the 'bad buildings' limits the capacity of residents to mobilise and address their challenges regarding basic services.
- Sixty-six percent of the residents in the five buildings view provision of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses as a solution to their housing challenge.
- Seventy-four percent of the residents in the five buildings are not willing to be relocated to a building away from the inner city.
- There is a difference between long-term and short-term accommodation aspirations of the residents. Whilst they are reluctant to relocate from the inner city because of economic benefits from being in close proximity to their work places, they expect the government to provide them with RDP houses, yet the government often finds vacant land to build RDP houses outside the inner city.

2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Planact's fundamental goal is to improve the living conditions of low income communities. Basic services are required for an improved quality of life, therefore lack of access to basic services negatively affects the living standards of any community. Planact implements several different programmes: participatory governance, integrated human settlements and community economic development in informal settlements. In October 2014, Planact extended its development programmes to the inner city of Johannesburg, which is characterised by limited basic services for residents. Planact established a partnership with the Inner City Resource Centre (ICRC) in order to promote collaboration in implementing programmes to improve the living conditions of residents in the inner city, in particular, 'bad buildings' in Johannesburg. For over a decade, the ICRC has been providing legal and socio-educational information to the residents of the buildings regarding their rights to access basic services.

In simple terms 'bad buildings' are seen as dysfunctional buildings. The dysfunctionality manifests in the state of dilapidation of the buildings, worsened by the fact that the City of Johannesburg is concerned with violation of municipal laws and has cut off water and electricity supplies from these buildings. This situation, coupled with the negligence or desertion by the owners of the buildings, leading to lack of maintenance, has resulted in poor environmental conditions. Notably, the state of the 'bad buildings' adversely affects residents, property owners, the municipality and the environment (Zack et al., 2009).

Planact and ICRC initiated the socio-economic study in the five buildings for the purposes of:

- Obtaining information about the conditions of the five buildings and providing insights into the housing tenure existing in the 83 'bad buildings' in the inner city (City of Johannesburg, 2015).
- Understanding the perceptions of the residents regarding the current housing and basic services conditions in the inner city of Johannesburg and their views on future government housing policy.
- Determining the levels of marginalisation of the residents in the inner city and analysing policy implications for urban development.
- Using the data to inform Planact's and ICRC'S interventions required to improve the living conditions of the residents in the buildings.

Since Planact had not been involved in the development issues of the inner city before, it was considered necessary to conduct the study to improve its understanding of the challenges. Planact's offices are located in close proximity to the inner city, thus it was also rational to include it in development programmes and demonstrate commitment in contributing to the development of low-income communities.

The study focused on five buildings with different housing tenure status, which are:

- Buildings which experienced eviction and buildings under eviction threats.
- Buildings owned by Passenger Railway Agency of South Africa (PRASA).
- Building which are the property of the city of Johannesburg, for example Jossana Court.
- Buildings operated by slumlords who promote high densities in order to generate income.
- Buildings where residents purchased units and as such multiple owners exist in one building.

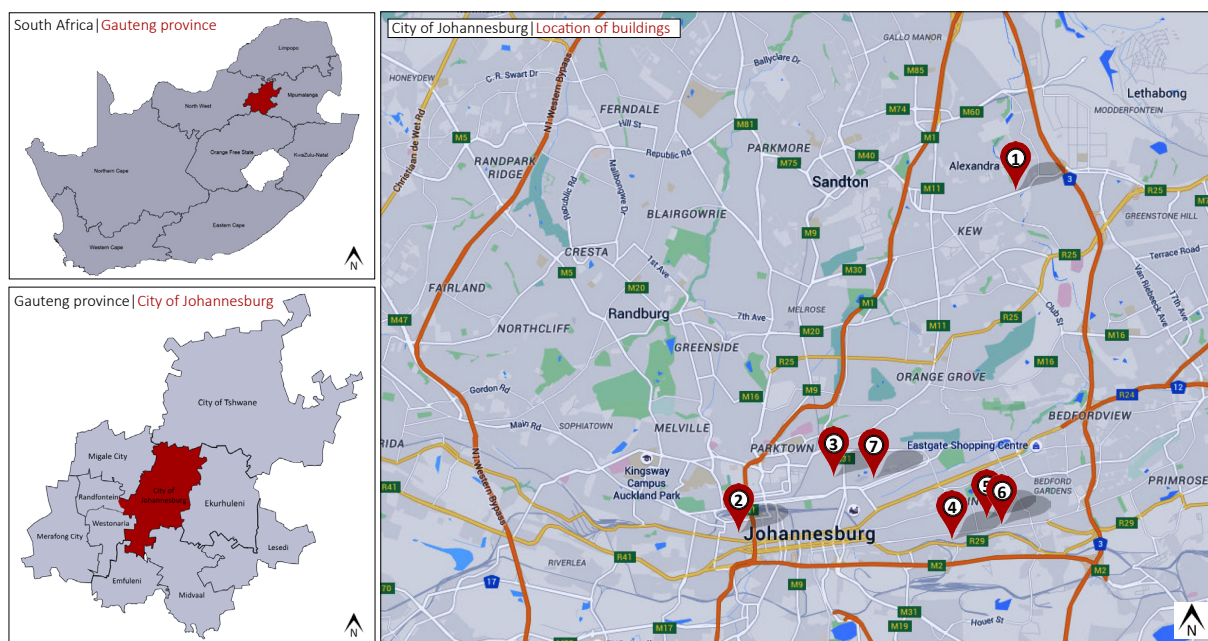
However, some of the buildings fall into more than one category.

The household survey was conducted in five buildings. Please see the paragraph on methodology (Section 6) which explains how these buildings were selected. Table 1 shows the location of the buildings.

Table 1: Location of buildings

Key No.	Name of the building	Location in Johannesburg	Plot number (erf)
1	Alexandra*	98 London Road, Alexandra	583
2	Bekezela	44 Carr Street, Newtown	40-43
7	Jossana Court	10 Berea Road, Bertrams	90-91
4	Malvern	9 Berlein Street	163
5		149 Persimmon Street	1000
6		(4/18th Street)	304
3	Sandringham	Corner of Lily Avenue and Olivia Road, Berea	306

*Alexandra is located outside the inner city but was included in this study for the purpose of giving insights into conditions of other bad buildings not within the inner city.



Map adapted by Planact from Google Maps (2016)

3. STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The structure of the report is as follows:

- Section 2 presents the executive summary and purpose of the study.
- Section 4 provides a background to the provision of basic services in low income communities in South Africa.
- Section 5 presents theoretical perspectives on global policies on housing and basic services.
- Section 6 provides the methodology employed in the study.
- Sections 7 and 8 cover findings from the five buildings. They provide a profile of the buildings, analyse the current conditions and basic services required, and analyse the views of the residents regarding how the housing challenge can be addressed.
- Section 9 provides conclusion and draws out policy implications on the five buildings.

4. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

The city of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality faces many challenges emanating from the growing urban population and the subsequent high demands for services. It attracts local and international migrants who seek economic opportunities. The city of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality has a population of more than 4.4 million people, accounting for about 36 percent of Gauteng's population and 8 percent of the national population (Statistics South Africa, 2011; HDA, 2012). This city therefore faces the challenge of the ever-growing urban population and balancing the fiscal and administrative realities with the ever-increasing demand for services (Beall and Ngonyama, 2009). The increase in population has led to a shortage of housing and land for residential development. In response to the population increase, the city has initiated different housing programmes. For instance, in 2007 the City of Johannesburg introduced the Johannesburg Inner City Charter which would establish the Inner City Housing Plan to drive development. The programme would provide 50,000 new and affordable residential units by 2015 (JDA 2013). Although it managed to provide 70 percent of the deliverables in the form of residential units, it was unable to adequately revitalise the inner city and address the housing needs for the poor.

In 2012, the Inner City Road map was initiated as the framework for the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) to monitor the Growth and Development Strategy 2040. This guided investment and urban management. Planact's programmes are aligned with the road map's principles of promoting good governance and achieving social inclusion through support and enablement. These principles are important in Johannesburg, a city considered as an unequal city in terms of the social and economic status of its inhabitants and as such comprising a large poor urban population.

The City of Johannesburg reports that 40 percent of the urban population live in inadequate and almost uninhabitable housing, with insufficient municipal services. It is comprised of the

poor who are largely black (72%), earning less than R25,000 per annum (City of Johannesburg, 2015). However, there are also a substantial number of middle and upper class inhabitants competing in the market. Other characteristics of the city include that it is in transition, a cosmopolitan centre consisting of the government and private sectors renegotiating their relationship in the urban space: this affects land development (Beall and Ngonyama, 2009). The hijacking of deserted buildings in the city indicates the shortage of affordable housing in the inner city and the struggle for survival by the poor, who are mainly individuals who come to the city in search for improved employment opportunities. 'Bad buildings' are an important component of the inner city as they accommodate the majority of the 8 percent of the residents who live in the inner city of Johannesburg (Tomlinson et al., 2014).

The inner city is part of the former Region 8 administrative area of the City of Johannesburg. It combines the city centre or central business district with the lower density predominately residential areas to the east of the city centre consisting of Yeoville, Bertrams, Troyeville, Braamfontein, Jeppestown, the higher density suburbs of Berea and Hillbrow, and the areas of Newtown, Fordsburg and Pageview / Vrededorp to the west of Newtown (JDA, 2001). The inner city has become a space of massive contestation between the various inner city actors. Private sector developers with the support of the City of Johannesburg strive to regenerate the inner city through the property market (Beall and Ngonyama, 2009; Murray, 2008), while inner city residents with the support of legal NGOs have been involved in legal battles with the authorities over evictions, and have successfully exercised their right to the city (Wilson, 2009).

