

**EXPLORING OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUSTAINABLE LOCAL  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH  
COLLABORATIVE HOUSING REVITALIZATION**

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20 December 2022

## DECLARATION

I, **Lucia Leboto-Khetsi**, declare that the thesis that I herewith submit for the doctoral degree, Doctor of Philosophy specializing in Urban and Regional Planning, at the University of the Free State, is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.



.....  
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Date: 20 December 2022

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to **Sir Tsaille Nathanael Leboto**.

His humility, wisdom and love for books remain with me.

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***‘Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good; his love endures forever’ (1 Chron. 16:34)***

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## ABSTRACT

Access to adequate housing remains one of the essential challenges faced by the urban poor worldwide. 30% of the urban population occupies substandard housing due to the prevalence of low incomes in the Global South. Many states fundamentally fail to align access to adequate urban housing to thriving local economies. In South Africa, townships house majority of urban dwellers, especially middle to low-income earners and transient migrants. The augmented pace of urbanisation proliferates weakened economies, unemployment levels, rampant poverty, crime levels and inadequate housing in these townships. Further intricacies include poor service delivery, environmental vulnerabilities and social disruptions. Albeit policy reforms, transformation of governance, administration, and housing provisioning systems, it appears that states and communities are dismally failing to discover lasting, sustainable solutions for housing inadequacy. Hence, the right to adequate housing is a crucial policy issue and research concern.

In this context, the existing conditions in old formal townships in South Africa reveal the manifestation of housing infrastructure decay, thus inhabitation of substandard housing. These have undesirable implications for residents' socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental aspects including livelihoods, socio-economic performance, psychological stability and public health. The decline of old townships is a sign that they are overlooked in the effort to foster sustainable development, and their decay is on its way to requiring greater intervention unless urgent rehabilitation occurs now.

This study makes a modest contribution to understanding socio-economic factors that drive housing inadequacy and their implications for planning in Bochabela Township under Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM). To achieve this, a mixed method approach premised on a transformative-pragmatic case study was applied to collect data from purposively selected participants. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews and a household survey of 314 residents, and key informant interviews of four community leaders and seven municipal, professional and academic practitioners. Further primary data was generated through a transect walk, neighbourhood observations, two community meetings and photographing. Secondary data was collected through document review including census data and reports, laws and policies and relevant scholarly literature. Content and thematic analysis were applied using NVivo, SPSS and R, while mapping was done using GIS. These strategically depicted Bochabela's realities, thereby enabling formulation of viable recommendations.

Based on the research findings, the study makes the case for attempting a more collaborative approach towards township housing revitalisation and economic development. It argues that in the past, housing development was not adequately linked to economic development hence the livelihoods

of township residents failed to be sustained. This perspective is informed by continued habitation of inadequate housing due to lack of affordability as most residents are low-income earners employed in the unskilled-labour sector. Because of Bochabela's prime location and cheap housing, it is attractive to migrants and locals seeking to be closer to opportunities and amenities. There are benefits for Bochabela residents to pursue strategies for economically linked adequate housing especially since most already utilize their houses for income generation.

However, research outcomes indicate that Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM) is facing institutional, stakeholder and resource challenges. The lack of common understanding of regulations and specific roles hindered effective development, service delivery and realization of the right to adequate housing. This is intensified by bureaucracy, power relations and political interference, as well as top-down governance that have resulted in inefficient collaboration practices, lack of communication regarding development decisions and poor management of municipal finances. A lack of trust towards the municipality, and weak regulatory support for township businesses were other areas of concern. There is a need for platforms upon which stakeholders can openly identify and discuss local needs and feasible solutions without judgement or powerplay.

The study then proposes a housing and economic development framework to guide revitalisation through localized, collaborative approaches that can lead to sustainable economic growth in Bochabela. The framework conveys opportunities for enhancing institutional capacity for planning, advancing social advantage, improving housing adequacy and promoting local economic development. It also identifies tentative stakeholders within the multi-sphere government departments, private sector, community, academia and not-for-profit institutions.

**Keywords:** Adequate housing; local economic development; collaborative planning; urban revitalisation

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| ASGISA | Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa      |
| ASSAf  | Academy of Science of South Africa                             |
| BNG    | Breaking New Ground  |
| CAHF   | Centre for Affordable Housing Finance                          |
| CBD    | Central Business District                                      |
| CRU    | Community Residential Units                                    |
| CSP    | Cities Support Programme                                       |
| EHP    | Emergency Housing Programme                                    |
| EPWP   | Expanded Public Works Programme                                |
| ICESCR | International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights |
| IUDF   | Integrated Urban Development Framework                         |
| GEAR   | Growth Redistribution and Employment                           |
| LED    | Local Economic Development                                     |
| MMM    | Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality                             |
| NDP    | National Development Plan                                      |
| NGP    | New Growth Path  |
| NSPF   | National Spatial Planning Framework                            |
| OECD   | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development         |
| PHP    | People's Housing Process                                       |
| RDP    | Reconstruction and Development Programme                       |
| SA     | South Africa   |
| SME    | Small and Medium Enterprise                                    |
| SPLUMA | Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act                   |
| UISP   | Upgrading of Informal Settlements Programme                    |
| UN     | United Nations   |
| US     | United States  |
| UK     | United Kingdom   |

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“Attention should also be paid to the revitalisation of inner cities and townships, including a model for funding title holders to upgrade backyard rentals and adding more revenue-generating commercial developments.” President Cyril Ramaphosa in Bhengu, (2020)

### 1.1 Setting the Scene for Housing Dilapidation and Local Economy in Historical Townships

In 2014, I moved to Bloemfontein as an international student in need of affordable housing near the University of the Free State. I stayed for a few months in Willows, which I ultimately could not afford with my student income. Without suitable lodging options for my small family within the surrounding suburbs, we resorted to seeking cheaper housing at the nearest township. A small but reasonably priced house sufficed in Bochabela Township. With a heavy heart, I moved to the dusty Taaibosch Street of the township, which I later came to accept as home. At first, I experienced a culture shock. Everything was different here from the suburb where I had stayed for a couple of months. I, therefore, usually resorted to staying within the confines of my tiny house, uncomfortable to be seen outside. It felt unsafe to walk to the nearby spaza shop or the informal fruit and vegetable market because of young men who hung out along my street every day, usually drinking and smoking, sometimes blasting loud music and constantly swearing. I had no wish to risk being seen by these men, whom I did not trust, just by studying them from a distance. Sometimes I wondered where the young men got money for their daily drinks. So, I always kept the gate locked since my spouse was away during the daytime and our daughter was a few months old.

Most days coming home to this neighbourhood depressed me, and I preferred spending my days on campus, pushing my studies, which got me a distinction that year. I became more aware of my surroundings including the bad smell that became especially unbearable in summer. I did not know if it was due to a leaking sewer down the street, a mucky dam I had sighted close by, or just the refuse that usually took over two weeks for municipal trucks to fetch. As time passed, I warmed up to the neighbourhood. I was fascinated daily by my neighbour, a woman in her mid-fifties, I think. She stayed alone in a well-kept corrugated iron house built in a big, fenced yard. Ten or more similar structures could have easily fit in this yard. Hers was the only corrugated iron house in that street, as other houses were old brick houses. Three things about my neighbour fascinated me. First, that like the young men who socialised two houses from mine, blocking my route to the spaza, she drank daily. I know this because I would spot her through the window as she went to get her supplies. I later learned that this was the lifestyle of many residents across all age groups. Secondly, I was fascinated

that she chose to bring her drinks home, where she drank alone and ultimately made as much noise, singing and swearing as a group of people. Last and most fascinating of all was how neat she kept herself, her yard and house.

I do not know when I became extremely interested in Bochabela's housing. Perhaps it was another incident that had me in a neighbour's house, an old, relatively big cottage compared to the RDP houses. Or maybe it was sparked by having a neighbour who managed to keep her corrugated iron structure well-kept and another who could not keep her house even remotely tidy due to constant disasters. If it was not a collapsing ceiling, then it was broken windows and doors or a leaking roof and cracked walls that looked as though they would collapse at any minute. These problems were not easily identifiable from outside, but most similar age houses were falling apart, literally.

Eventually, I was comfortable enough to take walks in the safety of my spouse's company. I discovered that the township had various housing typologies. There were old apartheid-era houses and hostels, which were both worse off, and democracy-era RDPs, high-rises, and other newly built single units. This housing mix expanded my interest. I learned then that many old houses in Bochabela were extremely dilapidated. I was ashamed for being utterly unhappy with my rented house, when comparatively, it was a haven. Though my rented house was tiny, too hot in summer and miraculously awfully cold in winter, its walls were sturdy, its roofing firm, and windows in place. It was also newly renovated with a brand-new bathroom and kitchen sink. I started talking to a few residents. It was mentioned that many local youths were unemployed and known to commit crime to cater for their lifestyle, while the majority of employed youth were migrants. I cannot confirm the validity of this claim. I improved the security of my house by installing extra locks on the gate and door, which I kept locked day and night. I stayed in Bochabela for two and a half years, and not once encountered a criminal predicament. However, I heard of break ins, including from a neighbour in my compound.

During my second year of stay in Bochabela, I studied for Master's in Town Planning, where my comprehension for township planning was deepened. During my walks, I wondered; this township is very close to the CBD, why does it look so gloomy? Some houses here are quite new, why are the owners of the falling houses not renovating? Who stays in such dilapidated houses, and why doesn't this bother them? These were questions borne of the unfamiliarity of the of South African planning complexities. I would be awed when municipal town planners told me that there were at that time no development plans for Bochabela. I left Bloemfontein in 2016 with my questions about Bochabela unanswered. I came back two years later, this time residing in Westdene suburb, and immediately thought of Bochabela. In an action of spontaneity, I took a drive around the township. My first

disappointment was that my neighbour no longer stayed at her securely locked up the corrugated iron house. Her once clean yard was overgrown with vegetation. I was shocked that many houses were still not renovated while others had completely collapsed. Also, fewer elderly people were sitting outside their old houses, either in reminiscence or conversation.

Additionally, some deserted houses and land remained so there were more potholes in the roads, and some young men were still socialising at strategic corners of the streets, drinking and smoking with young girls. However, I was mildly comforted that some houses had been renovated. Also, one previously neglected and partly collapsed commercial building had been revamped and operating as a restaurant and night club. While I appreciated that jobs had been created and the aesthetics improved, I was troubled that the neighbourhood was seemingly improving at a slow rate, or possibly getting worse. Were the residents here fated for a life of further neighbourhood degeneration, with no prospects of improvement? Or was there potential to improve the social and economic character of Bochabela?

## 1.2 Contextual Background

Access to adequate housing remains one of the fundamental challenges faced by the urban poor. In the Global South, 30% of the urban population occupies substandard housing due to the prevalence of low incomes (Adamec, Janoušková & Hák, 2021; Durosaiye & Hadjri, 2022). Many states fail to align access to adequate urban housing with thriving local economies. Despite policy reforms, the transformation of governance, administration, and housing provisioning systems, it appears that states and communities are dismally failing to discover lasting, sustainable solutions for housing inadequacy in low-income urban neighbourhoods. Hence, the right to adequate housing is a crucial policy issue and research concern. (Lojanica, et al., 2018; UN-Habitat, 2016).

Urban land and housing shape the universal character, significance and sustainability of cities, as well as their political relations, economic status and social structures. As global urbanisation amplifies, the urban environment faces the predicament of accessing affordable and adequate housing, coupled with vast divisions within city spaces (Durosaiye & Hadjri, 2022; Nuttall, 2004; Turok & McGranahan, 2013 and Wetzstein, 2019). Failing economies and indistinct articulation of the 'adequacy' in housing are some drivers of this impasse, resulting in considerable inquiry by the policy, academic, and private sector actors (Budds, et al., 2005; Todes & Turok, 2017; Watson, 2014).

The global urban population is ever-growing, and while Africa is still predominantly rural, it is home to 13% of the global urban population. In 2020, urbanisation in Africa averaged 47%, with Gabon having the highest country rate (Saleh, 2022). Booming urbanisation in Africa was projected to lead to further social, economic and environmental dilemmas (Manguelé, 2007, p. 2). The urbanisation of poverty in African cities substantially contributes not only to the backlogs in housing supply but also to the inhabitation of substandard housing reflected through urban congestion, homelessness, shack dwelling and backyard housing, to mention a few (Turok & McGranahan, 2013). Furthermore, without overgeneralising, it appears that another common characteristic of African cities is the presence of outdated planning systems and a heavy reliance on Western planning rationalities, which differ greatly from African realities (Myers, 2016; Rasmussen, 2019; Ren, 2019). These, together with the apparent incapacity to address current environmental challenges due to climate change, contribute to the housing ills faced by African cities (Montgomery, 2008, p. 761).

South African cities are also experiencing unchecked urbanisation, with rates having risen from 60.62% in 2007, 65.85% in 2017, 66.86% in 2019 to 67.35% in 2020 (O'Neill, 2021; O'Neill, 2022(a); Plecher, 2017). This rise has been concurrent with population density in the country's urban regions, which increased from 42.22 in 2010 to 48.89 in 2020 O'Neill, (2022(b)). The expanding urban population has intensified the need for different types of tenure. As the government attempts to tick off the social housing supply checklist through the upgrading informal settlements, historical townships<sup>1</sup> seem to be sidelined, hence dilapidating infrastructure and housing stock. Townships house the majority of urban dwellers, especially middle to low-income earners and transient migrants (Mphambukeli, 2015; Schmidt & du Plessis, 2013). The continuous growth of poor populations in townships means that they face a typical predicament of weak economies, high unemployment levels, rampant poverty, increasing crime levels and inadequate housing (Goldberg, 2003, p. 5).

During the segregation of the colonial and apartheid eras, South African townships were designed to foster exclusion of minority groups (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20). This resulted in minority groups being situated further from economic opportunities and receiving inferior services (Scheepers, 2019, p. 4). According to Wilkinson, (2000, p. 116, 117), "minority groups have been defined as those viewing themselves as objects of collective discrimination, thus it is used herein as a social scientific

---

<sup>1</sup> A 'township' is a colloquial name for formal Black residential areas established under segregationist legislation.

euphemism for the victims of widespread exploitation, injustice and incalculable hardship and suffering.” Post-apartheid, the democratic regime has engaged in extensive policy and legislative reform meant to address and reverse spatial segregation and its consequent ills (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66). Specifically to address housing and local economic problems, the government implemented the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in 1994 and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy for South Africa (GEAR) in 1996 (Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 14; Sekoboto & Landman, 2018, p. 98). The 2001 Urban Renewal Programme (URP) was announced to restore blighted urban areas in selected provinces (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 631). The National Housing Code 2009 guides implementation of public housing through national programmes including incremental, rural, social, rental and community interventions for citizens earning below R3,500 (The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 8). It further postulates that the minimum housing requirement is “40 square meters of floor area with a) 2 bedrooms, b) a separate bathroom with a toilet, shower and a hand basin, c) a combined living area and kitchen space with a wash basin, d) a ready board electrical installation, where electricity supply is available” (SAHRC, n.d., p. 4). In 2015, the Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) was promulgated as a tool for spatial transformation, with integration emerging as one of its main endorsements (SPLUMA, 2013). While much has been done in the effort to undo previous spatial inequalities, there seems to be a new set of challenges facing the same townships that experienced exclusion by design. Old formal townships are now facing exclusion by decline (Shapurje & Charlton, 2013; Pernegger & Godehart, 2007). Furthermore, an uneven interpretation and implementation of the democratic regulatory framework means that the right to the city of the poor is unrealised as many reside in substandard housing, a trend that is in itself a ‘recipe for new urban challenges’ (Strauss, 2017).

### 1.3 Problem Statement

The post-democratic government continues to struggle to conquer detrimental apartheid legacies such as racialised housing access (Durgad, et al., n.d.). In this instance, South African townships, previously planned to foster segregation, are facing urban decay in this integrated development era, as seen by the dilapidation of their built environment, poor basic services delivery, deteriorating infrastructure, weak local economies and a low quality of life (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 7). In this context, the existing conditions in old formal townships in South Africa reveal the manifestation of housing infrastructure decay, thus inhabitation of inadequate housing. This challenge is linked to a myriad of other challenges within a broader socio-economic, political, cultural and environmental constraints including the quality of livelihoods, economic performance, psychological stability and

public health. The decline of old townships is a sign that they are being overlooked in the effort to foster sustainable development, and their decay is on its way to requiring greater intervention unless urgent rehabilitation occurs now (Goldberg, 2003, p. 5).

There is an extensive body of research on housing issues in post-democratic South Africa. While many studies explored housing as an economic asset (Jenkins, et al., 2007; UN Habitat, 2016, p. 12; Shapurje & Charlton, 2013), fewer have viewed housing as a direct opportunity for local economic development (ASSAf, 2008, p. 32; Marais, et al., 2020; Turok, 2020, p. 42). Though evolving urban environments lead to immense housing and economic deterioration in colonial and apartheid townships, many studies have focused on informality, housing supply, service delivery, resilience and economic development in post-apartheid townships (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013; Landman, et al., 2019; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015; Turok & McGranahan, 2013; Newton & Schuermans, 2013). There seems to be a limited narrative on the adequacy of formal, privately owned housing stock in old formal townships. A few studies including those by (Charlton & Meth, 2017; Lee, 2005), explored housing dereliction and renovation in colonial and apartheid townships. Some investigated lived experiences and perceptions of historical townships and inner-city dwellers (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013; Charlton & Meth, 2017; Naicker, et al., 2017).

There was some interest on formal township housing renewal during the end of the apartheid era, for example, research conducted in Soweto by (Mather & Parnell, 1990). Further housing renewal research has mostly been based within informal settlements following the 2001 Urban Renewal Programme (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 631; Leon, 2007, p. 6; The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 8). There remains a significant gap in studies aimed at exploring the dilapidating state of housing stock in townships established during the colonial-cum-apartheid era, and the apparent inability or indisposition of owners to renovate their houses. It is therefore crucial that housing and local economic progression in historical townships receive attention from researchers with a view to explore collaborative solutions.

The study identifies dilapidation of housing as a significant problem in relation to South African townships complexities, leading to deteriorating neighbourhoods and decreased living standards. If left unaddressed, these defects will lead to unrealised right to adequate housing, which in turn is linked to extensive cross-cutting liberties such as right to the city. Additionally, the study realises that township economies through the lens of local economic development, have not been extensively

linked to housing improvement within South African townships, therefore failing to fully capitalise on the opportunity it presents for collaborative community initiatives.

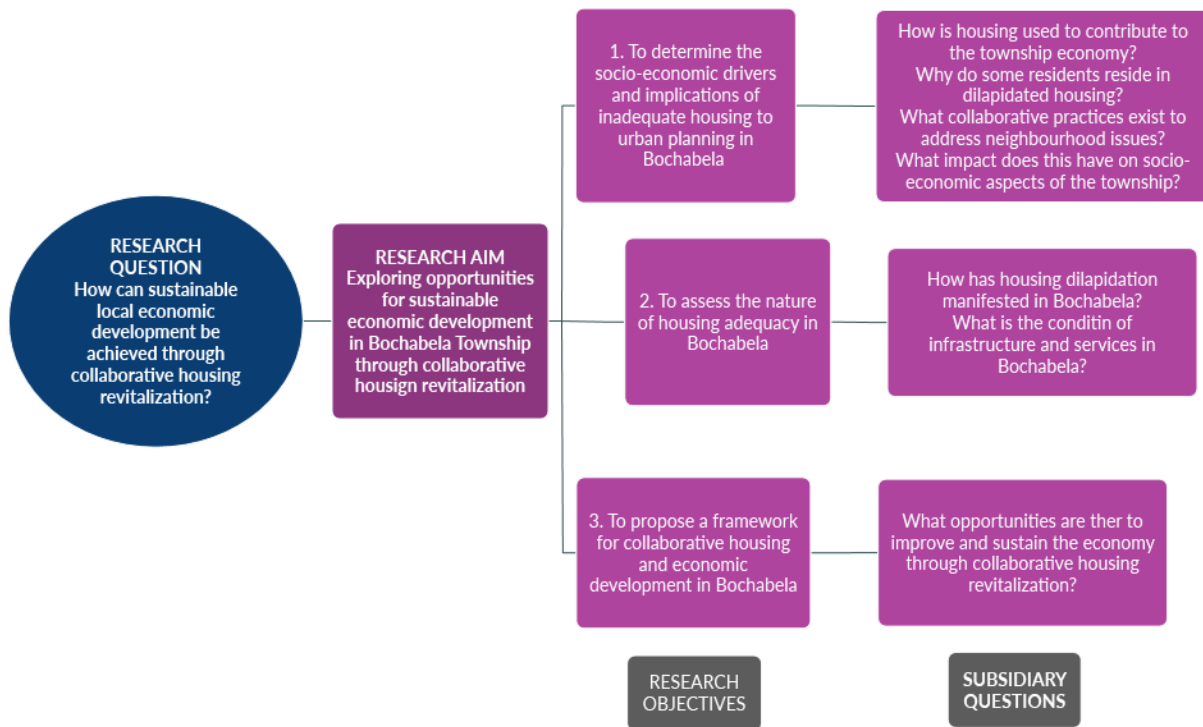
#### 1.4 Assumptions of the Study

Based on the researcher's observations while residing in Bochabela Township from 2014 to 2015, the study makes the following assumptions:

- There are low levels of old housing renovations in Bochabela. This assumption is based on the premise that there are a number of absentee landlords, and therefore the houses are utilised to rent migrants, who don't feel inclined to renovate property that belongs to someone else.
- There is a high unemployment level among Bochabela's native residents, so they generally cannot afford to renovate their houses. This is premised on the impression that a notable number of working-age residents are seen around the neighbourhood during working hours
- Related to this is the assumption that most owners of old, dilapidating houses are the elderly, living on government grants, unable to afford upgrading their houses even as they fall apart
- Based on the notion that apartheid laws were generally demoralising to the minority groups, the assumption is that black Africans were viewed as temporary residents hence the building materials used for the houses in question were probably not strong enough to withstand the standard durability lifecycle of a building
- Lastly, the study assumes that there have not been any collaborative measures to address the issue of housing dilapidation and local economic development in Bochabela.

#### 1.5 Research Objectives and Questions

The study aimed to explore opportunities for sustainable economic development in Bochabela through collaborative housing revitalisation. This was achieved by determining how sustainable local economic development can be achieved through collaborative housing revitalisation. Figure 1.1 illustrates the formulation of the research question, aim and objectives.



**Figure 1.1: Formulating the Research Questions, Aim and Objectives**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The objectives of this study were as follows:

**Objective 1:** to determine the socio-economic drivers and implications of inadequate housing for urban planning in Bochabela

**Objective 2:** to assess the nature of housing adequacy in Bochabela

**Objective 3:** to propose a framework for collaborative housing and economic development in Bochabela

The following subsidiary questions guided the research.

- a) How has housing dilapidation manifested in Bochabela?
- b) What is the condition of infrastructure and services in Bochabela?
- c) Why do some residents of Bochabela reside in dilapidated housing?
- d) How is housing used to contribute to the township's economy?
- e) What impact do these have on the social, economic and environmental aspects of the township?
- f) How is housing being used to contribute to the township's economy?
- g) What opportunities are there to improve and sustain the economy of Bochabela through a collaborative housing revitalisation?

- h) How can opportunities be implemented in alignment to existing economic activities and needs?

### 1.6 Rationale and Significance of the study

Planning for the urban environment is not only about creating meaningful, sustainable places for people, but also about improving the wellbeing, livelihoods, ecosystem, and the overall economic development of communities. In short, planning is meant to add socio-economic and environmental value to communities (Campbell, 2002, p. 272). Given this, any phenomenon that seems to be contradictory to urban planning mandates becomes a significant concern, and such is the case with the inhabitation of dilapidating houses in formal, apartheid-era townships. This even more so in the era where human rights are being acknowledged, and integration and resilience are on the frontline of policy and legislation in South Africa (Shannon, 2018, p. 5; Watson, 2009, p. 179).

