Alexandra:
A Case study of service deivery for the Presidential 10 year review project
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Association with Indlovo Link

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Executive Summary

Alexandra's history is one of rapid urbanisation. People in search of employment in the city have flocked to the area from rural areas in South Africa and neighbouring countries, dramatically overloading an infrastructure already under strain. Congestion in informal settlements, in the hostels and along the banks of the Jukskei River has made living conditions stressful, unhealthy and dangerous. In view of this, President Thabo Mbeki announced in February 2001 that Alexandra was to be redeveloped after several previous efforts to uplift the township were aborted. The estimated budget for the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) was R1, 3 billion over a 7-year period.

The Alexandra Renewal Programme (ARP) was born out of the 2000 business plan and is being led by the Gauteng Department of Housing and being implemented with inputs from various stakeholders including national, provincial and local government, the Greater Alexandra community, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the private sector and community-based organisations (CBOs). It is the largest and most concentrated programme of service delivery ever and is intended to re-develop and re-habilitate the most pressing and critical service delivery gaps in the township. In this sense reviewing its activities must be seen as critical to understanding the initial impact of government service delivery as well as how this can be better measured in the future.

The ARP has been in place for 2 years (April 2001 – April 2003). The project has achieved considerable outputs in improving the township's infrastructure, and has had to work with through the difficulties of community opposition during their relocation from hazardous living conditions. At times, project implementation has also been hampered by institutional co-ordination and delivery responses involving various levels of government, probably influenced by the practical challenge of aligning more than one agency budget, inefficient procurement processes and information management in what is a complex yet necessary reporting system. It requires time to be able to judge whether these represent only teething problems or whether the Alexandra Renewal Project will live up to the intentions of the Urban Renewal Programme to support a more decentralised and people driven approach to urban development in poor areas.[1]

We present below the objectives of the ARP's mandate to reconstruct and rehabilitate Alexandra, followed by the impacts made. A much more detailed contextual discussion including specific progress and challenges (both sector, project management and institutional) per delivery sector, follows in the main text of this report.

Objectives of the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Alexandra

The Alexandra Renewal Project is to undertake many different projects. The ARP includes about 200 projects; some related to environmental development, others to the development of human skills; and others dedicated to upgrading housing in the township. Some of these projects include:[2]

Economic Development

- Developing small business enterprises: A database of small business enterprises will be developed. Training will be provided on management, financial and tendering

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[1] Doug Hindson. The Urban Renewal Programme, Hologram Newsletter 4 of 2003
(http://www.hologram.org.za/newsletter/nl5-urban%20renewal%20programme.htm).
[2] Alexandra Renewal Programme. Overall proposals, April, 2002.

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skills. An informal sector market facility will be developed. A number of demonstration projects will be undertaken.

- Promoting investment in Alexandra: Alexandra will be promoted so as to encourage new businesses to invest in the area and expanding existing business.
- Optimising land use: Specific economic areas will be developed and expanded including existing industrial areas, Pan Africa Square, etc.
- Developing human skills: A programme will be undertaken to assist individuals living in Alexandra to acquire skills and access work by upgrading the services of the Labour Centre in the Greater Alexandra area.

Housing

- Upgrading of existing houses: Assistance will be provided to encourage owners of existing houses to upgrade these houses.
- Development of new houses: New housing will be developed both within and outside of Alexandra. These houses will be both for rental and ownership.
- Transfer of publicly owned housing: Publicly owned housing will be transferred to legal tenants using the Government's Discount Benefit Scheme.
- Backyard rental accommodation: Owners of accommodation in backyards will be assisted in upgrading this accommodation.
- Redevelopment of the hostels: The hostels in Alexandra will be redeveloped into single and household units.
- Redevelopment of warehouses: Some of the factory premises and warehouses in Marlboro South will be redeveloped for housing purposes.
- Relocation of informal dwellings: Informal dwellings within the flood plain of the Jukskei River and it's tributaries, school sites, S'stwetla, London Road and other areas will be relocated to more appropriate areas.

Spatial Planning and the Environment

- Overall plan for Alexandra: An overall plan for Alexandra will be developed showing how each area should be used. A land use plan supported by Inspectors will be put in place to make sure that the land is used in this way.
- Parks and recreation: Parks and recreation areas will be developed. Trees and vegetation will be planted and maintained.
- Upgrading of cemeteries: The existing cemetery in Alexandra will be upgraded and maintained.
- Water and air quality: Water and air quality will be monitored and programmes will be put in place to ensure that they are kept clean.
- Jukskei River: The Jukskei River will be cleaned and a recreation area with parks and other activities developed.

Engineering

- Water: services will be upgraded and provided to each stand. Fire hydrants will also be upgraded to the proper standards.
- Sanitation: The sewerage system will be upgraded and provided to each stand. A toilet construction programme will be implemented.
- Waste management: All households will be provided with a refuse bin. Public open spaces and streets will be cleaned on a regular basis.
- Electricity: The programme to upgrade electrical services in Alexandra will be continued, including electricity to houses, streetlights and public open spaces.

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- Roads and stormwater: Damaged roads in Old Alexandra will be repaired. All the roads on the East Bank will be surfaced. Sidewalks will be constructed on main roads. London Road will be upgraded. A maintenance programme will be developed to ensure that all roads are properly maintained in the future.
- Taxi Ranks: Existing taxi ranks will be upgraded and new ranks developed where required. Taxi stops will be developed on main taxi routes.

Social Development (including Education, Health, Social Services-welfare, Sports and Recreation, Heritage and Arts and Culture)

- Schools: Schools will be refurbished and new schools built. A Further Education and Training programme will be implemented providing laboratories, technology and media and art and culture centres in some schools. A Centre for mentally and physically challenged learners will be upgraded.
- Teacher Learning Centre: A multipurpose teaching and learning centre of excellence will be developed. This Centre will provide support to teachers and will provide an Adult Basic Education and Training programme.
- HIV/Aids: Many programmes to address the challenge of HIV/Aids will be undertaken including both education and the provision of facilities to assist the victims of this disease.
- Upgrading of Edenvale hospital: Edenvale Hospital will be improved and used as a referral hospital for Alexandra.
- Clinic facilities: Clinic facilities will be improved both in terms of upgrading existing clinics, building new clinics and providing training to staff at the clinics.
- Mental Health Programme: A mental health programme will be undertaken to increase facilities available, support to families and training to counsellors.
- Welfare services: Welfare services will be improved through better co-ordination and integration and training of social workers. There will be special programmes for youth criminality and unemployment, violence against women, children and the aged and alcohol and drug abuse.
- Sports and recreation: Existing sports and recreation facilities will be upgraded and new facilities will be built. A new library and study centre will be built.
- Heritage: A history of Alexandra will be written and historical places restored. A museum will be developed to show the rich history of Alexandra.
- Arts and culture: A range of arts and culture activities will be undertaken including art, poetry and drama competitions, a graffiti wall and poetry readings.

Public Safety and Security

- Police Stations: Police stations will be upgraded and extended. The skills of staff and equipment will be improved.
- Fire and emergency services: Staff will receive additional training, equipment will be provided and facilities improved so as to ensure better service delivery.
- Victim support: A programme to provide support to traumatised victims of violent and sexually related crimes will be implemented.
- Metro Police: Metro Police will be established including the development of a Service Delivery Point on the Far East Bank. Traffic Safety Services will be improved and a Junior Traffic Training Centre established.
- Public Safety Partnership: The Public and Private Sector will be encouraged to work together. A Partnership Forum will be established and the transfer of skills encouraged.

Effective Local Administration

- Establishing effective land use and environment frameworks
- Capacity Building within local government
- Development of effective administration and regulatory systems and processes
- Ongoing monitoring and evaluation of services provided

Impact of the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Alexandra

Measuring "impact" is a multi-dimensional task, which typically requires extensive and deep analysis of the change in people's lives as a result of a particular action or set of actions. Within the time and budgetary allotments of this review, we present the following "impacts" which are largely based on the project outputs and respondent assessment of the ARP's activities.

Impact: Local Economic Development

- ARP has stimulated short-term supply of jobs for local residents, which, despite being a positive output, must go beyond this to address longer-term job creation[3]

Impact: Safety and Security

- Positive impact of the establishment of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police, providing additional resources to local SAPS management of crime;
- Latest available data, despite the above, show high levels of crime that will continue to impede project implementation as well as general safety of the area;
- Despite a decrease in major crime categories (see Table 2); incidents of crime remain fairly high
- Greater "impact" will be achieved by going beyond improving policing infrastructure to addressing policing operations, procedures and community relations, including implementing the findings of the SAPS services audit

Impact: Local Government-related and other Capacity Building

- Significant impact achieved in rendering comprehensive training to local government officials-within context of the significant institutional changes in local government since 1994;
- Progressive step for the ARP Social Development cluster in arranging for additional capacity building in project management for officials in charge of social sectors (education, health, welfare)

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[3]The 2000 Overall Business Plan stated: "Half the township, it was found, appear to rely on "piece work", if and when this is available. Approximately a quarter of the formally unemployed have moved into small business, but, if the experience of the SMME sector in other areas provides any indication, this is, for the most part, highly unsustainable micro- business, which neither alleviates poverty nor creates job opportunities outside the existing entrepreneurial population.

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Impact: Housing

- Significant impact relocating residents living in hazardous and precarious settlements. One estimate of the number of informal structures on the river bank was 3246, including +/- 12 500 – 13 000 people[4];
- Steady progress in housing unit construction and occupation, building on previous activities

Impact: Spatial Planning and the Environment

- Significant progress in decreasing pollution levels in the Jukskei River and improving future monitoring of pollution levels;
- Steady progress being made in land-use planning and environmental management including appointment of inspectors, planting of trees, and waste bin provision.

Impact: Engineering

- Significant progress made in re-auditing and planning for current and future engineering development given the previous lack and quality of engineering infrastructure mapping in the area;
- Steady improvement of road infrastructure

Impact: Education

- Above average impact of the delivery of training for teachers and school governing bodies, including in specific modules;[5]
- School improvement planning including infrastructure has been positive;
- Progress being made in upgrading all schools (35% complete at present)

Impact: Social Services (Welfare)

- Improving accessibility to social services (grants) has resulted in increased visits to about 200/day;
- Completion of management plan, which is a positive impact in seeking to improve co-ordination of services between providers[6]

Impact: Health

- Important step of developing a district management framework to address fragmentation of health services;

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[4]Figures obtained from a case study presentation given by Anthony Blanford to the "Upgrading low-income Settlements: A Regional Roundtable for Africa", October 2000. See:
http://www.worldbank.org/urban/upgrading/afrnd/johan_story.htm
[5]The Overall Business Plan cited "the greatest challenge" of poorly staffed and managed schools.
[6]Viewed within context of the Overall Business Plan, which stated: A meeting with the Provincial Welfare Department and the Central Regional Welfare Office identified that there were twenty- one organisations rendering services in Alexandra including ADAPT, Friends for Life, SANCA, Mental Health Society, SANEL, Rhema Church, the EMLC, ADM, Lifeline and NICRO. These organisations have formed a forum called the Alexandra Partnership and Co- ordination Forum. This forum is responsible for identifying programmes for the Alexandra community.

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- Significant impact made in immunizing children and conveying the importance of immunization to residents (awareness);
- Positive result seen in visible health worker visits to residents related to TB and HIV/AIDS, although there is a perception of a lack of medical staff, in particular doctors at facilities;
- Positive impact of skills development and training for primary health care workers, however this must be assessed regularly via patient experiences in view of some instances of mistreatment by health care workers.

Impact: Heritage, Arts and Culture

- Limited to "events" or "activities" held, which, within the scope of this project, we are not able to assess via participant feedback in terms of "impact";
- The major impact from this area *will be* planned activities including infrastructure related cultural services including an Arts Factory and Cultural Centre

Impact: Communications and Participation

- There has been a strong general impact on resident awareness of the ARP and its activities;
- Instruments of communication such as People's Centre and Community liaison officers, although positive, should be used more as vehicles for assessing regular, ongoing and more detailed state of service delivery and living conditions;
- Ward committees have been established, trained and organised around key community areas of interest;
- The ADF forms a strong community participation platform and works in close collaboration with the ward committees

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1.   INTRODUCTION

In February 2001, in his State of the Nation Address, President Thabo Mbeki launched the Urban Renewal Programme (URP), along with the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS). The focus is on poverty alleviation in urban and rural areas that have substantial service backlogs; are spatially and economically marginal to the core urban economies, and in which social exclusion continues to limit the development of their communities. Eight urban nodes were identified, including Alexandra, the oldest township in Johannesburg.[7]

The President announced a 7 –year project to develop Greater Alexandra. The aim of this Alexandra Renewal Project was "to make this sprawling ghetto township into a place where people can live decent lives in pleasing surroundings."[8]

The selection of Alexandra as an urban node was strongly lobbied by the Department of Housing, that drafted a business plan in 2000 to, *inter alia*, address the damage caused by flooding of the Jukskei River and tragic shack burnings in 1999. Other factors such as Alexandra being a crime hotspot also played a role.[9]

The Alexandra Renewal Programme (ARP) was born out of the 2000 business plan and is being led by the Gauteng Department of Housing and being implemented with inputs from various stakeholders including national, provincial and local government, the Greater Alexandra community, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the private sector and community-based organisations (CBOs). It is the largest and most concentrated programme of service delivery ever and is intended to re-develop and re-habilitate the most pressing and critical service delivery gaps in the township. In this sense reviewing its activities must be seen as critical to understanding the initial impact of government service delivery as well as how this can be better measured in the future.

The ARP has been in place for 2 years (April 2001 – April 2003). The project has achieved considerable outputs in improving the township's infrastructure, and has had to work with through the difficulties of community opposition during their relocation from hazardous living conditions. At times, project implementation has also been hampered by institutional co-ordination and delivery responses involving various levels of government, probably influenced by the practical challenge of aligning more than one agency budget, inefficient procurement processes and information management in what is a complex yet necessary reporting system. It requires time to be able to judge whether these represent only teething problems or whether the Alexandra Renewal Project will live up to the intentions of the URP to support a more decentralised and people driven approach to urban development in poor areas.[10]

This case study of the ARP aims to provide a general overview of what the ARP has achieved so far. It reviews some of the key successes and failures by focusing on the challenges the project faces, and the manner in which these are being dealt with. Given that the ARP is one of the pilot areas for developing an urban renewal national strategy, an overview of the current URP framework is provided first.

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[7] The eight urban nodes are: KwaMashu and Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal; Mdantsane and Motherwell in the Eastern Cape; Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain in the Western Cape, Alexandra in Gauteng and Galeshewe in the Northern Cape.
[8] Alexandra Renewal Project: Overall Proposals, April 2002.
[9] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[10] Doug Hindson. The Urban Renewal Programme, Hologram Newsletter 4 of 2003
(http://www.hologram.org.za/newsletter/nl5-urban%20renewal%20programme.htm).

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1.1 URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME [11]

The URP follows the Urban Development Framework (UDF), which was produced in 1997, and the Urban Development Strategy of the Government of National Unity (GNU) developed in 1995. The UDF was intended to complement the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), through a strong focus on the spatial dimensions of development.

The UDF sought to bring together, in an integrated form, the infrastructure, social, economic and governance aspects of development in urban areas by setting out four core programmes: spatial integration, housing and infrastructure, economic development linked to urban development, and institutional capacity building.