In this study, findings from five 'bad buildings' are presented, these are all (with the exception of Alexandra) situated in the inner city and are confronted with challenges regarding accessing basic services and decent housing. The residents of the 'bad buildings' live under the threat of eviction. 'Bad buildings' are those buildings in the inner city which have been abandoned and neglected by their owners, leading to illegal occupation by people desperate for accommodation. A total of 83 'bad buildings' exist in the centre of Johannesburg (City of Johannesburg, 2015). These buildings are characterised by poor physical conditions, violation of municipal laws, compromised ownership and management and dysfunctional services provision (Zack et al., 2009).

This study is based on the premise that exclusion and marginalisation of the poor in service delivery seems to be a continual struggle for the poor in developing countries including post-apartheid South Africa. The five buildings are covered by this study for the purpose of achieving three objectives. Firstly, it provides empirical evidence demonstrating the housing tenure existing in the buildings and the marginalisation of the residents in service delivery as manifested in overcrowding, lack of access to basic services and deteriorating buildings. Secondly, the survey provides insights into perceptions of residents regarding existing housing conditions and expected future government interventions. Lastly, the report provides recommendations on policy formulation for development, particularly infrastructure development in the context of South Africa.

5. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON HOUSING AND BASIC SERVICES

In Africa and Asia, it is speculated that the urban population will double in the next two decades, while the urban share of global poverty is increasing (UN-Habitat, 2015). These demographic shifts suggest that new challenges will be experienced in the development sector, especially in the provision of basic services, and designing and implementation of effective poverty reduction strategies. Unequal urban development can be expected to increase in developing countries in Asia and Africa. The scale of growth of informal settlements in developing countries illustrates this assertion. For an example, Mumbai, the capital city of India, and Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya, have acutely unequal urban development, with 40 percent and 60 percent respectively of their urban population living in slums.

In South Africa, informal settlements currently stand at 22 percent of the urban population. Although this figure is low compared to the scale of informal settlements in Mumbai and Nairobi, and in many other developing countries, the magnitude of the problem is equally intense. The informal settlements are characterised by a severe lack of service provision and often poor access to employment opportunities. They are often marginalised in service provision because of their illegal tenure status. The residents of informal settlements struggle to access housing and basic services such as water, electricity and proper sanitation. The residents of the 'bad buildings' in the inner city experience similar service delivery challenges. Attempts made by property owners and the business sector in the 1990s to embrace urban regeneration to address inequality and curb urban decay in the inner city have had insignificant effects (JDA,2013). Inequality is not unique to South Africa, but is observed in many developing countries where urban planning tends to favour the rich and the middle class. In Pakistan, Gazdar and Mallah (2011) report that even social protection has not been able meet the needs of the poor. In South Africa, interventions to housing and basic needs implemented in the different provinces have been unable to effectively address social marginalisation. The concepts of marginalisation and exclusion are therefore important in investigating challenges surrounding provision of housing and basic services in the inner city of Johannesburg. Both concepts are embedded in the social inequality experienced in many developing countries. Inequality means extreme differences between poverty and wealth, and inequalities may occur in housing provision, access to services, access to open land, education, safety and security.

The 'bad buildings' are characterised by what can be considered grabbing of basic services from the residents. Similar to land grabbing which takes place in a field that is plural-legal, both locally and globally, housing and basic services grabbing occur in a space characterised by formal and informal rules. The buildings have been cut off from water and electricity supplies by the Municipality of Johannesburg, hence residents suffer from marginalisation in service provision, despite the fact that protests over lack of provision of services in the municipalities of South Africa are frequently staged by residents who demand improved service delivery.

Over the last twenty years the South African government has initiated a number of policies and strategies that were meant to reduce the level of marginalisation but have in some cases generated additional negative effects. To illustrate this assertion, the RDP, which was meant to establish an equal society through reconstruction and development, failed because of financial constraints, organisational constraints and political will. The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy was intended to provide more jobs for South African citizens, but it further increased unemployment. GEAR then focused on privatisation and outsourcing of service delivery that led to a larger gap between the rich and the poor (Baatjes, 2003). In addition, GEAR led to fewer people benefiting from the RDP. In essence, economic investment and globalisation took precedence over the needs of the marginalised – that is, the people who were in need of housing (Habib and Padayachee, 2000).

At local government level, another event that further marginalised the poor and vulnerable was the Operation Clean Sweep initiative that was instigated by the City of Johannesburg (Webster, 2015). Street traders were removed from the streets of inner city of Johannesburg and this led to many being displaced (Webster, 2015). This initiative marginalised the traders who remained with no space for economic activities, and by this the state prioritised the aesthetics of the city over the rights of its citizens.

The data collected during the study provide empirical evidence to the scholarly discourse on exclusion and marginalisation of the poor in municipal services in developing countries. Many poor residents who cannot afford housing in the cities find themselves with no option but to strive for survival through engaging in informal strategies that often violate urban policies. Illegal immigrants living in these informal settlements and in the inner city also suffer exclusion by virtue of their immigration status. Presently, the total number of illegal immigrants in South Africa is estimated to be 5 million and this suggests that this number cannot access formal housing and as such tend to resort to informal accommodation such as the ‘bad buildings’ in the inner city which are less difficult to access.

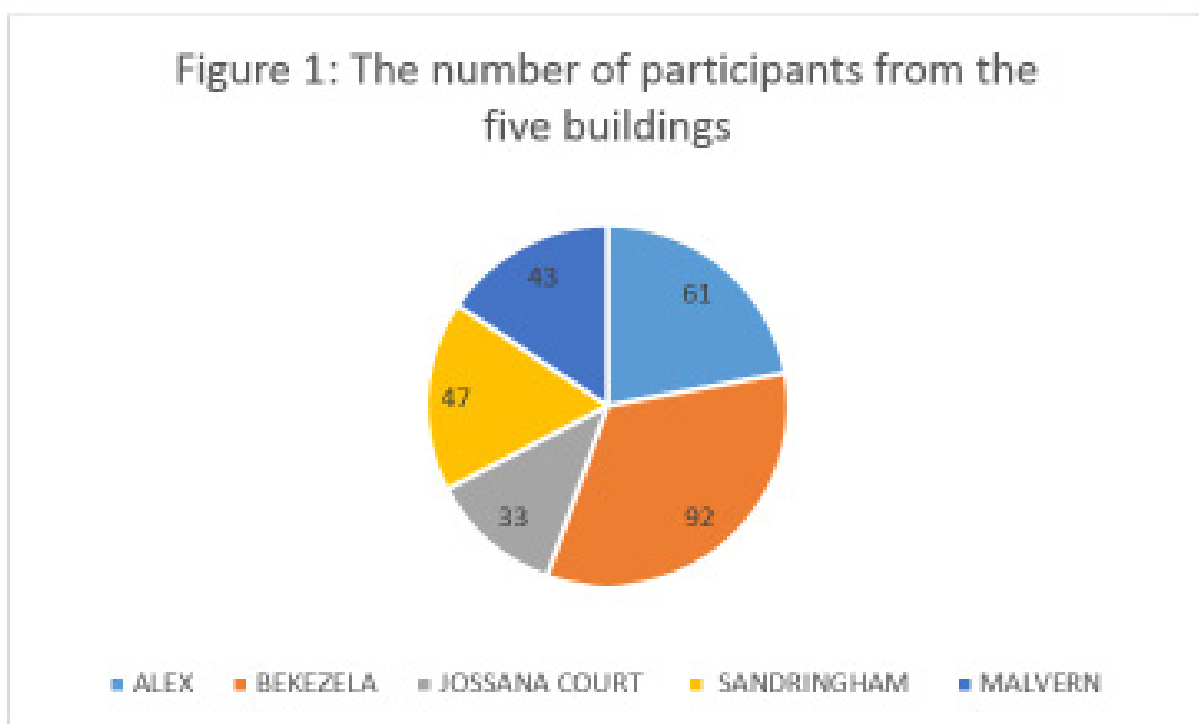
6. METHODOLOGY

The study presents findings from a survey conducted in the inner city of Johannesburg. A total of 276 interviews were conducted with adults residing in five buildings: Alexandra, Bekezela, Jossana Court, Sandringham and Malvern. The buildings were sampled using information obtained from the ICRC. The study does not claim to be completely representative of all the ‘bad buildings’ in the inner city. However, efforts were made to purposefully sample buildings with different tenure status. The socio-economic survey questionnaire compiled by Planact consisted of 38 questions on demographics of respondents, nature of occupation of building, access to basic services and governance. The questionnaire consisted of a mixture of qualitative and quantitative questions, and was used to gather the profile, perceptions, attitudes and opinions of residents regarding the living conditions in the ‘bad buildings’.

Five ICRC officials conducted the fieldwork for this study with the assistance of ten residents

of the 'bad buildings'. The fieldwork team who administered the questionnaire took part in a workshop aimed at enhancing their understanding of the questionnaire and familiarising them with it. During the workshop, they provided their input to the questions. A few questions that were unclear were revised to adapt them to the language commonly used in the inner city. For instance, it transpired that the residents use words such as 'slumlord' and 'mastandi' (official caretaker) which were different to those understood by the designers of the questionnaire. Ms Nomathemba Dladla, Tian Tian and Muhammad Tayob, who are Planact interns, and Thabani, an ICRC official, captured the data. The data was captured using mainly Microsoft Excel and a small percentage, approximately 10 percent, of the data was captured on R system which is statistical computing software. The latter had to be abandoned because most of the data capturers were not used to it.

Figure 1 shows total number of interviewees from the five buildings who participated in the survey. The 276 interviewees comprised 101 females and 175 males. The chart shows the number of participants per building which are proportional to the number of people in the building.



To analyse the data, the researcher used an inductive approach to data analysis by drawing themes emerging from the responses of the interviewees. The qualitative questions helped to provide insight into the challenges of the residents.