The importance of this study lies in its effort to open new thinking towards linking housing adequacy and revitalisation to the economic development of formal townships established during the colonial and apartheid eras. In this regard, these old townships should not be neglected during the quest to formalize existing informal settlements and in developing new, integrated townships. This becomes especially important in the era of sustainable development because urban planning aims to create liveable spaces today for future generations. Given this, it becomes crucial to ensure sustainability, adequacy, and regeneration of townships and the greater scope of the urban environment in general (Barnes & Nel, 2017). With the stipulation that townships are manifestations of urban ills (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 4), planners must then reflect on how to improve or replace current, ineffectual urban planning approaches to effectively improve the quality of life for the urban poor (Landman, et al., 2019). With much focus on housing shortages and supply, existing formal housing in black townships is side-lined. It does not help that the government is implementing stopgap solutions to answer the protests brought forth by housing backlogs (Osman, 2017). Current housing-related challenges in South African townships are identified by (Menguele, 2007, p. 6) as follows:

- Aged engineering infrastructure in dire need of restoration
- Primary existence of formal housing with an informal element as in the case of backyard shacks and unregistered home businesses
- Untimely infrastructure failure due to neglect
- Existence of dormitories as a sign of higher investment in other functions besides housing

- Low levels of tertiary education, high levels of unskilled labour, unemployment, poverty and crime

This perception of challenges fails to emphasise the issue of dwelling in dilapidated housing and its implications for the South African urban planning mandate. As mentioned, South African townships remain one of the most researched areas in the academic scope and beyond, yet Free State townships, specifically those within the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM), have fallen off the housing adequacy radar. Much focus within this province is on service delivery, mining towns and informal settlements, and little on the state of housing infrastructure in old formal townships. Furthermore, there seems to be little effort within the South African planning research to link housing adequacy to local economic development.

The study gains its theoretical relevance from collaborative planning and the right to the city (Budds, et al., 2005; Gorgens & Van Donk, 2012; Gunton & Day, 2003; Innes and Booher, 1999), reflected in section 26 of South Africa's Constitution through the right to adequate housing and Section 152 regarding the mandate of local government. Additional concepts include housing adequacy, local economic development, urban decay and urban renewal, all of which are extensively linked to township housing dilapidation (Donaldson, et al., 2013; Kamara, 2017; Landman, et al., 2019). Through this study, these theoretical perspectives will ultimately create an understanding of this phenomenon through multidisciplinary viewpoints, thus establishing a way forward for township housing and economic revitalisation.

The proposed extensive conception of the socio-economic, cultural, political, and environmental impacts of dilapidating housing is not only relevant to guiding current policy effectiveness but also in warranting that further marginalisation does not occur in the name of integration. With the gap in research in formal historical townships, with a specific focus on the decrepit state of their housing, the cause for this, and why owners are not renovating, it becomes essential for further research to establish viable ways to improve dilapidating townships. As stipulated by the National Strategic Development Plan (2003), it is crucial for the development process to focus on areas of economic potential, to take note of areas of pronounced decline while investing in human capital and improvement of infrastructure and service delivery. This study thus focuses on responding to the 'how' part of these stipulations. By looking at housing as a process and an asset and analysing its management from an urban planning perspective, the study raises issues of social justice, place attachment and the interpretation of good place. In view of all these, the study proposes a framework

for township housing and economic development. This will substantially contribute to existing housing literature and the town planning fraternity within the South African and Sub-Saharan context.

### 1.7 Synopsis of Methodology

This case study employed a pragmatic-transformative worldview. It used a mixed method approach to enhance its central statements. By engaging the Bochabela participants using a household survey, and interviewing key informants, it examined the lived experiences and municipal mandate of dilapidating housing in post-democratic South Africa, specifically in Bochabela Township, Bloemfontein. These covered 314 residents, 4 community leaders and 7 officials and professionals in the housing fraternity from the public, private and academic sectors. The study obtained further information through neighbourhood observations, community meetings, transect walk, photographic data and a review of existing literature. Participants were purposefully selected according to their relevance to the study. By using tools such as 'R', SPSS, GIS, CorelDRAW and NVivo, the data were analysed to depict a clear picture of realities in Bochabela based on the study objectives. Thematic analysis was applied to qualitative data, descriptive analysis was conducted for quantitative data while content analysis was used to link both elements. These analyses enabled the researcher to make appropriate recommendations. Chapter 6 comprehensively explains this study's research design and methodology, while Table 1.1 gives a synopsis thereof.

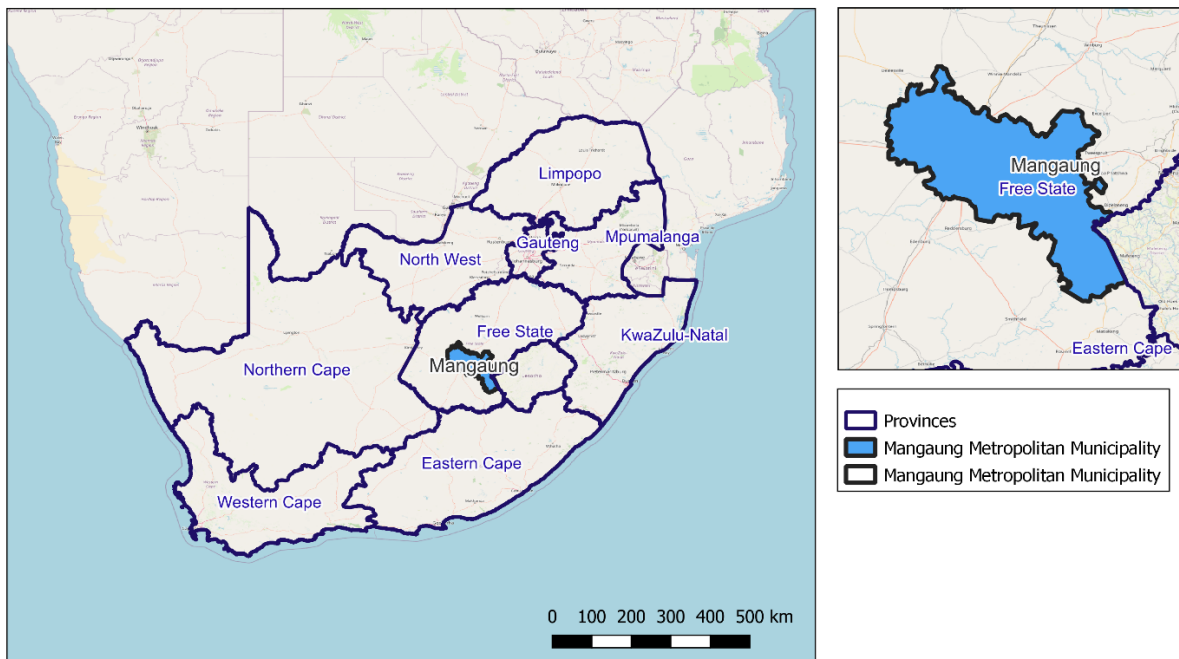
**Table 1.1: Synopsis of Methodology**

| <b>Research Objectives</b>  | <b>Questions</b>   | <b>Informants</b>   | <b>Sampling</b>                             | <b>Data Collection</b>  | <b>Analysis</b>                                 |
|---|--|---|---|---|---|
| Asses the nature of housing in(adequacy) in Bochabela   | How has housing dilapidation manifested in Bochabela?<br><br>What is the state of social services and facilities in Bochabela  | Bochabela Residents   | Purposive Sampling<br><br>Snowball Sampling | Household Survey<br><br>In-depth Interviews   | Descriptive Statistics<br><br>Thematic Analysis |
| Determine socio-economic drivers and implications of inadequate housing in urban planning         | Why do some residents reside in dilapidated housing?<br><br>How is housing being used to contribute to the township’s economy?<br><br>What impact do have on the social, economic and environmental aspects of the township?     | Bochabela Residents<br><br>Community Leaders<br><br>Government Official<br>Private Practitioners<br>Academics | Purposive and Snowball Sampling             | In-depth and Key Informant Interviews<br><br>Transect Walk (Guided Neighbourhood Tour)<br><br>Community Meeting | Thematic Analysis<br><br>Content Analysis       |
| Propose a collaborative framework for a sustainable housing and economic development in Bochabela | What opportunities are there to improve and sustain the economy of Bochabela through a collaborative housing revitalisation?<br><br>How can opportunities be implemented in alignment to existing economic activities and needs? | Bochabela Residents<br><br>Community Leaders<br><br>Government Official<br>Private Practitioners<br>Academics | Purposive and Snowball Sampling             | In-depth and Key Informant Interviews<br><br>Transect Walk (Guided Neighbourhood Tour)<br><br>Community Meeting |   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

## 1.8 Case Study Area

The study is situated in Bochabela Township in Bloemfontein, under Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM). The municipality is in the Free State Province of South Africa, which is surrounded by Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, North-West, Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces (See Map 1.1/APPENDIX A). MMM links to these provinces by the national roads N1, N6 and N8. The N8 also links MMM to Lesotho, an enclave of South Africa, whose closest towns to Bloemfontein are Maseru (through Maseru Bridge), and Mafeteng (through Van Rooyens Gate). MMM is encircled by Xhariep, Lejweleputswa and Thabo Mofutsanyane District Municipalities.



APPENDIX A

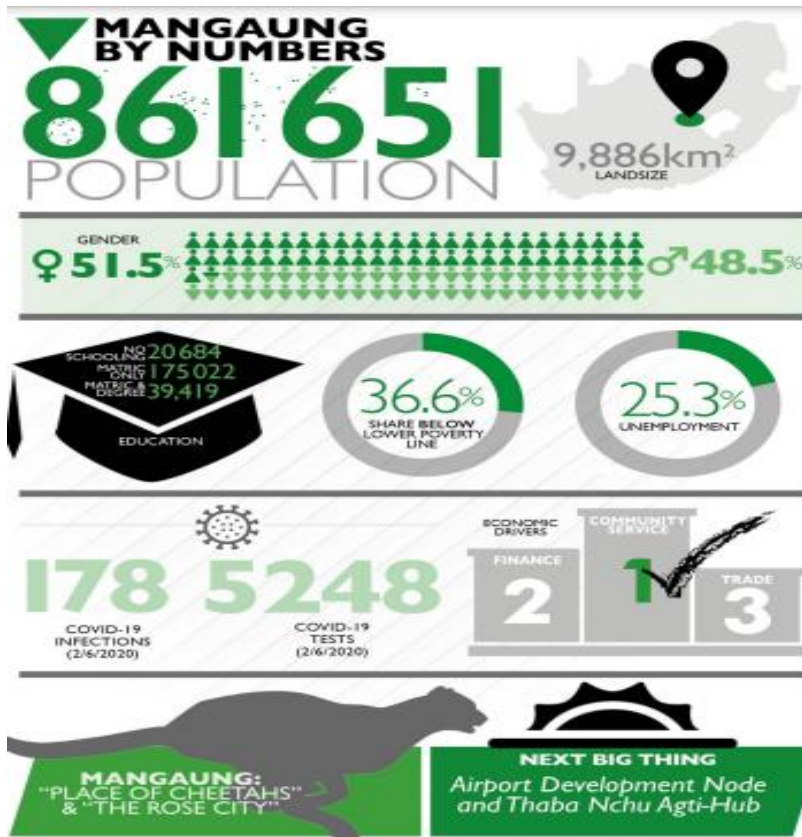
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
MANGAUNG METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

**Map 1.1: Location of MMM in South Africa**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

MMM covers an area of 9,887km<sup>2</sup>, and had a population of 787,929 in 2016, of which 52% was in Bloemfontein. As Figure 1.2 illustrates, this population had increased to 861,651 by 2020, with a 51.5% share of women and 48.5% of men. Also, while MMM contributes the largest share of GDP in the province (R64, 24bn of R190, 18bn), the municipality has a 25.3% unemployment rate, despite the largest share of residents having completed their matric. The share of residents with no education is

also higher than those with tertiary education (MMM, 2017; Mangaung District Development Model, 2020, p. 4).



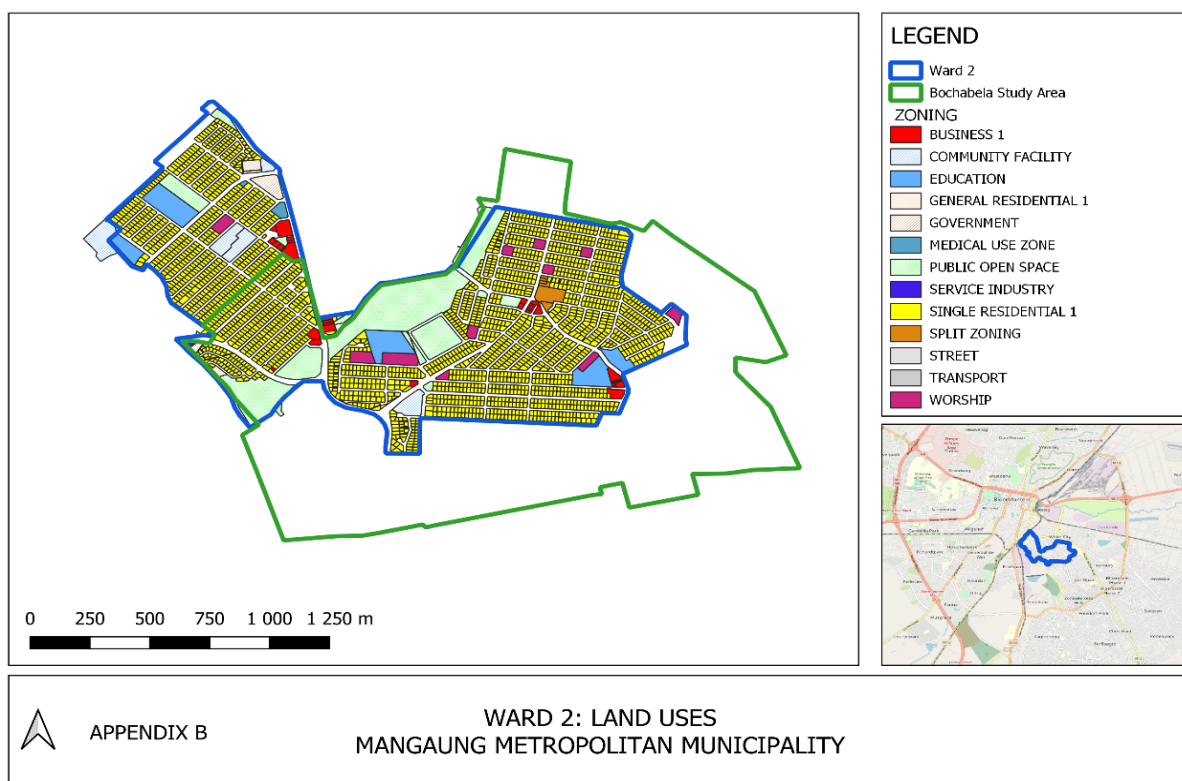
**Figure 1.2: Overview of Mangaung's Demographics**

Source: Mangaung District Development Model: Profile and Analysis (2020, p. 4)

MMM, like other South African, is faced with increasing urban poverty and inadequate housing, with backlogs in demand estimated at 31,141 houses in 2016. In alignment to national and international agenda, the provincial and local governments, implemented several Social Housing and Community Residential Units (CRU) projects. These were meant to restore and build houses across the province. One CRU project was implemented in Bochabela (MMM, 2017). The municipality has upgraded the Central Business Districts (CBD) and fast-tracked the proclamation of suitable land for townships establishment for the period of the current municipal Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2017-2022. Moreover, with eight land parcels released in Bloemfontein for mixed land use and housing typologies, the commitment of the municipality to prioritise social housing supply and eradication of informal settlements is demonstrated. The IDP also highlights the aim of MMM to improve access to service delivery and to attend to ageing infrastructure (MMM, 2017).

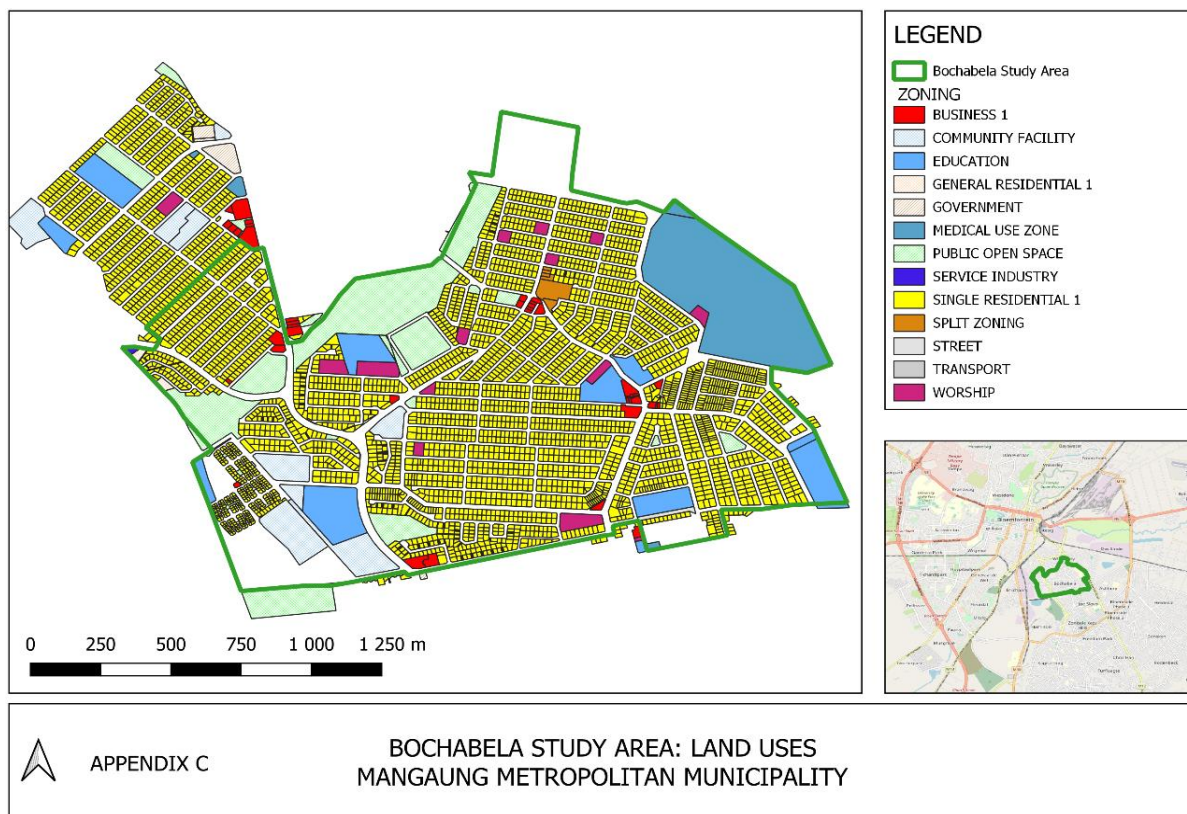
Bloemfontein, established as a small town in 1846 by Major Warden, is now the sixth largest city in South Africa (National Museum, 2002; South Africa History Online, 2011; The Heritage Portal, n.d.). It functions as the national judicial capital and the center of Free State Province’s administrative activities. As an economic hub, the city is serviced by Bram Fischer International Airport, an east/west and north/south railway as well as the N1, N6 and N8 national roads. A study carried out in 2016 indicated that compared to the other municipal economic hubs, Bloemfontein had the largest population, and that its economic drivers were mainly community services, trade, finance and transport, with farming mainly based on livestock production and poultry and small-scale mining opportunities perceptible (MMM-IDP, 2021/2022, p. 10; Mphambukeli, 2015).

Of 50 wards in MMM, Bloemfontein has 30 (1-26 and 45-48), and Bochabela falls under Ward 2 (MMM, 2017). Although part of the inner city, the zoning of properties in Ward 2 is predominantly Single Residential 1 with some General Residential 1 zones. The ward also features some Business 1 and the Service Industry zoning for economic activities. Moreover, some social activities are catered for in the Community Facility, Public Open Space, public street and Worship zones. Social services are found in the Education, Government, Medical Use and Transport zones. Map 1.2/APPENDIX B illustrates this.



**Map 1.2: Ward 2 Land Uses**  
Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

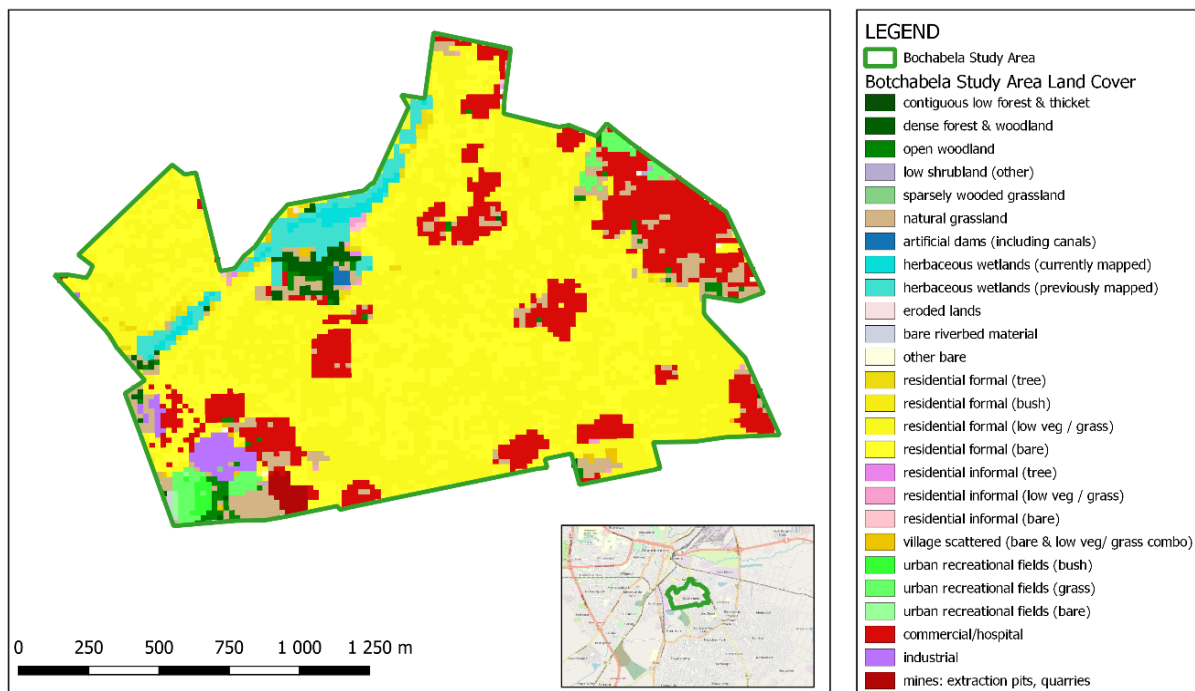
Bochabela was established in 1931 as one of the colonial townships in Bloemfontein. It forms part of Mangaung Townships, one of the largest townships in the Free State province. Bochabela was developed on the east of Batho, the first Black township in Bloemfontein established in 1918. This was necessitated by the rapid increase of black African population in Batho (Krige, 1991, p. 107; Marais, et al., 2020; National Museum, 2019; South African History Online, 2011). Bochabela has an area of 1.47km<sup>2</sup> out of 236.2km<sup>2</sup> covered by the Bloemfontein, and 9 886km<sup>2</sup> covered by MMM. In 2011, approximately 98% (10,957) of Bochabela's population were black Africans, while 1.69% (189) were Coloured, and 0.38% (43) were Indian/Asian. The most prevalent language in Bochabela was Sesotho (45.3%) followed by Setswana (29%). This is likely due to the location being demarcated for the Sotho and Tswana people during the implementation of the colonial laws such as the Native Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923. There are other languages in Bochabela including isiXhosa (12%), isiZulu (1.69%) and isiNdebele (1.15%), probably because of infiltration of various ethnicities into the two migrant labour hostels. Within the same period, the age distribution indicated the highest levels of Bochabela residents to be in the 25-29 years age group at 12.18% or 1,365 people followed by 20-24 (1,246/11.11%), 35-39 (801/7.14%) and 0-4 (1,012/9.03%) respectively (Frith, 2011).