A clear programme of action for the URP which would lead to the production of a national urban renewal strategy was pledged by the Minister of Provincial and Local Government in August 2001. This programme has however not emerged. In February 2002, the Minister said that "the process of discussing and refining the Urban Renewal Strategy will generate information and experiences which must be shared by municipalities throughout the country", giving the impression that the strategy was still in development.[12]

In broad terms, the URP represents a commitment to a return to the bottom-up, people-driven approach to urban, local, social and economic development originally envisaged in the RDP. It is a strategy that will be routed through local authorities, using the mechanisms of IDPs as provided for in the Municipal Systems Act.

A number of important themes emerge with respect to this approach to urban renewal:
- While focusing on poor communities, the URP gives greater centrality to local economic development than the RDP, which focused mainly on housing, residential infrastructure and services;
- The URP stresses the need for a more decentralized decision-making and hence participation at levels below that of municipal government;
- Development integration is a central pillar of the URP;
- The URP places considerable stress on empowerment of poor people and communities; and
- The URP stresses the need for partnerships to be formed to pool the resources of different actors capable of promoting social and economic development.

The urban renewal framework emphasizes three principles:[13]
- The mobilisation of people so that they can become active participants in their own development;
- The activities, initiatives and budgetary resources of the three spheres of government should be coordinated and focused; and
- Public sector investment needs to leverage private sector investment.

By May 2002, the broad objectives of the Urban Renewal Programme were described as:[14]

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[11] This section is largely based on an overview of URP provided by Doug Hindson. The Urban Renewal Programme, Hologram Newsletter 4 of 2003 (http://www.hologram.org.za/newsletter/nl5-urban%20renewal%20programme.htm).

[12] Janine Rauch. Thinking Big: The National Urban Renewal Programme and Crime Prevention in South Africa's Metropolitan Cities. Research paper written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, December 2002 (http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/paprauch.htm).

[13] Keynote input by Minister F.S. Mufamadi to a planning workshop of the South African Cities Support and Learning Network, Spier Village Conference Centre, Stellenbosch, February 11, 2002

[14] Janine Rauch. Thinking Big: The National Urban Renewal Programme and Crime Prevention in South Africa's Metropolitan Cities. Research paper written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, December 2002 (http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/paprauch.htm).

- To ensure that citizens participate in activities that seek to develop and shape their communities;
- To support and promote IDPs as a primary tool to inform investment decisions by all spheres of government;
- To pilot approaches to intergovernmental fiscal re-engineering;
- To do things differently – in terms of planning, design, implementation and financing;
- To foster real partnerships with a wide range of partners in development;
- To pilot approaches for inter-sectoral, inter-sphere integration in planning, budgeting and implementation; and
- The programme is being defined as a systematic and sustained intervention to alleviate poverty and significantly address underdevelopment. (DPLG - Overview Report on the URP, May 2002).

By the end of 2002, an 'advisory team' on development planning appointed by the Minister identified the absence of a clear policy framework as one of the weaknesses of the URP, resulting in confusion about the meaning of 'urban renewal' and the nature of urban renewal projects. It recommended a re-conceptualisation of the URP, with an emphasis on two overarching goals:

- To deliver *visible projects* that contribute to the development (renewal) of dormitory townships; and
- To demonstrate *best practice* in relation to integrated service delivery, extending beyond the delivery of urban infrastructure, to include the way that urban development projects are implemented in South Africa.

The Minister's advisory team argued that the URP should focus solely on three aspects:[15]
- Improved housing conditions;
- Economic development; and
- Improved personal safety.

At each of the nodes, an Urban Renewal Project Manager and team were envisaged; but the funding and filling of these posts (and progress on the projects) has varied according to resources available at each site. At Alexandra, where Gauteng Province contributed the bulk of funds for the ARP, a full project management team is in place, with clear lines of managerial accountability to the Provincial Government. Towards the end of 2002, World Bank-funded consultants conducted a needs-assessment of project management resources required at each node, and their recommendations will likely inform some funding from the DPLG to the nodes for this purpose during 2003.[16] This should speed up planning and implementation of the URP, especially at nodes that have been slow to get their programmes off the ground, such as Cape Town and the Nelson Mandela Metropole.

Against this background of a mixture of principles, themes, and objectives, rooted in a lack of clear national guidelines, the ARP has adopted a 'quasi-eclectic' approach to urban renewal (see Section 2).

1.2 DESCRIPTION OF ALEXANDRA

Alexandra is located on a roughly rectangular piece of land approximately 16 kilometres to the north of central Johannesburg.

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[15] Final report of the Development Planning Advisers to the Minister for Provincial and Local Government, Berrisford et al, 29 November 2002.
[16] Janine Rauch. Thinking Big: The National Urban Renewal Programme and Crime Prevention in South Africa's Metropolitan Cities. Research paper written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, December 2002 (http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/paprauch.htm).

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Figure 1:
Location of Alexandra

A busy road to the south, commercial and industrial zones to the north, and the polluted Jukskei River to the east border the area. "Alex", as it is commonly called, covers an area of over 800 hectares - an area of about one square mile.

The area is unique in that it is the only township in Johannesburg in close proximity to industry and a range of characteristically urban amenities. This is in contrast to other South African urban townships, which are usually located some distance away from urban centres.

The ARP area includes 'Old Alex', the East Bank, the Far East Bank, Marlboro Industrial Area, Wynberg (a retail / industrial area), Kew (retail / industrial), Marlboro South (an industrial and buffer area) and Marlboro Gardens.

The area is part of Region 7 of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (approximately 128 square kilometres). The Local Integrated Development Plan (LIDP) for the Region describes the region as follows: "Region 7 can be considered as a region of transition between the affluent Administrative Region 3 (Sandton, Rosebank, Randburg) and the western areas of Lethabong MLC. It is also a significant employment node (Wynberg) in its own right. On the other hand, it is an area that has a severe negative influence on surrounding and adjacent areas, due to the present state of one of its key residential areas – Alexandra[17]." The report further relates the significance of the region to Alexandra in it that the region is home to the most socially degraded areas in the Metro, i.e. Alexandra and Malvern south of Jules Street. The LIDP of March 2002, which is the most recent LIDP for the region, describes a negative socio-economic trend in the Region (see text box).

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[17] Local Integrated Development Plan. Administrative Region 7: Eastern areas of Greater Johannesburg, March 2002 (no page numbers provided in first part of hard copy).

THE 2002 LIDP FOR REGION 7:

Industrial growth and residential growth are both negative. According to the LIDP this is due to perceived and felt security and safety threats. Property values and the value of the rates base have declined. Illegal occupations and land invasions result in industrial exodus and residential decay in the Marlboro South area. Alexandra is in a state of emergency, as it is uncontrolled and unmanaged. Informal settlements spring up, while there is non-conformance to, and no enforcement of, relevant land use management legislation. The LIDP prescribes "decisive action to the rebuilding of Alexandra by its owner, the council, and thus the legitimisation of ownership and controls" (p 19). Houses need to be build, measures to curb illegal occupation and invasion of land need to be taken, high priority needs to be given to security and safety, and land (Frankenwald and Farm Waterval) needs to be made available for residential development.

With regard to the environment, the LIDP further states that lack of human and financial resources hamper service delivery, which in turn negatively affects the environment. Water quality and the conditions of riverbanks of the Jukskei River are suffering form informal housing, poor sanitation, run-off from urban areas, blocked and leaking sewers, litter and illegal discharges from industry. Open space in Alexandra has been invaded except for school sports fields. The non-removal of waste in the area increases the likelihood of contamination of groundwater and soil. The burning of fossil fuels, such as wood and coal, is the main contributor to air pollution in Alexandra. A large number of residents have no access to electricity. Rehabilitation of the Jukskei River is tackled by relocating squatters on the banks of the river. According to the LIDP, there is a problem of providing space to relocate these squatters. Air pollution could be addressed by electrification. However, few residents are able to afford such a service. Improvements of refuse management and sanitation services would help to decrease levels of bacteriological contamination in the River, as well as improve the health of the local communities.

With regard to social development the LIDP states that education facilities in Alexandra are not well developed resulting in parents sending their children to schools outside the area. No higher educational institution is located in the area. The redevelopment of Alexandra should include building of new educational facilities. Region 7 has one health centre (run by an NGO) and ten clinics (one owned by the province and nine by the Metro). A few medical facilities are serving Alexandra's population. The same holds for sports and recreational facilities. These are in poor condition. At Alexandra's police station, the number of serious crimes is the highest relative to the overall Metro crime situation. Residential and industrial sites are generally unsafe. More and better policing is needed. Alexandra has a public library, but needs to start working closer together with schools in its surroundings to better support education and development. According to previous LDO documents, Alexandra needs two additional libraries, three additional old age homes, one's children's home and one home for the handicapped. However, the LIDP states that the uncertainty of accurate population figures (which, we believe, need to be revised on a yearly basis to assess the impact of the 'uncontrolled influx of people') makes it extremely difficult to adequately define the needs for social development related interventions.

The service infrastructure (roads, water supply, sanitation, waste management and electricity and energy supply) in Alexandra is under stress and operates beyond the capacity due to the large and low class population and consequently the intensive use of existing infrastructure and inability to pay for more and higher quality services. There is no bus or train transport in Alexandra and road linkages between Alexandra and the east of the N3, where commercial development takes place, are lacking. This requires intensive maintenance programmes to ensure proper functioning of existing services and expansion of services. It is expected that the proposed Gautrain link will have a positive impact on the region.

The industrial and retail areas have been declining, and Alexandra is dislocated from the surrounding economy, which includes the Sandton CBD, the Midrand high-tech belt and the Kempton Park manufacturing and warehousing areas.

With successive migrations into the city, the township burst its planned capacity long ago, with backyard and Jukskei riverbank shacks resulting in gross overcrowding and severe pollution problems. The area has about 4 060 formal houses and 34 000 shacks. In addition

there are various other forms of accommodation including hostels, flats (i.e. apartments) and warehouses. The area is densely populated, with more than 10 persons per housing unit estimated in 70% of the units in Old Alex. The service systems and infrastructure were originally designed for 70 000 people.[18]

Its original stands of about 500-600 m² each, are characterized by sizeable houses of reasonable quality, but usually with 3 – 6 additional separate rooms built in the original backyards, each usually housing an additional family that rents from the main householder. The additional rental units, which provide a significant income to the main householder, are termed "backyard shacks", although many are of brick or block construction of reasonable quality. Average backyard shack rental is about R200 per month for an area of about 3/3 m².[19] The significant, unplanned population has overloaded the infrastructure such that water pressures are low, sewers frequently block and overflow, and with a high demand for electricity that leads, *inter alia*, to thousands of illegal connections. Maintenance of such systems is very difficult because the high densities and congested nature of the backyard shack development makes access for maintenance very difficult or impossible in places.[20]

1.3 POPULATION PROFILE

Alexandra has a population estimated at approximately 350 000 people.[21] This estimation is much higher than the Municipal Demarcation Boards' estimate of approximately 137 000. This might relate to area included in these estimations. According to the World Bank (2000), population estimates in Alexandra vary widely and have been put at figures ranging from 180,000 to 750,000.[22] The ARP Project Manager asserts that: "population densities fluctuate seasonally - about 40% of Alexandra's population floats in and out - very much like Hillbrow".[23] The ARP is focussed on specific wards including: 75, 76, 105, 107 and 108, whereas wards 81, 91, 92, 103 and 109 fall partially into its area.

The most recent survey of the demographics in Alexandra, which was undertaken in October 2000, focussed on the Old Alexandra, the Women's Hostel, Wynberg-Marlboro, East Bank, and the flats. The survey comprised 4 280 respondents. Key findings of the survey were:[24]

- There are large numbers of young adults in Alexandra, especially in the Old Alexandra (53% between 30 and 40 years old).

- Education levels are low, with small proportions of people with matric or a diploma. The majority of residents are unskilled. Skills and educational levels are somewhat higher in the East Bank and the flats.

- Levels of unemployment reach approximately 60%. In the Old Alexandra and the Women's Hostel most households have an income below R1000 per month. The highest income levels are on the East bank where 55% of households have an income of between R1000 and R2000, and in the flats where 45% have an income of between R2000 and R3000.

- Households are large, which is particularly significant in the Old Alexandra where approximately 70% of the households comprise more than 10 people. Serious

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[18] Alexandra Renewal Project: Overall Proposals, April 2002.
[19] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[20] http://www.worldbank.org/urban/upgrading/afrnd/case_studies.htm
[21] Alexandra Renewal Project. Overall proposals, 2002, p 4.
[22] Upgrading Low-Income Settlements. A Regional Roundtable for Africa October 3-5, 2000 Johannesburg, South Africa (http://www.worldbank.org/urban/upgrading/afrnd/case_studies.htm).
[23] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[24] Alexandra Renewal Project. Overall proposals, 2002.

overcrowding with extremely high densities places a major strain on engineering and social services, health conditions, and result in high levels of social stress and crime.

- Most residents have occupied their present accommodation for more than 10 years (62%), with about 9% of households having been in the area for less than one year.

- Other relevant information from the survey indicated that approximately 30% of the residents pay no rental. Approximately 29% of households pay below R50 rental per month. The highest rentals are paid in the East Bank and Flats where above R300 is paid monthly.

- Generally, the area lacks urban management, which results in residents ignoring building regulations and zoning laws. In addition, there are high levels of non-payment for local government services.

In addition, it is mentioned elsewhere that the area faces a 40% HIV/AIDS infection rate; a services payment rate of 13%; about 60% of all waste enter the formal waste system; and that there are 17 000 illegal electrical connections.[25]

1.4 OVERVIEW OF RECENT HISTORY[26]

The history of Alexandra dates back to 1912. It is historically one of the few places in the city where Blacks were allowed to own property since it's establishment was just before the promulgation of the 1913 Land Act, which criminalized black ownership of land. In 1948 under apartheid the administration of Alexandra fell under the direct control of the then Department of Native Affairs.

The main strategies of the Apartheid regime for Alexandra were the reduction of the population, the control of movement into the area, and the expropriation of freehold property. Unlike many freehold areas occupied by blacks such as Sophiatown, which was bulldozed to rubble and upgraded for white settlement (Triomf), it was not the intention to remove Alexandra entirely. It was too valuable as a labour pool to serve the northern suburbs of Johannesburg. Nonetheless, approximately 50 000 people were forcibly moved to Tembisa and Soweto. A decision was reached in the early 1960s to demolish all properties in Alexandra and to rebuild the area as a 'hostel city'**.** Family accommodation was to be eliminated, and 25 hostels each housing about 2500 'single' people were to be built. Despite resistance and protest, the construction of hostels went ahead. Three hostels were completed – two for men and one for women. In the mid-1970s the plans were shelved. The reasons were the high financial costs, mounting opposition, and the lack of accommodation for displaced persons after the Soweto uprising in June 1976, which spread to other urban areas in the country including Alexandra. Evictions, removals and the expropriation of properties were shelved. Alexandra was reprieved in 1979 and given full status as a residential area.

In 1980 it was announced that a 'Master Plan' for Alexandra was being prepared. Alexandra was to be divided into new suburbs with a central business area, light industry, sports complexes and an interlinked system of parks. The Plan required the acquisition of all properties and the demolition of all houses. Only a small part of the Plan was implemented – areas now known as Phases 1, 2 and 10. In February 1986, a violent uprising called the 'Alex Six Days' occurred in which 40 people were killed. Residents demanded the rejection of the

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[25] http://www.joburg.org.za/nov_2002/nov26_alex.stm.
[26] Based on article by Pauline Morris. Alexandra Township – a history, lessons for urban renewal and some challenges for planers. Paper presented at: S A planning history study group. Planning for reconstruction and transformation conference, University of Natal (Durban) May, 2000; Tanya Zack. Nobody's Child, a Kind of Heaven trapped in History: Planning Challenges in Alexandra. Paper Presented to the Royal Australian Planning Institute Conference 'A Planning Odyssey' October 2001; and http://www.alexandra.co.za/about/history.htm.