To ensure gender balance in participants of the study, 101 female and 175 male participants were included in the study. The disproportion in gender could be attributed to the fact that two of the buildings, Alex and Bekezela, have a high population of males. The gender imbalance can be considered as one of the limitations of the study, with however little negative effect on

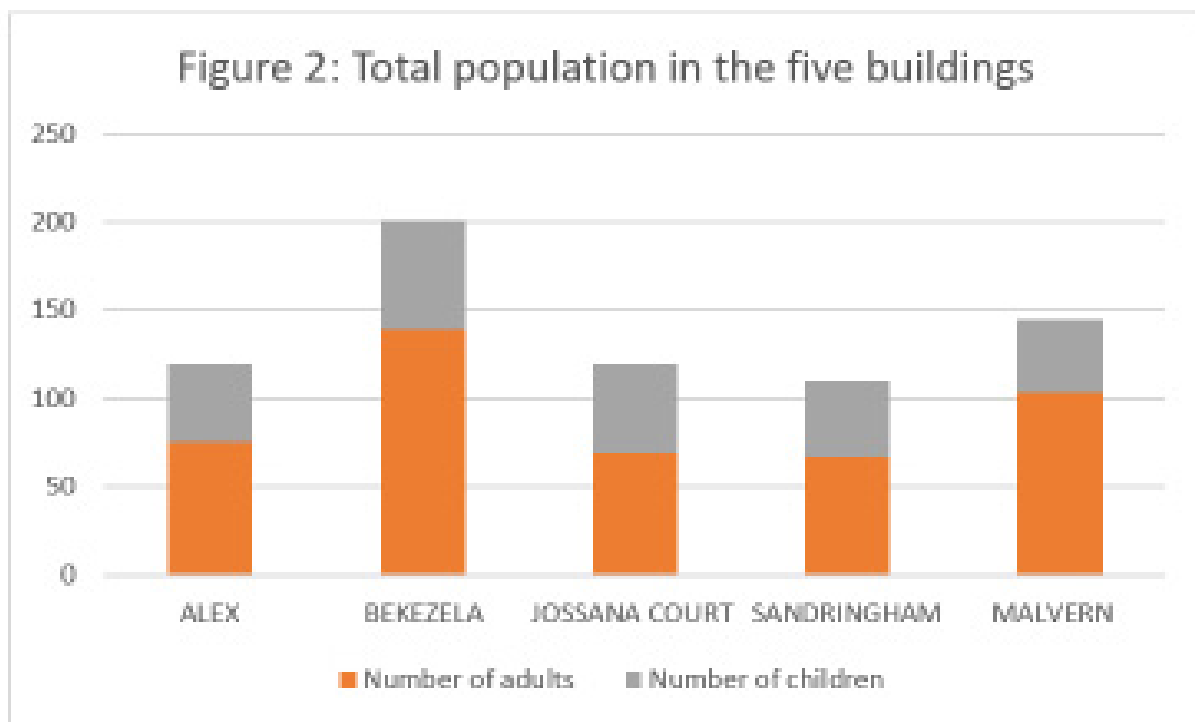
the findings of the study because the study did not seek to examine gender issues per se but basic services issues affecting all sexes. This does not negate the fact that women's views are important which explains why 101 female participants were involved in the study.

Another limitation of the study is that the sample does not represent all the housing tenures existing in the 'bad buildings' in the inner city. However, we can draw some general inferences from this study and apply these to the other buildings which share similar environments and conditions and have portrayed similar behaviour to the residents in the buildings under review.

7. FINDINGS

7.1 Demographics and profile of residents

The five buildings accommodate 694 residents in total, consisting of 453 adults aged between 26 and 70 and 241 children of 25 and younger. Figure 2 gives a tabulated breakdown of the population per building. A common factor across all the five buildings is the high number of adults compared to the number of children. Bekezela has the highest number of residents: 139 adults and 62 children.



The average age in all the buildings is 40, and 34 percent of the residents fall in this age category. This is closely followed by residents between the ages of 46 and 55 who comprise 25 percent of the total population. The third largest group was the youth between ages 26-35 at 22 percent. The statistics show that the buildings are occupied by an economic productive class. This supports the hypothesis made earlier in this study that the main factor

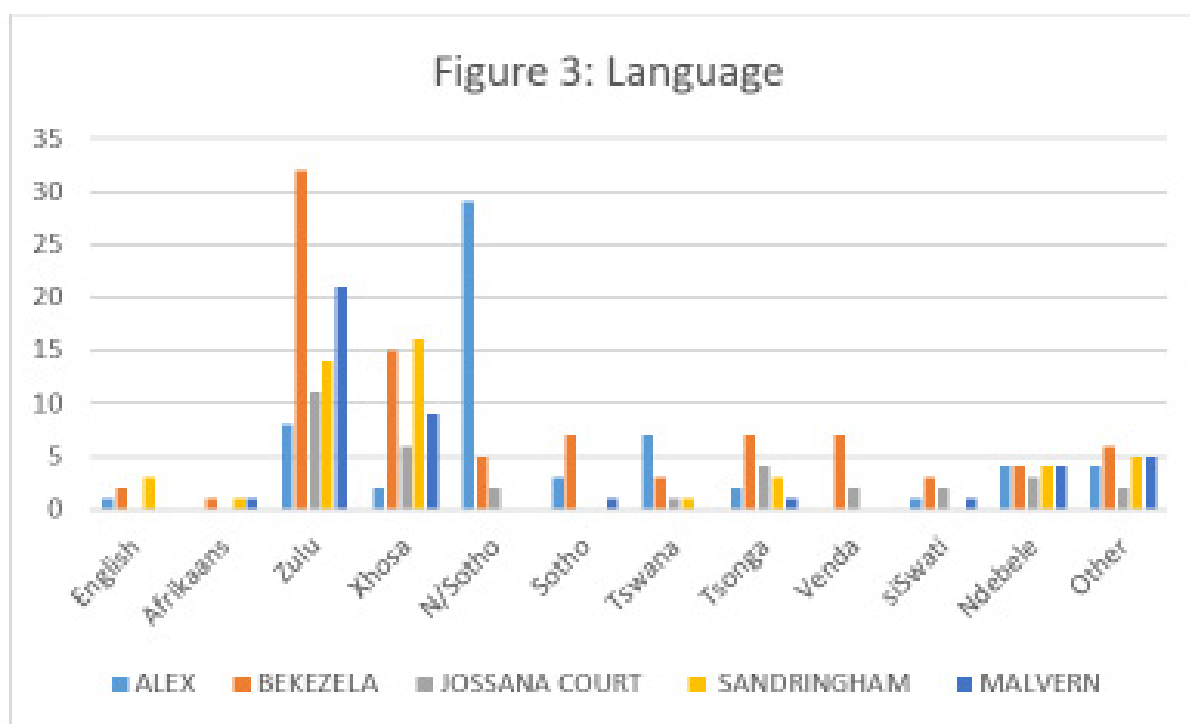
underlying occupation of the buildings is being in close proximity to employment and business opportunities. For instance, in Bekezela 54 percent of the residents are between 36 and 45 years old, whilst in Sandringham 25 percent are between 36 and 45 years. In Malvern 40 percent of the residents range between the ages of 26 and 35.

The demographics reveal that it is mainly the economic productive class who occupy the buildings for the purpose of being close to economic opportunities. Most of the residents are occupiers (please see definitions of terms in the glossary). The second largest group is tenants.

7.2 Languages

Zulu and Xhosa are the most commonly spoken languages by residents in Bekezela, Sandringham and Malvern. Alexandra has the highest number of Sotho-speaking residents: 53 percent speak Sotho as their first language.

Figure 3.1 gives a reflection of the distribution of languages in the five buildings. Please note that the y-axis shows the actual number of participants and not percentages.

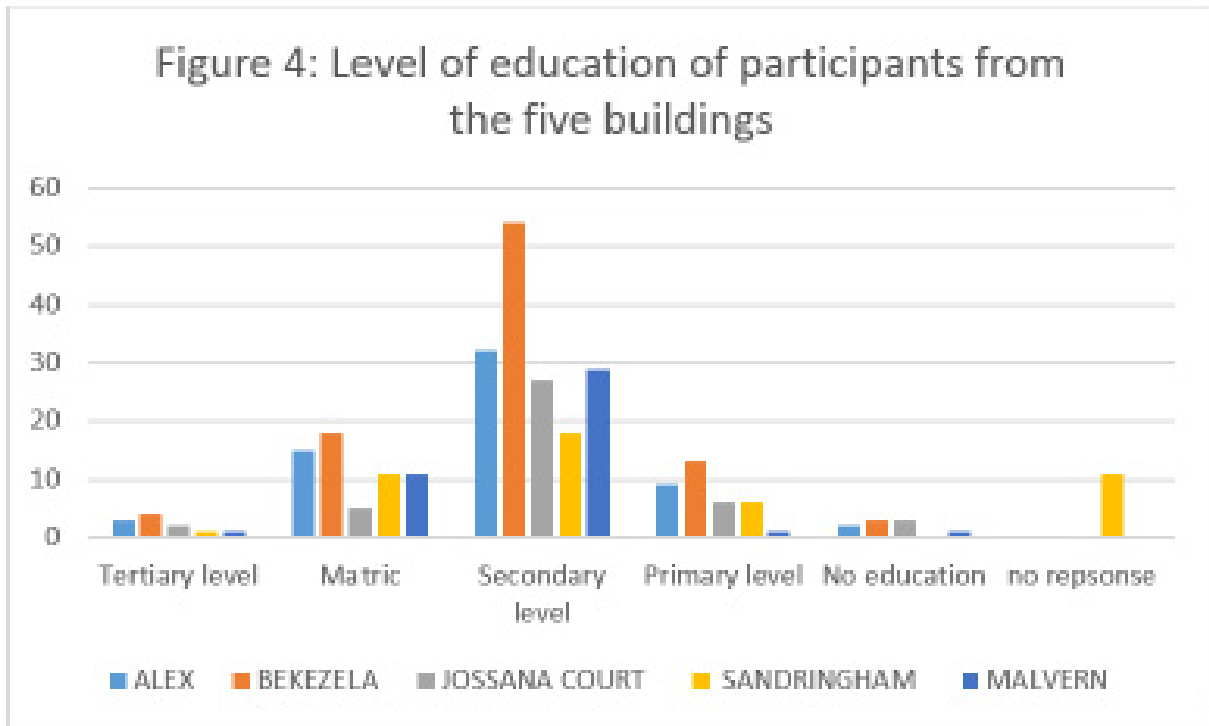


In Bekezela the first language is Zulu and Xhosa is the second most used. In Sandringham, Zulu is the first language of many of the occupants, and Xhosa is also predominantly used. The other languages of the occupants in this building are Tsonga and Ndebele but these are not so common.