**Map 1.3: Bochabela Land Uses**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Map 1.3/ APPENDIX C illustrates that the character of the township is dominantly residential, with typical township services such as schools, clinics, and churches. Its economy is relatively diverse, with visibly high activity within both the informal and formal sectors. The formal sector boasts various businesses such as filling stations, private surgeries and pharmacies, spaza shops, restaurants, bars and clubs. The informal market includes burial societies, home-based salons, street vendors and learner transport, child education centers and stokvels<sup>2</sup>. Housing infrastructure in Bochabela comprises a mix of typologies including colonial, apartheid and democratic eras public housing, aged and new private housing, dormitories (hostels), flats, NGO supplied houses and informal housing. The most interesting factor about this township is the apparent dilapidation of housing infrastructure, although there are also many new and renovated housing units.



Appendix D **BOCHABELA STUDY AREA LAND COVER**  
MANGAUNG METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

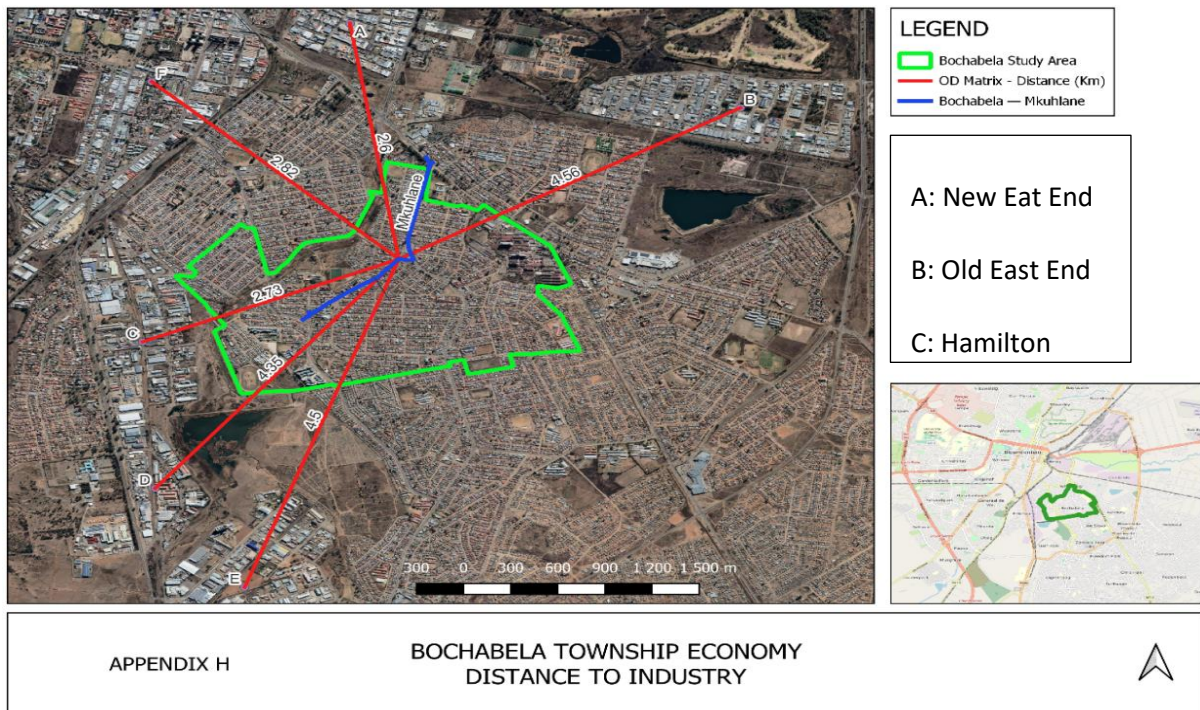
**Map 1.4: Bochabela Land Cover**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

<sup>2</sup> A 'stokvel' is a form of savings club where members regularly contribute and one person receives the monthly contribution in rotation.

The land cover of the township is predominantly built environment, with most vegetation occurring in residential zones. The vegetation includes trees, bushes and grass. There are also some woodlands, shrubs and thickets together with herbaceous wetlands and bare riverbed material. The township also has some artificial dams and quarries. In general, Bochabela does not have a lush natural environment as it is a developed urban area. The land cover is illustrated in Map 1.4/APPENDIX D.

The advantage that Bochabela has over other neighbourhoods within the Mangaung Township is that it is relatively close to the CBD and industrial areas and, therefore within reasonable walking distance to employment opportunities. The township is also very close to the Old East End (4.5km,  $\pm 8$ min drive or  $\pm 40$ min walk) and New East End (2.6km,  $\pm 28$ minutes walk or  $\pm 4$ min drive) industrial areas, the CBD (2.8km) and the commercial zone along Church Street (2.73km – 4.5km). This means that the residents who work within these areas have easy access of their places of employment. These estimations are highlighted on Map 1.5/APPENDIX H. Access to transport here is also unproblematic, as the township lies along efficient transport networks, where public transport (buses) and ‘informal’ transport (taxis and cabs) are readily available. Bochabela is accessible from the CBD and surrounding areas through Dr Belcher Road (which exits to Lesotho and Eastern Cape) and Fort Hare Road. The township also falls under the ongoing bus rapid transport development in MMM.

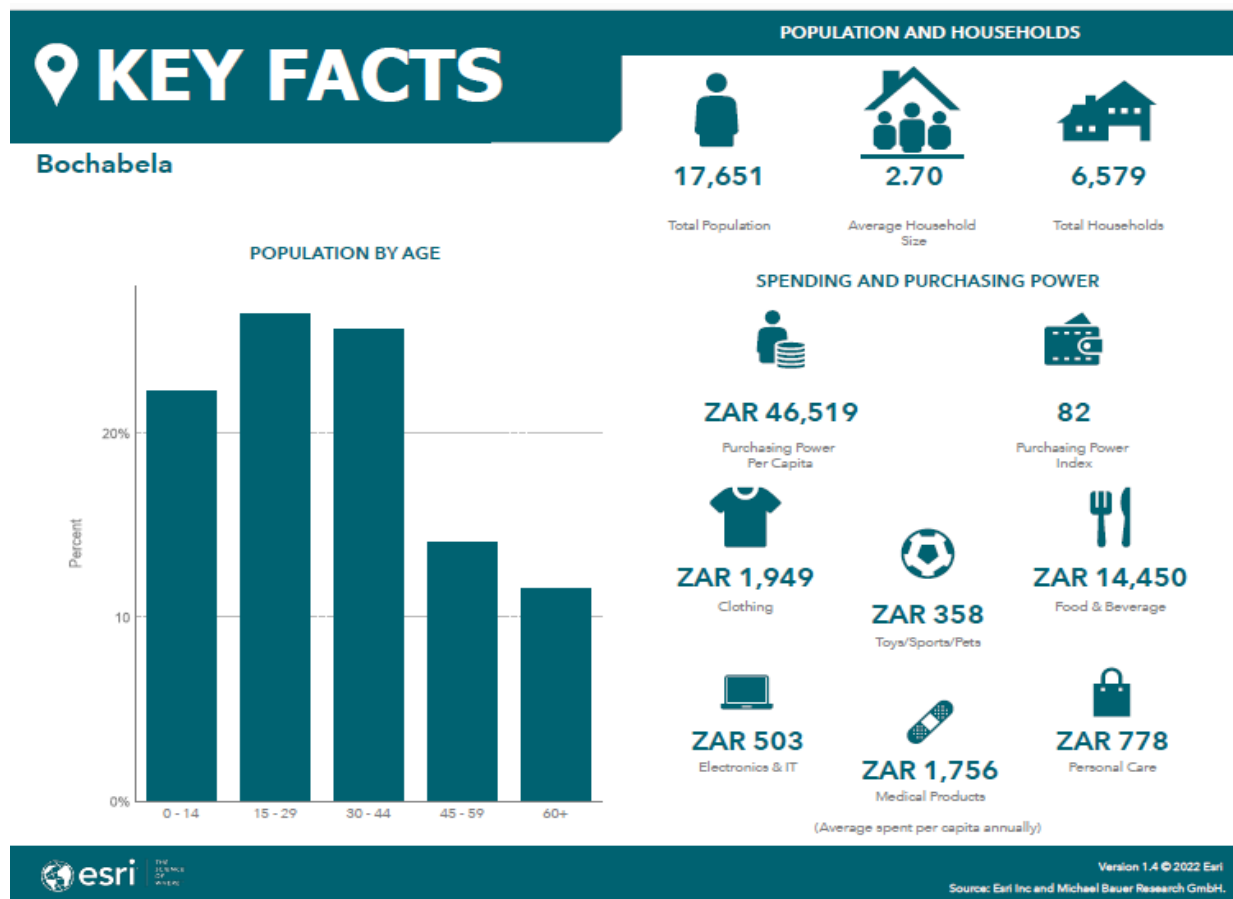


**Map 1.5: Distance to Industry**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

In 2011, the population of Bochabela was estimated at 11,210, which was approximately 7, 630.60 people per km<sup>2</sup>. At the time, there were 464,586 people in Bloemfontein and 787,929 in Mangaung. Of this estimated population, 5, 745 (51%) were female and 5, 465 (49%) males. There were 3027 erven and 4,221 households in the township, accounting for 2,873.25 people per km<sup>2</sup> (Frith, 2011; StatsSA, 2011). As shown in Figure 1.3, the estimates increased by 2020, with the total population at 17,651 and the number of households 6,579 (Mangaung District Development Model, 2020, p. 4; MMM-IDP, 2021/2022, p. 15).

Bochabela was chosen as the study area because it demonstrates the essence of housing dilapidation in a formal township with a rich heritage that presents opportunities for local economic development, which are at the crux of this study.



**Figure 1.3: Bochabela's Key Facts**

Source: StatsSA, 2022

## 1.9 Definition of Key Terminology

In order to create a consistent understanding of essential terms pertaining to this study, standard definitions are stipulated in the Table 1.2 below:

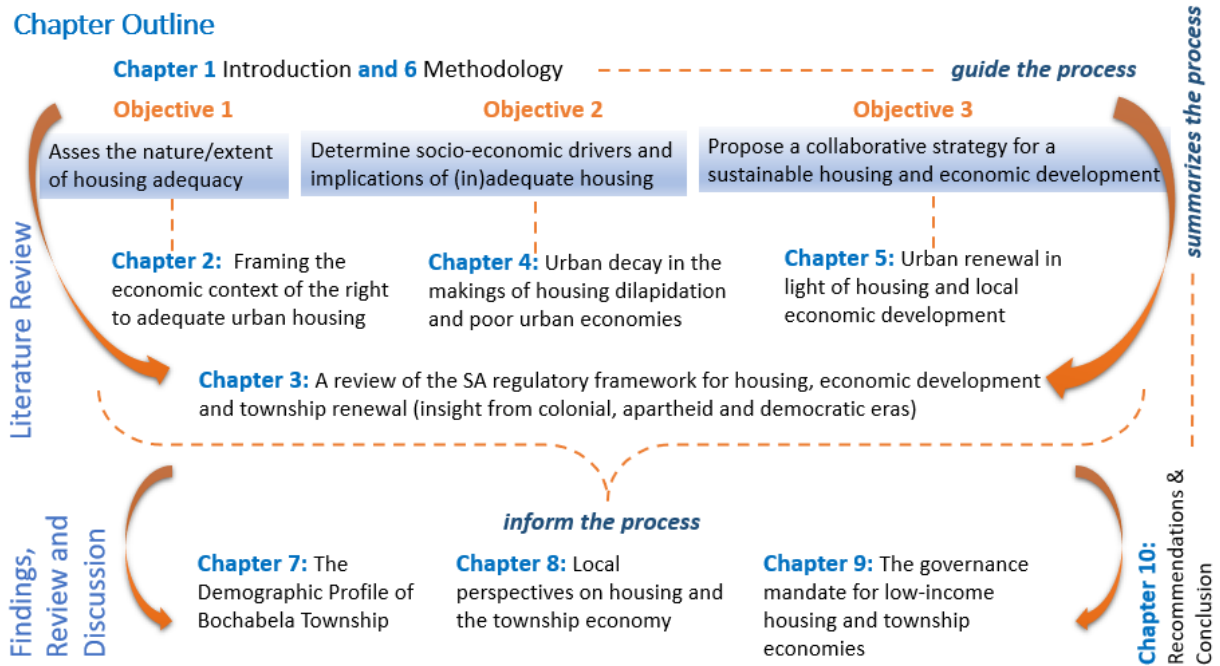
**Table 1.2: Defining Key Concepts**

|                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Adequate Housing                 | “The provision of water, sewerage, electricity, street lighting, garbage collection, road paving, public transport and access to basic services” (Budds, et al., 2005)  |
| Collaborative Planning           | A planning approach that epitomises shared decision making and public participation, recognises conflicting interests and encourages consensus building (Gunton & Day, 2003, pp. 6-7)   |
| Dilapidation                     | Decrepit state of housing infrastructure as seen through cracked or collapsed walls, broken windows and doors, damaged roofing and lack of adequate basic services  |
| House                            | “a specific and relatively limited, physically, biologically, socially close place where people and groups of people can live their biosocial life, by receiving services, performing house chores and other biosocial activity” (Henilane, 2016).  |
| Housing                          | A complex concept that can be defined as a commodity, a tangible, marketable product or an economic entity. On the other hand, housing can be defined as a basic service or basic need, and therefore the effort put forth by different stakeholder to achieve its existence. It encompasses a vast variety of issues, which then makes it difficult to theorise, but it simply refers to buildings for people to reside in (Henilane, 2016; Ruonavaara, 2018). |
| Local Economic Development (LED) | An integrated development approach meant to foster economic growth of neighbourhoods through innovative, place specific, collaborative strategies by means of infrastructure development, small and medium enterprise (SME) capacity building, investment promotion, institutional strengthening (Kamara, 2017).  |
| Township                         | For the purposes of this study, township refers to old formal townships, as in residential neighbourhoods established for black citizens during the colonial and apartheid eras (Jurgens & Donaldson, 2012; Scheba & Turok, 2020)   |
| Township Economies               | Both formal and informal micro-economic activities in the township. While diverse, they are typically survivalist in nature (Charman, et al., 2020)   |
| Urban Regeneration               | Redevelopment, rehabilitation and conservation of decayed housing, declining economies and feeble social image of a neighbourhood (Hendler & Thompson-Smeddle, 2009, p. 8; Usta, et al., 2014, pp. 2-3)   |

## 1.10 Organisation of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into ten chapters (Figure 1.4) **Chapter 1** situates the research focus by highlighting the background of adequate housing and economic development especially in South African townships. It also designates the main objectives, research questions and study area. **Chapter 2** explains the concept of adequate housing aligned with local economic development. **Chapter 3** contains a focused discussion on the history of South African townships and their complexities, emphasising on housing and economic development regulatory framework across three timelines: colonial, apartheid and democratic. **Chapter 4** gives an understanding of how urban decay affects the

housing and economic character of neighbourhoods, followed by **Chapter 5**, which comprehensively deliberates on urban renewal approaches that have been used globally to revitalise the social, residential and economic aspects of neighbourhoods. **Chapter 6** encapsulates the research design and methods, while **Chapters 7, 8 and 9** illustrate the data findings and analysis of different categories of field data. **Chapter 10** then concludes the dissertation and provides recommendations as a way forward.



**Figure 1.4: Dissertation Framework**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

## CHAPTER 2: FRAMING THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE RIGHT ADEQUATE URBAN HOUSING

“Housing impacts the economy at almost all levels, and through almost every aggregate variable in the economy...” NCCA, (2005, p. 10)

### 2.1 Introduction

The extensive literature on housing studies and multiple ongoing debates on housing issues through the decades show just how crucial the concept of housing is to development. Many attempts have thus been made to define housing, resulting in intricate, integrative articulations, some echoing each other while others raise contemporary viewpoints altogether. Therefore, engaging a multidisciplinary approach is necessary to understand its substance better. In this chapter, I draw from the complexity of housing by answering four broad questions; 1) What is adequate housing? 2) What is the link between the right to the city and housing low-income residents? 3) What role does the right to adequate housing play in local economic development? Therefore, I articulate housing as a right, social and economic asset, process, and product. This chapter is relevant in addressing objective one of this study, to assess the nature of housing adequacy in the study area.

### 2.2 The Housing Debate

Housing is complex and linked to various disciplines. At face value, it is a fundamental human need necessary for shelter, comfort and protection from natural elements and unwanted social interaction, where dwellers store their valuables and carry out daily routines. It is also an experience, a place of safety and rest, a form of security and belonging (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p. 96); Henilane, 2016, p. 168; King, 2004, p. 61; Ruonavaara, 2018, p. 178). However, housing defies easy definition, hence contesting views about whether it is a product or a process. Beyond brick and mortar and in line with the right to the city, housing is a complex system (Clapham, 2018, p. 176), dissected into various factions of social, economic, environmental and political inclinations, and, most importantly, an essential human right (King, 2004, p. 62; Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 498). For this study, I adopt the prospect that housing is a product and a process whose functions cater to various residents' needs.

As a process, housing refers to the regulatory framework guiding housing development, standards and regulations, who gets housed and by what means (Ruonavaara, 2018, p. 178). As a product, a house has economic functions because it is an asset with the potential to contribute to the housing market and, therefore, to the economy of the state within which it is built (De Soto, 2000, p. 207; Henilane,

2016, p. 168). Drivers of housing location and choice and issues of unequal access, which lead to segregation, informality and homelessness, are reflected through several housing relationships that add to its nature as a product and process. These interpretations are echoed by Peter King, who views housing as a physical structure, an economic asset and a personal experience, holding important functions such as protection, security, and storage. King alludes that while the physical structure of a house is important, there is a threat of neglecting the social importance of housing by focusing too much on its economic function. This aligns with Marxist perceptions of an exchange of use-values, where the house's market value is more important than its everyday function (King, 2004, p. 61).

The physical and economic functions of a house are interlinked. Housing as a physical structure, or product, encompasses the human factor, that is, those who are housed, and reflects on their sense of security determined by the length of stay, as well as the legislative alignment to international standards inclusive of human rights and identity (Ruonavaara, 2018, p. 173). The security of tenure and having an address are also essential to enhanced housing security. This links to the social perspective of having a haven and the economic context of owning property that can generate income. As highlighted in Figure 1, housing is important as both an individual and public asset.



**Figure 2.4: Housing as a Social and Economic Asset**

(CAHF, 2019)

It, therefore, becomes imperative to consider the multi-faceted nature of housing when defining it, as highlighted by the Centre for Affordable Housing Finance (CAHF) in Figure 1. Housing can thus be defined as a commodity, a tangible, marketable product, and an economic entity (Booth, 1978, p. 21; Satterthwaite, 2020, p. 3). Moreover, different stakeholders view housing as a basic service or need to establish accommodation and shelter people (Qu & Hasselaar, 2013, p. 414). Housing can also be a measure of economic performance, either from an individual or national perspective (Glossop, 2008, p. 3). As an individual asset, housing is an economic asset or capital; where economic activities can be conducted (Marais, 2016), and as collateral for loans (De Soto, 2000, p. 37; De Soto, 2001, p. 29). Also, the level, size, type, location and physical state of one's house position their economic status in the community, assures tenure security and instils a sense of belonging.

Housing as a public asset contributes towards sustainable human settlements and national economic growth. From a national perspective, the level of access to and the quality of housing within neighbourhoods is an indication of successful policy implementation for sustainable human settlements and thriving economies (Marais & Cloete, 2017, p. 26; Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 19). Taking everything into account, housing is not important by itself. The dweller, their belongings, and where housing is located are also important (King, 2004, p. 60). It is, therefore, essential to consider all facets of housing in providing shelter for the urban poor.

### 2.3 Linking the Right to the City to the Process of Housing the Urban Poor

The right to adequate housing forms an integral part of the right to the city provisions while simultaneously underlining the function of a house beyond bricks and mortar. Much effort has therefore been effected to realise these rights, with international decrees and national legislations and policies accentuating the right to the city and housing as part of the guiding principles for urban development. These are reflected, for example, in the New Urban Agenda, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and Section 26 of the South African Constitution of 1996 (Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 494; (The Government of South Africa, 1996; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). Consequently, poor urban dwellers have progressively awakened to their liberty and responsibility to collectively participate not only in the realisation of their right to housing but also in transforming themselves and the urban milieu for the benefit of their livelihoods (Watson, 2009, p. 158). This then affords a contextual linkage between the right to the city and the right to housing.

Many scholars have linked urban dilemmas, or wicked problems, with Lefebvre's right to the city to direct the powers of city inhabitants and to raise awareness (Budds, et al., 2005; Görgens & van Donk, 2012, p. 90; Harvey, 2003, p. 939). Therefore, the right to the city is an important privilege for urban dwellers, which, viewed from the legal and social justice perspective, is rightly tied to the right to adequate housing. This is because housing can be regarded as an entry point into the city. Furthermore, to realise its complex attributes and comprehend its linkage to overall neighbourhood economic performance, housing must be viewed as an essential right, reinforced by an extensive regulatory framework at national, provincial, and local levels to elevate the right to the city.

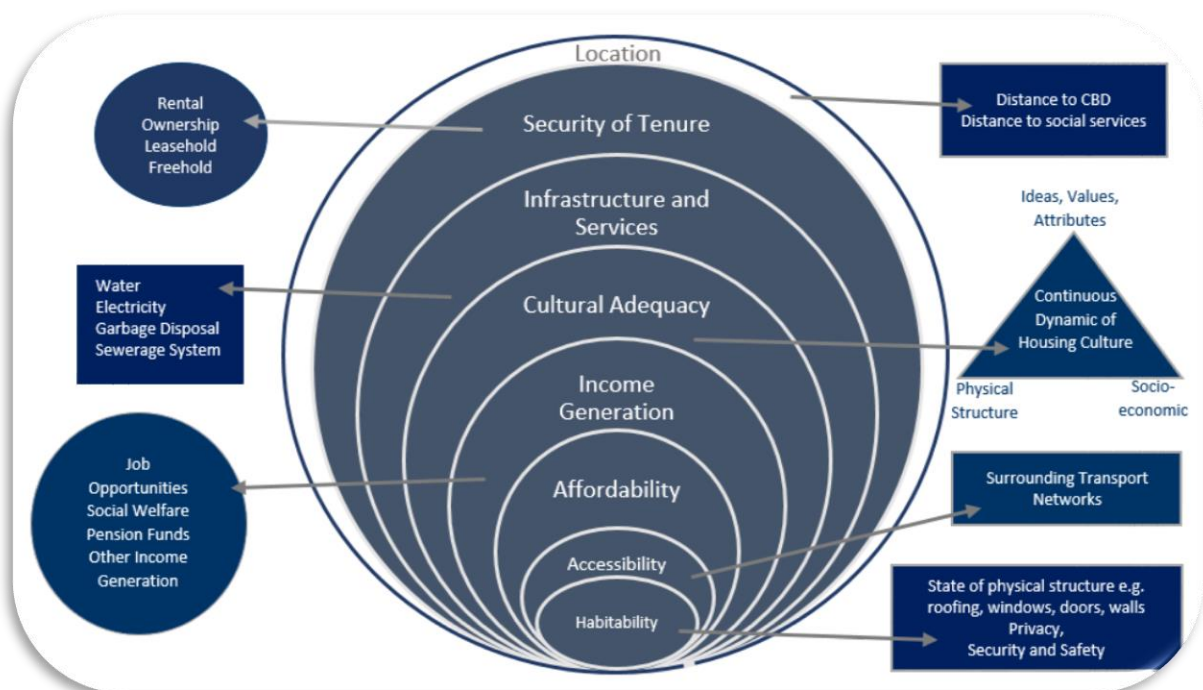
Thus, the right to the city is best approached as a collective effort rather than an individual claim. Consequently, housing should be considered as an 'infrastructure of care', an interactive process related to the collective nature of the right to the city in that it encompasses "reaching out to something other than the self", thereby acting to answer for "the concerns and needs of the other" (Power & Mee, 2020, p. 490). For this reason, communities must be empowered to know their rights, responsibilities and opportunities available to them as city dwellers (Görgens & van Donk, 2012, p. 10). Taking the instance of public interventions to housing provision and specifically to regeneration (for example, emergency housing subsidy), the emerging question is whether Bochabela residents are aware of available state opportunities towards housing rehabilitation, whether they qualify as recipients, and what has restricted them from actively benefitting from such opportunities.