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Black Local Authorities and the forced resignation of the Councillors. This occurred in April 1986, and Alexandra did not have a local municipal administration anymore and the implementation of the 'Master Plan' came to a halt.

The Urban Renewal Plan of 1986 was a revised programme, which coincided with the declaration of a State of Emergency. The State Security Council (SSC) and its local arm, the Mini Joint Management Committee (JMC), drove the new planning process. The emphasis was on the provision of engineering services that required considerable demolitions and the disruption of households. However the number of people moving into Alexandra increased substantially. This was not taken into account, nor was suitable alternative land made available to accommodate those who were displaced. During this period a new area known as the East Bank was built. New infrastructure was insufficient to cater for the demands of the population, proper maintenance was difficult and infrastructure quickly deteriorated. By the end of 1990 the renewal scheme was abandoned and *ad hoc* emergency services and the Randburg and Alexandra Town Councils and various consulting engineers carried out maintenance. Any improvements to bulk and internal reticulation services made during the previous upgrades were not sustainable. Responses to emergency upgrade and house repairs were undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis in response to individual household complaints. This was highly inefficient, costly and unsustainable. The multi-tenancy of stands continued to cause problems.

In 1992 a firm of town planners, civil engineers and social specialists were appointed to draw up a Perspective Report for Greater Alexandra. It was envisaged that the exercise would be undertaken in three stages, *i.e.*, the identification of key opportunities and constraints; the formulation of an accepted development focus for planning; and the formulation of a series of development programmes. The plan was completed during May 1993, with the preliminary proposals put forward more in line with current thinking on urban renewal. An integrated and less technocratic approach was suggested which included the preparation of local plans and self help initiatives for neighbourhood precincts. Attention was paid to the complex institutional, political and social environment. The planning team made it quite clear that given its existing economic base, the then municipality of Alexandra would be unable to raise sufficient funds from its own sources to address the daunting development needs in Alexandra. Funds for development would have to come from revenue generated in the greater metropolitan area. In late 1994 the planning team was advised that the plan had been rejected and that the next phases would not take place.

During 1998 a new development framework for Alexandra was drawn up. The Eastern Metropolitan Council and the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council appointed the consultants. The planning areas included the whole of Alexandra and surrounding suburbs. The plan started with the premise that the population density of Alexandra should be reduced from about 770 per hectare to about 220 people per hectare. It was stated this would involve the removal of some 150 000 to 160 000 people. Some indication was given of those who would be earmarked for relocation out of Alexandra. This classification of persons would determine who qualified to remain in Alexandra and who would be relocated out of the area. Following this the vacated structures would be demolished to prevent 'rehabilitation' and to clear the land for redevelopment. After the approval of township and building designs – in accordance with the prescribed density of 220 people per hectare – the construction of superblocks containing 3000 people in three storey walk-ups would commence. Once completed those 'authorised' persons temporarily housed on the Far East Bank would be resettled in the redeveloped Alexandra. No concrete proposals were made as to where or how 'disqualified' persons would be resettled. The financial cost of implementing the project was estimated at R3 billion. It was stated that the national and provincial governments, the Johannesburg Council and private sector donors, would finance it. It appears that the plan was dropped. The East Bank is rapidly being developed thus precluding the temporary resettlement of 'authorised' persons from Old Alexandra. Riverside

Park next to Lombardy East has been built to house some of those refugee families displaced from the 'Beirut' area during the violence of 1992. A site adjoining N3 highway was identified for the construction of a village to house athletes taking part in the All Africa Games in September 1999. Now named Tsutsumani - 'to run' in Shangaan – has been allocated to those on the waiting list who fulfilled certain criteria determined by the council. The cost of the development has been supplemented by national housing subsidy funds.

Alexandra's history is one of rapid urbanisation. People in search of employment in the city have flocked into Alexandra from rural areas in South Africa and neighbouring countries, dramatically overloading an infrastructure already under strain. Congestion in informal settlements, in the hostels and along the banks of the Jukskei River has made living conditions stressful, unhealthy and dangerous. As the above overview of Alexandra's history reveals, overpopulation and lacking infrastructure remain the key problems the township is facing.

President Thabo Mbeki announced in February 2001 that Alexandra is to be redeveloped after several previous efforts to uplift the township were aborted. The estimated budget for the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) is R1, 3 billion over a 7-year period.

2. DEVELOPMENT PLANNING OBJECTIVES

The aim of the Alexandra Renewal Project is to upgrade living conditions and human development within Alexandra.[27] This involves the realisation of the following key outcomes:[28]
- Reduction of unemployment
- Effective paid for services
- Safety and security
- Effective local administration
- Healthy environment (and access to effective health and social services)
- Effective housing environment
- Sustainable community and civic pride

2.1 BUSINESS PLAN AND DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK

The ARP implementation period has been reduced from 10 to 7 years. According to the Project Manager, the 2000 overall ARP business plan, that was used to lobby for the URP status, had a 'survivalist' focus as opposed to a required 'outward' and 'growth' focus. The newer overall business plan 2001 was 'grounded in reality'. The change in focus related to the fact that Alexandra, *inter alia*, suffers from *structural unemployment* and therefore a survivalist approach is not appropriate. There is also need for *sustainability* regarding general skills development that needs to be retooled to an entrepreneurial focus.

The 2001 business plan was partly based on the outcomes of a summit on the ARP, which was held in April 2001. The summit was attended by 450 delegates representing the private and public sectors, community-based organisations and NGOs, and political parties. These signed a Charter for the Alexandra Renewal Project. In essence the Charter undertakes to make Alexandra a clean, safe, healthy living environment in which existing housing will be upgraded, unemployment will be tackled, and de-densification will occur.

It was agreed that four key areas would be developed:[29]

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[27] Overall physical development strategy. August, 2001.
[28] Alexandra Renewal Programme. Overall Proposals. April. 2002.
[29] Alexandra to get facelift - at last (http://www.joburg.org.za/articles/alex.stm).

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− Pan Africa Square, a Business Improvement District (BID) and private-public sector initiative through which infrastructure will be developed and business opportunities offered to Alexandra residents. The aim is to integrate the BID into the sub-region.
− Riverpark Housing Project, in which 56 000 housing units are to be built. Alexandra residents will be encouraged to own and upgrade their houses.
− Jukskei River Bank Project, involving the relocation of 6 000 residents from the riverbank to safer locations. The banks of the river are to be developed into parks and recreation areas, a project that has already begun.
− A school upgrading and development programme in which schools will get science laboratories, computer centres and sports fields. This programme will include the upgrading of teaching standards and building of new schools.

Since the summit, significant progress has been made in each of the focus areas. However, physical development appears to be ahead of economic and social development. Progress in each focus area will be discussed and factors that speeded up or slowed down progress are highlighted in section 2.5.

The ARP focuses on drastically changing the physical, social and economic environment of the area through:[30]
• Reducing unemployment by creating work opportunities for the people of Alexandra.
• Creating a healthy and clean living environment including parks, clean rivers and unpolluted air, well managed Local Government services and access to effective health and social services.
• Providing Local Government services that are well managed, affordable and are paid for.
• Reducing levels of crime and violence by ensuring that there are motivated police officials who have the correct equipment, improving the criminal justice system and ensuring that there are sufficient emergency services equipment and well trained staff.
• Creating an effective housing environment that provides a choice of affordable houses, as well as upgrades the existing houses.
• De-densification where people living in informal structures will be moved to appropriate areas.

The Urban Development Framework[31] developed for Alexandra is a physical plan used to guide how the redevelopment of Alexandra is undertaken. The key objectives of the Urban Development Framework are:

• *Linking Alexandra with its sub-region*: Alexandra is very well placed as a sub-region in the north-east sector of the Johannesburg metropolitan area. Alexandra falls inside an area that links Johannesburg, Pretoria and Johannesburg International Airport. If growth and development in Alexandra is carefully structured to take advantage of this, it will bring many opportunities to Alexandra's residents. The Development Framework therefore aims to link Alexandra with the Sandton CBD, Woodmead, Midrand CBD, Linbro Business Park and AECI's Westfeilds Business Park. There are also large landholdings in the area that can be used for housing developments.

• *Establishing roads and centres where various activities will take place*: Alexandra is designed on a grid system, where the roads run from north to south and east to west in straight lines. Although this formation is rather monotonous in urban planning, it at least allows easy access and movement of people. Different types of roads will be developed including main roads where high volume activity occurs (cars, taxis, busses, trucks, etc.) and minor roads where there is lower volume activity (cars, pedestrians, etc). Centres

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[30] Alexandra Renewal Programme. Overall Proposals. April. 2002.
[31] http://www.alexandra.co.za/2002_publications/tn2_urbandev.htm Township News Volume 2 March- May 2002:

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will also be developed at the intersection of these roads where economic development or social services will be built. Bigger centres will be built on the main roads and smaller ones on the minor roads. Each centre will include different activities like a bus stop, taxi rank, 'spaza' shop, butcher, clinic, etc. Centres will be placed so that at least one is in walking distance from home for all residents.

- *Creating a good environment*: Alexandra is located on the banks of the Jukskei River, which will be developed as an open space that provides different types of recreational activities.

The Urban Development Framework specifies the following sub-objectives:
-    Promotion of physical environment, which includes:[32]
    -    Building and upgrading of roads and improving transport
    -    Development of public places and open space
    -    Enhancing safety and security
    -    Improvement of housing and engineering services
-    Promotion of economic development. To address unemployment in Greater Alexandra, the Local Economic Development unit aims to:
-    Facilitate job creation within Alexandra and the wider regional economy.
-    Promote the creation and growth of small enterprises owned and managed by Alexandra entrepreneurs.
-    Foster productive economic linkages between Alexandra and the wider regional economy.
-    Facilitate the development of skills to enable Alexandra residents to participate in the economy.
-    Enhance the stability and growth prospects of the Alexandra and surrounding economy
-    Promotion of social development.

In order to implement the Urban Development Framework, Alexandra has been divided into 10 Precincts**.** These are areas where a detailed plan will be developed in order to implement the different activities that have been identified. Residents living in a Precinct will be able to input on the plan that is developed for their area.

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[32] In the "Physical Development Proposals, March 2000", it is however stated that the three main components of the physical development strategy comprise: public environment; relocation strategy; and housing strategy.

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Figure 2. Greater Alexandra and its Precincts

Three precincts had been identified to pilot the approach. These are the RCA area, Pan Africa Square and Marlboro.

- The RCA area (Precinct 2) is bound by Roosevelt Road in the north, 8th Avenue in the east, London Road in the south and 1st Avenue in the west.
- The Pan Africa Square (Precinct 1) includes 1st Avenue in the east, 13th Road in the south, Pretoria Main road in the west.
- Marlboro (Precinct 7) is bound by Marlboro South and Marlboro Gardens in the north.

2.2 THE LOCAL INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLAN (LIDP)

The Local Integrated Development Plan (LIDP) for Region 7 provides direction to planning and support to decisions making.[33] The LIDP has integrated the ARP projects. The ARP projects form part of the specific goals for Region 7, which include:

- De-densify and upgrade Alexandra;
- Establishment of an efficient Land Use System;
- Increase access and movement;
- Protect sensitive open areas;
- Promote residential development; and
- Establish Local Economic Growth and Development.

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[33] Local Integrated Development Plan. Administrative Region 7: Eastern areas of Greater Johannesburg, March 2002.

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The LIDP formulates projects for each of the 14 sub-areas in which the region has been divided for planning purposes. The projects for Alexandra – sub area 2 – are informed by the ARP proposals. No extra or specific LIDP projects were listed.

The sub-areas do not follow the demarcation of the precincts in the ARP, however. The ARP area is bigger than the Alexandra area referred to in the LIDP, which seems to be focussed on Old Alexandra. Therefore, in the lists of project for the sub-areas we find ARP projects in other areas as well. Confusion is also stirred in the LIDP by inclusion of a map of the region (probably originating form the spatial development framework for the region) identifying the sub-areas with the main objectives for each area attached to it. These objectives are not in line with the ARP objectives and not with the objectives outlined in the project list of the LIDP.

In contrast to the ARP, the LIDP does not give attention to social development. It only formulates projects around infrastructure and to a certain extent with regard to economic development. It lacks indicators for monitoring and evaluation of progress and projects. The LIDP also does not mention the organisation of service delivery (who will do what), timeframes (when will projects start and finish), or sequences (dependency among projects) neither are risks, opportunities, need for capacity building, collaboration with ARP team etc. mentioned. Clearly, better integration of service delivery and urban renewal is needed in terms of spatial planning, organisation, implementation, monitoring & evaluation and financing of projects.

2.3 ARP PROJECTS

The Alexandra Renewal Project is to undertake many different projects. The ARP includes about 200 projects; some related to environmental development, others to the development of human skills; and others dedicated to upgrading housing in the township. Some of these projects include:[34]

2.3.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- Developing small business enterprises: A database of small business enterprises will be developed. Training will be provided on management, financial and tendering skills. An informal sector market facility will be developed. A number of demonstration projects will be undertaken.
- Promoting investment in Alexandra: Alexandra will be promoted so as to encourage new businesses to invest in the area and expanding existing business.
- Optimising land use: Specific economic areas will be developed and expanded including existing industrial areas, Pan Africa Square, etc.
- Developing human skills: A programme will be undertaken to assist individuals living in Alexandra to acquire skills and access work by upgrading the services of the Labour Centre in the Greater Alexandra area.

2.3.2 HOUSING

- Upgrading of existing houses: Assistance will be provided to encourage owners of existing houses to upgrade these houses.
- Development of new houses: New housing will be developed both within and outside of Alexandra. These houses will be both for rental and ownership.
- Transfer of publicly owned housing: Publicly owned housing will be transferred to legal tenants using the Government's Discount Benefit Scheme.
- Backyard rental accommodation: Owners of accommodation in backyards will be assisted in upgrading this accommodation.

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[34] Alexandra Renewal Programme. Overall proposals, April, 2002.

- Redevelopment of the hostels: The hostels in Alexandra will be redeveloped into single and household units.
- Redevelopment of warehouses: Some of the factory premises and warehouses in Marlboro South will be redeveloped for housing purposes.
- Relocation of informal dwellings: Informal dwellings within the flood plain of the Jukskei River and it's tributaries, school sites, S'stwetla, London Road and other areas will be relocated to more appropriate areas.

2.3.3 SPATIAL PLANNING AND THE ENVIRONMENT

- Overall plan for Alexandra: An overall plan for Alexandra will be developed showing how each area should be used. A land use plan supported by Inspectors will be put in place to make sure that the land is used in this way.
- Parks and recreation: Parks and recreation areas will be developed. Trees and vegetation will be planted and maintained.
- Upgrading of cemeteries: The existing cemetery in Alexandra will be upgraded and maintained.
- Water and air quality: Water and air quality will be monitored and programmes will be put in place to ensure that they are kept clean.
- Jukskei River: The Jukskei River will be cleaned and a recreation area with parks and other activities developed.