7.3 Education

The study revealed that only 4 percent of the residents have tertiary education, although

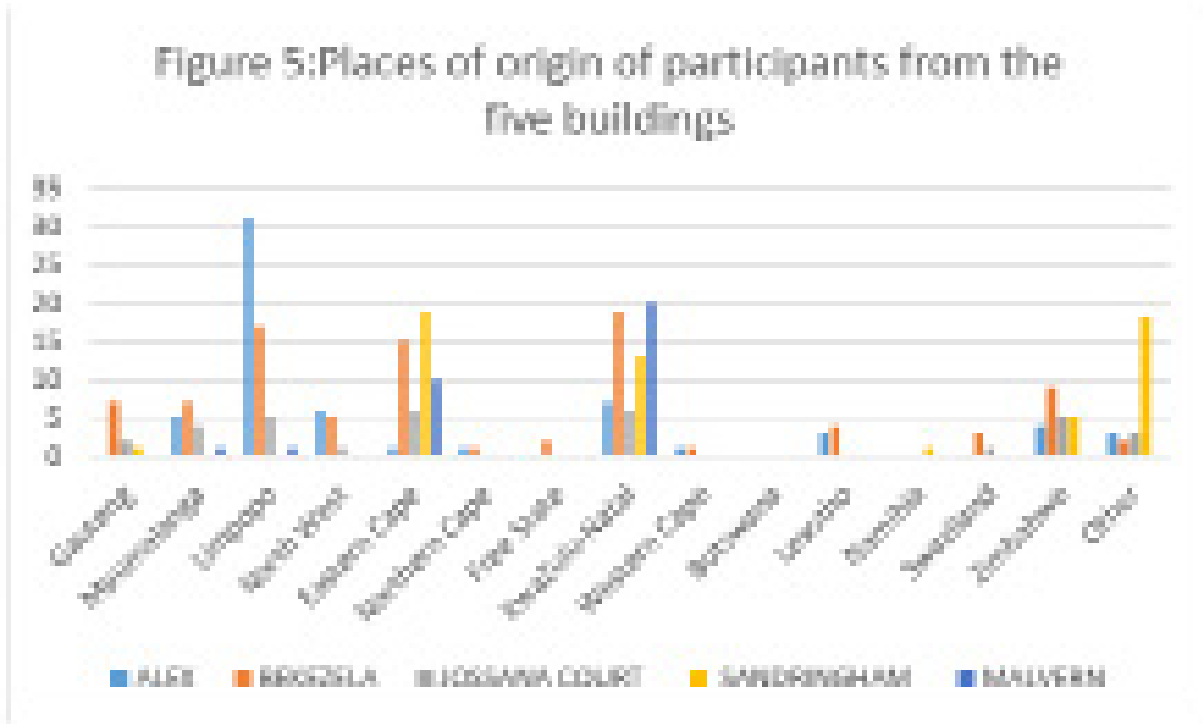
the majority (50%) had secondary education. Jossana Court recorded the highest proportion of residents with secondary education at 84 percent, followed by Malvern with 67 percent, Bekezela with 59 percent, Alexandra with 53 percent and Sandringham 38 percent. Whilst the majority of these residents work in the informal sector doing jobs such as trading on the streets, recycling, mechanics and other small jobs, the minority with tertiary education work in the formal sector. Figure 4 summarises the level of education in all the buildings.



The Y-axis shows the number of participants. The analysis above converted these numbers into percentages.

7.4 Place of origin

The findings show that most residents of these buildings are from South Africa’s provinces: Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. Only 13 percent of the residents come from neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.



The majority (53%) of residents in Alexandra hail from Limpopo Province, whilst Bekezela consists of residents from Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

Although the residents are multiethnic, each building seems to have a language mostly used as a first language. In Alexandra the language most used is Sotho and the second most used language is Zulu.

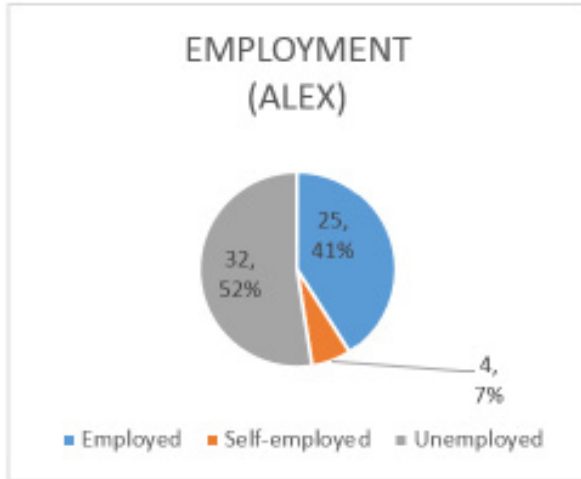
7.5 Employment and economic status

The survey shows that 31 percent of the residents are employed, 23 percent are self-employed and 46 percent are unemployed. Bekezela recorded the highest number of unemployed residents at 55 percent, the percentage of employed residents is 19, and 26 percent of the residents are self-employed. Malvern has the highest number of employed residents at 53 percent. The charts below present a detailed employment status of the survey participants from the sampled buildings.

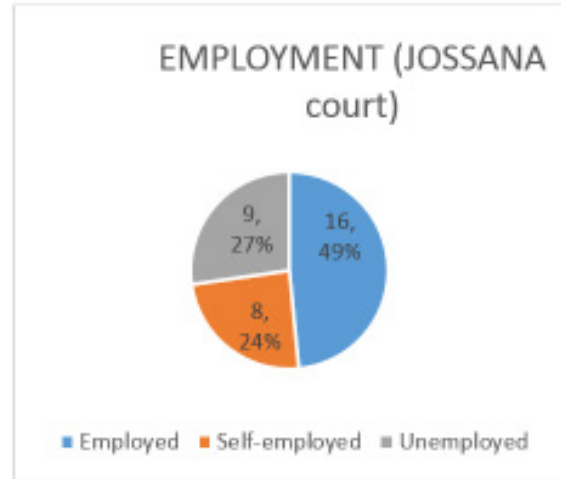
The charts below show the numbers as well as the percentages.

Figures 6(a)-6(e): Employment status of the participants from the five buildings

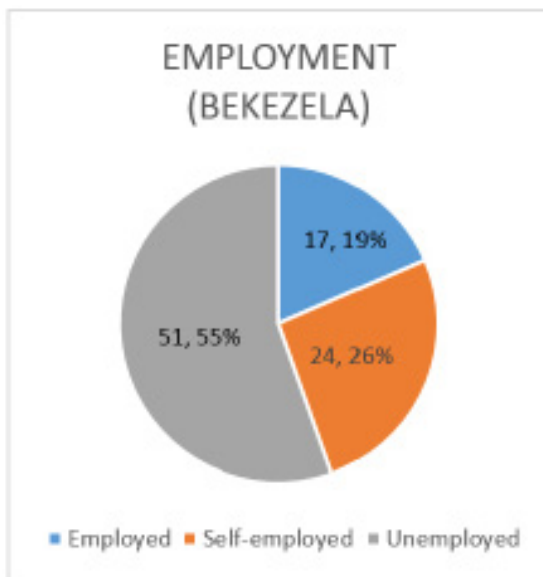
6(a)



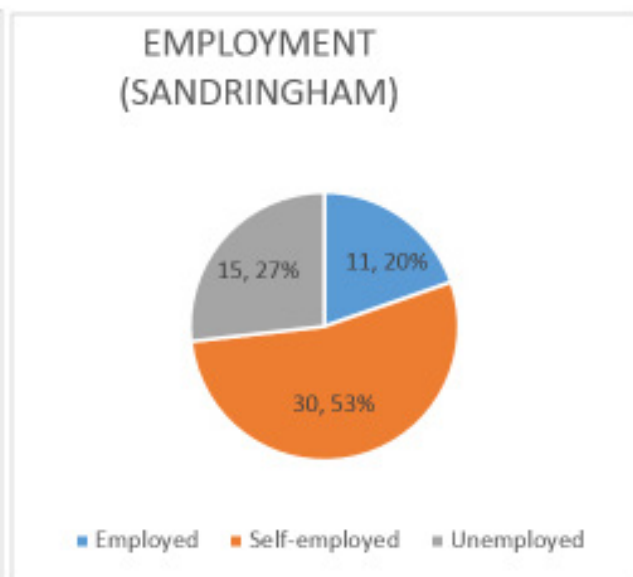
6(b)



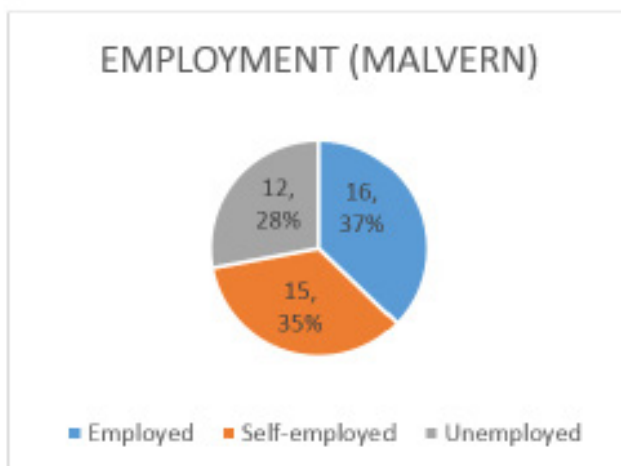
6(c)



6(d)



6(e)



The data above show that Jossana Court has the highest number of employed residents at 49 percent, followed by Alexandra at 41 percent. The unemployment rate is highest in Bekezela, at 55 percent. The variation in self-employment between the different buildings can be attributed to the different affordability status of the residents. For instance renting accommodation in Bekezela is cheaper than renting in Sandringham.