### 2.3.1 Defining the Right to Adequate Housing

Many researchers concur that housing is a complex concept that represents more than just a shelter (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 51; Tissington, 2011, p. 25; Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 503; Rapelang, et al., 2018, p. 697), and so some have attempted to develop a comprehensive, homogeneous housing definition (Henilane, 2016, p. 168). Theoretical views of housing allude to the theory of, for and about housing, with contradictory inferences that housing can either be viewed from independent theoretical provisions or borrow from interdisciplinary theoretical postulations (Ruonavaara, 2018, p. 180). Another view is on dwellers' housing perceptions (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013, p. 22), lived and gendered experiences, practices as well as interactions with their houses (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p. 91; Ruonavaara, 2018, p. 180).

Additionally, health implications of inadequate housing structures (Shortt & Hammett, D., 2013), indoor temperature variations (Naicker, Teare, Balakrishna, Wright, & Mathee, 2017, p. 16) and indoor

mould (Curtis, Lieberman, Stark, Rea, & Vetter, 2004) have likewise gained much research interest, with issues of low-income housing quality (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013) and durability (Sandeford, 2015, p. 1095), also being the cause of empirical inquiry. Moreover, housing markets, informality and the impact of housing on ‘people, place and economy’ are within the scope of the housing discourse (Turok, 2016, p. 17), especially in recent times. This clearly indicates that housing is multi-faceted and complicated and does not exist in isolation, which then necessitates a view of housing across a broad perspective of its function, thus emphasising its adequacy as the basis for its overall performance. This complexity of housing is displayed in Figure 2.2.



**Figure 2.5: An Overview of Housing Adequacy**

Source: (Burgayne, 2008; Burgayne, 2015, p. 5; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015, p. 7)

Much interest has been placed on articulating the adequacy of housing, and many have posited that it has implications for the physical and mental well-being of residents (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013, p. 19). Different countries have different classifications of housing adequacy. However, universal criteria can be cited from Article 25 of the UN Human Rights Declaration and Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (see Figure 2.5), which cite service delivery, affordability, privacy and habitability, accessibility, location, culture and tenure (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013, p. 19; Burgayne, 2015, p. 5; Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 30; Tissington, 2011, p. 26; Tonkin, 2008, pp. 34, 35; Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 497; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). The Urban Agenda also

makes provisions for housing adequacy and affordability (UN-Habitat, 2016). These criteria for housing adequacy are thus adopted for this study.

### *Accessibility*

Every citizen is entitled to housing, so it should be made available to everyone regardless of social, economic, political or cultural status. Housing adequacy in terms of accessibility is twofold. First, it speaks to enabling citizens, especially the poor, to have housing in the physical form. This means that housing provisioning should cater for the differing social needs of dwellers and prioritise the elderly, underprivileged, marginalised and physically disabled (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4; and UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). Secondly, it relates to enabling residents, once they own or rent housing, to be able to move between their homes and different services and amenities. It is, therefore, important to ensure transport linkages and walkways between housing and different social services (Satterthwaite, 2020, p. 10). Thus, housing adequacy has to consider both the economic and physical availability of housing, considering issues of the economic status of communities and national housing markets (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 29).

Access to housing has therefore been declared a constitutional right by many countries worldwide (Bah et al., 2018, p. 1). The Constitution of Mexico, 1917, amended in 1983, stipulates in Article 4 every family's liberty to dignified and appropriate housing as facilitated by the law, while the revised 1976 Constitution of Portugal cites the housing right in Article 65 (1), with consideration to size, sanitation, well-being and privacy. Furthermore, Article 40(1) of the Constitution of the Russian Federation also states that every citizen is legally justified to a home (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 15). Other policy frameworks demonstrate the commitment of states toward upholding this right through advocating for, defending and realising the housing rights of poor urban dwellers (Durgad, et al., n.d.). These include the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (van Wyk, 2012, p. 75), the Constitution (section 28) and the National Housing Policy of Zimbabwe (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2019, p. 66), and the National Urban Housing and Habitat Policy 2007 of India (Kumar, 2014, p. 47). This rights-based approach is also noticeable in Lyon, France; Eugene, USA; Stonnington, Australia and Mexico City, all of which have inclusive city policies meant to address urban inequalities by improving housing accessibility (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 21). International treaties have also highlighted the different housing needs of various community groups, such as women, children and physically disabled people (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 16; Durojaye & Mirugi-Mukundi, 2020, p. 5).

While the regulatory framework shows extensive intention by several governments to improve housing accessibility, many marginalised people worldwide still struggle to access housing rights, especially women, the elderly and migrants (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 12). Housing accessibility depends on the government's capacity and political will to implement policies. In countries like Indonesia, for example, local governments look up to the central government for housing provision, while the central government generally lacks resources to efficiently supply housing (Masron, 2020, p. 12). This then results in a general hindrance to housing access, as locals have better access to local rather than central government. In addition, local governments need institutional and financial capacity building to be the drivers of housing provision.

Every citizen is entitled to housing, so it should be made available to everyone regardless of social, economic, political or cultural status. Thus, housing adequacy has to consider both the economic and physical availability of housing, considering issues of the economic standing of communities and national housing markets (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 29). Furthermore, housing demand should also match supply, though this is another setback, especially for poor urban dwellers worldwide. This calls for compact urban development, as it improves accessibility for most low-income earners (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 10). However, Sub-Saharan urban areas are characterised by high urban overcrowding (73%) due to unequal access to housing, which is substantially higher than in North Africa, at only 10%. In Addis Ababa, Kampala, Luanda, Lagos and Ibadan, over 40% of urban dwellers stayed in overcrowded residences in 2011 (UN-Habitat, 2011, p. 21). Backyard shacks perform part of this function in South Africa, where those who do not qualify for a house only need short-term lodging or cannot afford the transport from the distant townships that inhabit them (Scheba and Turok, 2020, p. 112). This mirrors high levels of homelessness, too, because overcrowding occurs when close contacts house those without homes.

### *Affordability*

The cost of housing and its continued upkeep should not compromise the procurement of other liberties and daily needs of dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). This way, one should first be able to procure a house and, after that, maintain it while also sustaining their livelihood. Regardless of the tenure type, housing costs should not hinder dwellers' well-being, so if house-related costs exceed 30% of the household income, they are too high (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 83). Housing affordability is highly affected by household income, and those with lower incomes tend to dwell in inadequate housing because they cannot afford better options (Tonkin, 2008, p. 75). Governments should establish policies that provide affordable housing for those with low incomes.

This could be in the form of housing subsidies, market and rent controls and eviction protection (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 28).

In African countries, the scarcity and poor management of urban land, use of imported building materials, together with high construction costs and preference for detached dwellings have resulted in expensive housing and limited housing options for the poor (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 80; UN-Habitat, 2011, p. 70). Furthermore, weak housing finance systems also make housing unaffordable to many urban dwellers here (UN-Habitat, 2011, p. 70), with identified risks in the housing market including higher possibility of unpaid housing loans, liquidity and cash flow risks and lack of relevant information, political risk and absolute institutional failure (Bah et al., 2018, p. 13).

Housing affordability is also closely linked to poverty (Tonkin, 2008, p. 74). With urban housing prices have risen well above construction expenses and residents' income levels, the congestion, dilapidation and informality in poor urban neighbourhoods reflect this linkage (Wetzstein, 2019). Correspondingly, the supply of new houses incessantly fails to meet that of demand, especially within the scope of subsidised housing, which ultimately leads to zoning and infrastructure challenges as residents opt for informal solutions (Yavuz, 2016, p. 156). Also, some zoning laws instigate social exclusion and environmental degradation. For example, in areas where zoning protocols favour single dwellings over densified high-rises, the subsequent shortage of well-located land for housing development results in increased transport costs as housing is far away from economic opportunities. This then deters the affordability of adequate housing for poorer families (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 26).

Documentation of housing affordability is limited in Africa, as there is a lack of systematic profiling (UN-Habitat, 2011, p. 24). However, the rapid growth of slums or informal settlements tells of the high prevalence of urban dwellers who cannot afford adequate housing. Also, slum prevalence is highest in Sub-Saharan Africa, specifically in Angola, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Sudan and Mali (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 80). Additionally, high levels of housing backlogs indicate that most governments fail to provide affordable housing to citizens. Also, though housing need varies extensively in the region, there is an overall unprecedented housing backlog, estimated at 51 million units in 2018, with Nigeria in the lead with a 20 million shortfall. Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania and Egypt were recorded to have deficits of three million, while Mozambique, Kenya and Madagascar were estimated at two million during the same period (Bah et al., 2018, P. 5).

## *Location*

Accessing and affording housing is not enough to cater for its adequacy. It should also improve the quality of life by being well-located (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 29). Housing should be situated close to social and economic opportunities, specifically jobs, nodes and corridors and public transport (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15; Satterwhwaite, 2020, p. 4). It should also be close to education and health amenities and parks. Any danger or pollution in residential areas renders housing inadequate as it poses health threats to dwellers (Tonkin, 2008, p. 51). Proximity to services and amenities curtails costs and time consumption, increasing convenience for dwellers (Tonkin, 2008, p. 79) and attracting investors (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 35), thus enhancing the economy of neighbourhoods. This explains why properties near malls tend to be more expensive than those on the city edges or away from services because they lack that connection to these socio-economic amenities. For example, a house in Westdene, a suburb in Bloemfontein, South Africa, costs about ZAR1 million, much more than one located in Bochabela Township (averaging ZAR350, 000), as reflected on the Private Property website<sup>3</sup>. Also, any danger or pollution existing in residential areas renders housing inadequate as it poses health threats to dwellers (Tonkin, 2008, p. 51).

Housing embodies several overlapping rights (Marcuse, 2009, p. 193), so decision-makers should realise that housing relates not only to being housed but also to economic drivers and livelihoods within neighbourhoods (Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015, p. 6). The question of housing location then becomes important due to its impact on residents' quality of life. Nevertheless, in many urban areas globally, spatial disparities, social exclusion and unpopular housing topography exist, which have hindered the right to the city through unequal access to housing rights. This has resulted in numerous urban dwellers residing in inadequate housing as most cannot simultaneously access all components of adequacy in one location (Chirisa, 2018, p. 308; Ling, 2020, p. 15; Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 8; UN-Habitat, 2012, p. 9).

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<sup>3</sup><https://www.property24.com/property-values/30570-mathambo-street/bochabela/bloemfontein/free-state/555yzvjwh357cew7qdgurqetpz3n6ix2hf24vrziucob2fqcfhutbykthbspkw4uoi4u4n3da3avh7fkvcih2sbpra6z6hyhwiacz6>

### *Habitability*

Habitability refers to secure housing with sufficient space that permits its user to comfortably carry out daily activities (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). Moreover, the housing structure should be durable and protect residents from structural hazards and natural elements, thereby ensuring their health and well-being, as well as reducing the impact on resources (Reber, et al., 2013; Sanderford, 2015, p. 1098; UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4). A habitable house is thus characterised by solid walls, firm roofing, intact windows, unbroken doors and a pristine environment (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013, p. 21).

Even with housing recognised as an essential right, the congestion and dilapidation in many urban residential areas is, however, an indication that the criterion of habitability is not being met. With high cost of housing in areas of thriving economic activity, poorer citizens have been forced to stay in squalid conditions in townships and on the fringes of economic hubs because they cannot afford adequate housing closer to economic opportunities (Budds, et al., 2005; Durgad, et al., n.d.). Additionally, more has to be done in cities to ensure the safety of housing, given that deaths related to urban disasters quadrupled between 1975 and 2005 (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 20), and continue to rise, given unprecedented numbers of people living in informal urban settlements, thus obstructing the right to life. Poor housing structures have adverse impacts on health (Naicker, et al., 2017; Roux, 2000). Diseases that are influenced by the home environment including cracked walls, leaking roofing, broken doors and windows include respiratory, bone, water borne and diarrheal disease due to mold and dampness. Mental health is also affected by inhabitation of poor housing, while communicable diseases easily spread quickly if such home environment (Rapelang, Nel and Stewart, 2018, p. 698; Shortt & Hammett, 2013, p. 616). So, it is considerably crucial to ensure structure longevity through durable and adaptable designs during housing development, as this will reduce resource impact and improve residents' well-being (Reber, et al., 2013; Sanderford, 2015, p. 1098).

### *Infrastructure and Services*

In addition to the shelter that is housing, quality of life should be improved by the provision of an efficient supply and regular maintenance of basic services and infrastructure (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 29; UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). These include water supply, sanitation, stormwater drainage, energy, emergency services and waste management facilities (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013, p. 19). Generally, governments or their parastatals are responsible for supply and maintenance of infrastructure and services (Tonkin, 2008, p. 74). They must guarantee that once they own or lease housing, residents should be able to move between their homes and different services

and amenities. Therefore, it is important to ensure transport linkages and walkways between housing and social services (Satterthwaite, 2020, p. 10).

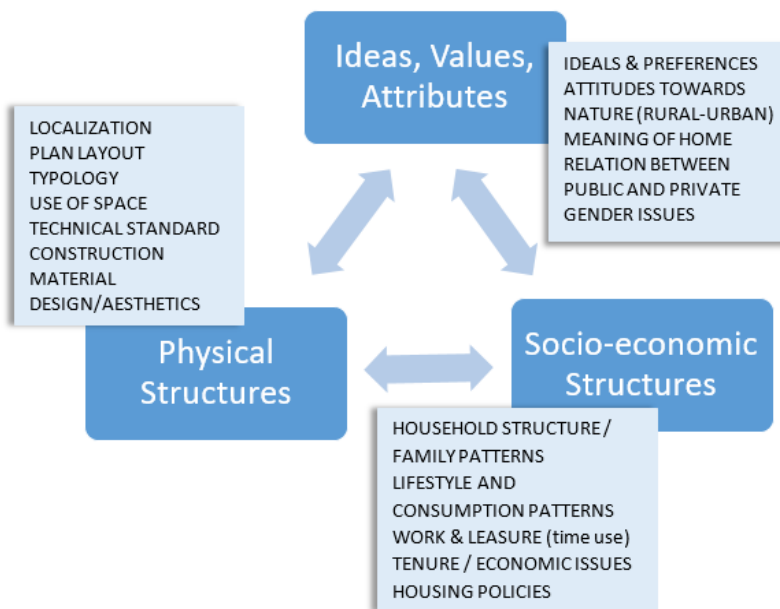
These services and infrastructure should consider residents' ethos, location and socio-economic settings, thereby considering issues of social justice and sustainable development. This is because infrastructure and services contribute to the livelihoods and social networking of locals and influence the effective functioning of human settlements. Housing without necessary infrastructure has social, environmental, health and economic implications (Govender, Barnes & Pieper, 2010; Zweig, 2015). Countries with inadequacy in this regard, have higher child mortality rates due to a lack of health services and substandard housing coupled with poor sanitation, which leads to airborne and waterborne diseases (Bah et al., 2018, p. 12). Thus, infrastructure and services together with other components of housing adequacy are central to upholding health and livelihoods of residents together with initiating social integration within communities.

In South Africa, infrastructure and free basic services, supplied by the government in low-income areas, are areas of extensive debate (Turok, Visagie & Scheba, 2021, p. 78). Many low-income neighbourhoods are faced with poor service delivery and deteriorating infrastructure. Roads are damaged and in need of maintenance, and the safety of residents is at risk due to lack of sufficient street lighting (Mchunu & Nkambule, 2019, p. 5). A community survey revealed prevalent dissatisfaction with the quality and reliability of water supply throughout the country (StatsSA, 2016, p. 56 - 57). Dissatisfaction with service provision has resulted in increasing violent service delivery protests in the country. While it is necessary for government to improve their infrastructure and service provisioning, it is faced with difficulty of which areas to develop first as there is a nationwide backlog. This means that South Africa will be faced with inadequate infrastructure and services supply unless urgent, innovative solutions (Rapelang et. al., 2028, p. 699, 710).

### *Cultural Adequacy*

Housing is adequate if it upholds the residents' way of life, beliefs, traditions and ethnic identities (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). Accordingly, housing should be constructed considering appropriate structures and materials that satisfy cultural expression (Tonkin, 2008, p. 165), irrespective of modernisation in housing development. An understanding of three core elements of housing culture is delineated in Figure 2.6.

Housing should also reflect the tenants' identities, which then necessitates a variety of housing typologies to permit suitable choices. This way, a house is culturally adequate if it permits proper childcare, social interaction, intimacy, recreation, self-expression and societal positioning (Tonkin, 2008, p. 133). In consideration to Figure 2.6, a house, as indicated by King, (2004, p. 60), is a unique experience for each dweller, wherein each carries out their daily activities as determined by values, attributes and preferences. A house should therefore allow dwellers to comfortably live in a manner acceptable and suitable to their lifestyle and attentive to the significance of the dwellers and their belongings. That is, the use value of the house should be upheld. For example, Covid 19 has shown that many houses are inadequate for students to study due to being too small or noisy.



**Figure 2.6: Housing Culture**

Source: (Tonkin, 2008; King, 2004)

While there are, for the most part, no restrictions on dwellers practising their cultural inclinations in their houses, the common standards of the Marxist world, where the perception of housing as a commodity and an asset of status outweighs that of use value, render houses disposable and disregarded (King, 2004, p. 61). In addition, poor urban dwellers rarely have reasonable internal and external privacy and adequate social spaces (Rapelang et. al., 2018, p. 698). This is directly related to the spatial arrangements of their houses, such as the number of rooms and layout plus interaction with surroundings (Massey, 2015). As articulated by Tonkin, housing privacy has two distinctions:

exclusion of the family from the external world and reciprocal isolation of family members to separate incompatible activities (Tonkin, 2008, p. 133). Proper consideration of this creates harmony between tenants and their housing and should therefore be part of housing development concerns.

### *Security of Tenure*

Lastly, housing is adequate if it legitimately protects tenants from involuntary eviction and persecution (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15), so national governments should ensure that tenants have the security of tenure with the backing of appropriate legislation (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4). This ensures a sense of security, dignity and physical investment and also avails a safety net, especially in times of income need for residents (Tonkin, 2008, p. 112). It also assists governments in accomplishing just and affordable housing provisions (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 36). Residents should therefore have relevant documentation as proof of secure tenure irrespective of tenure type.

Tenure security can exist in various forms: "formal ownership, leasehold, formal and informal rental arrangements, community land trusts, customary access or use of land, collective adverse possession, owner occupation, informal settlements, and emergency housing." (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 6). Some have argued that social rental housing improves affordability and quality (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 39), as was the aim of Morocco's 2004 *Villes sans Bidonvilles* (Cities without Slums) principally implemented to avail affordable housing options to poor urban dwellers (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 85). Rental housing is the most common form of subsidised housing in Europe, and if the tenure is secure enough, it can meet the right to housing. Continued and improved public housing programmes should therefore be implemented to improve this adequacy criterion.

Residents require relevant documentation as proof of secure tenure, irrespective of tenure type. The prerequisite to the mediation of tenure security is usually a form of citizen identification, such as a national identity card (ID), which then qualifies for formal provision of tenure with appropriate documentation such as a lease. In Indonesia, the national ID, locally known as *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP), facilitates housing access, yet one needs an address to have a KTP (Masron, 2020, p. 12). This is a complication that happens in many other countries. In order to secure tenure, one needs an ID, and in order to have an ID, one requires secure tenure. Many poor citizens end up failing to secure housing because of this (Molelekoa, Mphambukeli & Nel, 2017).

Acquiring tenure security tends to be a lengthy, daunting and expensive process, which many urban poor fail to attain due to a lack of information and insufficient funds. In Liberia, one must follow at

least 10 procedures to attain security of tenure, while in Nigeria, it is 12 procedures. The tenure cost accounts for 19 % and 20% of the property value in Cameroon and DRC concurrently. Moreover, the number of days it takes to finalise the procedure can take as long as 312 days, as is the case in Haiti (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 8). The table below indicates the general process in different parts of the world, which indicates how discouraging the process can be.

**Table 2.1: Process of Tenure Acquisition in Sub-Sahara and Asia**

| REGION              | NO. OF PROCEDURES | LENGTH OF PROCEDURE IN DAYS | % COST TO PROPERTY VALUE |
|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sub-Sahara          | 6                 | 57                          | 9%                       |
| East-Asia & Pacific | 5                 | 78                          | 5%                       |

Source: (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 8).

Typically, lower-income households, less educated and young families tend to rent housing while higher-income households with higher education purchase and own their houses (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 15). The poor are, therefore, most insecure as they face the risk of eviction by landlords when they cannot afford to pay for housing costs (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 80). In turn, most urban poor then opt for informal housing, usually on what is considered prime land, which still exposes them to the risk of eviction by government and private developers (Bah et al. 2018, p. 4). There has to be supporting legislation to warrant the security of tenure, yet countries like Indonesia still lack laws to support the urban poor from evictions, even though urban ‘Kampungs’ (informal settlements) has been a concern from as early as 1969 when the World Bank granted support for their improvement. Urban ‘Kapungs’ in Jakarta provide a home to 70-80% of the city’s population, yet the government still evicts dwellers in the name of urban development (Masron, 2020, p. 12), which is a norm in many countries worldwide. In Zimbabwe, 700 000 informal houses were demolished in 2005 by Operation ‘Murambatsvina’ (Restore Order), resulting in the destitution of many urban dwellers (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 83; Tibaijuka, A. 2005). This shows that the security of tenure is still a myth for many urban poor (Ocheje, 2007).

In many countries, the issue of tenure is complicated given the colonial background, and some urban dwellers have no proof of land ownership and thus face evictions even though they have occupied that land for generations. Again, in Indonesia, some settlements considered informal or illegal were granted to the settlers by previous governments, but the settlers have no proof of this, and their settlements are therefore considered illegal (Masron, 2020, p. 15). Moreover, marginalised groups such as females, the elderly and migrants face challenges in accessing housing rights (Monroy, et al.,

2020, p. 8). There is gender bias when securing tenure, especially in developing countries, pertaining to women's limited access to credit financial services and other necessary resources.

**Table 2.2: Men versus Women Land Ownership**

| COUNTRY    | % SHARE OF WOMEN OWNING LAND | % SHARE OF MEN OWNING LAND |
|------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Niger      | 9                            | 62                         |
| Tanzania   | 16                           | 48                         |
| Ethiopia   | 15                           | 45                         |
| Peru       | 13                           |                            |
| Honduras   | 14                           |                            |
| Bangladesh | 23                           |                            |

Source: (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 5)

A study of ten African countries by the UN-Habitat reported an average of 12% of women-owned land, while for men, the figure more than doubled to 31%. This can also be attributed to past systems and cultural norms that restricted women from owning land and property. For example, Lesotho's customary law that restricted women from having similar land rights as men were only repealed in 2006 (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 25). Table 2.2 compares the land ownership of women versus men in selected countries. The data indicate that security of tenure is still extremely low for women in developing countries, averaging 15%. Even in Bangladesh, where the share of women individually owning land is comparatively high, it is still relatively low considering that only 23 out of 100 women hold individual security of tenure, yet land increases the chances of home ownership.