2.3.4 ENGINEERING SERVICES

- Water: services will be upgraded and provided to each stand. Fire hydrants will also be upgraded to the proper standards.
- Sanitation: The sewerage system will be upgraded and provided to each stand. A toilet construction programme will be implemented.
- Waste management: All households will be provided with a refuse bin. Public open spaces and streets will be cleaned on a regular basis.
- Electricity: The programme to upgrade electrical services in Alexandra will be continued, including electricity to houses, streetlights and public open spaces.
- Roads and stormwater: Damaged roads in Old Alexandra will be repaired. All the roads on the East Bank will be surfaced. Sidewalks will be constructed on main roads. London Road will be upgraded. A maintenance programme will be developed to ensure that all roads are properly maintained in the future.
- Taxi Ranks: Existing taxi ranks will be upgraded and new ranks developed where required. Taxi stops will be developed on main taxi routes.

2.3.5 SOCIAL SERVICES

- Schools: Schools will be refurbished and new schools built. A Further Education and Training programme will be implemented providing laboratories, technology and media and art and culture centres in some schools. A Centre for mentally and physically challenged learners will be upgraded.
- Teacher Learning Centre: A multipurpose teaching and learning centre of excellence will be developed. This Centre will provide support to teachers and will provide an Adult Basic Education and Training programme.
- HIV/Aids: Many programmes to address the challenge of HIV/Aids will be undertaken including both education and the provision of facilities to assist the victims of this disease.
- Upgrading of Edenvale hospital: Edenvale Hospital will be improved and used as a referral hospital for Alexandra.
- Clinic facilities: Clinic facilities will be improved both in terms of upgrading existing clinics, building new clinics and providing training to staff at the clinics.

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- Mental Health Programme: A mental health programme will be undertaken to increase facilities available, support to families and training to counsellors.
- Welfare services: Welfare services will be improved through better co-ordination and integration and training of social workers. There will be special programmes for youth criminality and unemployment, violence against women, children and the aged and alcohol and drug abuse.
- Sports and recreation: Existing sports and recreation facilities will be upgraded and new facilities will be built. A new library and study centre will be built.
- Heritage: A history of Alexandra will be written and historical places restored. A museum will be developed to show the rich history of Alexandra.
- Arts and culture: A range of arts and culture activities will be undertaken including art, poetry and drama competitions, a graffiti wall and poetry readings.

2.3.6 PUBLIC SAFETY AND SECURITY

- Police Stations: Police stations will be upgraded and extended. The skills of staff and equipment will be improved.
- Fire and emergency services: Staff will receive additional training, equipment will be provided and facilities improved so as to ensure better service delivery.
- Victim support: A programme to provide support to traumatised victims of violent and sexually related crimes will be implemented.
- Metro Police: Metro Police will be established including the development of a Service Delivery Point on the Far East Bank. Traffic Safety Services will be improved and a Junior Traffic Training Centre established.
- Public Safety Partnership: The Public and Private Sector will be encouraged to work together. A Partnership Forum will be established and the transfer of skills encouraged.

2.3.7 EFFECTIVE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

- Establishing effective land use and environment frameworks
- Capacity Building within local government
- Development of effective administration and regulatory systems and processes
- Ongoing monitoring and evaluation of services provided

2.4 ARP PROJECT ORGANISATION

The ARP is being implemented jointly between National, Provincial and Local Government. A project team has been established within the Provincial Housing Department to facilitate the implementation of the project. A Programme Manager leads this project team. Local government has appointed an ARP Local Government Project Manager who is a dedicated official overseeing implementation. Together with the Region 7 Director, the manager is jointly responsible for managing the Local Government's participation in the project. A Lead Manager of the MLA consortium heads a group of technical assistants/consultants providing support to the Provincial and Metropolitan government *viz.* facilitation, monitoring and co-ordination in the delivery of ARP projects. In general this includes assisting government with tendering, assessing proposals *viz.* costing, monitoring project implementation *viz.* value for money. The existence of the MLA consortium has been critical to providing coordinating and technical support to government officials in what is a fairly complex organizational project.

The ARP is structured according to three Focus Areas, which have specific "Functional Areas". The Focus Areas and their respective Functional Areas are:

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Table 1: Illustration of ARP Clusters and Functional Areas

Economic development	Social Development	Physical Development
Local Economic Development	Education	Spatial planning & Environment
Public Safety and Security	Health	Housing
Local Government Capacitation	Welfare	Engineering services
	Sports and Recreation	
	Heritage, Arts and Culture*	

*The Heritage, Arts and Culture Functional Area has been split in that programmes are being implemented under the Social Development Focus Area and capital investments are being undertaken in terms of the Physical Development Focus Area.

The project is implemented on the ground in terms of specific geographical areas or "Precincts". A Precinct Manager is responsible for co-ordinating development within a specific Precinct. To date three Precinct Managers have been appointed on a 'pilot basis'. Two structures have been established to co-ordinate the activities of the above implementers as follows (see also the organogram in Figure 3):

A Strategic Management Team compromising:
- From Provincial Government (Programme Manager and Communication Convenor)
- From Local Government (ARP Project Manager and Region 7 Director)
- From the Consultants Consortium,
- The Focus Area Overall Co-ordinators

Each Focus Area has a Technical Team, which comprises:
- Convenors
- Co-ordinators

The Strategic Management Team meets as and when required. The Focus Area Technical Teams meet at least once per month to co-ordinate activities between the various Focus Areas.

Members of the Alexandra community establish the Alexandra Development Forum (ADF) to ensure and secure community participation with all ARP structures. The ADF is a representative forum consisting of elected members from all known CBOs in Alexandra, i.e.:
- Alexandra Civic Association (ACA) – founded in 1981
- Alexandra Land and Property Owners' Association (ALPOA) – founded in 1917
- Alexandra Civic Organization (ACO) – founded in 1985-1985. ACO was formed when some members broke away from ACA for 'ideological and political' reasons.
- East Bank Civic Association (EBCA) – founded in 1990-1991.
- South African National Civic Organization (SANCO).

The first ADF election was held on 22 February 2002, with representatives of all political parties and CBOs. The ADF has 5 executive members and 5 additional members. There are three sub-committees overseeing local economic development; physical development, and social development. The three sub-committees' portfolios correspond to the ARP's main cluster composition.

The ADF meets regularly. The main role of ADF according to the Deputy Chairperson is for the ADF to be a watchdog of the ARP, e.g. "to keep an eye on tender and procurement

issues." In addition, the Deputy Chairperson maintains that all development projects planned must first go through the ADF for approval.[35]
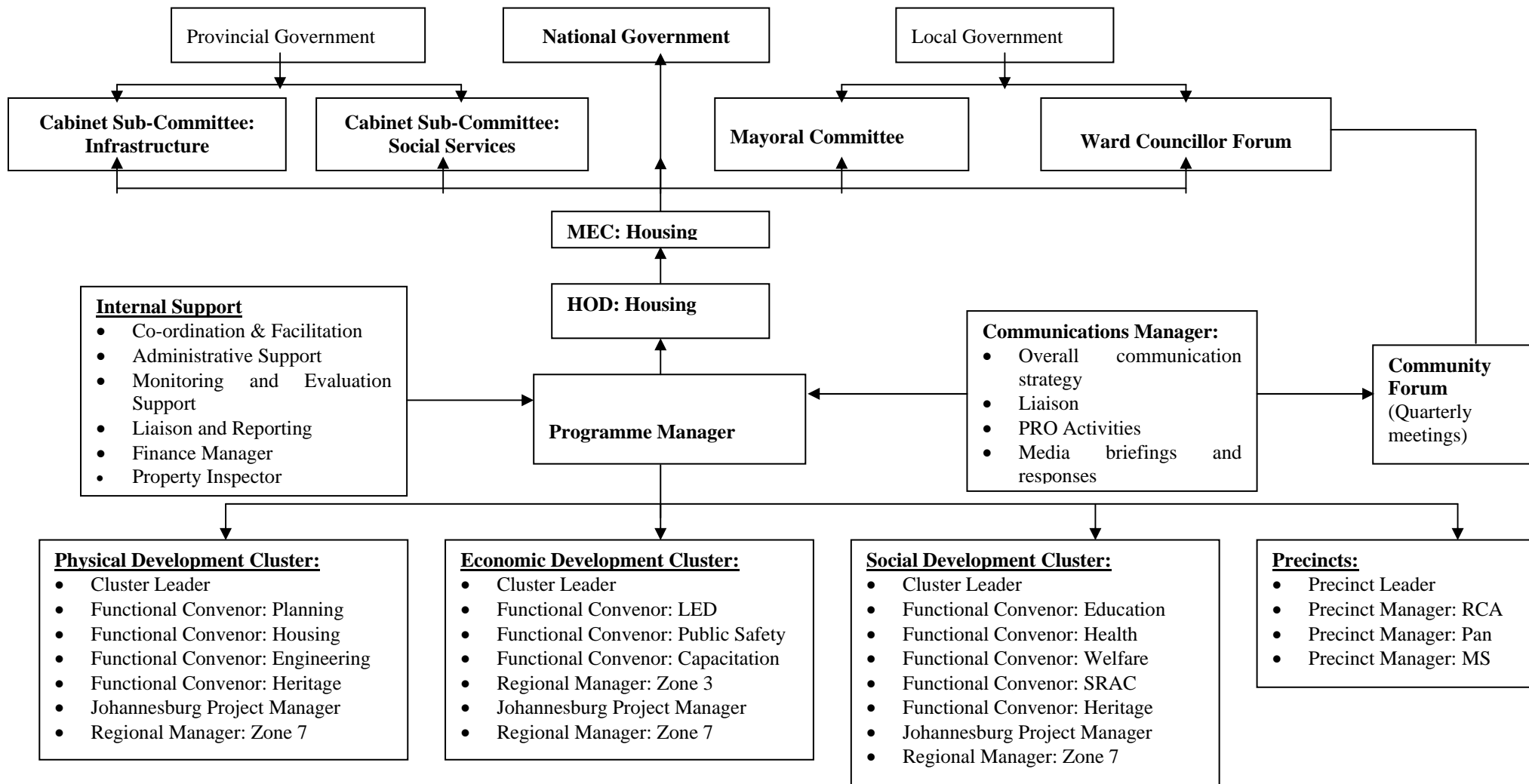
Figure 3: Informal housing Alexandra

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[35] Interview with Mike Beea, ADF Deputy Chair, April, 2003.

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Figure 4:

ALEXANDRA RENEWAL PROJECT: ORGANISATIONAL SCHEMATIC

Provincial Government		National Government		Local Government

Cabinet Sub-Committee: Infrastructure	**Cabinet Sub-Committee: Social Services**		**Mayoral Committee**	**Ward Councillor Forum**

MEC: Housing

HOD: Housing

Internal Support
- Co-ordination & Facilitation
- Administrative Support
- Monitoring and Evaluation Support
- Liaison and Reporting
- Finance Manager
- Property Inspector

Programme Manager

Communications Manager:
- Overall communication strategy
- Liaison
- PRO Activities
- Media briefings and responses

Community Forum (Quarterly meetings)

Physical Development Cluster:
- Cluster Leader
- Functional Convenor: Planning
- Functional Convenor: Housing
- Functional Convenor: Engineering
- Functional Convenor: Heritage
- Johannesburg Project Manager
- Regional Manager: Zone 7

Economic Development Cluster:
- Cluster Leader
- Functional Convenor: LED
- Functional Convenor: Public Safety
- Functional Convenor: Capacitation
- Regional Manager: Zone 3
- Johannesburg Project Manager
- Regional Manager: Zone 7

Social Development Cluster:
- Cluster Leader
- Functional Convenor: Education
- Functional Convenor: Health
- Functional Convenor: Welfare
- Functional Convenor: SRAC
- Functional Convenor: Heritage
- Johannesburg Project Manager
- Regional Manager: Zone 7

Precincts:
- Precinct Leader
- Precinct Manager: RCA
- Precinct Manager: Pan
- Precinct Manager: MS

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2.5 MONITORING AND EVALUATION

The project's organizational set-up and flow is, despite its complexity, fairly coherent, given its seven-year timeframe and projected budget of R1.3 billion. The complexity of the ARP really comes down to managing its multitude of individual projects that can run concurrently and are inter-related, each with their own business plans, budgets, timeframes, and deliverables that have to be assessed and monitored.

The project also has detailed outcomes and comprehensive measures to monitor these, including a logical sequence of monitoring according to:
- Outcomes;
- Performance measures;
- Indicators;
- Frequency measures;
- Sources of information; and
- Performance to date.

An important component of the project's monitoring system is a pro-forma reporting template, which does facilitate coherent reporting across the various sector projects. The challenge with this system appeared to be the sheer volume of data that needed to be prepared for assessment, which places the onus on agencies to ensure that the requisite staff and time is allocated to this activity.

Another challenge with monitoring is to begin to develop indicators and methods of resident living condition impact measurement in addition to assessing outputs. In some cases information on 'performance to date' is confused with targeted delivery (see Table 2 on policing). There appears to be a lack of capacity to monitor progress in the field and to capture and integrate information on progress. With regard to management it is noteworthy that the City of Johannesburg (Region 7) is developing an integrated project management and information system. Currently, progress is tracked according to milestones and deliverables tied to individual business plans, which at this point makes it difficult to take a strategic view of how the various projects complement each other. The development of such a system is a positive step to improve the City's institutional management of its contributions to the project as well as project management methods in general.

A general problem was lack of information on the ARP area and its population. Some progress has been made to ensure base-line information or benchmarks against progress can be booked. Various studies have been undertaken regarding ARP planning:

- Socio-economic survey
- Yard base data
- Business audits and consumer behaviour
- Relocation impact studies
- Strategic environmental assessments
- Crime based surveys (monthly crime stats)
- Waste stream management
- Heritage assessments
- Educational studies
- Health needs assessment, etc.

However, access to the various reports is difficult. The main reason for this is that each sector keeps it's own records and information is being kept with specific individuals and units.

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2.6 FINANCING

The original business plan generated for the ARP as a Presidential project was based on a figure of about R1, 3 billion. To the end of the last financial year (end of March 2003), encompassing two financial years, national government has provided 40 million, with the City of Johannesburg providing 15 million, provincial government allocating R154 million, and the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP) providing R29 million. What is less clear about the initial figure of R1, 3 billion is how this figure will be or has been strategically allocated between the various levels of government. This is quite important given the fact that the ARP is a Presidential project, and therefore presumably requires significant or at least dedicated national government involvement. It is also not clear how the City of Johannesburg's "developmental" mandate translates into its share of the total budget and in particular costs associated with the maintenance of assets. Moreover sectors such as Education, Welfare and Health, require significant inputs from provincial government given their primary responsibility for these sectors.

3. METHODOLOGY TO ASSESS DELIVERY

The ARP has set up an overall and area specific management structure, provided a Local IDP for Region 7, formulated a strategic framework, defined projects and allocated funds to these, designed a procurement system, implemented projects, developed indicators for monitoring and evaluation. In short, in two years time the ARP is up and running. Progress made in each of the projects, as outlined in the Alexandra Renewal Programme (April 2002), has been assessed in terms of media reports, progress reports, and interviews with relevant managers, local key informants and residents of Alexandra. The following section describes the research in more detail.

3.1 RESEARCH METHOD FOR THIS CASE STUDY

This assignment has been carried out via a combination of background literature reviews including ARP overall and functional area planning documents, activity and expenditure progress reports; together with interviews with ARP management and Focus Area implementing staff. A comprehensive report on the findings is attached in Appendix A. Interviews with the following persons were conducted. The analysis that has been undertaken with access to this information has tried to assess "impact" of government services. It must be stated however that a fuller and deeper assessment of impact, which was not possible given time and budgetary constraints, would typically require a combination of larger-scale surveying of the population compared with actual activity and related expenditure data from service delivery agents. In order to address this deficiency, the researchers tried to obtain data on services rendered to Alexandra prior to the ARP. We were however unsuccessful in obtaining such detailed data, which was spread amongst various organisations, in the time provided. We do however make reference to the Business Plan that was produced prior to the ARP, which does in some cases provide background information on service gaps existing prior to the ARP.