Sixty-seven percent of the participants are not beneficiaries of any grant, 29 percent of households receive social grants from the government of South Africa, 2 percent of residents receive a pension grant, 1 percent of residents receive a disability grant and 1 percent of residents receive other (unidentified) support. The meagre percentage of residents receiving a pension is not surprising given that the majority of the residents are involved in informal activities which do not offer a pension benefit. The fact that approximately half of the population is unemployed explains their low economic status which is also evident in their monthly income reflected in the section on monthly income presented in Figure 8.

7.6 Monthly income

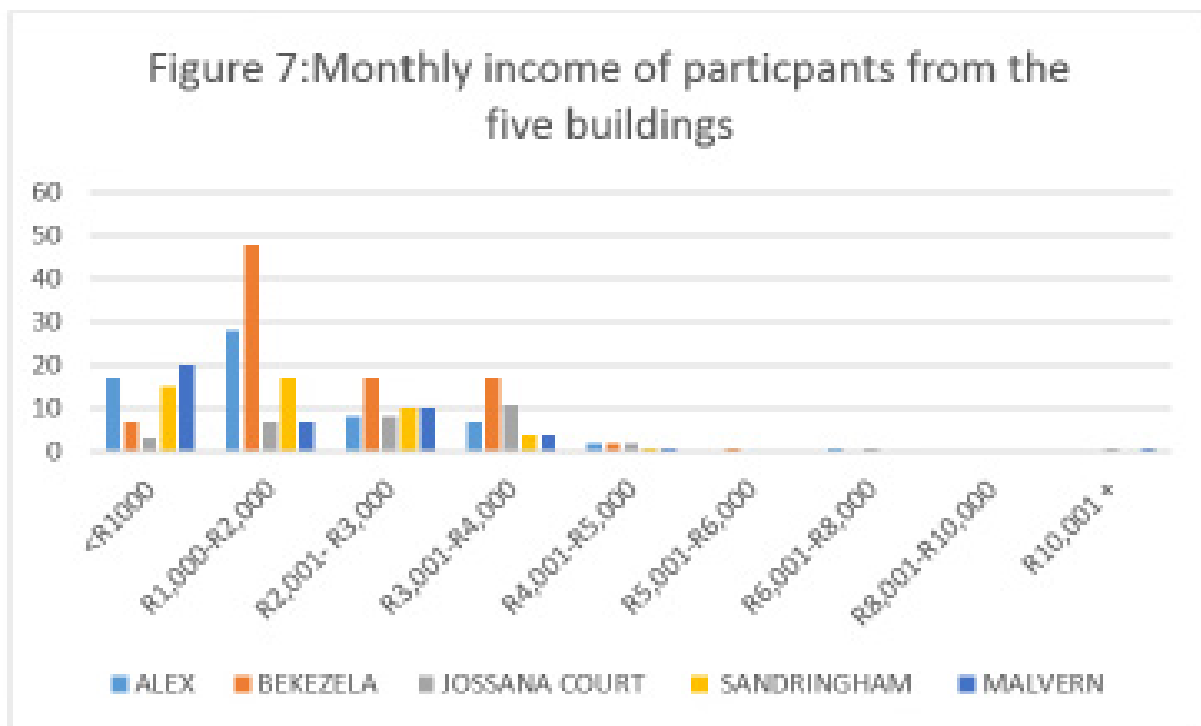


Figure 7 reveals that participants in the five ‘bad buildings’ earn a monthly income of between R1,000 and R4,000. Approximately 50 residents of Bekezela who participated in this study earn between R1,000 and R2,000, while 19 percent of the residents earn between R3,000 and R5,000. Only 2 percent of the population receive a monthly income above R5,000. The low income status could be the reason why they look for cheaper accommodation in the deserted buildings as they cannot afford rentals for formal housing.

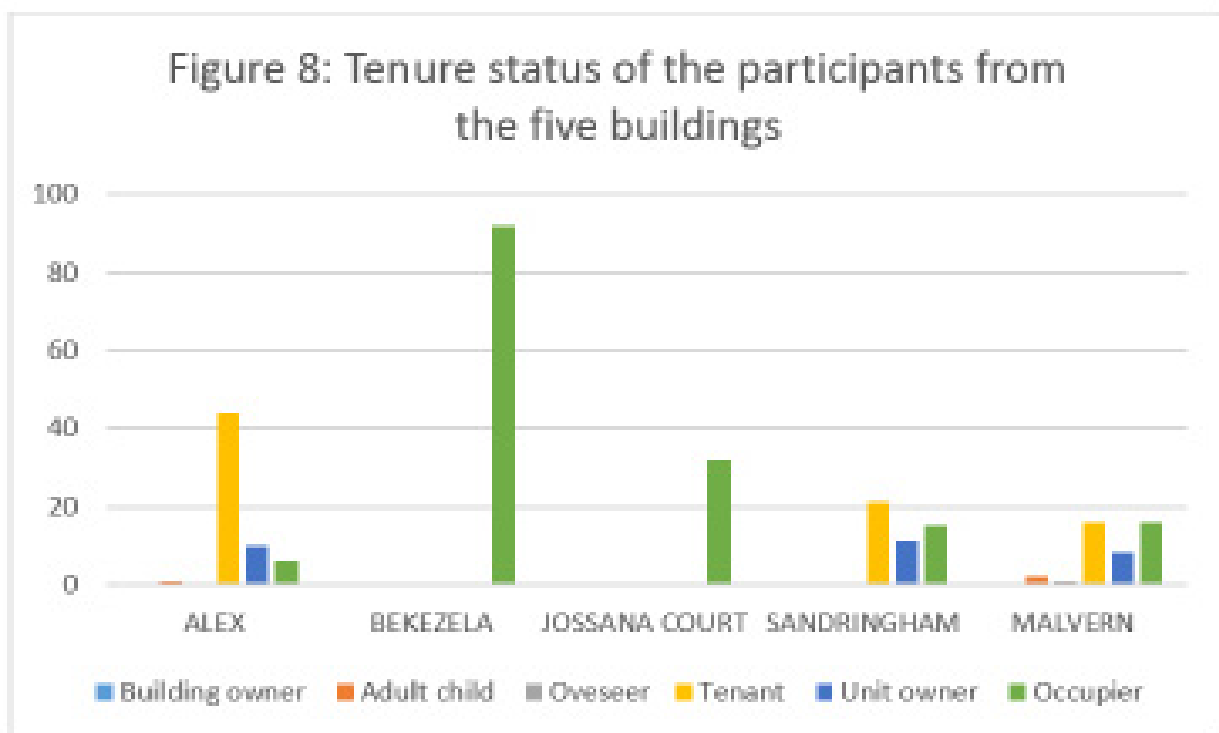
Matching the residents of the abandoned buildings’ monthly incomes with the cost of housing in Johannesburg enhances our understanding about the intensity of the housing challenges in

Johannesburg. In the city of Johannesburg, 49 percent of households earn less than R3,200, and there is an enormous gap in the provision of low-cost housing (Tissington, 2013). The lack of low cost housing in the inner city of Johannesburg drives the low income class to find possible alternative accommodation, even if it means moving to temporary accommodation with no basic services.

7.7 Tenure status

The most common form of tenure in these buildings are the occupiers, with no formal agreement to occupy the buildings from either the municipality or the building owners or any other authority. Out of the 276 interviewees, 161 (58%) were occupiers. They mentioned that they were advised by other occupiers about the available accommodation. Bekezela recorded the highest number of occupiers at 92, which means that 100 percent of the total population are occupiers. Alexandra has only 6 occupiers and 1 adult child.

Figure 9 gives a detailed reflection on the tenure status of the residents in the five buildings. The second highest group is the tenants at 29 percent. Out of the 276 participants in this study, 81 are tenants. The number of unit owners is 29 (11%). The study shows that 1 percent of the residents is an overseer. Alexandra recorded the highest number of residents who are tenants (72%), followed by Sandringham (45%). Malvern has the third highest number of residents who are tenants (37%). In Bekezela many of the residents merely occupied the land and built shacks thus they are not renting. In Alexandra people sought rooms to rent from people who had already built houses. Figure 8 below shows a summary of the tenure status of residents in the five buildings. Please note these are actual numbers and not percentages.