In a utopian world, every citizen dwells in a house with steady walls, firm roofing, functional doors and windows and enough space to efficiently carry out daily chores. Additionally, every citizen is housed near economic opportunities and social services, while the environment is well cared for, and tenants' welfare is catered for. Real-life experiences are far from this ideal, however. Since industrialisation, the urban poor has been facing massive housing problems that seem to intensify with time, and their right to housing, and thus, to the city, is constantly undermined.

## 2.4 Perspectives on the Right to the City

Millions of people worldwide move to cities in anticipation of better lives (James, 2015, p. 3), envisioning adequate housing, ample job opportunities, economic freedom, efficient services and proficient means of mobility around the city (Pinto & Sablik, 2016, pp. 6-7; Seitz, 2020, p. 4). Such

aspirations are built on a common stance that urban areas are places of excessive social and economic resources, thus places of great opportunity and potential for prosperity (Cartwright, et al., 2018, p. 9; Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 498). This has resulted in unprecedented and ongoing urbanisation with the global rate likely to be 68% by 2050 (Yavuz, 2016, p. 156; Watson, 2009, p. 160; UN, 2018).

However, most urban dwellers have no control over their environment, meaning that most of the world's population faces social, economic, political, cultural and spatial injustices (James, 2015, p. 6; United Nations, 2013, p. 64). Consequent to capitalist ideologies meant to maximise profit, considerable disparity exists within the urban milieu, and many urban dwellers must tackle daily livelihood challenges considering failed aspirations. Many cities are thus typified by unequal resource allocation, driven by disparate urban forms, which has led to the marginalisation of vulnerable people, spatial inequity, social division, poverty and environmental destruction (Watson, 2009, p. 163). Urban inequality is not a new phenomenon, though, and many efforts to spur equitable and just urban development have been pursued through time.

Among noteworthy efforts is the right to the city concept, coined by Henri Lefebvre in 1968. Lefebvre was prompted by unjust post-war urbanism and commodification of cities due to capitalist ideologies, wherein in the midst of surplus, only a few elites inequitably controlled and distributed urban resources to make a profit (Harvey, 2008, p. 23). Jane Jacobs resonated with this viewpoint by refuting the brutal modernism that deprived many urban dwellers access to this abundance. The right to the city emerged during a time like current urban realities, where class segregation and politically induced marginalisation led to the deprivation of quality urban life for the vulnerable and poor, those without political power and economic muscle (Jacobs, 1961, p. 145, 274).

During this time, the right to housing was treated in isolation from the overall right of urban dwellers, and by prioritising it as the only urgent need, authority conveniently concealed the need for the right to the city (Lefebvre, 1967:146). This way, housing construction was used to "stabilise the economy" by absorbing the capital surplus created by capitalism (Harvey, 2008, p. 29), yet at the same time, it further instigated the hindrance of other rights such as social services and amenities for many urban dwellers. Moreover, even nature was commodified through limited access to public spaces such as parks. Lefebvre aimed to then criticise spiralling unequal benefit to urban resources, marked by the exclusion of urban dwellers on the lower rail of the socio-economic ladder from decisions over city progression. The right to the city was, therefore (and remains) a movement towards a more inclusive

and collaborative process of urban development and transformation (Görgens & van Donk, 2012, p. 2; Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 492).

Lefebvre's proposition is principled on progressive integration and meaningful participation in decision-making processes pertaining to the city (Görgens & van Donk, 2012, p. 4), not only at the individual level nor over a short period, but rather a lasting collective effort, as uttered in his book, *Writings on Cities*; "*The right to the city cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed right to urban life*" (Lefebvre, 1967, p. 158). Specifically, to who stands to gain from this right, protagonists including Lefebvre, Harvey, Marcuse and Jacobs assert that the right to the city is meant for all urban dwellers, especially those directly oppressed and segregated (Marcuse, 2012), the excluded working class (Lefebvre, 1967, p.146) and the marginalised, powerless to transform the city (Harvey, 2008, p. 40). Rapid urbanisation is a critical factor of deterred right to the city as it alleviates capitalist surplus and inspires what Harvey terms 'creative destruction'<sup>4</sup>, to the detriment of minority groups. This has resulted in revolutionary movements in many countries, where urban minorities fight for their right to democracy through improved access to urban resources, alleviation of unequal and unjust urban governance and the call for social justice and greater control of the city (Harvey, 2008, p. 37). At the international level, UN Habitat III was highly influenced by the right to the city ideology in creating the New Urban Agenda in 2016, which emphasises the creation of 'cities for all' (Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 494). Locally, after massive opposition against apartheid injustices such as restrictions of natives from entering city centres or owning urban housing (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20; Swanepoel & Smallwood, 2019, p. 2), the 1996 Constitution of South Africa by integrating the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2) (The Government of South Africa, 1996), all reflect the right to the city provisions.

Furthermore, because the right to the city is flexible and fits into the scope of various urban challenges (Görgens & van Donk, 2012, p. 5), many urban communities have mirrored an understanding of the power in numbers and the importance of acting together to gain collective rights, as intimated by Lefebvre. For instance, in South Africa, people dwelling in shacks established social movements such as *Abahlali base Mjondolo*, the *Landless People's Movement*, and the *Homeless People's Federation*

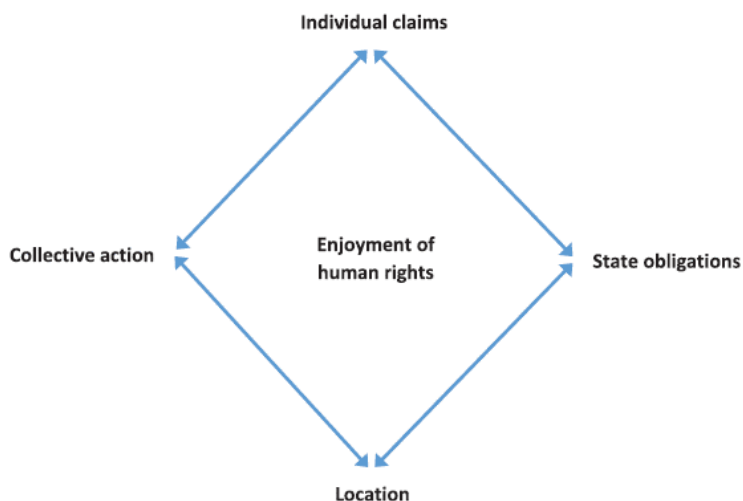
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<sup>4</sup> Creative destruction is a process of urban transformation, for instance urban renewal programmes in the form of slum clearance, wherein the vulnerable are deprived of their right to the city, often resulting in revolutionary action that demands justice (Harvey, 2008, p. 37).

(Harrison, 2003, p. 21) and (Huchzermeyer, 2011, p. 13). Other similar movements elsewhere include the *Right to the City Alliance* in the United States, *Recht auf Stadt* in Germany, '*Sem Teto*' in Brazil and *Ir Lekulanu* (a city for all) in Tel Aviv. While these movements seem to fight for people's rights over general social and economic resources in cities, for instance, services, amenities, jobs and security, their greatest and most desired right is adequate housing.

Human rights are constantly at the forefront of public platforms in the quest to improve the quality of urban life worldwide, and they are widely linked to the right to the city (Huchzermeyer, 2011, p. 250). For the most part, there is priority over civilian and political rights more than on socio-economic rights (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 20), and though proponents like (Howard-Hassman, 2013, p. 183) urge for property rights as means of upholding other economic rights, private property and profit rights persistently override other land use rights (Ling, 2020, p. 4), which means that minorities having little or no power in consumerist systems are often left out of these liberties, especially that of adequate housing. This way, the statement by Karl Max that between equal rights, power decides (Harvey, 2003, p. 939) then rings true. Viewing property rights as the desired urban environment is linked to personal ideologies and preferences, the liberty granted individuals to exercise their desired change, and their ability to collectively provoke that change, determines the level of change. Thus, the right to the city enhances individual rights by prioritising the liberty to collectively transform individual realities by first transforming the city (Harvey, 2008, p. 23).

Turok and Scheba echo Harvey's sentiments by giving a view of the right to the city considering the human rights context. As demonstrated in Figure 2.7, they assert that every urban dweller has legitimate (state obligation) liberties, such as the right to housing (individual claims) by virtue of living in cities (location) and by acting in unison (collective action), such liberties can be adequately achieved, adhered to and enjoyed by all (Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 497). This reasoning then reflects that while human rights are initially based on individual needs, they ultimately and rightly serve a greater purpose for the common good. The power of the right to the city is thus its advocacy for collective action towards the shared enjoyment of urban liberties.



**Figure 2.7: The Four Dimensions of Human Rights Enjoyment**

Source: (Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 498)

Though the right to the city concept has been active for over 50 years, cities are still divided. On the one hand, they have affluent localities that lack nothing in terms of services, amenities and socio-economic opportunities. On the other hand, poor neighbourhoods face inadequate services, socio-economic disparities and informality, overcrowding and inadequate housing (Jürgens & Donaldson, 2012). These two worlds live separately. Each to its own. Moreover, the neo-liberal tenets make it difficult to view the city as a collective space amidst differing and diverse individual components. At the same time, on the other hand, class divisions always come into play during the process of ‘creative destruction’ meant to better the city (Harvey, 2008, p. 33) This urban divide has persisted throughout history, citing the Haussmann renovation of Paris, Robert Moses’ Bronx restructuring (Harvey, 2008, p. 28; Ploschnitzki, n.d.), and South Africa’s forced removals during apartheid (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65).

Though the right to the city has been criticised for diverting from the radical urban revolution course to emphasising human rights advocacy (Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 495), it has inspired the founding of civil societies and organisations allied to the UN, together with national recognition such as the 2001 Brazil City Statute, the World Charter for the Right to the City, Mexico’s Charter for the Right to the City and the United Cities and Local Government’s Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City” (Görgens & van Donk, 2012; Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 494). Specifically, in South Africa, integration can be seen as an effort towards realising the right to the city because it advocates public participation in urban decision-making processes (Görgens & van Donk, 2012, p. 4). Ultimately, a

significant understanding and further collective effort are still required to achieve a comprehensive and sustainable right to the city for all.

## 2.5 Conceptualising Housing in the Context of Local Economic Development

The complexity of housing lies in its multidisciplinary nature, how as a basic human need, it correlates to the economic development of neighbourhoods and acts as a gauge for the standard of living (Henilane, 2016, p. 168). As articulated by Glossop, (2008, p. 6), *“The capacity to deliver housing of the right type, in the right place, and to an acceptable standard, is essential to the economic health of cities.”* And Cheshire et al., (2014) cited in Turok & Borel-Saladin, (2015, p. 6);

“[T]he interactions between housing and wider systems are social as well as physical and economic processes. Housing decisions are a way for households to sort themselves across space in relation to other social groups, buying into different bundles of amenities according to their income and wealth.”

These statements directly relate to the essence of this study, for its interest lies upon the economic decisions concerning houses in Bochabela, and social and economic factors that led to such decisions, for instance, choosing not to renovate houses, which then leads to the dilapidation of not only the single physical structure (house) but the neighbourhood in general. This section then investigates how local economic development is reflected in township housing opportunities, what the economic advantage and potential of housing in townships embody and how housing and LED can be linked to create better township livelihoods.

### 2.5.1 The Concept of Local Economic Development

The escalating drift towards endogenous approaches to development has enhanced the self-sufficiency of local governments and cultivated diverse policies meant to achieve place-based socio-economic development (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2012, p. 42; Shannon, 2018, p. 18). Such policies have instigated integrated development planning, prompting local governments to take leadership roles in social and economic development, albeit with limited resources. Local economic development (LED), integrated development and macroeconomic approach are within the scope of local governments' creativities. LED is meant to foster social and economic development in neighbourhoods through innovative, place-specific, and collaborative strategies (Meyer, 2014, p. 625) and (Oranje & Voges, 2014, p. 33), using infrastructure development, small-medium enterprise (SME) capacity building, investment promotion, place-based renewal and institutional strengthening (Glossop, 2008, p. 24; Kamara, 2017, p. 98).

In an environment where governments are viewed with a sense of scepticism and mistrust, LED is an effort towards collaborative governance, which enables multi-level stakeholders to deliberate on economic development issues and undergo joint capacity building (Rogerson and Nel, 2016). This way, collective decision-making is exercised over a specific locality by the local government, private sector and civil society to improve residents' quality of life using economic drivers, including job creation, increased income, capacity building, investment and business creation. Other known drivers are inventiveness, local efficiency, use of locally available resources and indigenous knowledge to stimulate economic activities and to bolster local competitiveness (Shannon, 2018, p. 2; Reddy & Wallis, 2012). Together with funding support and organisational and institutional capacity, these form part of the core and enabling pillars of the South African Framework for Local Economic Development of 2018 (SACN, 2019, p. 15).

This participatory and collaborative concept meant to guide spatial development through integrated action pertaining to governance and public service is driven by a tripartite liaison between the government, private sector and local communities. Meyer (2014, p. 626) calls this multi-sectoral cooperation a 'service delivery triangle', as displayed in Figure 2.8.



**Figure 2.8: LED Service Delivery Triangle**

Source: (Meyer, 2014, p. 626; Kamara, 2017, p. 98)

For LED to be successful, theoretical clarity is necessary so that local governments can identify the necessary capacity and human capital required for implementation. Considering the difficulty in

partnering and also the limited resources at the disposal of local governments (Shannon, 2018, p. 2), LED has to be implemented with adaptive capacity and good governance (Meyer, 2014, p. 630; Kamara, 2017, p. 98). LED encounters implementation challenges if involved stakeholders lack a distinct understanding and capacity of the concept and their individual responsibilities. In such instances, local governments fail to exercise an innovative process that generates income and, therefore, heavily relies on capital support from central governments (Mokoena, 2019, p. 71). The private and civic sectors also feel excluded and fail to implicitly engage with the process. It is, therefore, important to devise continuous capital investment at the local level in support of LED initiatives (Oranje & Voges, 2014, p. 34), ensuring that responsibilities are well articulated and understood. Though by no means exhaustive, possible responsibilities are highlighted in Table 2.3.

If local governments only drive the process without the meaningful participation of other stakeholders, the LED process tends to fail. Thus, the multi-sectoral relations must be sustained. Additionally, the LED process should be well marketed so that all stakeholders develop an understanding and shared vision for what needs to be achieved (Oranje & Voges, 2014, p. 34).

**Table 2.3 The Responsibilities Within the Service Delivery Triangle**

| <b>LOCAL GOVERNMENT</b>   | <b>PRIVATE SECTOR</b>   | <b>COMMUNITIES</b>   |
|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Establishes regulatory framework</li> <li>-Affords technical backing</li> <li>-Provides necessary resources</li> <li>-Creates management and governance guidelines</li> <li>-Provides new knowledge and innovation</li> <li>Undertakes monitoring and evaluation</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Participator and occasional initiator</li> <li>-Principal partner</li> <li>-Essential implementer</li> <li>-Promoter and facilitator</li> <li>-Raises awareness</li> <li>-Provide technical training</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Stimulate inclusion and involvement</li> <li>-Awareness raising</li> <li>-Information sharing</li> <li>-Lobby government and promote LED initiatives</li> <li>-Implement community economic development</li> </ul> |

(Rogerson, 1996, p. 98; UCLG Policy Paper 4, 2016, p. 10)

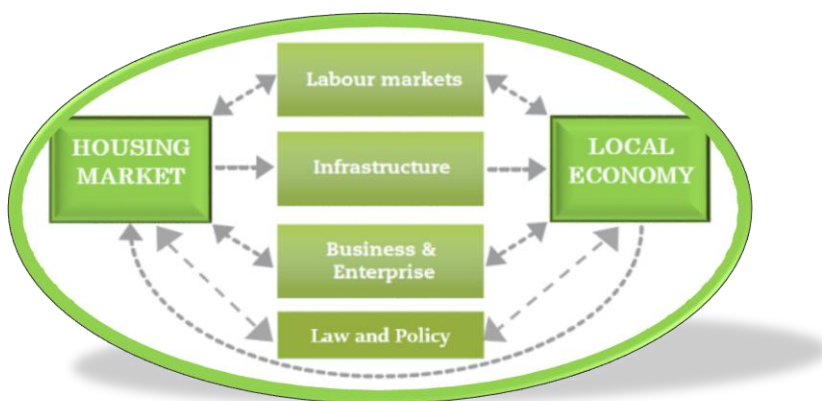
Though LED is principally directed by local governments, some communities have piloted their own community regeneration, encouraging meaningful participation and a sense of ownership for LED initiatives. Such community-driven LED originated in the United States (US) during the 1960s through the Community Economic Development (CED), wherein community members, business owners and activists took restoring their neighbourhoods. This approach has since extended to other countries, such as the United Kingdom (Shannon, 2018, p. 5).

## 2.5.2 What is the Role of Housing in Sustaining Local Economic Development?

“Residential land use occupies between 65 and 75 percent of the surface area of a city and can be a critical driver of a country’s economic growth, stability, resiliency and social development. When individuals see improvements in factors such as health and economic well-being as a result of improvements in housing, their neighbours also benefit. Individuals are more willing to make physical and emotional investments in their communities when they are living without fear of eviction” (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 10).

The UN statement above embodies the discussion in this section, which indicates the extensive manner in which housing is significant to the economic growth and sustainability of cities due to its nature as an economic asset (Henilane, 2016, p. 168; King, 2009, p. 60). Economically, housing is a regularised commodity, a profitable asset with construction, rental and ownership opportunities to generate capital, and can therefore boost economic functioning and place desirability (Arku, 2006, p. 386). However, housing development disjointed from the comprehensive economic perspective causes exclusion, congestion and spatially concerted poverty (Mokoena, 2019, p. 72).

According to Shannon, (2018, p. 18), LED is intrinsically linked to spatial considerations of an area, especially growth patterns and development potential based on housing, transport, water, sanitation and electricity infrastructure, amenities, environment and strategic growth zones. Relatedly, Glossop, (2008, p. 6) suggests that housing markets impact place economies based on their unique context relating to their labour markets, enterprises, infrastructure and business, as displayed in Figure 2.6. This lays the foundation of how this study views housing's impact on local economic development.



**Figure 2.9: Linking Housing to the Economy**

Source: (Glossop, 2008, p. 6)

### *Labour Markets*

In terms of labour markets, human capital determines a city's economic performance. It is the foundation of the knowledge economy, representing the innovative capacity necessary for sustained growth (Freshwater, et al., 2014, p. 6). Housing emerges here in that the level of its adequacy determines whether the city attracts or repels the necessary human capital for economic growth. Thus, cities with supreme demand and supply foster housing price hikes, dissuading human capital. This may also lead to the relocation of lower-income earners to urban peripheries where housing is cheaper, which successively increases their transport costs and time spent commuting, hence decreasing efficiency, work performance, quality of life and the economy (Hincks, 2012, pp. 89-90; Satterwhwaite, 2020, p. 3).

The limited availability of housing rentals and the constrained mobility of public housing tenants due to high market costs have caused inefficient labour markets in Britain. This means that housing may act as unintended 'imprisonment', especially for public housing occupants lacking economic freedom to relocate as required (Glossop, 2008, p. 7). In South Africa, there are guidelines and building standards for home businesses, so a house must be in a certain way for the owner to generate income from it. This has caused much debate relating to township housing, which, even in a good state, mostly fails to fit into the legalities of home businesses, hence failing township economies (Scheba & Turok, 2020). Consequently, housing needs to warrant all criteria of adequacy to sustain local economies and improve livelihoods. Well-located housing is, therefore, necessary for access to labour markets.

Another related issue is that of housing construction. Housing construction is affirmed to contribute to job creation, especially for unskilled and skilled labour. In developing countries, it affords access to the urban labour market, for instance, in Ghana and the Philippines (Arku, 2006, p. 387; Tipple, 1994, p. 372). South Africa has also designed its housing policy (e.g., the RDP) to align housing development with local economic development, thus creating job opportunities during the development of social housing (Bond, 2017, p. 68). Housing construction also contributes to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP), e.g., in countries like Brazil, Chile and Indonesia, wherein housing-related GDP contribution was 6.3%, 6.9% and 10.1%, respectively, in 2014 (Bah et al., 2018, p. 8). Social housing provision has also been a massive economic driver in Britain. The Thames Gateway construction in London resulted in considerable job creation, while the Registered Social Landlord (RSL) division generated a turnover exceeding £9 billion in 2007 (Glossop, 2008, p. 8). Table 2.4 shows the contribution of housing construction in some OECD national economies based on 2014 data.

**Table 2.4: Job Creation, GDP Contribution and Multiplier Effect of Housing Construction in OECD Countries**

| COUNTRY  | NO. OF JOBS CREATED | % CONTRIBUTION TO GDP |
|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| United Kingdom (UK)  | 23 million          | 6.2                   |
| United States (US)   | 10 million          | 15.3                  |
| Overall OECD Countries   | 36.1 million        | 5.2                   |
| <b>MULTIPLIER EFFECTS FROM A SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSE CONSTRUCTION</b>  |                     |                       |
| -In Australia, multiplier effects for jobs and economic activity because of housing construction is 2.9, with 9 direct jobs, 7 indirect and 21 induced<br>-Canada’s housing construction generated US\$254,736<br>-UK multiplier effect was 2.51, with at least 4 direct jobs created<br>-US created at least 2.9 jobs and contributed USD280,435 to the national economy and USD110,957 to tax<br>-In India, housing construction and related services contributed 19.6% to GDP<br>-In South Africa, at least 3.14 direct and 2.48 indirect jobs were created<br>-Ethiopia created 2.24 direct jobs |                     |                       |

(Bah, et al., 2018, p. 8-10)

However, others have indicated that economic benefits gained from housing construction do not match housing costs. In the case of townships, the shortage of diverse yet affordable housing options leads to the formation of informal housing such as backyard shacks, which has implications for housing adequacy, tenants’ and landlords’ rights and health and thus, the labour performance is affected (Turok, 2020, p. 45; Scheba & Turok, 2020). Therefore, various housing options are necessary to allow tenant mobility and freedom of choice pertaining to affordability and convenience, which improves the labour market functioning. Moreover, developing partnerships between the private sector and poor communities, while at the same time recognizing informal trade facilitates well-functioning labour markets (Glossop, 2008, p. 7; Urban Landmark, 2008, p. 3).

### *Infrastructure*

Efficient infrastructure attracts human capital and investment necessary for strong economies. Consideration is given here to the innate linkage between housing and tenancy and the adverse impact of tenancy on services and infrastructure. With increased housing and subsequent population growth must be adequate infrastructure, failing which a city faces economic (also social and environmental) implications. For example, inefficient transport infrastructure causes delays, thus affecting economic costs tied to the labour market and associated services. Residents are attracted to areas in proximity to amenities, job opportunities and transport linkages (Hardekar, Chakraborty, Syal & Molaoglu, 2018, p. 3, 8). This is an implication of how housing is directly linked to the wider socio-economic context. During housing development, economic infrastructure such as “banks, business services, logistics,

serviced land, industrial areas, business parks business incubators...” and public transport must also be implemented (Scheba & Turok, 2020, p. 80).

With economic infrastructure having such significance, derelict or vacant houses, businesses, and public buildings negatively impact not only the security and aesthetics but also the local economy of such areas (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 17). Priority should then be granted to rehabilitating decrepit buildings as they have the potential to advance local economic development prospects, especially through improved investor confidence and funding opportunities. Options such as community enablement initiatives could foster improved housing, urban revitalisation, and local economic development, thus reducing urban poverty (Frits & Helmsing, n.d., p. 5). One of the best ways a municipality can improve an area is to ensure that the streets and other services are functional and the area is neat and maintained, which appears to be a major challenge in Mangaung.