Programme Management
Carien Engelbreght, ARP Project Manager, Dept. of Housing, Johannesburg, 11 April 2003.
Mike Maile, Acting ARP Project Manager, 22 April 2003.
Neels Letter, Local Government Project Manager and Physical Development Cluster – Spatial Planning and Environment Convener, Region 7 Offices, 16 April 2003.

Focus Area Convenors and Co-ordinators
Housing / physical infrastructure:

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Mike Morkel Lead Housing Consultant and Manager Physical Development Cluster, Lead Manager of the MLA Consortium, 17 April 2003.

Social Development
Nicky Omar (Convenor) and Jessie Turton (Co-ordinator) - Umhlaba Development Services, 7 April 2003.
Janet du Preez, Chief Director Gauteng Department of Developmental Social Services and Population Development, 22 April 2003.
Elmarie de Bruyn, Programme Manager: Education Infrastructure (MLA Consortium), 17 April 2003.
Itumeleng Mahuma, Programme Manager: Health, 17 April 2003.

Local Economic Development:
Due to delay of progress of review by ARP Management we were not able to reschedule appointments made.

Local Government
Blake Mosley-Lefatola, Regional Director, Region 7, 11 April 2003
Pieter Vorster, Programme Manager, LED, 17 April 2003.
Lance Fenn, Manager: Engineering Services - Region 7, 16 April 2003.
Alex Sepeng, Manager, People's Centre, 17 April 2003
Rapson Tleane, Supervisor, People's Centre, 8 April 2003.

Key local informants
Rosemary Maile, Acting Administrator Ward Councillor Liaison and Support, Region 7, 15 April 2003.
Titus Motao, Administrator Ward Councillor Liaison and Support – Region 7, 16 April 2003.
Mike Beea, Deputy Chairperson Alexandra Development Forum (ADF), 15 April 2003.
Mr Nage, Alexandra Land and Property Owners' Association (ALPOA), 30 April 2003.
Jankie Matlala, HSRC Research Assistant, People's Centre, Alexandra, 15 April 2003.
Zola Ntlokoma, HSRC Fieldworker/interviewer, People's Centre, Alexandra, 15 April 2003.
Rev. Masohdo, Alex Civic Association, 30 April 2003.
Social Worker, People's Centre, 30 April 2003.
Local shop owners, April 2003.
Builders / Contractors, April 2003.
Teacher, April 2003.

Citizen interviews
Twenty-five Alexandra residents from 18 years and older were interviewed. The local fieldwork coordinator selected these respondents. The selection criteria included:
- Resident of inner Alexandra who are living for more than 3 years in their neighbourhood.
- 4 respondents in each of the 5 wards (wards - 72, 76, 105, 107, 108).
- Aim to interview approximately 50% male and 50% female.
- Aim to interview approximately 50% younger or equal to 35 years of age and 50% older than 35 years.

A local fieldwork assistant and one local interviewer were appointed to conduct the interviews. Terms of Reference were developed and agreed upon.

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After an initial delay, the organisation of interviews went smoothly. Cooperation on various levels was satisfactory. The Region 7 office offered us a basis to work from. However, the initial problems with the ARP management made the review team reluctant to take up this offer.

Another problem experienced was the bureaucratic and submissive attitude encountered when approaching police and health personnel to convey their perceptions on changes in Alexandra. We were referred to their commanders and district managers, for which there was no time unfortunately. Excellent cooperation was received from the People's Centre Information Centre, which offered effective assistance in contacting local key informants. The stringent time-period given for the ARP review necessitated the review team to prioritise interviewees and in some cases neglecting other relevant sources of information.

The rather complicated structure of the ARP management, including officials from local and provincial level and various consultants residing in different buildings and areas, made it difficult to obtain the relevant documentation. Whether because of lack of capacity, ineffective information systems, reluctant interviewees or negligence, it was difficult and in some instance impossible to obtain relevant information. Managers tended to refer to the Alexandra website for information. However, this site does not contain all the relevant information, such as the LIDP for Region 7 or survey reports (on infrastructure, population and services). The LIDP for 2003/2004 was not available yet.

4. PROGRESS MADE IN THE ARP

Progress and challenges indicated, unless footnoted below, are referenced from a number of sources including project progress reports and interviews with project representatives and stakeholders. Measuring "impact" is a multi-dimensional task, which typically requires extensive and deep analysis of the change in people's lives as a result of a particular action or set of actions. Within the time and budgetary allotments of this review, we present the following "impacts" which are largely based on the project outputs and respondent assessment of the ARP's activities.

4.1 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CLUSTER

Local Economic Development Objectives

- Stimulation of income-generating opportunities for the economically active population of Alexandra
- Reduction of unemployment by 20% or more within seven years, through
    - Promotion of economic integration of the Alexandra area into the metropolitan economy
    - Creating an environment conducive to encouraging investment into the Greater Alexandra area
    - Developing, encouraging and supporting small and medium enterprises[36]
    - Prioritisation of Alexandra based service providers and job seekers in ARP projects[37]

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[36] Doug Hindson. The Urban Renewal Programme, Hologram Newsletter 4 of 2003
(http://www.hologram.org.za/newsletter/nl5-urban%20renewal%20programme.htm).
[37] Doug Hindson. The Urban Renewal Programme, Hologram Newsletter 4 of 2003
(http://www.hologram.org.za/newsletter/nl5-urban%20renewal%20programme.htm).

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Progress Local Economic Development

- Over 500 organisations have been registered and are offered work from the Project on a rotational basis
- Around 122 000 person-days of employment have been created in the last 18 months, 30% of which has gone to women
- A Local Business Support Centre is in the process of establishment and information seminars on economic issues have been held
- Tender and contracts management training for Alexandra based contractors
- Business plan for care-worker programme
- Auto sector strategy developed
- Construction sector strategy developed
- Business forum established
- Informal and formal retail sector strategy
- Small business information seminars held
- Progress made in infrastructure upgrade for City Improvement Districts in Pan Africa Square

Public Perceptions Local Economic Development

- Great need for job creation
- There are many graduates of youth skills training– but no follow-up on job creation
- Community feels that they get poor skills training – 'that's why they don't bother about government programs on skills – you get a certificate but not a job'
- The Alexandra Development Forum appears not to be happy about APR tendering and procurement procedures. The Deputy Chairperson claims that the whole project is consultant driven with the project manager having the power to 'appoint any consultant', and then there is a consultant appointed to oversee other project consultants
- The Alexandra residents interviewed (total of 25 across Inner Alexandra), showed little awareness of business skills training. Generally, they perceived no change in opportunities for enhancing business skills

Impact Local Economic Development

- ARP has stimulated short-term supply of jobs for local residents, which, despite being a positive output, must also address longer-term job creation[38]

Challenges Local Economic Development

The Acting ARP Manager revealed that as part of the economic development cluster, more attention was needed to develop the business skills of Alexandra residents through training and the establishment of a business support centre, to assist residents cultivate such activities as co-operative businesses and urban agriculture. Implicit in this was having a debate about the role of "economic development" in the project viz. subsistence businesses versus profit-driven businesses, with the implicit point being that the "extensive" unemployment in Alexandra should highlight the need to help as much people as possible to develop income generating activities, even if these are subsistence rather than profit driven.

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[38]The 2000 Overall Business Plan stated: "Half the township, it was found, appear to rely on "piece work", if and when this is available. Approximately a quarter of the formally unemployed have moved into small business, but, if the experience of the SMME sector in other areas provides any indication, this is, for the most part, highly unsustainable micro- business, which neither alleviates poverty nor creates job opportunities outside the existing entrepreneurial population.

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- Most jobs created are in the construction industry and are short term, with the recommendation that job creation should also be measured in terms of spin-offs from the building of schools-teachers. Also, a lot of jobs can be created for small contractors in terms of low-tech maintenance such as painting, gardening, i.e. maintenance
- Currently monitoring progress viz. job creation in number of hours rather than number of full-time, part-time, casual, jobs. The latter count is more important for sustainability of jobs
- Intensification of involvement of community in entrepreneurial skills training through better communication and integrated and or one-stop services
- More discussion around co-operative businesses and urban agriculture

Safety and Security Context

The most recent available crime statistics for the Alexandra area, obtained from the SAPS Crime Information Analysis Centre, reported the following for the periods 1998-2001 (see Table 2):[39]
  - o 37% decrease in murder-related crimes
  - o 11% decrease in total robbery crimes from a high in 1999
  - o 14% decrease in burglaries from a high in 1999
  - o 32% average increase in common assault between 1998 and 2001

Table 2: Incidents of Crime reported for the Alexandra area

CRIME CATEGORY	January to September				% Change*
	1998	1999	2000	2001	
Murder	159	142	123	110	
Attempted murder	163	164	118	123	
Culpable homicide	15	15	7	13	
TOTAL MURDER	*337*	*321*	*248*	*246*	*-37*
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	409	494	470	452	
Other robbery	137	182	148	156	
TOTAL ROBBERY	*546*	*676*	*618*	*608*	*-11*
Common assault	*298*	*341*	*535*	*666*	*32***
Burglary at residential premises	163	254	260	299	
Burglary at non-residential premises	624	667	620	509	
TOTAL BURGLARY	*787*	*921*	*880*	*808*	*-14*

*% Change represents change between highest rate observed and rate for last available reporting period (2001)
**Given the year on year increase in common assault reported, the number appearing represents an average increase for all years.

Progress Safety and Security

- Upgrading policing facilities in Alexandra including a victim support facilities
- Metropolitan police services
- Preparation of SAPS services audit

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[39]Table presented is an amended version of the original, showing totals and averages, for illustration. Crime statistics after this period were not available from the source pending ministerial approval. Our researchers were told that further data should be available by September 2003.

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- By-law enforcement programme including land invasion control policy, informal trading policy

Impact Safety and Security

- Positive impact of the establishment of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police, providing additional resources to local SAPS management of crime;
- Latest available data, despite the above, show high levels of crime that will continue to impede project implementation as well as general safety of the area;
- Despite a decrease in major crime categories (see Table 2); incidents of crime remain fairly high
- Greater "impact" will be achieved by going beyond improving policing infrastructure to addressing policing operations, procedures and community relations, including implementing the findings of the SAPS services audit

Challenges Safety and Security

- Build a better relationship between police and residents and improve image of police
- Change culture within police: assistants to residents in making neighbourhoods safer and more pleasant versus distant guards of order, safety and security
- Fight corruption among police force and perceptions of corruption
- "There is a gap between the community and police – lack of trust"
- Four out of five of the residents interviewed, indicated that their neighbourhood is unsafe. Most of them also noted little improvement in this. Crime statistics obtained for Alexandra for the period 1998-2001 revealed mixed figures regarding crime including:

Progress Local Government Capacity Building

- Councillor support programme including training in finance & budgeting, infrastructure, and tendering process
- Training in project management, financial management and customer service delivery has been provided for Region 7 officials
- Establishment of "People's Centre" as interface with public on service delivery
- Local government skills development programme underway
- The ARP Social Development Cluster team is organising capacity building for project management officials and project leaders, directed at all social services officials. This is a progressive step in that a critical de facto output of this project for the technical assistance consultant team is supporting and enhancing the capacity of government officials, as the primary implementing agents, to execute this project

Impact Capacity Building

- Significant impact achieved in rendering comprehensive training to local government officials-within context of the significant institutional changes in local government since 1994;
- Progressive step for the ARP Social Development cluster in arranging for additional capacity building in project management for officials in charge of social sectors (education, health, welfare)

Challenges Capacity Building

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- Capacitate local region in integrated development planning (LIDP shows serious lack of integration)
- Capacitate local control officers and community liaison officers in communication and gathering of information on local residents and their livelihoods
- Training and assistance in integrated development management for managers at all levels
- ARP Communications unit could play a greater role in facilitating ARP inter-cluster communication viz. planning

4.2 PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT CLUSTER

Housing Objectives

- Developing housing for private ownership
- Development for rental that includes redeveloping the hostels and upgrading of informal housing in the backyards of formal houses
- Housing development for persons with special needs. This will take into account people living with HIV/AIDS, AIDS orphans and children at risk, the aged and disabled

Progress Housing

Progress in Housing for Alexandra must be viewed in relation to a series of earlier housing development activities taking place in Alexandra. The Overall Business (2000) plan cites these:

Table 3: Housing Activities targeted at Alexandra prior to the ARP[40]

PROJECT	DETAILS
Phase 1A/ 1C (Old IDT Project)	262 units provided in terms of the project- linked and offering single detached units. Units have been fully built, completed and occupied and are in the process of transfer.
All Africa Games Village	1,799 units have been developed in terms of the institutional subsidy. A housing association has been formed to manage the project and 1,250 units have been allocated to date.
Phase 2 Extension 2	881 units are being constructed by 44 emerging contractors, though not all are complete. The units are being delivered in terms of project linked subsidies and beneficiaries are being offered ownership. A further 152 walk- up units are being provided in terms of the institutional subsidy. The stock is likely to be handed over to the local authority to manage.
Far East Bank Proper	Comprises 1,400 units and 132 walk-up units. A list of 778 persons who paid R250 (IDT) deposit is being used. Of the 778 units only 39 are yet to be allocated. Balance of persons can be reallocated.
Extension 7 (South of All Africa Games Village)	1,700 institutional subsidies have been approved, for implementation by the EMLC. Provincial government approval is in place and a developer is being appointed.
River Park (Lombardy East Site)	777 units are being developed in terms of the institutional subsidy. The EMLC is the implementing agent and 163 units have been completed. The stands are being allocated to the displaced from the 1994 violence. There is a committee in place that allocates the stands.

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[40] 2000. Overall Business Plan for the Reconstruction and Urban Renewal of Greater Alexandra. Document obtained via the ARP.