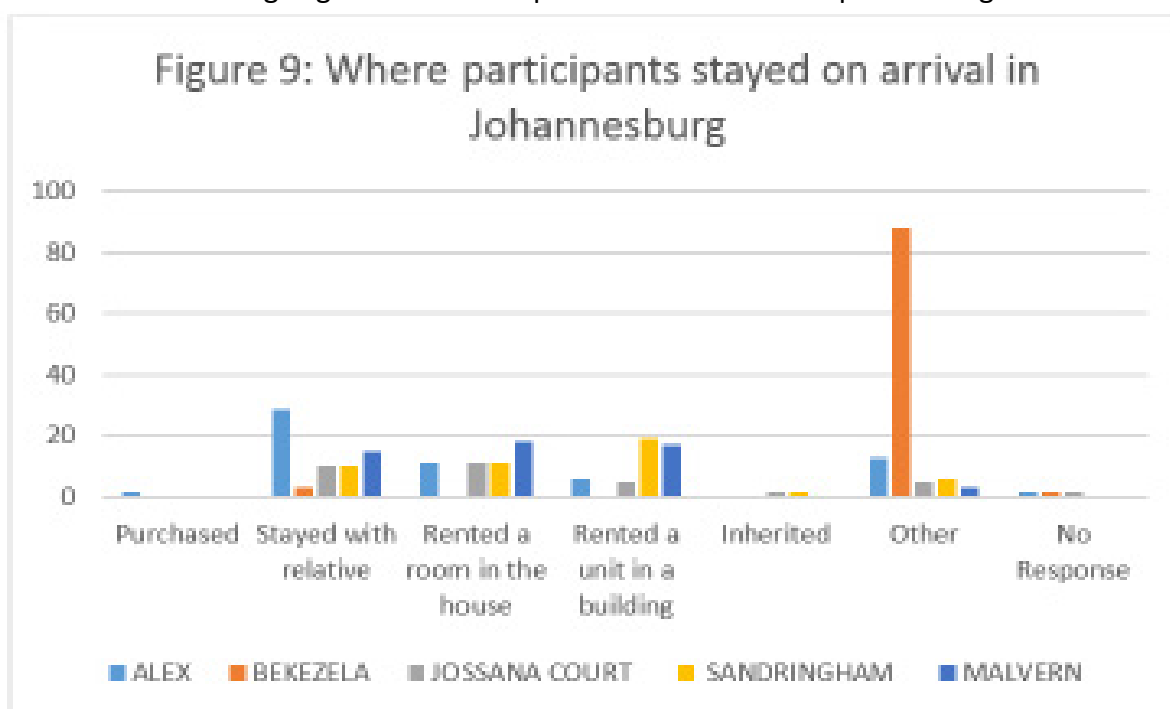


7.8 When did the residents occupy the buildings?

The findings reveal that residents of the buildings occupied the buildings between 1990 and 2014. Seventy-two percent of the residents moved to the building between 2000 and 2010. Prior to this period hijacking of ‘bad buildings’ was not common. Most of these residents migrated from three provinces: Limpopo, Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal. The number of international residents who stay in these buildings is less than 5 percent and this is comprised of migrants from Namibia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Swaziland. A common denominator in all the five buildings is that there are Zimbabwean nationals, whilst only two buildings are occupied by Lesotho and Swazi nationals. One building is occupied by approximately 1 percent of migrants from Namibia. The economic hardships experienced by Zimbabwe in the 1990s can explain the presence of Zimbabweans in all the buildings. Crush and Tevera (2010) report that in the early 1990s, the collapse of apartheid in South Africa and growing economic hardship in Zimbabwe led to an increase in the numbers of Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa. In 1994 the number of Zimbabweans in South Africa increased to 750,000. This survey reveals that only 10 of the residents came from Gauteng, 2 from Northern Cape and 2 from the Free State. It can be argued that the housing challenges confronting Gauteng, especially the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, are both internally and externally induced.

The survey further reveals that 24 percent of the residents of the five ‘bad buildings’ stayed with relatives during the early months of their stay in the buildings, whilst 18 percent rented a room in the buildings. The majority of these migrants eventually rented their own rooms in the buildings or in other buildings. This demonstrates a high rate of internal relocation within the buildings.

One percent of the respondents did not want to answer the question regarding how they accessed the building. Figure 9 shows responses of interviewees per building.



* Residents in Bekezela occupied vacant land and built shacks.

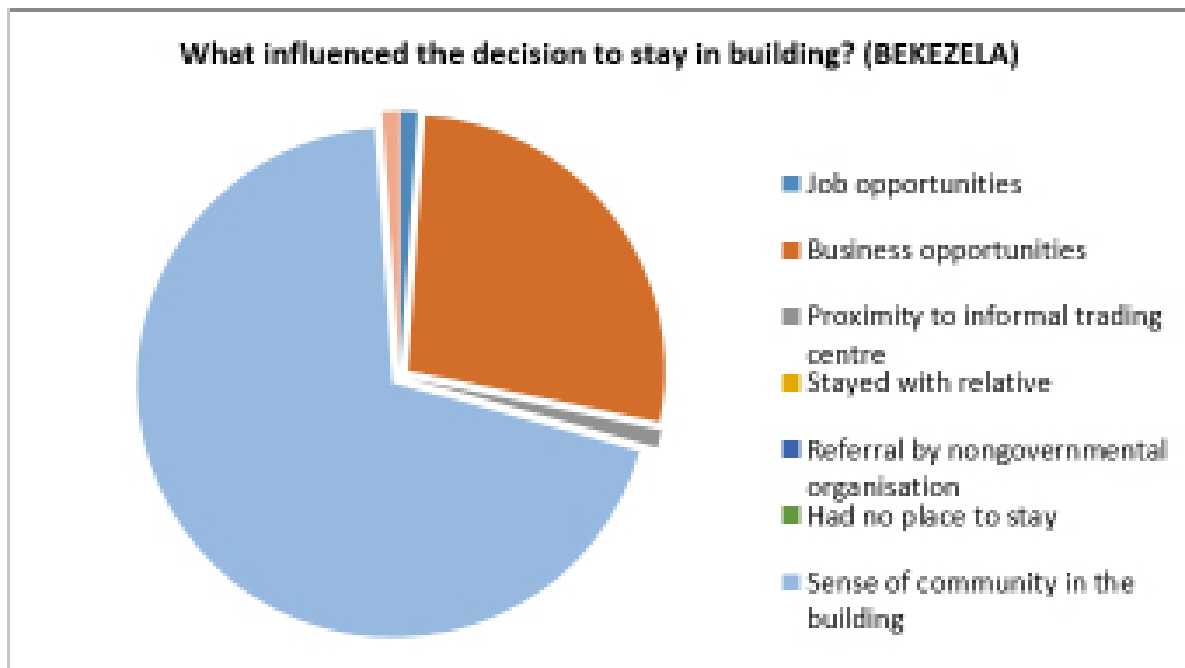
7.9 Factors influencing residents' decision to stay in the buildings

Factors underpinning residents' decision to move into the city and seek accommodation in the so-called 'bad buildings' include employment opportunities, informal trading, and a sense of community. Out of the 276 participants, 54 percent mentioned that they wanted to be closer to employment and business opportunities. Sixteen percent stated that they came to live in the buildings out of desperation since they had no alternative place to stay in Johannesburg. Only 2 percent of the interviewees mentioned that they were referred to the building by non-governmental organisations. Twenty-two percent of the population were attracted to the buildings by the sense of community in the buildings or for other reasons. Bekezela recorded the highest number of residents (70%) who were attracted by the existing sense of community in the building. A sense of community for the residents means quick social cohesion and acceptance by the community. The residents explained that in this building they did not feel discriminated against on the basis of nationality or any other factors.

As mentioned above some of the residents relocated from other buildings to this particular one for the same reasons.

Figure 11 presents factors that influenced Bekezela residents to occupy the building.

Figure 10: Factors that influenced participants' decision to stay in Bekezela



Residents were asked to indicate whom they first approached to find out about available accommodation in the 'bad buildings'. Of the 276 residents interviewed, 45 percent indicated that they approached the occupier, 29 percent approached other tenants, while 14 percent contacted the slumlords. Three percent approached relatives who were already accommodated in the buildings. Four percent communicated with the official caretaker. Only 3 percent of the interviewees approached the building owner, which attests to the fact that

most of the buildings had been abandoned or neglected by the owners whose whereabouts were unknown.

8. PROBLEMS IN THE BUILDINGS

8.1 Lack of water supply

The majority of the residents (more than 90%) complained about limited access to water supply in the buildings.

- 10 percent of the residents use communal taps available within the building compound.
- 2 percent of residents have unofficial water connections in their units.
- 59 percent of the residents purchase water from neighbouring buildings that have an adequate water supply or from nearby gas filling stations. However, some residents noted that at times the gas filling station officials do not allow them to use the public water taps.

The statistics indicate that all the five buildings are affected by the decision of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality to cut off water supplies to the buildings. From a human development perspective water is a resource necessary for development, and in rural areas access to water improves agricultural production, therefore water has both economic and health benefits leading to positive socio-economic spin-offs. Whilst agriculture is not a priority for residents of the inner city, water remains an important basic need for both domestic and commercial purposes. Lack of access to clean water and proper sanitation may lead to waterborne diseases and illnesses, adversely affecting the health of the people.

However, about 60 percent of the urban population living in informal settlements have limited access to basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation. Undoubtedly, lack of basic services results in health problems. The challenges are amplified in 'bad buildings' which are overcrowded. Women are the worst sufferers in the sense that they play a critical role in improving the nutritional and educational levels of their families, children in particular. Illustratively, women are responsible for providing water to their families. They further need water for many other domestic purposes such as cooking and doing laundry. Often women face hardships and risks as they have to fetch water from distant sporadic existing water sources such as standpipes and springs in an effort to meet the domestic needs of their families. One participant from Bekezela lamented:

'If there is no water there is no life – we use water from the leaking pipes and it is not good for our health' (interviewee, 22 July 2015).

8.2 Lack of electricity supply

- 100 percent of the participants said that the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality cut off electricity in the buildings.
- 62 percent of the participants have unofficial electricity connections.
- Alexandra has no electricity connection at all.
One interviewee lamented:

'We use candles and paraffin (for lighting) thus risking burning our rooms'.

- The residents expressed concern that the use of candles and paraffin for lighting and cooking purposes exposes them, and children in particular, to danger as both candles and paraffin are highly combustible.

The findings of this study demonstrate that the buildings had most of the basic services cut off by the City of Johannesburg and attest to the description that 'bad buildings' are hijacked buildings and dysfunctional. Electricity is an important component of basic services required by residents either in informal settlements or in regular buildings. This component also plays a crucial role in women's lives. It enables the safe preservation of medication and food, and is used for cooking, heating and lighting. In addition, electricity contributes towards the improvement of grades for school children and scholars by enabling them to study in the morning and in the evening. Electricity also reduces the chances of shacks being set on fire. In essence, water, sanitation and electricity contribute to improved living standards and productivity at individual and business levels, hence the concern regarding lack of basic services in the 'bad buildings'.