Infrastructure also contributes to city competitiveness. For instance, investors are rarely attracted to cities with poor services (for instance, electricity, water, sanitation and refuse disposal) and inefficient infrastructure, such as transport routes necessary for the labour market. Human capital, especially highly skilled labour, is also attracted to infrastructure and service delivery efficiency. Poorly serviced areas constrain residents’ access to employment hubs, deter investment and limit business growth, thus intensifying prevailing deprivation levels (Hardekar, et al., 2018, p. 16).

### *Business and Enterprise*

Elements of business and enterprise costs such as location, size, rent and salaries are determined by the level of living expenses in the operational area, considering that attractive areas are highly demanded and therefore typified by higher livelihood costs. Congruently, areas with high-priced housing indicate prosperous economies, and such housing can be invested in. Neighbourhoods with a lower housing market are usually characterised by inadequate housing, which repels investment and business activities. Housing is a business sector wherein direct and passive jobs are created through construction, transactions and upkeep. Housing can also be utilised for home-based business endeavours such as convenience shops, bars, childcare services, churches and salons (Hardekar, et al., 2018, p. 9; Scheba & Turok, 2019). While the extent of housing impacts on local economies differs, housing shortages generally hinder economic growth as it fosters congestion that pressurises infrastructure and augments business and enterprise costs while aggravating skill deficiencies (Glossop, 2008, p. 9).

Lastly, the nature of housing legislation and policy determines how housing contributes towards local economic development. The regulatory framework must view housing as an integral part of pro-poor and pro-growth economic policy (Meyer, 2014, p. 630), so that housing development is then implemented to enable sustainable local economic development. In countries that view housing as an inferior factor of macroeconomic policy, such as South Africa, housing provision and local economic development often encounter conflicting implementation approaches (Khan, 2003, p. 78). In this case, housing provision is pro-poor, aiming to ensure inclusive allocation of housing and related services without necessarily considering means of livelihoods once housing has been provisioned. Local economic development, on the other hand, is geared towards capital accumulation by means of increasing production and prosperity (Kamara, 2017, p. 101). This instils the capitalist ethos of non-inclusive economic development, where housing delivery is not aligned with local economic development, ultimately hindering it by locating the poor on land with scarce economic opportunities.

The level of government commitment toward housing provision also has implications for LED. Therefore, by establishing relevant policies, housing is not developed remotely and away from the wider economic context, thus enabling local governments to drive economic growth through housing supply (Shannon, 2018, p. 2). In some countries, governments take minimal responsibility towards the housing supply for poor urban dwellers and instead focus more on education and healthcare (Henilane, 2016). This contrasts with the South African perspective, where the government has assumed this responsibility in a manner that has instilled a culture of entitlement without contribution to housing provision, or more specifically, a sense of dependency on a welfare state. To sum up, adequate housing attracts investments and skilled labour, both of which are great drivers of local economies. Moreover, it is imperative for housing policy to warrant housing densification to stabilise the housing market, and to diversify housing options ensure that broader housing needs are met, thereby creating enabling environments for vigorous economies (Satterthwaite, 2020, p. 14; Urban Landmark, 2008, p. 3).

## 2.6 Urban Planning Considerations for LED in South African Townships

South African colonial and apartheid townships<sup>5</sup>, previously faced with deliberate exclusion, pose great opportunities for local economic development as they are currently faced with dire social challenges and failing economies (Scheba & Turok, 2020). While several strategies, such as the LED Framework (2006), the New Growth Path (2009), National Development Plan (2012) and the LED Framework 2019, have been implemented in the democratic era to foster improvement in township space economies (Rogerson, 2014, pp. 207-208), there is more room for further development, given unrelenting challenges that continue to undermine township quality of life. Urban planners must contemplate several considerations to steer local economic development in townships.

The highest levels of urban poverty are housed in townships due to structural, individualistic or fatalistic causes (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 4; Garidzirai and Sekhampu, 2013). Attributed to this are high unemployment levels, lack of opportunities for economic growth and inadequate service delivery (housing, health, education, and sanitation) and poor maintenance of public infrastructure (Garidzirai and Sekhampu, 2013; Payne, et al., 2014; South African Cities Network, 2014). High poverty levels are just one of the numerous contributing factors to the run-down state of old townships, insufficient government funding for infrastructure development and maintenance, and lack of capacity to enable strategies to address all housing requirements (Burgayne, 2008). Subsequently, poor township dwellers are denied the opportunity to fully participate and benefit from economic development, thus refuting the right amalgamated in the constitution and global treaties (Payne, et al., 2014). Added to this, many foreign nationals residing in townships implicate the demographic, cultural economic and social context (Jürgens & Donaldson, 2012).

For those who manage to dwell in inner cities and areas closer to employment, the urban poor is usually forced to dwell in substandard housing as this is all they can afford, reflecting neo-liberal contentions that citizens shall live according to what they can afford. This gives rise to a need for historical housing trends analysis to divulge spatial and housing imbalances and foster the meaningful provision of affordable and adequate housing. Through distinct knowledge of urban housing gaps and

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<sup>5</sup> South African townships have three classifications. 1) Apartheid townships refer to black and coloured neighbourhoods developed during apartheid era to locate cheap labour for the white supremacy close to urban centres. 2) Post-apartheid townships are settlements developed through the RDP/BNG housing programmes in the democratic era. They are generally located on cheap, peripheral land. 3) Informal settlements are illegal shack developments on reserved land, or in backyards of formal townships (Scheba & Turok, 2020).

challenges, barriers to affordable urban housing can be eliminated, ensuring adequate housing and, ultimately, economic development for all. Moreover, other strategies can and have been adopted to meet township residents halfway in affording housing, including housing subsidies and social welfare (Charlton & Meth, 2017, p. 92).

One of the major distinctions of South African townships is the social welfare systems which avail different grants to the inhabitants. These grants are essential in answering the basic needs of township inhabitants, and in many instances, they remain the only source of livelihood (South African Cities Network, 2014). Albeit such opportunities, most townships in South Africa are however characterised by overcrowded and dilapidated accommodation, which ultimately have a negative effect not only on the neighbourhood aesthetics but also on the health of the inhabitants while also pressurising the delivery of basic services (Marais & Cloete, 2014) and (Payne, et al., 2014). Additionally, with limited income to spend on housing needs, township residents resort to informal means of tenure. On the other hand, townships are also home to affluent residents, who mostly relocate to suburbs and take their economic influence with them. Ways should then be considered on how to keep 'Black Diamonds'<sup>6</sup> within townships (Jürgens & Donaldson, 2012).

Though the Roman-Dutch law applies to the urban perspective inclusive of townships (Pienaar, 2013), tenure in South Africa is composite, and studies have shown that it has approximately 100 typologies (Kitchin & Ovens, 2013). This would then mean there is the readily available information on land tenure in townships, especially given the use of land registration systems such as the e-DRS (Pienaar, 2013). Given the country's historical background, security of tenure in townships is admittedly complex, especially in possessing or obtaining necessary documents for proof of ownership. Another normalcy in these townships is the erection of backyard shacks or backrooms for rent or family use, while main houses are usually also let out, especially in the absence of property owners (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 16; Turok & Borel-Saladin, 2015). The extent of surroundings and property maintenance in townships is another area of interest, highly reliant on affordability, attachment and perception of a good neighbourhood, as well as existing by-laws and the level of their implementation.

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<sup>6</sup> 'Black Diamonds' are black South African citizens who have moved out of townships and now reside in affluent neighbourhoods, thus experiencing spatial freedom that did not exist during apartheid (Jürgens & Donaldson, 2012).

Additionally, the tourism market is growing in townships and can be nurtured to contribute towards sustainable local economies. However, further research is required to determine how this market can be operated and grown for the benefit of residents. Lastly, 'green living' is still generally unfamiliar in townships, allowing green urbanism to be introduced during future local economic development initiatives. (Jürgens & Donaldson, 2012). These are issues for local government, urban practitioners and relevant stakeholders to ponder in planning for local economic development in townships.

## 2.7 Conclusion

Every urban settler is entitled to the right to the city regardless of their socio-economic status or cultural and political inclinations. This chapter reflected that the right of access to adequate housing falls right into the auspices of the right to the city, and for South Africa, like other world states such as Brazil and Mexico, this right is constitutionally binding. However, this has not ensured comprehensive enjoyment of the right to housing and thus that to the city for the urban poor. Though considerable regulatory effort has been employed for the benefit of housing the urban poor, this achievement has generally failed to develop sustainable local economies in low-income areas. For those that already own formal housing, such as residents of Bochabela, issues of adequacy and failing economies emerge given the decrepit state of most colonial-cum-apartheid townships. It remains the responsibility of policymakers, with a comprehensive stakeholder engagement, emphatic of urban planners' input, to speculate and devise new means of realising the right of access to adequate housing. This is especially necessary when local economies need an extensive boost towards a sustainable trajectory. This chapter thus speculated on the opportunity for adequate housing provision to create sustainable local development for the broader realisation of the right to the city while laying the groundwork for the following chapter on urban decay in the makings of housing dilapidation and economic degradation.

## CHAPTER 3: A REVIEW OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN HOUSING, TOWNSHIP RENEWAL AND LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGULATORY FRAMEWORK

“The flippant dismissal of the weight of the past on our collective present is just as unhelpful as its opposite, a simplistic evocation of that past as an alibi for our own weaknesses. Both have tended to produce shallow explanations for the deep-seated challenges we confront.” (Cronin, 2012)

### 3.1 Introduction

Urban housing legislation and policy in South Africa reflect colonial systems and the apartheid bureaucracy that led the country's planning system from 1948 to 1994. The dissolution of apartheid did not translate into the demise of complexities faced by the country's urban housing systems. The legacy of apartheid planning continues to affect urban challenges, and the current government has implemented regulations to address spatial, economic, and social challenges following apartheid.

This chapter examines the South African regulatory framework pertaining to housing and local economic development, tracing the historical background and highlighting international and regional considerations. First, the chapter examines the colonial and apartheid statutes that influenced urban development, focusing on housing and local economic development in townships. Second, it analyses the democratic responses (post-1994 laws) to understand how the post-apartheid government has influenced township transformation. Third, it presents the regional and international conventions and protocols for housing issues localised by the South African government.

### 3.2 Pre-Democratic Policy and Legislative Background to Housing and Economic Development in South African Townships

The right to housing for black citizens was considerably denied under colonial and apartheid regimes, their discriminatory systems at one point, resulting in about 77% of the country's land being designated as white areas (Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 5). This afforded substantial urban land and most productive agricultural land to a small fraction of the population, while the majority black population was only permitted to access urban areas for labour purposes (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65). These strict racist structures were exercised through deliberate legislation, and led to massive land and housing dispossession, family and community fragmentation and ultimately, longstanding economic deficiencies in black communities (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 19; Marais, 2018, p. 337; Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013; Mostert, 2016; Scheepers, 2019, p. 2; The Fuller

Center for Housing, 2014, p. 19). This section offers insight and implications of the colonial and apartheid regimes legislation.

### 3.2.1 The Colonial Dispensation: How Natives Lost Rights over Their Own Land

"Awakening on Friday morning. June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself, not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth" Solomon Plaatje, (1995:13).

As reflected in Solomon Plaatje's statement, South African natives suffered much exclusion and injustice imposed by laws during colonial times. The Natives Land Act 27 of 1913 was effected to demarcate areas according to race, and to restrict land and property transactions by natives residing in urban areas (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016; Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013; Scheepers, 2019), hence limiting native occupation in urban areas. While urban areas, then scheduled for white citizens, prospered through industrialisation, they began to experience labour shortages (Modise & Mtshiselwa, 2013). This led to the promulgation of the Native Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923 (NUAA), which facilitated demarcation of black townships, meant to house natives employed in urban areas (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 19). The state then assumed the responsibility to develop public housing in black townships (Pirie, 1983, p. 349).

Townships quickly became overpopulated and the colonial authority, concerned with native intrusion, endorsed the Native Administration Act 38 of 1927 (NAA), to enable further removal of natives for purposes which though unfair, were considered essential for the 'common' good. The act also restricted natives from purchasing land under their own names. High levels of disorder, beginnings of informal housing, and disease outbreaks in overpopulated townships brought forth the Slums Act of 1934, which officiated demolition of housing considered to be of deficient standard (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 19). The Development Trust and Land Act of 1936 kept natives land under the South African Native Trust in urban and rural areas, with occupation still under stringent clauses. The last colonial law in this regard was the Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act 25 of 1945, which exercised stern marginalisation of natives by directing their movement in urban areas (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20).

Colonial legislation precipitated destructive outcomes for natives, denying their right to the city (see Harvey, 2003; Gorgens & Van Donk, 2012) through their exclusion from decision making processes, marginalisation, discrimination, and unequal access to housing provision and economic opportunities, thus causing feelings of racial antagonism, animosity and resentment (Pirie, 1983, p. 349). Their geographic advantage was also impaired by dispossessing them of their property and forcibly

removing them from urban land, leading to loss of their businesses, schools, churches and community centres, to the detriment of means of incomes for many, causing loss of tenure security and thus lack of place attachment (Pirie, 1983, p. 349; Scheepers, 2019, p. 2). This not only occasioned loss of dignity, but also increased poverty levels among natives.

Additionally, by being allowed urban access for employment purposes only (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65), and being denied opportunity to buy or rent land and property in the mainstream market, thus ultimately accessing only 7%-8% of the national land, the natives' economic opportunities were undermined (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 19; Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 5; Scheepers, 2019, p. 2). Those who acquired employment in the industrial and domestic sectors, were subjected to daily lengthy travel between townships and work, thus causing strain to their health and implicating on time spend at home (Turok, 2016, p. 11). Additionally, the colonial laws denied natives freedom of movement and choice of residence by exercising strict controls over them, while at the same time failing to uphold their right to adequate housing as townships were characterised by substandard public housing and poor services. The call to remove slums that grew up in response to housing shortages near employment opportunities compounded these unjust laws.

Lastly, colonial laws were also gender biased and excluded vulnerable groups such as women, children and the elderly, owing to hostel laws that restricted occupation to single males, which in turn entrenched family fragmentation. Natives were completely estranged from their security of tenure, and they lived each day without much sense of permanence, with constant expectation that they could be forcibly removed from their homes on any given day, without warning. The culture of cyclic migration was instilled in native families during this time, with those working in urban areas habitually travelling back to rural areas to visit family and supply economic support (Hall & Posel, 2019, p. 2; Turok, 1994, p. 246).

### 3.2.2 The Apartheid Regime: Era of Extreme Disenfranchisement of Black Communities

In 1948, the same year housing was declared a human right by the United Nations (Satterwhwaite, 2020, p. 6), South Africa saw the advent of apartheid bureaucracy. As devout follower of Afrikaaner Nationalism, the then Prime Minister, D.F. Malan, further curtailed native land occupation, owing to his mission to enforce stringent marginalisation of natives in social, economic and spatial opportunities. Two years into his presidency, the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 (GAA) was enacted as the apartheid cornerstone, effectively pioneering divided progression and racist movement control (Scheepers, 2019, p. 4). The act facilitated creation of 1,700 group areas, half of which were for white

citizens only (Pirie, 1983, p. 348), thus expediting forced removals of millions of South Africans from urban areas, yet again resulting in house and land dispossession for natives (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65). While natives were denied access or ownership of land and property in areas demarcated for whites, their areas could be marked for white citizens, as was the case in Sophiatown (Johannesburg) and District Six (Cape Town). The (GAA) thus promulgated spatial, economic and social disparities between racial lines (Scheepers, 2019, p. 4).

Natives that retained urban residence lived through the Trespass Act of 1959, which enabled removal of individuals from land if their continued occupation was perceived as undesirable either by landlords or the state. From 1960 to 1983, natives were forcibly removed from urban areas to Bantustans, and approximately 3, 5 million people were dispossessed of their land and property (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20). By this time, there was massive local resistance along with international support against the apartheid regime in the form of public riots, court cases, lobby groups, and media protests (Pirie, 1983, p. 348), thus marking the 1980s with rental and service boycotts (Miraftab, 2003, p. 226; Turok, 2016, p. 12).

The economy of the country was taking a strain in light of international sanctions, and the state was forced to initiate change in policy, starting with the 1983 Constitution (Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 12). The Conversion of Certain Rights to Leasehold Act 81 of 1988 was then structured to improve security of tenure for natives by permitting a 99-year leasehold, instantly transforming their tenure rights and minutely decreasing racial discrimination. This act was amended in 1993 to permit black citizens to own formal township housing (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20). It had taken 90 years to reach full circle, back to the point where natives were permitted secure tenure of urban land. Unfortunately, by this point, natives had lost their sense of permanence and neighbourhood (Pirie, 1983, p. 22).

Similar to colonial laws, the execution of apartheid laws disrupted the country's economy by hindering normal economic activities. Many natives in urban areas lost their business properties and homes, sometimes repeatedly, owing to their new locations also being scheduled as white areas, and in some instances after they had renovated them. This then drove people to refrain from refurbishing their houses even in the face of dire necessity, as they feared wasting their minimal resources in the face of tenure insecurity (Lee, 2005, p. 620). Natives then usually occupied inadequate housing during this time, and not much has changed since.

The segregationist government also channelled labour pools by controlling trading and land ownership rights, and natives were permanently rendered cheap labour sources for the white elite, their professions therefore indirectly regulated (Scheepers, 2019, p. 5). To this day, natives face tragic consequences pertaining to colonial and apartheid laws, and some wish the experience could be erased, and time reversed, as articulated by Cochrane & Chellan, (2017, p. 22); *"Decades later, some still wish and plan to return to the places from which they were removed, as if what once existed in specific time and place could be returned to unchanged."*

In the early 1990s, with massive determination at national and international platforms to end apartheid in S.A., the constitution was adjusted, giving impetus to the 1993 version (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993). The principal role of this interim constitution was to facilitate transition and reconciliation in the country (Albertyn, 2019, p. 753), and it mandated local governments to provide services including housing within their jurisdictions (section 175(3)). Most importantly, it introduced the fundamental rights (Chapter 3) that restored equality and residential freedom, as well as restitution of dispossessed land (Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 14; The Government of South Africa, 1993). The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act No 126 of 1993 was also enacted for land allocations and funding (Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 13). The 1994 elections then set the new democratic dawn for the country, thus ending the apartheid regime, yet conferring its tragic legacy to the new government.

### 3.3 Housing the Poor: National Legislation and Policy Framework in Democratic South Africa

After apartheid, the housing situation in South Africa required remedial justice in order to rectify restricted access of natives to urban land and housing. To achieve this obligation, the government effected legislative efforts as stipulated in this section. During this time, South Africa was under the presidency of Nelson Mandela, whose principal legacy was peace, reconciliation and transformation for the new rainbow nation<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> The Rainbow Nation was coined by Arch-Bishop Desmond Tutu in 1994 following the ANC electoral victory to describe the new democratic South Africa, reflective of cultural diversity, peace, hope for a better future and unity (Buqa, 2015) and (SALL, 2018, p. 2).

### 3.3.1 The Progressive Legislation: Inclusive Approach to Housing Development

During the constitutional reform process, the issue of land contestation coupled with disparities in urban housing required urgent attention, and so the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 was enacted to provide for compensation to those who had been stripped of their land rights due to the Natives Land Act on 19th June 1913 (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 23). To date, the issue of land restitution lingers. As part of the continued effort to address injustices brought by racial discrimination and improve housing access, the Expropriation Bill was first tabled in 2008, amended in 2013 and 2015, and currently continues to be broadly discussed, with many vouching for land restitution without compensation. This bill has been deemed necessary due to the existing free-will approach to buying and selling contested land, which has in most part hindered land restitution efforts (Mostert, 2016), thus further derailing housing access and economic progression opportunities.

In efforts to redress the colonial and apartheid discrimination, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 mandated the right to, and the provision of adequate housing for all South Africans regardless of race or status (van Wyk, 2012, p. 470). This provision has been stipulated in section 26(1) of the constitution which states that every citizen has a right of access to adequate housing (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Proponents such as Ratshitanga, (2017, p. 66); Rapelang, et al., (2018, p. 696) have lauded this provision, arguing that it addresses past housing injustices and recognises housing as a universal right, while also applying principles of inclusive citizenship (Patel, 2016, p. 2742). Others such as Albertyn, (2019, p. 753); Miraftab, (2003, p. 226) and Sekoboto & Landman, (2018, p. 109) applauded the constitution for tackling issues of human dignity, security, welfare and most importantly, for talking about 'adequate' housing as a component for sustainable development (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 305; and Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65). Moreover, the constitution has been acclaimed for guiding the land restitution process and minimising conflicts between claimants and land owners (Albertyn, 2019, p. 760; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65), thus upholding the principles of liberal democracy.

As per constitutional provisions in sections 155(1) and 156, Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM) has the responsibility to govern, provide services, promote economic and social development and provide a safe and healthy environment (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). This then directs the town planning and economic development departments of MMM to cater for the socio-economic needs for Bochabela, by incorporating it within relevant strategies in accordance to the township's needs. At provincial level, this mandate falls within the Department of Housing.

Section 214(2) (d) enables the state to provide financial capacity and equitably cater for provincial and municipal delivery of basic services such as housing, water, electricity and sanitation (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Moreover, section 215 commands all spheres to make financial projections based on existing needs (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996), hence, both the housing department and MMM are afforded the right to make monetary propositions based on the current need for Bochabela location to undergo neighbourhood regeneration and economic development. The constitution, with its principles of democracy, dignity and equality (Albertyn, 2019, p. 753) therefore lays the basis upon which all housing and economic development legislation and policy discussed in this section were founded.

Notwithstanding its local government mandate for basic needs provision and endorsement of social and economic development (sections 151 and 153) (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 74), the constitution does not indicate concrete guidelines for capacitating local governments to execute housing delivery. This leaves gaps that result in marginalisation of some individuals and groups especially the poor, owing to the failure of many local municipalities to provide adequate housing due to insufficient financial resources and lack of management and implementation capacities (Turok, 2016, p. 14). In addition, section 26(2) weakens the decisive powers of the parliament by asserting housing provision through "reasonable legislative and other measures." In practice the Housing Code contains more vital housing development guidance than the Housing Act, thus giving parliament secondary role in housing decisions (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 41).

During early democracy, intense negotiations under the National Housing Forum (1992-1994) guided formulation of new housing laws (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 304); Miraftab, 2003, p. 235; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66). Given burgeoning housing needs even with the constitutional mandate, and the need to amend prejudiced legislation of the past, the Housing Act No 107 of 1997 was intended to expedite sustainable housing development by the three spheres of government (The Government of South Africa, 1997). In alignment to its mandate as the supreme housing law (The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014), 35 pieces of apartheid legislation were either revoked, merged or amended, thus ensuring security of tenure and provision of serviced, private houses, with anticipation to viewing housing as an asset (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66). However, during this time, rapid emergence of informal settlements in urban peripheries, mostly on privately owned land, intensified as black citizens faced unprecedented poverty in rural areas and outside city borders.

The Constitutional Court faced many cases involving owners of intruded land and the informal settlers, both parties fighting for their constitutional rights: the right to adequate housing and the right to

property (van Wyk, 2012, p. 75). The Prevention of Illegal Eviction from and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act 19 of 1998 (PIE), was then ratified to warrant lawful eviction of illegal settlers, and to grant land-owners fair hearing, thus striking a balance between their respective rights (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 41; The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 6). To this day, the right of access to adequate housing remains the most arbitrated right in the Constitutional Court (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 11), together with the right against home evictions and demolitions without considerate court orders. One of the most significant cases in this regard is the Grootboom case<sup>8</sup> (Albertyn, 2019, p. 758 Huchzermeyer, 2003, p. 215), where the Constitutional Court determined that housing policy of that time was unconstitutional and needed to provide for individuals facing emergency situations yet lacking access to land and housing. Housing policy was then reformed for inclusion of both long-term and short-term housing needs (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 45).