The ARP has made the following progress:

- 7,500 residents have been relocated from the Jukskei area by *court order*; with 1,500 residents relocated through the new *voluntary relocation package*. A total of 13,000 households are still to be removed from Alex. ARP Project Management claims that: "it is much cheaper but slower to go the volunteer relocation route as opposed to the eviction order route." Furthermore, it was claimed that current resistance against relocations is "politically and not technically motivated"[41]
- In addition, about 3 800 households who lived on an infill site, exposing themselves to health hazards were relocated[42]
- Around 2 400 houses have been built, with a further 11 500 houses to be built in the next three years, aiming overall to provide 50 000 houses[43]
- ARP project management reported in April 2002 that: "More than 700 houses have been built mainly on the East Bank of Alexandra. Restitution claims in respect of the violence in the early 1990's in the Reconstruction Area have been resolved and houses are currently under construction. A Memorandum of Understanding in respect of consumer dissatisfaction in terms of defects to houses on the East Bank has been signed. Further agreements have been signed with AECI and the University of the Witwatersrand for the development of more than 6000 medium density houses in Modderfontein and Frankenwald"[44]
- The ARP stated that 777 units have already been occupied in the Riverpark development in East Bank, near Lombardy at a cost of R14 million, while 210 units are already occupied in Extension 8 in the East Bank area. It was added that nearly R30 million has been set aside to develop a further 11 500 units over the next three years. More land east of Alexandra has been acquired on which more housing units will be developed[45]

Public Perceptions-Housing

- The housing projects are "not to bad" but it's rather too slow
- Quality of houses appears to be a rather big problem.
- People want their own houses – not just to rent
- London Road development is not a priority for the community – ARP could have built more houses (ADF)
- The Jukskei River project is also not a priority (ADF)
- Interviews with residents revealed high awareness of the housing projects in Alexandra. A large proportion of the respondents said they were on a housing subsidy waiting list, but had had no success so far. Most respondents said there has been no improvement in housing in their neighbourhood, with a large proportion stating that housing was getting worse

Impact Housing

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[41] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[42] Zolile Mtshelwane. Thousand new houses in Alex upgrade June 4, 2002
(2http://www.joburg.org.za/june_2002/alex.stm)
[43] Lucille Davie. Alex renewal takes off, November 26, 2002 (http://www.joburg.org.za/nov_2002/nov26_alex.stm).
[44] Township News Volume 2: March - May 2002
(http://www.alexandra.co.za/2002_publications/tn2_engelbrecht.htm).
[45] Zolile Mtshelwane. Thousand new houses in Alex upgrade June 4, 2002
(2http://www.joburg.org.za/june_2002/alex.stm)

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- Significant impact relocating residents living in hazardous and precarious settlements. One estimate of the number of informal structures on the river bank was 3246, including +/- 12 500 – 13 000 people[46]
- Steady progress in housing unit construction and occupation, building on previous activities

Challenges-Housing

- "Mismatch between housing subsidies and a dire need for rental subsidies
- Housing subsidies do not allow for single persons to benefit – Alexandra is a young population
- About 40% of Alexandra's population floats in and out ('very much like Hillbrow')
- Average shack (backyard) rental about R200 per month for about a space of 3/3 m^2
- Philosophy of ARP is not to intervene in backyard shack rental since it provides massive income opportunities for residents. There are about 34 000 backyard shack structures
- The idea is to 'create an ownership base but retain rental economy'
- ARP is about to provide incentives for the upgrading of backyard shacks
- National Housing Policy does not support this philosophy"[47]
- A major concern shared by the managers was that housing delivery is becoming a serious problem since additional land for relocations and housing development is exceptionally expensive in the Gauteng area. This will certainly impact on the speedy delivery, cost effectiveness and availability of low-cost housing
- Slow progress on a project to establish a multi-purpose Centre in Diepsloot-with no clear comments in reporting as to slow rate of progress (budget of approx. R11 million with about 1.48 million spent)
- Development of rental housing slowed by apparent bureaucratic delays
- Win public support for and better integrate local preferences into housing policies through promotion of active involvement and sense of responsibility for maintenance and payment for services
- Improve administration of housing subsidies

Spatial Planning and the Environment

Delivery Performance presentation in April 2003 revealed several achievements[48] including the completion of an Overall Development Framework, which has been adopted by the City of Johannesburg as a Local IDP; Precinct planning completed for 5 precincts; 57 General Plans approved and 14 Township Registers have been opened; 2 Building control inspectors to be appointed; and the GIS of JHB City is operational.

Progress Made-Spatial Planning and the Environment

- Comprehensive Land Audit and status report on Marlboro South have been undertaken.

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[46]Figures obtained from a case study presentation given by Anthony Blanford to the "Upgrading low-income Settlements: A Regional Roundtable for Africa", October 2000. See:
http://www.worldbank.org/urban/upgrading/afrnd/johan_story.htm
[47] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[48] ARP Status quo March: 2003. Progress Report, Region 7 Office.

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- Pollution in the Jukskei River as a result of resident removals has dropped significantly: measure of faeces in the river [faecal coliform] has dropped from 1,6 million parts to 70 000 parts
- Engineering work is underway to remove the existing pump station on the banks of the Jukskei River so that further redevelopment can take place
- Approximately 1 200 trees have been planted and a training programme and competition has been undertaken to encourage the planting of gardens in Riverpark"[49]
- Building control and land-use control inspectors have been appointed to control as yet uncontrolled settlement of squatters and monitor dumping and new building development
- "An audit of all lawful zones and actual use of land has been conducted
- Historic and cultural features have been identified, and an urban design framework, which includes businesses in the townships, has been compiled

In addition, a range of planning instruments have been produced including:

- Socio-economic survey
- Yard base data survey
- Business audits and consumer behaviour
- Relocation impact studies
- Strategic environmental assessments
- Crime based surveys (monthly crime statistics)
- Waste stream management
- Heritage assessments
- Educational studies
- Health needs assessment, etc.
- Establishment of water quality monitoring station
- Populating the City of Johannesburg Metro GIS

Public Perceptions-Spatial Planning and the Environment

Given the planning nature of many of the items produced under this sector, residents interviewed felt that they could see no tangible results. With regard to rubbish removal, the citizen survey findings did however show satisfaction. The majority of the interviewed residents reported improvement in this.

Impact-Spatial Planning and the Environment

- Significant progress in decreasing pollution levels in the Jukskei River and improving future monitoring of pollution levels;
- Steady progress being made in land-use planning and environmental management including appointment of inspectors, planting of trees, and waste bin provision.

Progress Made-Engineering

- In response to the absence of grid maps for Alexandra pre-ARP, an above and below the ground audit was completed to trace sewer and waste water infrastructure. On the

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[49] Township News Volume 2: March - May 2002
(http://www.alexandra.co.za/2002_publications/tn2_engelbrecht.htm).

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consequences of the lack of grid maps was that many shacks were haphazardly placed over manholes and therefore occupy essential servitude entrances
- Large new reservoirs have been commissioned
- A water-borne sanitation system is being put in place, together with collector sewers.
- CCTV cameras are being used to assess the condition of the sewer infrastructure. In January high pressure water will be pumped into the pipes to clean them
- Nine water-monitoring points are now in operation
- Four air-monitoring stations have been installed to monitor noxious gases from nearby industries
- About 58 000 bins have been distributed throughout the township. Street butcheries, noxious industries and medical waste from local hospitals are to be forced to comply with by-laws to reduce waste from these industries polluting the township, the sewer system and the Jukskei River
- Roads are being upgraded and tarred and kerbs are being paved, with storm-water drains fitted[50]

Public Perceptions-Engineering

- Sanitation is poor – toilets are overcrowded, blocked most of the time and nobody takes responsibility to fix it
- Very poor electricity supply in terms of stability and power failures – especially during winter – 'they cannot wash the children in winter – not good for our health.' It should be noted however, that because of works on electricity improvement are being accompanied by temporarily cut-offs, the electricity supply is being interrupted regularly
- Another observation was that residents complain, while improvement are being made, because these improvements imply that people have to start paying for electricity
- Illegal tapping of electricity has become more difficult
- Public transport/taxis are in a poor condition. Residents depend on taxis for public transport
- Residents seemed to be quite satisfied with water provision
- Knowledge of free basic services was limited

Impact-Engineering

- Significant progress made in re-auditing and planning for current and future engineering development given the previous lack and quality of engineering infrastructure mapping in the area;
- Steady improvement of road infrastructure

Challenges-Engineering

- Reduced expenditure linked to counter-funding by JHB agencies
- Informing residents about public works (where and when they take place and inform them in time of temporarily electricity cut-offs)

4.3 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT CLUSTER

The Social Development Cluster of the ARP consists of the following sectors:

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[50] Lucille Davie. Alex renewal takes off, November 26, 2002 (http://www.joburg.org.za/nov_2002/nov26_alex.stm).

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- Education
- Social Development-Welfare
- Health
- Heritage, Arts and Culture

Project Management Challenges in Social Development Sector [51]

- "Many project plans are "over-budgeted" – "at the end of the day a project might come out a lot cheaper … also, we have to beg some of our service providers to invoice us – it all reflects then on under spending"
- "Social Development cluster only assessed in terms of performance on budgetary expenditure. This does not reflect all work done – e.g., advocacy, etc."
- "Procurement process is a problem – e.g. – there are too little service providers on the Roster in some instances … this leads to the Department of Housing appointing service providers without the proper skills"
- "Soft issues are being ignored – because of the procurement process – this impacts on addressing issues such as poverty, gender and inequalities"

Public perceptions-Social Development

- Most people had been in contact with the police within the past year or two. Most of the respondents who had been in contact with the police, claimed that the police were *not helpful* in handling a complaint or a case. About one third of those who had been in contact with the police, felt that the police were *helpful*
- Dissatisfaction with police was corroborated with the finding that almost three quarters of the respondents said that the police services were still no good or that they got worse over the past five years
- "Safety and security is very poor. This also inhibits delivery since contractors and officials fall victim of crime in the execution of their duty"

Progress Education

- Infrastructure audit completed for all primary and secondary schools in Alexandra
- All 18 schools underwent individual 3-day planning retreats including discussions on key programmes to improve education quality provided by schools
- Equipment for libraries has been purchased for 18 schools and training for educators has been provided
- Upgrading at 13 primary schools and 5 high schools has been completed for approximately 35%; land has been identified for the building of 3 schools, design underway for 5 schools; and training has been provided to improve quality of education
- Classroom Management Skills Course was provided for 25 teachers and a library needs assessment has been completed and the necessary equipment ordered"[52]
- School improvement plan (per individual school) very successful
- School management team training

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[51] Interview with Nicky Omar and Jessie Turton, Umhlaba Development Services, Coordinator and Convenor, Social Development Cluster, 7 April 2003.
[52] Township News Volume 2: March - May 2002
(http://www.alexandra.co.za/2002_publications/tn2_engelbrecht.htm).

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- Alexandra Student Forum Launched
- Teambuilding training as part of leadership training
- Planning and mentorship training for staff development programme
- Financial management training as part of school governing body programme
- The latest delivery performance presentation notes that within the Education sector, HIV/AIDS training has been provided to all Grade 3 learners
- Progress in developing computer and media centres at selected schools
- Training for early childhood development practitioners
- Art kits provided for ECD facilities
- A "fair" majority of the respondents said that education at schools has improved over the past years. Most respondents also reported upgrading of schools in their neighbourhood
- While job skills training, ABET and business skills training is being provided in Alex, a minority of the interviewed residents were aware of this. Some had taken part in skills training and generally felt they had benefited from it. However not all had received a proof of training / diploma

Impact Education

- Above average impact of the delivery of training for teachers and school governing bodies, including in specific modules;[53]
- School improvement planning including infrastructure has been positive;
- Progress being made in upgrading all schools (35% complete at present)

Challenges Education

- Poor expenditure performance linked to slow rollout of school maintenance and rehabilitation due to relocation blockages, slow rollout of IT due to security concerns & lack of effective co-ordination
- Poor expenditure is a matter of concern due to projected budget increase for next financial year.
- Significant delays (mostly procurement-related) in the Education functional area, i.e. 13 of 24 projects identified experiencing delays, mostly related to procurement. Attention paid to relationship between District and Dept. of Education inputs
- Promote a culture of learning and respect among school going youth

Progress Social Services (Welfare)

- Established and operational de-centralized welfare office-training for attached staff in process
- Residents interviewed were of the opinion that access to social grants had improved. Almost all people interviewed, said it had become easier to access grants. All respondents also knew whom to approach when applying for grants
- Parenting training
- Out of School Youth related training
- Substance abuse training manual
- Family management parenting training
- Probation officer training for children in conflict with the law
- Trauma centre

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[53]The Overall Business Plan cited "the greatest challenge" of poorly staffed and managed schools.

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- Welfare needs assessment report
- Management plan for co-ordination and integration of welfare services
- Commencement of service provider database
- Food security programme

Impact Social Services (Welfare)

- Improving accessibility to social services (grants) has resulted in increased visits to about 200/day;
- Completion of management plan, which is a positive impact in seeking to improve co-ordination of services between providers[54]

Challenges Social Services

- Poor expenditure performance linked to inability to source expertise in certain areas, failure to engage effectively with NGO service providers, lack of co-ordination with other sectors & slow claims rate
- Attention paid to procurement of service providers and in particular the sourcing of service providers and roles therein between the Roster system and the Provincial Dept. of Social Services

Progress Health

- A District Health Management Framework has been completed; 2 VCT Centres established; training provided for 300 staff in customer care; and acquisition of ambulances is in process.
- Health information system established
- Skills development plan and training for primary health workers
- Immunization programme was undertaken where approximately 6 000 children were immunized and the need for immunization promoted.
- HIV/AIDS strategy for Alexandra has been formulated and launched." [55]
- HIV/AIDS programme coordinator appointed
- Certain modules of HIV/AIDS education programme completed
- Littering environmental programme
- Appointment of nurses for local health clinics
- Some interview respondents had received visits of health workers-mainly related to TB and HIV/AIDS related issues

Impact Health

- Important step of developing a district management framework to address fragmentation of health services;

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[54]Viewed within context of the Overall Business Plan, which stated: A meeting with the Provincial Welfare Department and the Central Regional Welfare Office identified that there were twenty- one organisations rendering services in Alexandra including ADAPT, Friends for Life, SANCA, Mental Health Society, SANEL, Rhema Church, the EMLC, ADM, Lifeline and NICRO. These organisations have formed a forum called the Alexandra Partnership and Co- ordination Forum. This forum is responsible for identifying programmes for the Alexandra community.
[55] Township News Volume 2: March - May 2002
(http://www.alexandra.co.za/2002_publications/tn2_engelbrecht.htm).

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- Significant impact made in immunizing children and conveying the importance of immunization to residents (awareness);
- Positive result seen in visible health worker visits to residents related to TB and HIV/AIDS, although there is a perception of a lack of medical staff, in particular doctors at facilities;
- Positive impact of skills development and training for primary health care workers, however this must be assessed regularly via patient experiences in view of some instances of mistreatment by health care workers.

Challenges Health

- Improved capacity for effective HIV/AIDS implementation
- Procurement delays. Related to this, interview feedback also suggested problems with identifying competent service providers for very specialized health-related needs, i.e. HIV/AIDS education
- Healthcare services are fragmented in Alexandra, i.e. local, provincial governments, and NGOs. In practice this means that there are local, provincial, NGO clinics, and the Province is also involved in more "hands on" services, thereby crossing into activities of the Metro Council
- Nurses at clinics mistreat elderly patients – especially at Alexander Clinic-public perception
- Over weekends clinics treat only 'emergencies'-public perception
- More involvement by local government in Health than province-public perception
- Dissatisfaction with lack of staff and access to doctors

Progress Heritage

- Centenary event and music competition
- Craft skills development strategy and capacity building programme
- Drama competition
- Painting of public art wall
- Heritage audit has been done not to bulldoze sights of significance (e.g. Mandela's former rental house)

Impact Heritage

- Limited to "events" or "activities" held, which, within the scope of this project, we are not able to assess via participant feedback in terms of "impact";
- The major impact from this area *will be* planned activities including infrastructure related cultural services including an Arts Factory and Cultural Centre

Challenges Heritage

- Report submissions are a problem in this area-project management
- Poor expenditure performance linked to delays with implementation of key infrastructure projects. Delivery affected by WSSD activities and delays linked to approval processes

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4.4 COMMUNICATIONS AND PARTICIPATION

Progress-Communications and Participation

- The establishment of a Ward Councillors Forum
- Ten Community Liaison Officers have been appointed and are continually meeting and informing the community on issues around the Project
- A project office has been established at the Eight Avenue Clinic
- Project newsletter [Township News] has been published and distributed to all households in Alexandra [80 000 copies]; a document [Alex Updates] outlining ARP progress has been developed and distributed
- Radio slots on AlexFM, Kaya FM and Yfm are held on a monthly basis
- Website launched including ability to download regular progress reports[56]

More detailed information on specific progress items include:

People's Centre

The services being offered by the Johannesburg Metro's Region 7 "People's Centres" (Wynberg and Inner Alexandra) support the improvement of service delivery. It is a place where people can lodge complaints and ask questions about service delivery and the ARP. It also offers tender, housing and land claims assistance. The Inner Alexandra centre houses the IEC, Johannesburg City Power and the local ARP communication officer. At the same premises one finds a clinic and HIV/AIDS unit, library, social services, electricity pay point, youth development office, environment office, friends for life office, service provider's office, and a University of Witwatersrand mental health unit. Through ensuring that residents' experiences and expectations are communicated to relevant service providers, all complaints and request are electronically logged and dealt with more urgently and effectively.