8.3 Poor sanitation

Poor sanitation, particularly toilets, is also a problem in most of the buildings.

- All the participants reported that they often use communal sanitation facilities in public buildings and petrol stations.
- The participants reported that using communal sanitation facilities presents many problems such as poor maintenance and congestion.
- Participants mentioned that the communal sanitation facilities include sanitation facilities existing in nearby gas service stations.
- Sometimes residents go to nearby open spaces to relieve themselves, especially when they encounter problems in the communal facilities.
- Participants raised the concern that going to the bush or any other open spaces at night exposes them to danger, for instance, women are sometimes raped.
- Residents further expressed their concern with regard to the unavailability of proper solid waste disposal. Two participants lamented:

'There is no proper solid waste disposal here (building) therefore our place is dirty and we are concerned about our health.'

'Every day solid waste is not collected and that causes health problems'.

Illustrative reflection of basic services by building:

Bekezela

- Participants in Bekezela concurred that the basic services were disconnected by the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality.
- 11 percent indicated that they collect water from communal standpipes in their yard, whilst 20 percent said they purchase water from nearby facilities such as petrol stations.
- 59 percent purchase water from neighbouring buildings.
- 92 percent of the population had connected to the closest electricity poles installed by the city of Johannesburg. Interestingly, there are more unofficial connections for accessing electricity than water. This could be due to the close proximity of buildings to public roads with street lighting.

Malvern

- All participants indicated that the basic services had been cut off.
- However, unlike in Bekezela, in this building the number of unofficial water connections is high (95% of residents).
- 97 percent of the residents have unofficial electricity connections.

The difference with regard to access to basic services between Bekezela and Malvern could be attributed to the fact that the majority of the residents of Malvern (72%) are either employed or self-employed. The unemployment rate in Malvern is 28 percent, far less than the 59 percent rate of unemployment in Bekezela. The comparison is also reflected in sanitation-related challenges. Bekezela residents said that they use the nearest public facilities and sometimes relieve themselves in open spaces, whereas in Malvern they use both the public facilities in gas service stations and communal facilities in the building. None of the interviewees said that they go to relieve themselves in open spaces.

However, similar to the case of Bekezela, participants in Malvern noted that the use of the unofficial electricity connection points were a hazard to the residents' lives because technically, they are improperly connected and as such pose a risk to the residents.

Regarding sanitation, 42 percent of the interviewees in Malvern said that they use communal toilets in their buildings which they collectively maintain, whilst 47 percent said that they use public facilities available in the area, especially petrol stations. Ten percent of the interviewees did not respond to the question about sanitation. In Malvern, sanitation can generally not be classified as poor, actually other interviewees said that they have good sanitation.

Alexandra

Residents in Alexandra are also faced with the challenge of lack of basic services.

- All the interviewees concurred that the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality had

- disconnected the basic services from the building.
- 89 percent of the interviewees mentioned that they collect water from gas service stations.
- Similarly, they use public toilets available in the area. 8 percent of the residents have unofficial sanitation connections in their own apartment.
- A different observation made in this community is that none of them have unofficial electricity connections, and this suggests that they rely on candles, paraffin stoves and gas stoves for cooking and other domestic uses requiring energy.

Sandringham

- 95 percent of the residents said that they have unofficial water and electricity connections.
- Only 5 percent of the participants use public facilities to get water.

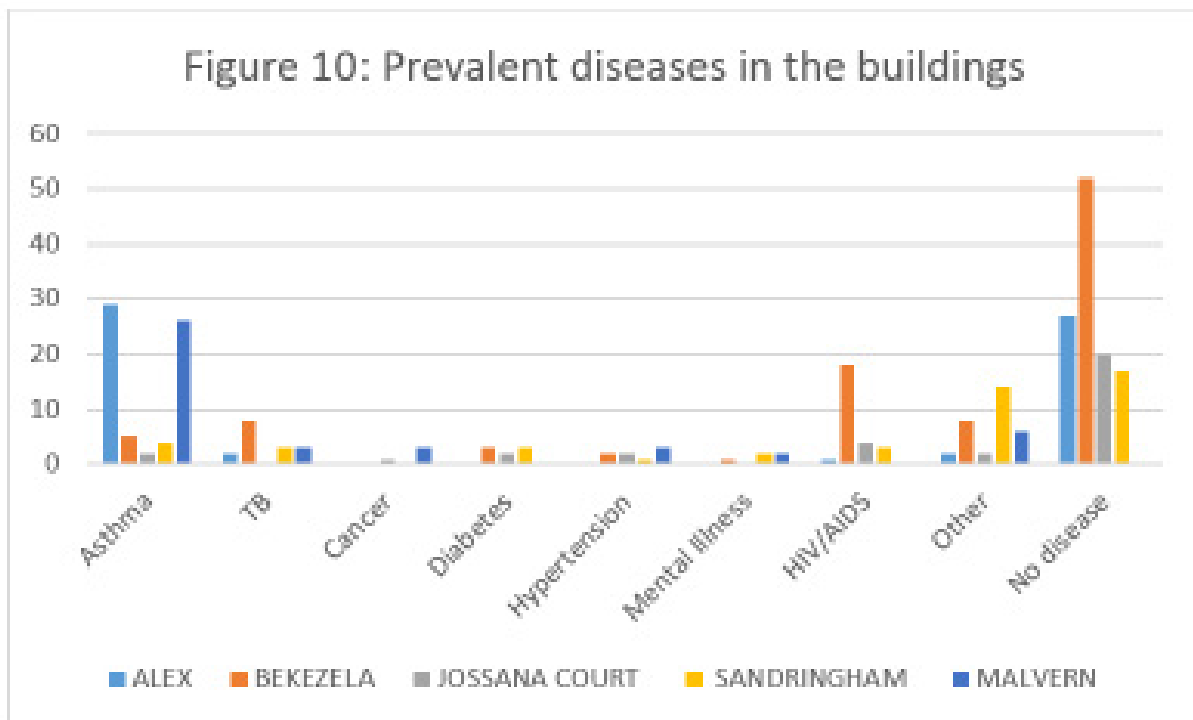
8.4 Access to health clinic

Interviewees were asked to indicate if they had access to a health clinic. The Constitution of South Africa enshrines health care access for all citizens. However, distorted resource allocation contributes to inequities in accessing health facilities. For many communities, factors which often impede access to health facilities include long distances, queues, and high costs of service. In the inner city, however, the study shows that 96 percent of the interviewees have good access to health facilities. The high percentage of households with access to health clinics could be attributed to the location of the inner city which is in close proximity to a number of public health facilities. Unlike the informal settlements in the periphery or rural areas in remote areas, residents of the inner city do not struggle to access health facilities. Most of them stated that the clinics are located within walking distance.

Table 2 gives a summary of the responses of the residents in the five buildings.

Building	No. of Respondents	Respondents with access to health facilities	Access to health facilities %	Respondents with no access to health facilities	No access to health facilities %	Total %
Alexandra	61	61	100%	0	0%	100%
Bekezela	92	86	93%	6	7%	100%
Jossana Court	33	32	97%	1	3%	100%
Sandringham	27	25	93%	2	7%	100%
Malvern	43	41	95%	2	5%	100%

Participants mentioned that in the five buildings, the most common illnesses that some household members suffer from and receive constant treatment for are asthma, HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis. The chart below shows responses of residents per building.



Evident from the data is that Alexandra and Malvern have the highest number of household members affected by asthma, whereas in Bekezela the rate of HIV/AIDS is higher. Twenty percent of the interviewees in Bekezela said that they have a member of their household who is taking treatment for HIV/AIDS. This study takes into cognisance that the statistics only include those individuals who are already taking medication for HIV/AIDS, thus leaves out individuals who are not yet on medication and those not yet tested.

8.5 Participation in meetings to address their challenges

The survey revealed that the majority of the residents of the ‘bad buildings’ were not aware of a central committee representing them in issues relating to the building.

- Of the 276 interviewees, 65 percent said that they were not aware of any committee representing their interests.
- In Sandringham, only 15 percent of the 47 participants were aware of an existing committee representing their interests.
- In Malvern, 33 percent of the participants mentioned that they knew of a committee that represented the needs of residents in all the ‘bad buildings’.
- In Jossana Court, 100 percent (all 33 interviewees) mentioned that they were aware of the committee that facilitates addressing the needs of the residents of the buildings.
- In Bekezela, 98 percent of the residents said they were aware of a committee and only 2 percent indicated that they were not aware of a committee representing their interests. The fact that ICRC has been directly involved in organising the residents and also training residents of Bekezela and Jossana Court explains the improvement in

their environment. To a large extent they conduct regular cleaning of compounds.

The two sets of responses regarding the availability of a committee in the buildings are important in reflecting on the role of mobilisation and participation of communities in development. In the buildings with no structure representing the residents, problems such as an unclean environment and high crime rate were said to be prevalent in the area. Generally Jossana Court residents, who have a fully operational and well-known committee, did not complain about filth and crime in their building. The findings reveal that residents of this building are more organised than the rest of the residents in the other buildings and as such are able to work towards common goals. However, Bekezela is an exception in that despite the existence of the structure, environmental problems still thrive.

Being unorganised impinges on working towards collective goals such as keeping a healthy environment, preventing crime and speaking in one voice on development needs. This suggests that communities need to be capacitated to meaningfully engage the municipalities and other development agencies and put pressure on them to deliver services. This is the gap that Planact has identified and seeks to address through conducting workshops on participatory governance in most of the 'bad buildings'. Community-based organisations could help the residents identify common problems and goals and collectively devise strategies to attain these goals. The findings of this survey suggest that in the absence of organised structures in the buildings, residents will struggle to effectively express their needs in development and service delivery issues, because the existence of an organised structure increases the capacity of communities to mobilise and address their challenges.