The Housing Consumers Protection Measures Act No 95 of 1998 laid the groundwork for launching the National Home Builder's Registration Council (NHBRC), which is intended to protect the rights of home buyers by regulating the housing market and to ensure quality building (The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 6). With increasing need for rental housing for the poor, and failure for policy to provide for this option (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 36), the Rental Housing Act No 50 of 1999 was passed (and amended in 2007), articulating guidelines for rental housing promotion and management (The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 6). In due course, the state experienced challenges in acquiring cheaper land on adequate locations for the purpose of low-income housing development, and so the Housing Development Agency (HDA) was founded through the enactment of the Housing Development Agency Act No 23 of 2008. The HDA was specifically tasked with the responsibility of acquiring and releasing public, private and communal land for development, and accelerating sustainable housing delivery, as well as managing, monitoring and evaluating housing projects to ensure quality control (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66; The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 6).

The need for an integrated and collaborative system for managing heritages resources, which include whole neighbourhoods and housing, and form an integral part of the country's tourism economy,

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<sup>8</sup> The Grootboom case: The applicants and their children relocated from an informal settlement with appalling conditions and illegally occupied private land from which they evicted. They proceeded to occupy a sports field nearby, in inadequate shelters. They applied to the Cape High Court for an order requiring the government to provide them with adequate basic housing until they obtained permanent accommodation. The order was granted pursuant to section 28(1)(c) of the Constitution, which guarantees the right of children to, among other things, shelter ([dullahomarinate.org.za](http://dullahomarinate.org.za)).

brought the National Heritage Resources Act (25 of 1999) (NHRA) into being. The act provides regulations and guidelines for the administration of heritage resources in three spheres of government, thus categorising their significance as Grade 1 (national), 2 (provincial) and 3 (local). At national level, the act directed the formation of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) to drive the discovery, preservation and management of heritage resources (section 11). A similar responsibility lies with a provincial heritage regulating authority, which has to be sustained by the Member of Executive Council (MEC). Local municipalities are then mandated to manage heritage resources at local level. This means Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality has the responsibility and the power to identify and declare such resources in townships like Bochabela, which have a rich historical background and housing older than 60 years. Section 34(1) of the NHRA emphasises the heritage value of properties of this age, and how they should be managed. This presents Bochabela with an opportunity to flourish in the tourism sector, taking for example the '2 Rows of 12 Houses' and the Klein Magasa Hall.

### 3.3.2 The Post-Apartheid Housing Policy Agenda

From 1992-1994, debates on peaceful transition from apartheid under the National Housing Forum birthed post-apartheid housing policy (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 20; Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 304; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66). Guided by obligations set by the 1993 interim constitution, plus immense political pressure to urgently address housing needs in the country, the state set on a new journey for housing policy and implementation. The first democratic government housing policy was the 1994 White Paper – A New Housing Policy and Strategy for South Africa, which marked the end of negotiation period and the beginning of progressive, people-driven implementation (Miraftab, 2003, p. 231; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66; The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 7; The Government of South Africa, 1994) by stipulating guidelines for housing development from 1994-2014 (Rapelang, et al., 2018, p. 701). The White Paper also engaged a transformative approach by introducing a capital grant through which low-income earners were prioritised for housing allocation (Marais, 2018, p. 2018). Before electoral victory of 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) had already revealed the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as its strategy for national transformation, and so naturally, it adapted it as a White Paper and implemented it for housing delivery upon taking leadership of the democratic government (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 304; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65; Tonkin, 2008, p. 394).

The RDP was also launched in 1994 as a "policy framework for integrated and coherent socio-economic progress" in South Africa, mindful of apartheid legacies and the need for their redress through democratic efforts (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994, p. 7; Kamara, 2017, p. 100), thus effectively acting as the driver for housing transformation (Sekoboto & Landman, 2018, p. 98). The RDP was framed on six elementary principles namely integration and sustainability, people driven, peace and security, nation building, and meeting basic needs and building infrastructure (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994). In alignment to its mandate, urban development programmes were then demarcated to address housing shortages and service delivery deficiencies within S.A. following multiple civil unrests and years of discriminatory planning laws. The five programmes utilised to implement the RDP were the Urban Infrastructure Investment Planning, National Urban Reconstruction and Housing Agency (NURCHA), the Extension of Urban and Rural Municipal Services, the Urban Renewal Program and the Public Works Programme (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994, pp. 44-47).

These urban renewal programmes were implemented in selected urban communities with the aim to provide housing, develop services infrastructure and create employment. The selection of areas was done based on sustained impact of political and social violence during apartheid times. These areas were Katorus (East Rand), Kwazulu Natal, Duncan Village (East London), Ibhayi (Port Elizabeth) and Botshabelo and Thabong (Free State) (Marais, et. al., 2016). Housing repairs formed part of the planned rehabilitation plans for these settlements (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994, p. 45), and the funding scale for the programme was R304, 6 million in 1994/95 and R486, 5 million in 1995/96 (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994, p. 46). Other urban renewal initiatives had been initially executed to address issues of housing and economic insufficiencies especially in townships. With President Mandela's dedication towards peace, reconciliation and integration, the Special Integrated Presidential Projects (SIPPs) were rolled out in 1994 (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 630). These projects, implemented in an area-based approach, successfully reflected the new government's commitment to improve residents' lives. The SIPPs approach also improved the government's management and implementation capacity and fortified the integrated approach to urban renewal (National Urban Renewal Programme: Implementation Framework, 2001, p. 21).



**Figure 3.10: Township RDP Housing**

Source: (Morapela, 2017)

More than 20 years after the RDP's lapse, public housing by other policies, such as Breaking New Ground policy (discussed later), is still popularly referred to as RDP housing. This then qualifies the RDP as a pioneer and a trendsetter for the post-apartheid housing policy in S.A. (Meth & Charlton, 2017, p. 472), answering to the housing need of numerous poor South Africans. Statistics indicate that approximately 745, 717 RDP housing, similar to those presented in Figure 3.10, units were delivered throughout the country by 1999, falling short of the anticipated 1 million target (Miraftab, 2003, p. 231), with the numbers rising to over 1,5 million by 2003 (Tissington, 2010, p. 35). The strengths of the RDP went beyond numbers of houses delivered. For one, Sekoboto and Landman, (2018, p. 98) acclaim that the programme added value to housing stability, security of tenure, dignity and safety, while Miraftab, (2003, p. 231) commends it for endorsing a people-centred approach in which communities were considered to be important stakeholders, thus granting a platform for liaison between government, communities and the private sector.

The process and product of the RDP however faced much criticism (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 304; Patel, 2016, p. 2743), with many arguing that it continued to instil apartheid principles by further marginalising the poor and creating urban ghettos on the peripheries of urban centres, with insufficient socio-economic opportunities and little chance of employment (Meth & Charlton, 2017, p. 472; Miraftab, 2003, p. 231; Sekoboto & Landman, 2018, p. 98). Others contended that the developed houses are of low quality, and showed signs of dilapidation in under three years, which

further implicates public funding as more money was used to rectify such building inconsistencies (Rapelang, et al., 2018, p. 698; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66; Sekoboto & Landman, 2018, p. 98). In this regard, Tissington, (2010, p. 36) denotes that R1, 3 billion was rolled out in 2010 to rectify poorly constructed RDP housing, which indicates a lack of implementation capacity and deficient financial management on the government and contractor's side.

Moreover, others argue that this model of housing delivery was infused with excessive corruption during tendering, appointment and housing allocation processes (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 27; Tissington, 2010, p. 35). Another weakness of the RDP was its conception that homeownership would be the driver of economic enablement, yet the RDP settlements were redlined by banks, thereby restricting owners from using their houses as collateral (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 27). Furthermore, owners also viewed their houses as social instead financial assets. Hence many rented out or sold their houses when faced with an inability to upkeep them, and most moved back to informal housing. In addition, due to the poor location of RDP neighbourhoods, private investments were hard to come by so such areas have limited economic activities, which contributed to their high poverty, unemployment and crime levels (Marx & Royston, 2008).

Lastly, though RDP aimed for a people-centred approach on paper (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 319), its implementation was market-centred (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 20). This approach perpetuated racial and class divisions (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 326) while at the same time undermining government capacity, side-lining poor communities and granting the private sector a principal role in decision-making processes concerning housing (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 20; Patel, 2016, p. 2743). The RDP policy then failed to ensure economic development for those who received housing support, so the Growth Redistribution and Employment Strategy (GEAR) was formulated to address this shortcoming.

GEAR was a macroeconomic strategy launched in 1996 with a vision to reform and grow the country's economy in alignment with the RDP goals. It aimed to do this by fostering integrated action towards inclusive job opportunities, fair income distribution, efficient delivery of basic services to all citizens and safe, productive environments (The Government of South Africa, 1996) and (Kamara, 2017, p. 100). The strategy was formulated based on the realities of high unemployment levels, inadequate public service delivery and unequal wealth distribution in the country (The Government of South Africa, 1996, p. 2). Specifically to housing, GEAR admitted the slowness of housing programs bordered with multiple legislative reforms before 1994, though it also indicated an accelerated delivery post-1995. Given this, the strategy aimed to guide highly labour-intensive housing development and

improved livelihoods in urban areas (The Government of South Africa, 1996, p. 16), while also integrating land reform targets (Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 14). GEAR then facilitated 500 projects with a budget of R1,5 billion in both urban and rural areas, especially 12 million people lacking adequate access to water (The Government of South Africa, 1996, p. 16).

The strategy indicated the commitment of the government to warrant timely housing delivery together with associated services such as education, healthcare, electricity, water and sanitation, as well as social welfare. Moreover, access to land was emphasised for growing farmers, and means of communication were improved through this strategy (The Government of South Africa, 1996, p. 21) to facilitate the development of local economies. Like preceding policies, GEAR emphasised preference for new housing development over rehabilitation of existing decrepit housing stock, thereby failing to address increasing housing dilapidation and spatial decay in townships (Changuion & Steenkamp, 2013, p. 14). The Housing Code of 2000 then made its debut as mandated by Section 4 of the Housing Act to provide extensive detail of housing development. This was later amended in 2009, and so will be the version extensively discussed in the following section.

### 3.3.3 Post-Democratic Mandate: Targeting Urban Renewal, Sustainable Township Housing and Local Economic Development

In the early 2000s, the reality was that poor citizens were excluded in decision-making processes (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 21; Miraftab, 2003, p. 231) and continued to be unintentionally segregated as their human settlements were developed on the fringes of cities and towns (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 318; Meth & Charlton, 2017, p. 471). Furthermore, there was a failure to create economic opportunities to improve their livelihoods sustainably (Rapelang, et al., 2018, p. 701; Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 66), and as housing delivery slackened (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 51), housing shortages continued to spiral due to the slow waiting list system (Meth & Charlton, 2017, p. 472). Moreover, there was a need for a housing policy that linked housing location to means of livelihood while at the same time fostering inclusion of beneficiaries in policymaking and implementation processes, especially vulnerable groups such as women and the poor (Huchzermeyer, 2001, p. 326). In the absence of a comprehensive housing strategy to respond to challenges, the state, under the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki, prompted the National Urban Renewal Programme (URP) in 2001.

Stemming from the SIPPs, the URP was an area-based framework, targeting poverty alleviation and integrated economic development through informal settlement upgrading, urban centre renewal and exclusion areas revitalisation on 8 urban nodes (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 631; Leon, 2007, p. 6; The

Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 8; National Urban Renewal Programme: Implementation Framework, 2001, p. 22). These nodes were Alexandra in Johannesburg; Mitchell's Plain and Khayelitsha in Cape Town; Inanda and KwaMashu (INK) in Kwazulu Natal; Mdantsane in East London; Motherwell in Port Elizabeth; and Galeshewe in Kimberley (National Urban Renewal Programme: Implementation Framework, 2001, p. 6). The URP principally focused on areas excluded by design and consequent decline, typical of many apartheid townships (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 630), characterised by social frustration, unprecedented poverty, unemployment, crime, overcrowding and decaying infrastructure (Raunch, 2002; Thwala, 2009, p. 48). Unlike the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) (approved by Cabinet in 2003 and 2006), which focused on areas with particular economic opportunity (Oranje & Merrifield, 2010; The Government of South Africa, 2003; Africa, 2006), the URP prioritised areas based on their high population and location in affluent cities, while also using the integration approach to link spatial, economic and social attributes (National Urban Renewal Programme: Implementation Framework, 2001, p. 22). It thus shifted focus from exclusive physical development of pilot areas and accentuated social and economic development

Proponents such as Raunch have vouched for the URP's ability to foster economic development, while opponents have criticised it for being too costly and destructive to social elements. Those who are for the URP claim that by exercising the broken window paradigm, the programme reduced crime in some pilot areas, which was deemed important for attracting investment and improving the economy of poor areas (Raunch, 2002). However, area-based policies are generally criticised for failing to improve social well-being and for marginal levels of economic impact (Tosics, 2009). The URP was specifically opposed to failing to create an anticipated number of jobs due to the insufficiency of labour-intensive construction, while the jobs it created were unsustainable (Thwala, 2006, p. 42). Additionally, though area-based approaches encourage public inclusion in decision-making processes (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 631), the URP was criticised for inefficient public participation, thereby resulting in a lack of community commitment and ownership, for example, in Alexandra (Thwala, 2009, p. 48). Moreover, the URP was debilitated by a lack of project management capacity during implementation and scant maintenance following completion, and its emergency response nature restricted it from capitalising on the long-term opportunity for sustainable development (Thwala, 2006, p. 42).

Both SIPPS and the URP fostered substantial housing development within pilot areas, yet unfortunately failed to achieve sustainable economic development (Scheba & Turok, 2019, p. 2). In an effort to address unrelenting challenges, the Department of Housing undertook a research initiative which resulted in the formulation of *Breaking New Ground: the Comprehensive Plan for the Creation*

of Sustainable Human Settlements, commonly known as the BNG policy, effective from 2004 (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 41; Tissington, 2010, p. 41). The BNG policy improved the prominence of tenure security, rental housing and slum upgrading (Marais, 2018, p. 338; Tissington, 2010, p. 49). It thus engaged concepts of integration, sustainability and a view of housing as an asset to grant a new policy direction against unanticipated yet detrimental repercussions of democratic housing programmes (Patel, 2016, p. 2743; Tissington, 2010, p. 41). It also supports urban renewal and inner city regeneration as means of addressing urban decay, increasing effective demand and initiating beneficiary contribution (The Government of South Africa, 2004, pp. 15, 26) to connect adequate housing to sustainable housing development (Rapelang, et al., 2018, p. 696).

Additionally, the policy then engages a mega-project approach to foster the development of medium-density housing, specifically in the urban renewal context through the conversion of old, vacant and neglected office precincts into residential blocks, so as to avail accommodation for low-medium earners who prefer to dwell here due to close proximity to employment opportunities (The Government of South Africa, 2004, p. 15). The BNG policy also responds to the lack of affordable housing for low-income earners by offering an incentive wherein citizens earning below R3, 500 per month are afforded loans in accordance with their housing needs. It also provides for issues of affordability and redlining, which deterred middle-income earners, classified as the GAP market, from accessing housing as their income was too high for social housing qualification yet too low for the private housing market. It then avails a subsidy scheme and mandates the GAP market beneficiaries to contribute an amount of R2,479 towards accessing the BNG housing.

Furthermore, BNG has extended its beneficiary criteria by providing housing to those facing housing disasters while also eradicating informal dwellings (The Government of South Africa, 2004, p. 26), thus sufficiently aligning with the constitutional mandate to provide adequate and emergency housing. It also links housing development to local economic development by creating job opportunities during social housing development. As stipulated in section 7 of the BNG document, the Department of Housing, in implementing housing delivery initiatives, aligns with the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP), thus contributing to the mitigation of poverty through employment formation. The strategy aims to uphold this objective through six initiatives, namely job creation, labour-intensive guidelines, suitability assessment and targets, on-site materials production, capacity building for job creation and enhancing capacity (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994, p. 27).

The BNG mega-projects approach has been criticised for going against the long-term urban agenda for compaction, integration and densification, hence deviating from policy stipulations (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 68). Additionally, they are seen as financially risky, with the potential to fortify existing institutional weaknesses (Turok, 2016, p. 18). Moreover, others argue that the use of social housing as a remedy for urban blight does not sufficiently answer the low-income housing financial needs (Gilbert, 2014), as the revitalised blocks usually fall above the low-income affordability scale (Tissington, 2010, p. 49). BNG is also criticised for excluding those earning way below the income margin nominated for support, especially informal labourers who struggle daily to access inner cities due to residing too far (Mkuzo, et al., 2019, p. 4). It has also been attested that lower-level middle-income beneficiaries may not afford the mandatory fee, so the subsidised housing will ultimately be availed to those with higher income, as they can afford to pay the fee, while those who truly need the subsidy are left stranded.

BNG has also faced criticism that its new strategic direction was not clearly articulated and that, similar to RDP, it was a rushed effort in answer to political pressures. Another flaw is that by adapting to the international viewpoint of informal settlements being inferior, the BNG, by just optimising informal settlement upgrades, fails to efficiently hamper spatial, social and economic segregation. Notwithstanding the BNG goals, which clearly indicate a shift from supplying housing in quantities, but rather improving the quality of the top structures in terms of workmanship, size, tenure and location, BNG is still criticised for failing to fully rectify faulty impacts arising due to, or overlooked by previous housing policies, such as disputes over land ownership. Ultimately, the BNG has been critiqued for still being quantitative, reflecting much effort on ticking off checklists in houses built and money spent. There still exists high levels of poverty and unemployment amidst the BNG, which indicates a sustained gap in housing policy to foster sustainable local economic development for the benefit of poor urban and rural dwellers (Tissington, 2010, pp. 41-42).

Even though BNG was meant to address shortcomings of previous policies relating to poor workmanship, location of poor human settlements, poor service delivery, pollution, crime and poverty, it still inadvertently subjected the poor to these conditions, effectively reducing the market value of these neighbourhoods (Landman, 2010). The substandard workmanship of BNG housing also subjects the beneficiaries to repair expenses, and their small size and poor locations, expose dwellers to paucity, crime and poor garbage management, thus negatively impacting the health and safety of dwellers (Mkuzo, et al., 2019, pp. 4, 13). This way, implementing the BNG goes against its strategic aim for housing to assuage poverty, generate prosperity and foster integrated sustainable economic

development of human settlements (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 68). Additionally, Mkuzo, et al., (2019, p. 4) assert that poor workmanship of BNG housing has caused respiratory problems for some beneficiaries, while Marais and Cloete (2014, p.48) indicate that services aligned to housing (water, sanitation and refuse removal) than the actual housing structure that negatively impacts upon residents' health.

With unprecedented urbanisation and growing pressure to diversify housing options for low-income urban dwellers, the country needed a policy that answered real housing needs. The National Housing Code of 2009 was then revised from the 2000 version based on the provisions set by the BNG policy. The National Housing Code is therefore an update of public housing programmes offered since the genesis of democracy, thus articulating types of housing schemes that the state implements to improve the lives of South Africans by responding to their housing need (The National Housing Code, 2009). Several programmes are implemented through this policy, as stipulated in Box 1.

#### **Box 1: Housing Programmes as per National Housing Code 2009**

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>Integrated Residential Development Programme (IRDP):</b> Drives accelerated service delivery and integrated development of low-income human settlements on well-located land.</p> <p><b>Informal Settlements Upgrading Programme (ISUP):</b> Provides services infrastructure and upgrades houses in informal settlements. Implemented through in-situ upgrading or relocation.</p> <p><b>Social and Economic Facilities Provision:</b> Facilitates the provision of social and economic facilities such as amenities for education, health, security, recreation and trade, among others.</p> <p><b>Emergency Housing Assistance Programme:</b> Facilitate the provision of housing to households facing emergency situations or those who cannot inhabit their homes during ISUP.</p> <p><b>Social Housing Programme:</b> Diversifies social housing opportunities by extending affordable rental housing development to urban areas with under-utilised bulk infrastructure.</p> <p><b>Institutional Subsidy Programme:</b> Provides financial support to social housing agencies to develop, manage and maintain affordable rental housing in urban areas.</p> <p><b>Community Residential Units (CRU):</b> Supports revitalisation of communal hostels and other public housing that cannot be privatised to avail protected, stable rental tenancy for poor households earning between R800 - R3500 monthly.</p> <p><b>Individual Subsidy Programme:</b> Provides either a serviced stand or a house depending on beneficiary need. Those choosing serviced stands get a loan to facilitate the construction of a house.</p> <p><b>Consolidation Subsidy Programme:</b> Supports housing construction for households that attained serviced stands prior to 1994. The state engages communities and facilitates contractors.</p> <p><b>Enhanced Extended Discount Benefit Scheme:</b> Authorizes tenancy to state housing residents based on the length of time of residence.</p> <p><b>Rectification of Certain Residential Properties Created Under Pre-1994 Housing Dispensation:</b> Involves housing revitalisation, services upgrading and housing demolitions and new development for state or individual-owned public houses developed before 1994</p> <p><b>IDP Housing Chapters:</b> Meant to support municipalities in formulating housing chapters for their respective IDPs by appointing external experts.</p> <p><b>Operational Capital Budget:</b> Availed to provincial departments to source external support for improving housing delivery as per set provincial goals.</p> <p><b>Enhanced People Housing Process (EPHP):</b> Facilitates community corporation and enables people to build their own homes through capacity building, training and financial support.</p> |
|--|

(The National Housing Code, 2009)

The recalling of President Mbeki seemed to put a momentary halt to urban (housing) policy development, as the next enactment from 2009 was the Urban Integrated Development Framework (UIDF) of 2016, by which time the country was under the leadership of President Jacob Zuma. The UIDF did not bring new housing development direction *per se* but rather revived the motivation previously reflected in the 1994 Housing White Paper, the HDA mandate for adequate housing location and the National Upgrading Support Programme (NUSP) (Pieterse & Cirolia, 2016, p. 460).

Notwithstanding the constitutional provision for adequate housing and progressive housing policy as set out in this section, accommodation problems persist in S.A. However, many poor families have received and continue to obtain housing support, as this right remains the basis of the country's housing policy. Approximately 2.5 – 3.03 million housing units were delivered to the poor between 1994 and 2014 (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 45; Meth & Charlton, 2017, p. 472; Patel, 2016, p. 2743), while the 2016 estimation was 4, 3 million units (Rapelang, et al., 2018, p. 696). Additionally, 1, 2 million sites were serviced while 75, 000 houses were upgraded in 2014 (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 45). While housing policy initially aimed for lesser quality and higher quantities in housing provision, it has altered to improve quality standards, resulting in fewer deliveries. However, some reports still show housing subsidies increased from 5.5% in 2002 to 15.3% in 2014, though 14.5% of subsidised housing beneficiaries complained about their houses having weak walls and 13.9% complained of poor roofing (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 45). Nevertheless, the delivery statistics undoubtedly indicate the state's commitment to deliver housing to poor citizens.

### 3.4 The Local Mandate for Planning for Housing and Economic Development

With the national government having set housing and economic development guidelines, provincial and local governments have developed policies to direct development within their governance spheres. This section explores relevant policy frameworks pertaining to the Free State Provincial government and Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM), which are jurisdictions within which Bochabela Township falls.