The rather high-tech, modern and spacious People's Centre brings service delivery 'closer to the people' in an integrated manner – something somewhat similar to the concept of a Multi-purpose Community Centre. This facilitates residents' interaction with customer service agents and City Utility Agents, who are directly responsible for troubleshooting complaints.

A door-to-door survey conducted on behalf of the People's Centre in the Region 7 offices in December 2002 (over 4400 respondents) across eight wards, showed strikingly varied knowledge and use of the People's Centre. This could be related to a number of factors including outreach activities by the Centre and proximity of centres to people (although there was marginal difference between people in general preferring to use phones versus visits to the centres). Firstly it was found that a third of respondents (34%) knew about the Centre, however knowledge of the Centre varied considerably between wards including a spread between 17% and 63% knowledge. It was also not apparent in the survey "why" use of the People's Centre was limited to about 25% of respondents, i.e., no problems experienced or need to use the People's Centre, non-response to problems in the past, etc. Although most respondents who had contacted the centre (close to 70%) indicated satisfaction with resolved complaints, it was not clear why 60% of Ward 81 residents felt their complaints were not resolved. These inter-ward variations need to be addressed and analysed *viz.* the socio-economic profiles of the Wards, service delivery to the Wards, and finally this information should be fed into future planning and marketing strategies.

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[56] Township News Volume 2: March - May 2002
(http://www.alexandra.co.za/2002_publications/tn2_engelbrecht.htm).

The People's Centre has taken steps to improve its communication with the residents of Alexandra. The Centre has undertaken a publicity and promotion campaign, which addresses residents' preference for radio, poster and other forms of publicity that utilise existing community events and leaders to spread word about the centre. This includes attendance of community events and meetings with community leaders and officials, print and a roving vehicle that travels around the community and distributes information on the centre. It was made clear by the Manager of the People's Centre however that the improvement of its services cannot simply rest on better marketing, because the success of such is influenced largely by the City's success in troubleshooting resident problems.[57] In addition the Supervisor of the People's Centre stressed that, "our effectiveness depends on [the effectiveness of] our service providers". He expressed satisfaction with Johannesburg Water, adding, "All others are not performing … [since they have] … a slow response rate to our requests for emergency maintenance."[58] In this regard, training for customer service staff in communicating problems to City agency departments was considered critical. Provisions are either being planned or are taking place to improve training of staff via the Region's Human Resources Department (induction programme where the Region's staff learn about the work of their colleagues across the Region's departments, customer service courses, and motivational courses).

The Alexandra Development Forum

The Alexandra Development Forum (ADF) holds monthly meetings. Nine community liaison officers assist people in Alex. The ADF is structured along the lines of the ARP in that it has clusters for social development, physical infrastructure and LED. Importantly, ward committees have been established and received training in planning and communication. Each committee has established 'desks' which are headed by local representatives. The desks include: women; youth; NGO's; sport; arts, labour, education, health; religion; and community policing forum or civic. According to ward the councillor and chair of the ward committee for ward 108, the ward is the 'mouth piece' of the local community. Local participation and representation was described as very good. Many NGOs are active, especially in the areas of HIV/AIDS, women rights and youth. The ADF is the 'umbrella' organisation for ward committees. It coordinates activities and shares information across the wards.

Public Perceptions

The Administrator - Ward Councillor Liaison and Support, Region 7 made some general comments regarding public perceptions and some generalities, e.g.:[59]
- "Community not involved in the monitoring and evaluation of projects
- There are some M&E done by ADF, Councillors and Ward Committee members
- M&E not institutionalised – need for a formal strategy for beneficiaries to M&E projects
- Community rather interested in issue of housing provision
- Some beneficiaries not happy with the apartment development next to London Road. Community feels that these flats are only earmarked for relocated residents – but at the same time that rental is unaffordable and out of reach for most residents
- Community feels that there are a lot of projects undertaken by ARP but most are unaffordable for the larger community

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[57] Interview with Alex Sepeng, Manager, People's Centre, Region 7, April, 2003.
[58] Interview with Rapson Tleane, Supervisor, People's Centre, Region 7, April, 2003.
[59] Interview with Titus Motao, Administrator – Ward Councillor Liaison and Support – Region 7, 16 April 2003

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- Ward Committees meet monthly and Councillors have general public meetings quarterly
- ADF executive meets weekly and the general forum monthly" (This is in contradiction to 'fortnightly' meetings – see interview with Mike Beea, Deputy Chair, ADF)[60]

Public Perceptions: Alexandra Development Forum (ADF)

- ADF started as a result of a lack of participation by the community in ARP.
- The main purpose of ADF is to interact with community and Councillors.
- TM of the opinion that ADF is "a good thing and it increases effectiveness and participation in the ARP"
- "There is certainly conflict between Councillors and the ADF – Councillors are involved in some of the ARP projects for example and the ADF does not approve of some projects"
- "There are no proper channels of communication between the community and ARP … The ADF is not enough – we need a proper communication strategy … there is none in place"
- "We need ADF representation on our Local IDP forum – it is not a problem now – it might become one"

Some observations were made with regard to payment for services. Most of the residents interviewed said that they do receive an account for water. About half of the interviewed said they do pay for water and two out of five said they do not pay for water.

With regard to sanitation, a few respondents were of the opinion that they have to pay separately for toilet facilities, while about one third said that they do pay these charges.

One fifth of the respondents said that they do receive an account for electricity and a large majority said that they pay for electricity. However, in answer to the question how much people usually pay, all but one said they were paying some amount for electricity. It should be noted that most people in Alex use pre-paid electricity and many use illegal connections.

These findings combined with experiences of the fieldworkers suggest that there is a strong tendency to say that one is paying for services, even if one does not know whether one needs to pay for certain services separately.

Impact Communications and Participation

- There has been a strong general impact on resident awareness of the ARP and its activities;
- Instruments of communication such as People's Centre and Community liaison officers, although positive, should be used more as vehicles for assessing regular, ongoing and more detailed state of service delivery and living conditions;
- Ward committees have been established, trained and organised around key community areas of interest;
- The ADF forms a strong community participation platform and works in close collaboration with the ward committees

Challenges Communications and Participation

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[60] Interview with Mike Beea, ADF Deputy Chair, April, 2003.

- Projects largely of a marketing nature, with many tied to launch and establishment of the programme including office space, appointment of community liaison officers, literature, community events, website, exhibitions
- Promote payment for services, break the culture of entitlement to totally free basic services and communicate the concept of free and surplus consumption of public goods

4.5 COMPARATIVE CLUSTER PROGRAMME AND EXPENDITURE PROGRESS

Table 4 shows that physical infrastructure scored the highest progress against expected outcomes and units of measure, with spatial planning and environment leading the way followed by housing. The ARP is clearly a physical development-geared programme reflected in budget allocations and planning rationale. The physical development activities of this project benefits from the resource base and organisational set-up of Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, which is the country's largest "local government." However, in Engineering problems were experienced in lack of policy, delay due to cooperation with the province and confusion about roles. The same held for Health.

Table 4: Comparative Cluster Progress and Expenditure

Cluster Progress	Score**	Number Projects & % with problems	Financial *Performance A) Budget B) (% spend) 2001/2002	Financial Performance A) Budget B) (% spend) 2002/2003
Physical development				
Spatial Planning & Environment	**1.08**	13 - 23%	A) 1 118 354 B) 88%	A) 278 777 B) 91%
Engineering	**1.60**	28 - 25%	A) 3 381 810 B) 75%	A) 34 746 985 B) 50%
Housing	**1.41**	29 - 34%	A) 42 752 724 B) 99%	A) 51 018 400 B) 57%
Aggregate cluster total	**1.36**	**70**		
Social development				
Education	**2.12**	24 - 42%	A) 2 266 079 B) 97%	A) 22 513 742 B) 25%
Health	**1.64**	14 - 64%	A) 366 080 B) 100%	A) 4 421 610 B) 42%
Welfare	**1.50**	22 - 36%	A) 2 111 615 B) 34%	A) 5 385 205 B) 14%
Sports and Recreation	**2.60**	5 - 40%	A) 500 000 B)?	A) 1 700 000 B) 4%
Heritage	**1.69**	13 - 69%	A) 4 657 B) 100%	A) 8 323 203 B) 13%
Aggregate cluster total	**1.92**	**78**		
Economic development				
LED	**1.31**	16 - 19%	A) 144 543 B) 100%	A) 8 692 429 B) 34%
Safety & Security	**1.40**	15 - 40%	A) 8 164 346 B) 20%	A) 18 622 638 B) 41%
Local Government Capacity building	**1.20**	6 - 0%	A) 354 346 B) 100%	A) 4 330 211 B) 45%
Aggregate cluster total	**1.30**	**37**		
Communication				
	1	12	A) 3 359 682	A) 6 859 102

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		B) 100%	B) 84%

Key to table
* Budget year: April to March. Calculation based on figures in the "Expenditure Report 1 April 2003"
** Calculated at two decimals. Information from "Project Management Progress Report (April 2003)"
*** # Projects taken from "Project Management Progress Report (April 2003)"
Scoring was based on a rating scale between 1 and 3 where:
1=Good progress (completion viz. outputs) work on track with no "visible" delays via reporting
2=Average progress (in progress) and/or minimal delays
3=Poor progress-non delivery as per outputs and/or major delays
0=Project cancellation due to either external factors or unclear explanations provided in project management report.

Less successful progress in the social development area as reflected in its score were attributed to consistent problems related to the procurement of suitable service providers and the ability of the programme's "roster system" to supply such information both in terms of content and expediency. Nine out of then of the problems encountered in Education related to procurement and two thirds of problems in Health related to the inability to find suitable service providers. However, Housing was also negatively affected by procurement problems, with more than 70% of the delays attributable to procurement problems.

References were made to the need for improved "co-ordination" between provincial and sub-provincial agencies viz. Education and Health in particular. One of the major "co-ordinating" challenges, facing the social development cluster in particular, is to review and align inter-governmental powers and functions where functional areas such as health, education and welfare are shared between provincial governments and sub-provincial bodies such as District and Local agencies. This involves improving their understanding of shared responsibilities and in particular where these overlap, as well as how to act and interact with regard to their functions and powers. In addition, general agreement between the various levels of government is required regarding the selection of suitable service providers and the most effective way of identifying these (e.g. agency experience versus the constraints of the "roster" system).

Regarding Heritage, Arts and Culture and Sport and Recreation it is noteworthy that the progress reports provide very little information on the cause of delays experienced and why projects have not delivered.

Besides procurement problems and confusion about the distribution of roles and activities between the province, local municipality and the ARP Consortium, communication and information as well as lack of capacity were cited as problematic.

Finally, what is most concerning about progress in the social development cluster has been the significant budget increases in year two of the project (993% increase in budget for Education; 1200% for Health; 255% for Welfare), which will put severe pressure on principals to resolve the problem of under spending either through re-assessing budget allocations or prioritising selected projects and rollout timeframes.

In contrast to this technical perspective on delivery, findings from the citizen survey suggested that social development has had some positive impact, whereas the housing and engineering projects were perceived more negatively (except from water). Safety and security was in the eyes of the respondents getting worse and probably one of the biggest problems in their area.

Perhaps partly because of a legacy of exclusion and distrust, all of those who were dissatisfied were of the opinion that the government is corrupt and some mentioned corruption in the private sector. This is a serious finding and needs to be taken into account in procurement and initiatives to promote public participation in development.

The respondents were also asked some general questions about the living conditions in their area. A disturbing finding was that almost all respondents said that there are people in their neighbourhood who suffer from hunger because of a shortage of food.

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5. SERVICE DELIVERY CHALLENGES

The ARP Project manager underscored that a very good methodology was used in project business planning. This is "based on World Bank standards".[61] The ARP manages to make an impact in physical development, though the social and economic impact seems to be lagging behind, according to the Manager.

The Region 7 Local Government Programme Manager said that a wide variety of skills were available for the full spectrum of project because of the project's 'ideal' location (next to Johannesburg). In addition, the project had access to good financial resources from both province and local government: "This financial year the [Johannesburg] Metro has pledged 78 million to the ARP."[62]

The recent Progress Report of the ARP lists the following major challenges facing the ARP: [63]
- Insufficient programme and project management systems in place and local government capacity is critical
- Inter-departmental co-operation:
    - Social services delivery between health, welfare and education
    - Infrastructure: Handover, operating expenses and maintenance
- Other:
    - Crime and violence as a project reality
    - Political contestation on the ground in run up to elections
    - Involvement of political champions critical.

These challenges were also encountered in this review of the ARP. However, in order to assess the current outputs of the project, quantitative indicators are used, which relate to numbers of structures built and upgraded, and project spending. More qualitative indicators regarding less visible / non-physical improvements still need to be developed to assess the impact of economic and social development in Alexandra and other urban nodes and areas. In addition, the short, medium and long-term impacts of physical, economic and social interventions need to be taken into account when assessing impact, timing and reprioritisation of projects. This is critical because assessing the appropriateness of social and economic impact indicators requires effective implementation and the pace of social development cluster implementation in the ARP falls glaringly short.

Specific achievements related to the economic, physical and social Focus Areas have been discussed in Section X of this review. In order to provide a fairly comprehensive though compact summary of the review's findings, the ARP is here discussed in terms of its key components: strategy, organisation, operation and ongoing renewal. Some general observations relating to effectiveness and overall sustainability are dealt with here.

5.1 STRATEGY: ARP AND URP

The assignment of the Urban Renewal Nodal status to Alexandra and seven other urban areas was borne out of the need to pilot and refine a national urban renewal programme, and out of preferences for improving urban life in these specific areas. With regard to the need for an URP, the essence of selecting nodes as pilot areas was to formulate and test a strategy for Urban Renewal, which would provide the basis for developing a national programme. The essence of selecting nodes as preferred or priority areas for development was to improve specific areas and livelihoods. This theoretical retrospection is important for understanding developments in the ARP since it clarifies the inherent duality and associated challenges facing the ARP.

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[61] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[62] Interview with Neels Letter, Local Government Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[63] ARP Status quo March: 2003. Progress Report, Region 7 Office.

The need for formulating a coherent and consistent URP in South Africa requires the pilot nodes to come up with guidelines for formulating a common vision, strategy and focus directed at outcomes. The preliminary vision of the URF is to bring together in an integrated form the infrastructure, social, economic and governance aspects of development in urban areas. This served as a departure point for the UR nodes and provided them with what some call a 'philosophical' framework as well as an albeit wide focus on desired outcomes. The URP included four core programmes emphasising physical development (spatial integration, housing and infrastructure); economic development linked to urban development; and institutional capacity building.

The need to improve certain areas and sectors, however, directs attention to specific, though not necessarily uncommon, aspects of urban renewal. In Alexandra the historical urban problem is associated with renewing an old and outdated formal infrastructure, while in most other urban areas the major challenge is to build a formal infrastructure. In addition, the nodes vary in the type of government administration. A Metropolitan Municipality governs Alexandra, whereas for instance Galeshewe in the Northern Cape is part of a Local Municipality. This has implications for the roles and powers of the various agents planning, supporting and implementing service delivery.