Furthermore, the survey showed that only 43 percent of the interviewees mentioned that they attend meetings in the building to address their problems. The majority of the interviewees (76 percent of the residents) said that they individually reported their problems to the ICRC, an organisation that works closely with inner city residents. The high percentage of the residents individually reporting their problems to the ICRC demonstrates that the residents of the buildings are largely unorganised. For instance, in Bekezela, only one interviewee said that meetings are held in the building to discuss their challenges, while many of the residents said they used other ways of addressing their problems: 87 interviewees said that they discuss their challenges with friends and co-tenants and report to the ICRC.

However, residents of Alexandra and Malvern seem to have some form of organisation as they hold frequent meetings. In Malvern, almost 50 percent of the residents indicated that they do hold community meetings. In Alexandra, approximately 25 percent said that they hold meetings to discuss their challenges. Although this is a small percentage, it demonstrates that there is an attempt to get themselves organised and collectively address their needs. In Sandringham, 62 percent of the residents reported that they hold community meetings to deliberate on their challenges.

Implicit in the empirical data is the fact that residents of the buildings make attempts to find solutions to the challenges affecting them through engaging other organisations and holding internal meetings. Certainly, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality has not demonstrated commitment to addressing the plight of the residents in these buildings. None of the participants indicated that they have had meetings with the municipality or have seen any positive role played by it.

8.6 Governance

The discourse of governance entrenched in the World Bank's work was introduced as a result of the failure of the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the 1980 and 1990s (Kanyeze et al., 2006). This discourse emphasised that countries had to embrace neoliberal ideas, with African countries expected to restructure their states and become market states. Later, it became apparent that participation of citizens in development projects and programmes is important. This includes engaging the state, as well as broader issues of governance, representation, transparency and accountability. Participation promotes inclusive representation, and may allow marginalised citizens with fewer resources to reduce the inequality with organisation and time (Young, 2002). The relevance of participation in housing and service delivery in Johannesburg and elsewhere cannot be overemphasised.

Advancing inclusive housing and service delivery requires the participation of the affected individuals in decision-making concerning their socio-economic problems. Chambers (1997) sums it up well by arguing that development professionals and institutions need to put the last first, meaning to prioritise addressing the needs of and learning from the poorest. The statement does not negate the fact that the poor do not always provide the best solutions to their problems. An important factor is that the poor seek to improve their economic status, thus are committed in making the best decisions for themselves. This socio-economic survey therefore also sought to ascertain the views of the residents of the five buildings concerning how they think their challenges, especially with regard to basic services and housing, can be addressed.

Question 32 of the survey questionnaire allowed the interviewees to select three options that they thought would solve the housing challenges in the inner city. The statistics below are not mutually exclusive, but they help us to understand the priorities of the residents and their most preferred options.

Table 3 lists the options in the order of their importance to the residents of the five buildings.

Table 3: Preferred housing options

Housing option	Frequency	Percentage
Reconstruction and Development Programme	165	66%
Provision of services in current building	128	51%
Move into another building in the inner city	86	35%
Move to any part of the city	25	10%
Relocation to an area with serviced plots and no houses	11	4%

Table 3 demonstrates that 66 percent of the residents in the five buildings view provision of RDP as a solution to the housing challenge. The second most preferred option (51% of the

residents) was staying in their current building and getting the municipality to provide them with basic services such as water, electricity and waste management. Thirty-five percent of the residents suggested being moved into another building. This view suggests that they prefer to remain in the inner city rather than being relocated. The view could be attributed to the economic factor of being close to their work or business places. Only 4 percent of the residents said that they would like to relocate to serviced plots with no houses. This low percentage shows that the residents are not prepared to build houses and to be relocated if they have to build their own houses but are comfortable with relocation to an average RDP project which could be some distance away from their work places. This is another challenge that the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality has to deal with in terms of housing provision, especially given that most of the land in the municipality is owned by the private sector. Paradoxically, 79 percent of the interviewees mentioned that they live under threat of eviction from the City of Johannesburg. Seemingly, the threats do not influence their decisions regarding staying in the buildings. Table 4 shows responses from residents of the five buildings.

Table 4: Proposed solutions to housing challenges

Options	Alexandra	Bekezela	Jossana Court	Malvern	Sandringham
RDP	36	89	16	15	15
Move into another building – inner city	0	55	14	5	12
Move into another building – any part of JHB	0	16	1	3	5
Remain in current building and be provided with services	25	54	13	29	26
Relocated to serviced plots with no houses	0	7	1	1	2

Disaggregating the data helps in understanding some differences in the opinions of the residents from the various buildings. To illustrate this, Bekezela has the highest number of people who prefer RDP, whereas in Malvern residents' first option is to remain in the same building and be provided with basic services. This is unsurprising given that more than 80 percent of the residents of Malvern have unofficial connections to water and electricity. Their living standards are better than the other four buildings under review in this report.

8.7 Affordability status

South Africa is faced with housing challenge, a phenomenon considered by other scholars as a crisis. Section 26 of the South African Constitution points to the right for citizens to have adequate access to housing. Due to the escalated violation of the constitution, in recent years, many South Africans have engaged in protests against poor service delivery relating to land and housing issues. For instance, in 2014, 287 service delivery protests were staged countrywide in different provinces. Gauteng had the highest percentage of service delivery protests at 30 percent (Powell et al., 2015). Some of the service delivery protests were disruptive and violent.

Underpinning the housing debate is that the housing programmes have in some cases further marginalised the poor who cannot afford the costs of home ownership in the form of rates and service charges, hence contributing to urban sprawl. However, as argued by Napier, it is time to make the market work for the poor (Napier, 2007). This suggests that the state should not only promote free housing but explore other alternative solutions to the land and housing challenge.

The study found that out of the 276 households interviewed only 39 percent said that they could afford housing which cost between R5,000 and R10,000. A higher number (54%) indicated that they could not afford any amount necessary to access housing. Many expect the government to provide a solution to their housing challenges at no cost. The findings imply that the state will have to incur higher housing costs in the future if it decides to meet the needs of the people on their terms. These are people who claim that they can afford neither the available subsidised housing nor rental fees charged for private properties. The expectation presents a challenge to the government which would need to generate additional funds to meet this need and struggle with sustaining such an approach.

9. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Whilst governments in developing countries have their version of development they would like to pursue, citizens in these countries set the trends of the development that they consider practical and relevant to their needs. With regard to municipalities, their efforts to keep cities beautiful and formally planned and serviced are thwarted by the majority of the residents who feel marginalised and thus resort to other means of accessing services even if they are outside the legal continuum. Informality in the cities of Johannesburg, as in other African cities, is considered illegal by the municipality yet to a large extent reflect the actual needs of citizens not captured by the superfluous municipal plans aimed at improving the aesthetics of the cities. This socio-economic study has pointed to the marginalisation of the residents of the buildings in service delivery and demonstrated how some residents use unofficial water and electricity connections to survive while other residents use communal water and sanitation facilities available in gas service stations. It can be argued that they have devised survival strategies to survive in hard conditions.

However, of concern in development is the residents' lack of willingness to make a meaningful contribution to solving the housing challenge. As demonstrated by the survey, the majority of the residents expect the government to provide them with RDP houses and are not willing to be relocated to another site or building outside the inner city. The reluctance to relocate will continue to be a challenge to the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality which lacks adequate land in the inner city. In this case, the two major parties involved in the housing dilemma – the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality and residents in the 'bad buildings' – are not prepared to compromise. Given the complexity of the challenges faced with regard to poor housing conditions in the 'bad buildings' and the views of the residents presented in this report, certain recommendations can be made. Certainly, the housing challenge is complex in the sense that even if the city of Johannesburg were to renovate the buildings, rental costs would increase, making it unaffordable to the majority of the residents. It is also likely that residents would not be able to afford property taxes. The question of ownership is pertinent to the challenges as many of these buildings are not owned by the municipality. This study nevertheless recommends that:

1. A partnership should be established between the Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipal Council, organisations and other stakeholders implementing different interventions in the inner city, particularly those working with the residents occupying bad buildings and collapsed sectional title buildings, for the purpose of collectively finding a lasting solution to the challenges in bad buildings. The partnership should seek to develop a comprehensive rehabilitation programme which covers mechanisms for assessing the status of bad buildings.
2. The non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations concerned should be willing to cooperate with the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipal Council. This involves responsibly mobilising and building the capacity of the residents of the bad buildings to understand the municipal processes in the inner city and their role in the process of improving living conditions in the inner city. It is important to assist residents of the bad buildings to understand their rights to housing, the rights of the Municipality to govern the property in the city and the related financial implications.
3. As per the South African Constitution of 2006, local government has an obligation to address the conditions of those who lack access to basic services and to promote a healthy and safe environment. Addressing complex challenges is not optional, therefore priority should be given to resolving the poor conditions of the bad buildings which pose environmental and health hazards to the residents of the bad buildings. The City of Johannesburg should engage the residents of the buildings to enhance its understanding about their conditions and try to find a long-term solution to the problems.
4. The City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality should consider providing emergency water and sanitation services to the residents of the bad buildings, whilst exploring a lasting solution to the challenges of bad buildings in the inner city. Such an intervention

could greatly improve the environmental conditions of the buildings. This takes into consideration the fact that some of the bad buildings might be decayed to the extent that that they cannot sustain a functional plumbing system before major rehabilitation.

5. Given the shortage of low-cost housing in the inner city, it is important that the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality develop partnerships with the private sector to promote delivery of mixed income housing that will also be affordable to low income groups. Intricately linked to this recommendation is considering restoring the Rent Control Board to ensure retention of affordable rentals, safeguard tenants' rights and obligations and eliminate irresponsible evictions of renters.
6. The contradictions emanating from the residents' responses regarding their reluctance to relocate from the inner city while still expecting government to provide RDP housing suggest that there is need to further interrogate their motives. Undoubtedly, this will remain a challenge to the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality, which does not have enough land in the inner city.

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