The ARP faces the obvious duality of being a national initiative to inform a national strategy, while at the same time being specific without national / general policy guidelines, and at the same time operating in an under-developed legal framework for developmental local government. This can result in a range of projects with complex interrelationships, which is unlikely to produce a coherent and consistent strategy and future guidelines for urban renewal.

A strategic approach to this inherent structural complexity of piloting a broad national programme, would be to learn as much as possible from the success and failures of the urban nodes in terms of clearly defined general developmental goals. Specific attention should be given to the roles and activities of the various government structures, timeframes and timing of activities related to the alignment of planning and budget cycles, uniform reporting procedures, and institutional capacity building.

5.1.1 NATIONAL GOVERNMENT SUPPORT

The ARP Project Manager was concerned about the lack of support from national government. This includes financial assistance and the lack of a clear national policy framework. The Manager claims that the national URP framework is "outdated" and "not enough" to deal with the day-to-day activities of a project on the scale of the ARP. It appears that the planning processes undertaken in Alexandra has involved less participation than envisaged.

The ARP experiences a vacuum in national policy and support to plan, monitor and evaluate progress. The ARP is being supported by the Gauteng Department of Housing, which influences the programme's outlook on development; the ARP has a strong focus on housing and infrastructure, which is financially and strategically supported by the province. However, the national housing policy, which the province has to adhere to, does not address important structural issues associated with local housing provision, economic and social issues – noted by the ARP Programme Manager that there is a 'mismatch' between these. The Project Manager reiterated that: "We do have good discussions with other urban nodes on a bilateral level, and we do share best practices."

National structures that are not confined to one or another department, such as The National Development Forum and the Office of the Presidency do not significantly contribute to a

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more integrated and holistic approach of urban renewal, which would also address social and economic development. The ARP does attend the National Urban Renewal Forum, but "gets no support in its effort to improve local involvement through the local Urban Renewal Forum and Ward Committees."

The Project Manager further claims that there is a "general lack of political will and funding – especially from national – and that priorities shift all the time within the political environment." Conversely, she says that "the project document is cast in stone … we cannot change deliverables – it's election year."[64]

5.1.2 ARP AND LOCAL IDP: ROLES OF GOVERNMENT SPHERES

The Programme Manager argues that the IDP is a "good planning tool – but not sufficient for a programme such as ARP. The ARP involves all three levels of government and is supposed to offer a model for urban renewal. The Local IDP for region 7 serves as the ARP Development Framework."[65] This might cause certain technical and procedural difficulties in terms of local government vis-à-vis provincial related competencies and projects.

A consistent problem appeared to be delineating the responsibilities of government agents between the spheres, i.e., national, provincial and local, which affect approval and implementation of projects. A regular problem was inadequate attention being paid to sector-specific technical requirements for projects. This related to the integration of sectoral inputs and responsibilities. For example in the health and education sectors, all spheres of government and NGOs provide some related service, with very little or no integration or final/ultimate responsibility.

The Project Manager is of the opinion that urban renewal, in terms if IGR, should be driven from local government level. "Most of the funding for ARP comes from the province. Consequently the province insists on playing a greater role, which may create inefficiencies if requisite management and technical time is not sufficient. At present the relationship between province and local government appears to be good." According to the Manager national government and particularly the province should enhance the capacity at the local level.[66]

The long-term vision is to integrate urban renewal in local Integrated Development Plans. In order to enable local government to do this, provincial and local line departments are providing managerial, financial and operational support and are supposed to build institutional capacity. The underlying intention is to capacitate local government to integrate UR into its IDPs. The obvious complexity in this relates to the powers and functions, i.e. the roles, activities and competencies of the various government spheres. Integration of development planning with different planning, reporting and budgetary cycles (national/provincial versus local) corroborates the fragmentation of local development activities.

5.1.3 "BUREAUCRATIC BUY-IN"

A large administrative challenge for the ARP is improving bureaucratic and managerial buy-in from government officials in all participating spheres to ensure that the ARP's activities are part-in-parcel of their day to day functions. This may require a range of actions including clear roles and expectations to and between agencies, as well as seamless integration of ARP objectives within the planning and operations of spheres.

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[64] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[65] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.
[66] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.

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A number of respondents indicated this 'philosophical' challenge confronting the project, i.e. is the ARP viewed as a *stand-alone project,* adding to the day-to-day activities of bureaucrats, or is the ARP enmeshed with the day-to-day activities of officials? In practice this has created a perception conveyed by some interviewees that the ARP is seen as an 'add-on' to the usual day-to-day functions, which, according to some was delaying action related to project inputs, in particular local government. It was not possible to identify clear evidence of this 'lack of commitment', apart from a concern that "since bureaucratic performance is largely determined by the amount spent (expenditure), there may be a slower response to spending ARP-specific budget line items versus budget line-items that are more clearly designated as "local government" or "provincial department" expenditure items. This was largely testimonial and it was not possible to observe coherently how this affected response times/delays for delivery agents. However it is suggested that local and provincial government managers assess to what extent the way in which ARP related activities and budgets are integrated into their day-to-day activities.

5.2 ORGANISATION AND INTEGRATION

The organisational structures supporting the ARP, however well developed, require improvement for integrating physical with social and economic activities. The institutional or organisational integration requires clarification of the roles and activities of the different spheres of government and various departments. This is particularly important for local government as in theory it is best positioned to play an effective role in mobilising a wide range of local actors and their resources around the urban renewal challenge, therefore responding to its developmental mandate. President Mbeki, in his 1997 speech to the people of the City of Johannesburg, appears to have had this in mind when he called for a "renewed social, economic and cultural relationship with the people" of the city."[67]

Improvement in strategic planning between government spheres must urgently be addressed. This relates to negotiating the most appropriate jurisdictional boundaries, i.e. the particular details of roles, clear decisions on tasks to be taken by spheres, and accompanying timeframes and budget allocation.

Within the project there is room for improving inter and intra-cluster / Focus Area co-ordination. This can be achieved via cluster committees, which are supposed to be facilitating, coordination and reporting entities. However, at most, only reporting takes place with very little coordination – if any.[68] Of particular importance are infrastructure and planning requirements for social development activities, or more specifically the impact of infrastructure and engineering works on the community, which may have short-term or longer-term impacts on the ability to access social, education and health services. One suggestion would be for Social Development Cluster meetings to include members of the Physical Development Cluster. The Social Development Cluster has identified the need for integrated management and coordination of social service delivery and will develop a Management Plan that will maximise opportunities for more effective integration and co-ordination. It is recommended that this process be followed. Finally, another vehicle that can improve inter-cluster coordination is the "Strategic Management" team, which unfortunately has not met for the past six months.

5.3 OPERATIONS

Several important operational issues were apparent:

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[67] Doug Hindson. The Urban Renewal Programme, Hologram Newsletter 4 of 2003 (http://www.hologram.org.za/newsletter/nl5-urban%20renewal%20programme.htm).
[68] Interview with Carien Engelbrecht, ARP Programme Manager, April, 2003.

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5.3.1 COMMUNICATION

Poor communication from and between some government agents was reported. Infrequency of meetings, non-attendance, and not returning phone calls were indicators of this. This is a universal problem facing large organisations, which in some cases can to some degree be solved by better use of existing communication and interactive channels. For example, the research team was informed that there has been no "strategic management meetings", which includes representatives from the three Focus Areas, for the past six months, which poses serious questions about the efficacy of project and budget planning and monitoring. Connected to "inter-cluster planning" is the role of the Communication unit within the ARP which, from viewing its activities, suggests that it is overly "outward" looking, focusing on marketing the programme when it could play a greater role viz. intra-project management communication between clusters. This may or may not gel with the intentions of the communications unit within the ARP however the point is that the existing and strong organisational systems developed by the ARP must consider how best to leverage its components to either troubleshoot or fill problem areas when they surface.

Concern was also expressed on communication with the community: 'The community is not clear on whom to approach on any particular issue relating to ARP – communication channels with the community on this needs to be streamlined.' At the same time it was pointed out that: 'The community expects more than the ARP can deliver, and also expects things to happen faster than it realistically can.'

5.3.2 PROCUREMENT SYSTEM

The "Roster" system was designed to ensure rapid and effective sourcing of service providers for project implementation, including promoting the use of local service providers. The Roster is currently being administered by the Department of Housing. There have however been areas of improvement with the roster, including

- Improved updating of the Roster as there have been problems finding sufficient service providers. This seems to be an administrative problem related to putting service providers who have not been successful back on the Roster.
- Problems with the inadequacy of certain sector-related service providers on the Roster to meet the technical requirements of sector specific projects. The question here is the relationship between how the service providers are chosen for the Roster *viz.* the technical requirements of projects being designed. There is a need for flexibility when approving service providers. This specifically refers to the discretion being given to sector departments to adjudicate and approve contracting of service providers through their own procurement systems, without the need to adjudicate them again via the Roster.
- Local contractor capacity - i.e. many go bankrupt because they fail to get bridging finance for larger projects.
- Local contractors demand a 'percentage system' for the number of contracts awarded to ARP to avoid preference for certain contractors and exclusion of new or unknown contractors. The Project Manager expressed concern over this, since such a system might delay prompt implementation.
- The Project Manager claims that about 20% of local (Alexandra based) contractors are pricing themselves out of the market – "since price accounts for 80% of tender selection criteria."
- To assist contractors, a tender advice centre has been set-up at the People's Centre. According to the Project Manager the current effectiveness of this tender service is doubtful.
- The Project Manager agrees that one might build the mandatory use of local labour into tenders and contracts, but claims that: "Local labour, with the necessary skills,

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are not freely available." (If this is true, a local recruitment agency might prove of value here).

- The Programme Manager admits that there are many problems with the procurement process: "Nobody likes the roster system – including most officials – there is a need to address this issue."

Although procurement has been identified as a problem on this project, including 'alignment of procurement' procedures across the various inputting government agents, another argument conveyed to the ARP assessment team was to try to strategically utilise and improve the functioning of the various and existing procurement systems of the participating government agents. The suggestion made was to expedite procurement through existing government agent systems and factor delays into project planning. Moreover it was further revealed that taking a more flexible approach to procurement would be advised in some cases, especially when this can expedite the sourcing of particular sector experts by allowing government departments more room to locate and approve such service providers.

4.3.3 EXPENDITURE

The overview of performance in Table 1 showed significant under spending, especially in the socio-economic projects. Informants pinned under spending and/or delayed spending to the following:

- Lack of capacity in terms of project management.
- Provincial and local budgets are not aligned.
- Procurement problems "There are two levels of government (provincial and local) with two different financial rules and regulations for procurement, and two different sets of general reporting."
- "There are up to three layers of payment to service providers, with the net effect of under spending and time loss in terms of delivery."
- "It appears that procedures became more stringent and bureaucratic since the forensic audit" December 2002).
- Another manager said that because of the mentioned problems, he is going to need to appoint his "own financial manager to try and expedite all financial issues and transactions."

An urgent need was expressed to synchronize rules and regulations regarding procurement and reporting.

5.4 FINANCE

There is a need to review the extent to which intergovernmental coordination and integration is taking place, not just in terms of planning committees and processes, but also in terms of budget allocations. The relative importance of ARP specific budget line items however must be viewed within the context of ARP-specific budgeting in wider agency budgets, especially as it relates to expenditure prioritisation and performance. A suggestion would be for ARP project management to conduct its own investigation into not only what implementing agents think about the programme, but also how the activities of the ARP could be better embedded and rationalised into the financial allocations and reporting of day-to-day activities of government implementing agents.

An important problem with funding for the URP in general was highlighted in a paper by Rauch (2002), who claims that there is no dedicated fund for Urban Renewal at National

level, which could make special Urban Renewal grants to agencies at the nodes.[69] The funding approach for the URP is based on the concept of 're-prioritisation' within existing budgets, at national, provincial and local levels. Local authorities and line departments are required to prioritise allocations to the urban renewal nodes. Problems with this approach, as Rauch argues, have included the different budget cycles used by national, provincial and local governments, inadequate reprioritisation by national and provincial departments, and a lack of discretionary programme budgets. Such problem areas have also been identified with the ARP.

In his overview of the URP, Hindson (2003) looks deeper in the role of the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) in the URP.[70] According to Hindson, DPLG has been allocated significant resources for both the URP and the ISRDS in the recent budget. The amount for 2002/3 is R1.5b, and this will increase to R 2.3b in 2003/04 and R 2.7b in 2004/05. These considerable amounts should however be weighed against the scale of need within the areas, estimated in the case of Inanda-Ntunzuma-Kwamashu (INK) as in the order of 6 billion over the 7 years, according to Hindson. In addition Hindson argues that in practice it appears that the funds allocated to the DPLG are difficult to access given the slow process of project formulation and approval and the fact that the necessary matching funds from other departments are not readily available. These difficulties arising from intergovernmental fiscal relations are also being experienced in Alexandra.

5.5 ONGOING RENEWAL

Sustainability and generalisation of renewal achievements in the urban nodes depend on both area- specific and aspects common to nodal areas. The success of the ARP depends largely on local conditions (e.g. location and income streams) as well as national support for the urban nodes. Ongoing renewal should therefore be seen from both perspectives. Other nodes should not necessarily be measured in terms of their success or failure against that of the ARP. In the same vein the URP should not lean to heavily on and should take into account the experiences in specific nodes. The National URP Forum should provide a platform for assessing the general and specific obstacles and opportunities for successful urban renewal.

The Local Government Project Manager expressed concern on the final 'handing over' of the project after completion, since the ARP comprises a magnitude of projects, representing both provincial and local competencies. General concerns in terms of the future sustainability, coordination and facilitation include:

- Depending on competencies, any particular project will be handed over to a specific provincial department or local government to sustain and maintain. Presently no planning is being done on future budget implication for both province and local government to sustain the momentum of ARP. Thus, on the handing over of the project, there appears to be concern on both the sustainability of stand-alone projects and organizational and institutional alignment to keep the 'cohesive nature' of the ARP in place.

- There is need to pre-empt these issues and develop an exit strategy for national and provincial urban nodal support. This will not only be necessary to ensure sustainability, but also to secure political and community buy-in for an exit strategy and ownership from the start.

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[69] Janine Rauch. Thinking Big: The National Urban Renewal Programme and Crime Prevention in South Africa's Metropolitan Cities. Research paper written for the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, December 2002 (*http://www.csvr.org.za/papers/paprauch.htm*).
[70] Doug Hindson. The Urban Renewal Programme, Hologram Newsletter 4 of 2003
(http://www.hologram.org.za/newsletter/nl5-urban%20renewal%20programme.htm)

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5.6 CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The ARP has managed to implement over 150 projects targeting economic, social and physical development. Significant impact has been made in physical development including in particular the production of spatial planning strategies, engineering rehabilitation and the sometimes painful but necessary resident relocations.

The primary service delivery challenges facing the project is to what extent the softer "social development" areas such as education, health and welfare, are maintained and improved in the area. This will require serious discussions and negotiations between the direct stakeholders such as provincial departments and the Metro with regard to how best to support each other with human and monetary resources. Specifically, clarification and agreement must be reached on services that either directly or indirectly require inputs from more than one level of government. This should be in the form of flexible and regular discussions on how best to source the necessary technical skills required for delivering project services. Moreover this will require more than the "alignment of budgets, reporting, procedures" between government agencies, but embedding the functions (both planning, execution, expenditure) regarding the range of activities falling under the ARP banner into the day-to-day operations of the various implementing agents.

The primary success of the project thus far has been the development of a robust and extensive project management capacity with a strong focus on visible delivery (e.g. housing, rehabilitation of the Jukskei area and corridor improvement) and the collection of base-line data against which the medium to longer term "impact" of the specific projects and the ARP in general can be assessed.