**Table 3.3: Provincial and Local Regulations.**

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Free State Growth and Development Strategy, 2013  | Envisioned growth and resilience of the provincial economy by human development instilled in unity, dignity, diversity, equality and prosperity. It is rooted in 6 pillars namely Inclusive economic growth and sustainable job creation; Education, innovation and skills development; Improved quality of life; Sustainable rural development; Build social cohesion; Good governance. These are meant to be achieved by 2030  |
| Free State Human Settlements Strategic Plan 2015-2020                                     | Aims for an integrated and sustainable human settlements development by practicing good governance, supplying adequate housing, improving service delivery and accelerating security of tenure   |
| The Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality Built Environment Performance Plan (MMM-BEPP) 2020 | A tool that establishes the goals of the Urban Settlements Development Grant (USDG) and the Integrated City Development Grant (ICDG) in the municipal IDP and the SDBIP. It aims to facilitate "transformation, economic development, integrated and inclusive urban form." Specifically, to housing development, the MMM-BEPP aims to grant funding for informal settlements upgrading and rehabilitation of infrastructure and services. It identifies seven catalytic projects meant to achieve this  |
| Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (MMM-SDBIP) 2021/2022                     | Aims to establish good governance in MMM by guaranteeing the achievement of goals set in the IDP. In the 2022/2023 financial year, the plan identified 239 projects to be implemented in MMM   |
| Local Economic Development Strategy   | Explores opportunities for local economic development in MMM to enhance job creation in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Through it, MMM aims to establish new economic activities especially industries and SMMEs  |
| MMM District Development Model – One Plan (DDM, 2022)                                     | Aims to enhance integrated development planning and service delivery within the three spheres of government by focusing public and private sectors investment within metropolitan municipalities. The model gives a socio-economic profile of MMM including service delivery, human settlements, municipal capacity and tourism aspects. It reports the following projects to encourage economic growth: Spatial Development; Mangaung Metropolitan Integrated Public Transport Network (IPTN), Ecological Potential and Biodiversity; Economic Projects; Mangaung Airport Node and Thaba Nchu Agri-Hub. |
| Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) 2021/22 – 2023/24                                | A financial plan formulated in alignment to the IDP to reflect the integrated development mandate in MMM. It ensures that MMM complies to constitutional directives by aligning municipal plans, budgets, projects and implementation reports  |
| MMM-Master Agri-Park Business Plan, 2016  | The plan draws from international practices to revitalize agricultural economy by clustering agro-processing activities. It identifies business, government, organizations, financial institutions and service providers as key stakeholders   |

(Free State Growth and Development Strategy, 2013, p. 21; MMM-BEPP, 2020 p. 18; MMM-District Development Model, 2022; MMM-Master Agri-Park Business Plan, 2016; MMM-IDP, 2022)

The MMM-IDP envisions efficient service delivery within environments that enable access to means of livelihood and prioritised local development. Specifically, to housing and the local economy, it aims

to foster integrated human settlement development with increased housing typologies while at the same time driving local economic development, poverty reduction and employment formation within municipal borders (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 61). The IDP also acknowledges current rapid urbanisation trends, urbanisation of poverty and unprecedented housing shortages not only in the country but also within municipal urban demarcations. It also stipulates that Mangaung's housing backlogs are higher than anywhere else in the Free State province, with approximately 311,149 houses required in 2016, most of which are in Mangaung Township (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 57). Moreover, the IDP realises the need to address spatial fragmentation by linking complementary factors, specifically residential units to workplaces hence jobs to people, services infrastructure to housing development, bringing auxiliary services to the entire population (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 209).

In partnership with the Department of Human Settlements, the municipalities are thus developing Social Housing and Community Residential Units (CRU) to answer the housing needs and as part of restoration initiatives (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 57). Catalytic projects that are being implemented as denoted by the IDP are Hillsideview, Vista Park 2 and Vista Park 3, within which mixed land uses including residential, business, retail, open spaces and municipal purposes, as well as sports, worship, education and hospital are being developed on vacant land (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 27) The main housing focus stipulated in the IDP is increased densification through the development of affordable housing (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 253), with typologies including BNG units, social housing, gap housing, bonded housing and student accommodation (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 260).

Additionally, within the IDP period, 10 catalytic economic development projects will be implemented to improve the local market, and the inclusion of various stakeholders will be at the forefront of this initiative. One of the strategies to foster this is merging the development of integrated human settlements with industrial development to facilitate efficient linkages between housing, labour and job opportunities (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 63). The IDP aims to foster LED, especially through promoting SMME support and the development of 2 Integration Zones. Accessibility to Integration Zone 1, consisting of Bloemfontein CBD, the eastern Industrial Node and the Airport Node, has been improved through the development of Buitesicht Bridge. The Integration Zone 1 is meant to generate economic opportunities in northern parts of Batho and Heidedal Townships. The Hamilton Industrial area, forming part of Integration Zone 2, also offers livelihood opportunities to Batho as the Integrated Public Transport Network (IPTN) goes through Mapisa Street in Batho. (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 206). The IPTN aims to incorporate affordable and efficient public transport services throughout Mangaung to improve mobility and accessibility for all residents (MMM City Wide Integrated Public Transport Plan

2015-2036, 2019). Though not acknowledged in the IDP, Bochabela Township stands to gain economic opportunities granted by both integration zones as it shares borders with Batho and Heidedal.

The IDP also makes mention of the CBD regeneration program, which demarcates renewal within the Bloemfontein CBD (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 265), and notwithstanding the IUDF's inner core notion, it excludes Bochabela Township though relatively close to the CBD. The regeneration program was meant to improve traffic flow, landscaping, safety, and security of the CBD while also improving informal trade management, drainage systems, and the business area. Planned restoration in Bochabela is infrastructural upgrade and maintenance of roads on Bogachu, Mpinda, Nthatisi, Mompoti, Mochochoko, Kala and Mohlomi streets (MMM-IDP, 2017, pp. 104-106). Furthermore, Bochabela Boxing Arena's upgrade into a dome to uphold its heritage (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 31) has since been completed. Funds have also been used to rehabilitate the Klein Magasa Hall, to rezone a site to facilitate an Early Childhood Development Center, and to rehabilitate roads and stormwater drainage (MMM-IDP, p. 35). Lastly, though the IDP makes mention of plans to refurbish social housing in the municipality (MMM-IDP, 2017, p. 159), there is no specific mention of how the dilapidated state of Bochabela housing will be addressed. However, the 2021 revised version of the IDP makes mention of the resident's aspirations of getting RDP housing and replacing asbestos roofing due to its health implications (MMM-IDP, p. 35). Given this, the Bochabela housing dilemma remains a challenge that is not fully strategically acknowledged, and therefore no prospects in relation to housing development are captured within the immediate municipal mandate for the township.

### 3.5 International Conventions and Regional Perspectives

Subsequent to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2015, world leaders proposed a worldwide agenda that sought to redress world inequalities and include all in the quest for a globally sustained development. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were then formulated in 2016, consisting of 17 goals and 169 targets. Some goals are directly relevant to this study, while others are indirect. The complex nature of adequate housing, economic development and the collaborative approach that this study is rooted in make SDGs 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 17 relevant. Table 3.1 delineates the direct and remote linkages between the study and selected SDGs.

Following Habitat Agenda 3 and greatly influenced by the Right to the City discourse, the world leaders formulated the New Urban Agenda in 2016 (Turok & Scheba, 2019, p. 494). The main objective of the agenda is to guide urban transformation on a sustainable trajectory following the rapid urbanisation

characterising cities, especially those in the Global South, particularly in Africa and Asia (United Nations, 2017). The agenda recognises that effective urbanisation should consider issues in stimulating investment in housing, diversifying housing options and improving urban finance.

This is also a critical issue, as argued by proponents (Satterthwaite, 2016, p. 7) and (Turok, 2016, p. 22), who have shown how municipalities should mobilise urban finance for urban development, especially housing, which remains critical in cities. Additionally, the role to be played by the urban planning fraternity in warranting inclusive and sustainable economic, social and environmental development has not gone unrealised (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 43). This then pushes the state to be mindful of engaging, inclusive approaches towards implementing urban renewal plans, as the agenda itself calls for multi-stakeholder alliances and voluntary collaborative initiatives for this purpose (United Nations, 2017, p. 39).

At the regional level, the African Union Commission enacted the Africa Agenda 2063 in 2015. This agenda is a 50-year strategy that envisions a united, affluent and diplomatic Africa whose development is fostered by its people and whose presence is felt within international markets. It calls for a collective effort by African states towards a seven-tiered aspiration and goal framework stipulated in Figure 3.2. The aspirations are regional prosperity; political unity and continental integration; good governance, democracy, human rights, justice and the rule of law; peace and security; cultural identity, heritage and ethics; people-driven development and strong influential global players (African Union Commission, 2015a).

**Table 3.1: Linking SDGs to the Study**

| GOAL  | INDICATORS   | REMARKS  |
|---|--|--|
| <b>Goal 1 – End Poverty</b>   | Improved access of poor and vulnerable groups to basic services, social and economic opportunities                   | Dwelling in decrepit housing falls right into the mandate of this goal, as it leaves the dwellers vulnerable to health (both mental and physical), environmental (storms, wind, pollution) and economic (poor performance, lack of income due to dearth of investment in dilapidated neighbourhoods) risks, which then lead to, or sustain poverty in communities.                 |
| <b>Goal 2 – End Hunger</b>  | Assured food security and improved access to food by the poor. Resilient agriculture and sustainable food production | This goal is somehow relevant to the study in that people dwell in houses that are perceived to be ideally located, in this case, closer to their means of livelihood, thus answering to their basic need for food.  |
| <b>Goal 3 – Ensure Healthy Lives and Promote Well-being</b>             | Terminating health outbreaks and infectious diseases decreased substance misuse and improved mental health.          | Physical and mental health tend to be tremendously affected in poor urban neighbourhoods due to congestion and sub-standard housing. Poor health deters people from sufficiently contributing to the economy and dwelling in dilapidated housing has been proven to affect mental and physical health, as discussed in Chapter 2 on the social implications of inadequate housing. |
| <b>Goal 6 – Ensure Availability of Water and Sanitation</b>             | Reduction of pollution and illegal dumping.<br><br>Access to clean water   | This is also one factor of adequate housing as per UN standards, and it factors into the issue of the availability of such services in Bochabela as part of demographic data.  |
| <b>Goal 8: Promote Decent Work and Sustainable Economic Development</b> | Diversification of job opportunities, improvement of technology and innovative labour-intensive initiatives          | Access to economic opportunities enables housing development while residing in adequate housing enables participation in the economy. Moreover, the availability of affordable, adequate housing is a sign of well-performing economic policies.   |

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
|  |   | Furthermore, housing can be utilised to generate local economies for the betterment of livelihoods  |
| <b>Goal 9 – Build Resilient Infrastructure and Sustainable Industrialisation</b> | Revived sustainable economic development and citizen welfare  | Industrialisation increases employment opportunities, thus enhancing civilian well-being, ensuring means of livelihood and improving their chances to attaining adequate housing.   |
| <b>Goal 10 – Reduced inequalities</b>  | Sustained income growth for the poor and eradication of prejudiced regulations  | This goal relates to colonial and apartheid legacies, wherein there still exists unequal opportunities for all, and the majority of natives dwell in substandard housing because of past land and property dispossessions.  |
| <b>Goal 11 - Safe and Sustainable Cities and Communities</b>                     | Assured access to defensible, adequate and inexpensive housing, sufficient service delivery and informal settlement upgrading, plus access to viable public transport. Enabling sustainable urbanisation, environmental care, and conservation of natural and cultural heritage | This goal is at the crux of this study and calls for enhanced participatory, integrated and sustainable planning and management systems towards human settlement development. By calling for access to adequate housing and relevant urban policies, plus safeguarding heritage resources, the agenda is aligned with this study, whose focus is the existence of inadequate (heritage) housing and declining economies in Bochabela Township.  |
| <b>Goal 17 – Partnerships for the Goals</b>                                      | Financial, technical, institutional and human resources available, plus multi-stakeholder partnerships formed at international, regional and local (plus grassroots) levels for the purposes of promoting and reaching SDGs   | The only way to achieve the SDGs is through a strong collaboration between various groups and levels of stakeholders in global, regional and local settings. This collaboration will present access to necessary and diverse resources and views, thus enabling inclusion, innovation and shared vision. This then highlights the importance of this study not only to contribute knowledge into the sustainable development space but also to re-emphasise the significance of collaboration at different levels of development processes. |

Source: (United Nations, 2016; United Nations, 2017)

The Africa Agenda 2063 directly responds to SDG provisions and thus complements the sustainable development discourse while driving the African continent's revitalisation. The strength of the strategy lies in its transformative nature (Tikly, 2019, p. 226), though whether South Africa will efficiently implement this strategy to achieve inclusive, transformative, sustainable housing and economic development remain to be seen. However, by November 2019, member states had yet to submit compulsory biennial implementation progress reports (AUDA-NEPAD, 2019). Nevertheless, as part of this agenda, South Africa has gained more acumen and is more motivated to achieve its constitutional provisions for transformation, as well as inclusive housing provision and economic development.



**Figure 3.11: Seven-Tiered Aspiration Framework with Related Goals and Priority Areas for African States**

Source: (African Union Commission, 2015b, p. vii)

In Table 3.2, I discuss relevant Africa Agenda aspirations, being 1, 4 and 6, which focus on regional prosperity, peace and security and people-driven development, respectively.

**Table 3.2: Linking Africa Agenda 2063 to the Study**

| <i>ASPIRATION</i>                                       | <i>INDICATOR</i>  | <i>LINKAGE TO STUDY</i>  |
|---|---|--|
| <i>ASPIRATION 1 – AFRICAN PROSPERITY</i>                | Sustainable regional development and inclusive progression  | The high poverty levels instilled by colonial and apartheid bureaucracy in South Africa call for action towards inclusive progress   |
| <i>ASPIRATION 4 – PEACEFUL AND SECURE AFRICA</i>        | Community harmony, embracing human rights, inclusion, prosperity, security and safety, protection of citizens | Historical and current action, sometimes violent action, against unjust policies as in the apartheid era, and poor service delivery as of the democratic era, commands national peace and equitable provision of secure housing options for all citizens |
| <i>ASPIRATION 6 – PEOPLE DRIVEN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT</i> | Vulnerable groups prioritised, participatory and collaborative decision making                                | The marginalisation of vulnerable groups in decision-making processes for many years, even in housing delivery processes, has led to policy failures, as seen in this section. This aspiration is a step in the right direction.                         |

Source: (African Union Commission, 2015a)

### 3.6 Conclusion

With instances drawn from the colonial, apartheid and democratic eras, I provided insight into the evolution of various housing laws that have shaped and guided housing development. It becomes clear from this chapter that the dearth of adequate housing for black citizens has been a challenge in South Africa for many decades. This mainly emanated from the racially discriminatory, legally enforced ideology of colonial and apartheid times, that black citizens were temporary inhabitants of urban areas only to provide cheap labour for the white elite. Due to unjust laws, black communities' urban settlements have since faced inadequate housing, poor service delivery and high poverty levels. Another crucial challenge these neighbourhoods face is failing economies, resulting from engineered unequal access to economic resources and opportunities.

The lapse of laws enforcing such prejudiced acuties brought triumph for human rights advocates and numerous citizens, as minority groups could now access previously unavailable economic and social

opportunities. However, it also intensified existing challenges and triggered new problems for the country, such as congestion of low-income earners and fleeing affluent residents and businesses from inner cities, thus resulting in urban decay and a declining economy. This called for massive policy and legislative reform from 1994 to date, with the turn towards a social democratic regime and collaborative initiatives being the most notable changes within the South African planning systems. The democratic government has transformed housing laws and economic development and learned many lessons along the way, leading to even more policy reforms. While the RDP enabled the delivery of over 3 million houses, its focus on quantity instead of quality supply led to many criticisms. Currently, the BNG and the Housing Code stand as housing development tools, and their inclusion of previously marginalised black communities is a positive effort towards realising the constitutional objective of spatial and economic transformation.

I think the state has improved the legislative framework over the years to link housing development with economic growth, but there is still a gap in ensuring that black townships' economies grow to such an extent that livelihoods are substantially and sustainably improved. The rehabilitation of old houses should also receive special attention, as this can reduce housing dilapidation and informality in townships, expand private rental options, and create or improve sustainable livelihoods for owners of these properties. The following chapter gives a conceptual understanding of urban decay, emphasising its implications for housing and local economies.

## CHAPTER 4: URBAN DECAY IN THE MAKINGS OF HOUSING DILAPIDATION IN CITIES

"Throughout the history of civilization, economic progress has led to the growth of cities. And cities have consequently come to dominate the culture of man and to symbolize human attainment. Yet the city has ever been a paradox of splendor and squalor. Unmatched in magnificence among the works of human endeavor, the city is also the site of appalling human misery, disorder, and decay. Much that is urban is indeed dismal and devoid of urbanity, and reproachfully odious to man. This which man would dispel from the city has come to be called urban blight" (Breger, 1967, p. 369)

### 4.1 Introduction

Taking from Breger's articulation above, dilapidation is rampant in urban areas. It poses social, economic and environmental implications on residents' daily lives. In this chapter, I deliberate on urban decay, considering cycles of growth and decline experienced by cities, to the detriment of hopeful urban dwellers, at first planning to attain better lives for themselves but ultimately facing a life of poverty and ills they never anticipated, yet eventually, adapt to. I ponder on the manifestations of housing decay in low-income settlements, with a specific focus on South African townships, and how this affects neighbourhoods' social, economic and environmental traits. This discussion thus highlights drivers and indicators of urban decay.

### 4.2 Manifestations of Urban Decay and their Implications to the Urban Fabric

Urban decay is one of the most crucial challenges facing global cities today (Hwang & Woo, 2020, p. 1). It manifests in various forms, such as substandard housing, extreme poverty, social disarray, environmental deterioration and economic meltdown (de Leon & Schilling, 2017, p. 3; Pike, et al., 2016, p. 4). With urbanisation accelerating as eras change, from the renaissance, industrial revolution, and nuclear age, up to the current fourth industrial age, the city fabric is becoming more strained, and the brunt of this stress is predominantly borne by the urban poor (Fol & Cunningham-Sabot, 2010, p. 382; Pinto & Sablik, 2016, p. 5).

Historically, the 1960s saw massive population growth within urban centres worldwide due to the third industrial revolution, especially in Europe and the United States (Lehmann, 2019, p. 16). This resulted in different forms of urban decay, especially in terms of housing and services infrastructure.

During this time, urban blight<sup>9</sup> or urban decay was understood as inadequate housing conditions in slums, while urban decline indicated reduced population in cities (also widely referred to as urban shrinkage) (Martinez-Fernandez, et al., 2012, p. 215; Dickerson, 2016, p. 975). However, with the dawn of urban redevelopment or renewal in answer to these ills, the definition was modified to encapsulate other factors beyond housing and population like improper social, economic, political and spatial attributes of the city (Pike, et al., 2016, p. 4; Pinto & Sablik, 2016, p. 2; Swanepoel & Smallwood, 2019).

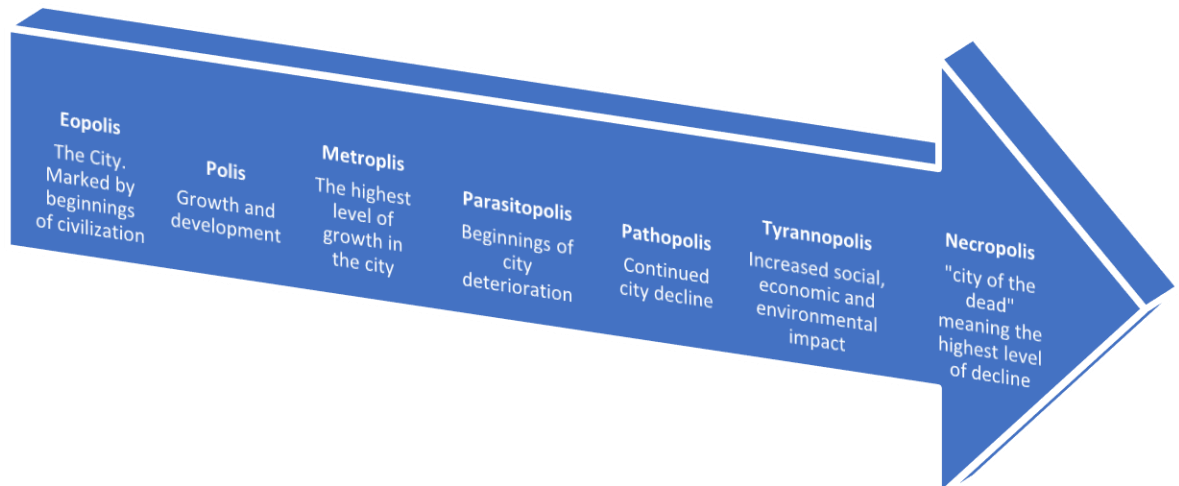
In Chapter 2, I highlighted that housing is intricately linked to social, economic and environmental attributes of urban areas, which means that their decay will, directly and indirectly, affect housing. Urban decline, urban blight, urban rot, urban degeneration or urban decay are understood as one concept for the purposes of this study. This is indicative of the sum of all ills within the city's social, economic, environmental and political context over a certain period of time and especially detrimental to the quality of life and housing adequacy.

It is important to note here that time is crucial because cities have lifecycles, meaning they experience vicious phases of development and decay (Fol & Cunningham-Sabot, 2010, p. 375; Martinez-Fernandez, et al., 2012, p. 215). For example, inner cities are initially characterized by new residential and business properties, booming economies and higher occupation of elites. However, with time, and due to external forces and natural ageing cycles, they begin to deteriorate, high-income dwellers begin to relocate, and lower-income households start to infiltrate the area, while the economy of the inner city takes a knock as businesses close down, and properties and the environment deteriorate (K'Akumu, 2007, p. 223; Pinto & Sablik, 2016, p. 10).

This was the case in Johannesburg, South Africa (Crankshaw & White, 1995, p. 622); Mbabane, Swaziland (Ndlela, 2010, p. 30); Hong Kong, China (Ho, et al., 2012, p. 153), Tribzon, Turkey (Yavuz, 2016, p. 162), Rotterdam in the Netherlands, Baltimore and Boston in the United States and Birmingham in the United Kingdom (Acioly, 1999, pp. 10, 13). This lifecycle of cities was succinctly elaborated by Lewis Mumford in 1961, by creating Greek-related terms that explain these phases and their indicators, as shown in Figure 4.12.

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<sup>9</sup> The term urban blight was coined from as early as the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and with evolution from the Renaissance, through the Industrial Revolution, to the times following the Great Depression and the World Wars, the terming changed to urban decay, or decline, or deterioration (Breger, 1967, pp. 370-371)



**Figure 4.12: Lewis Mumford's Phases of City Decline**

Source: (Fol & Cunningham-Sabot, 2010, p. 375)

Other conceptualizations have been developed since Mumford's phases of city decline. One such, integrated within spatial resilience, is the adaptive cycle, which highlights the occurrence of decay and renewal in a lifecycle. It considers a system resilient by being receptive and flexible through the manifestation of four stages namely growth/exploitation, conservation/consolidation, release/creative destruction and re-organization/renewal. (Barnes & Nel, 2017, p. 223; Martin-Breen & Andries, 2011, p. 47). These stages exhibit that disruptions in systems, such as urban decay, can lead to positive effects such as renewal, which, under normal circumstances, would not have been possible. According to Barnes and Nel, (2017, p. 224), urban dilemmas such as inadequate housing may be viewed as opportunities for growth through foresight, innovation, and preparation. Some research in South Africa emphasized the need for planners and decision makers to understand and effectively apply the adaptive cycle concept to sustainable urban development (Kgotse & Landman, 2022, p. 408).

In urban areas, several factors exacerbate dilapidation, which impacts housing and other city elements, as discussed in the following discussion. Some like (K'Akumu, 2007, p. 224) have referred to urban decay as an urban pathology to indicate that if this dilapidation is not interrupted, it may be terminal for cities. Figure 4.13 uses the manifestations of township decay and the interlinkage between its social, economic and environmental indicators as a typical example of the vicious circle of

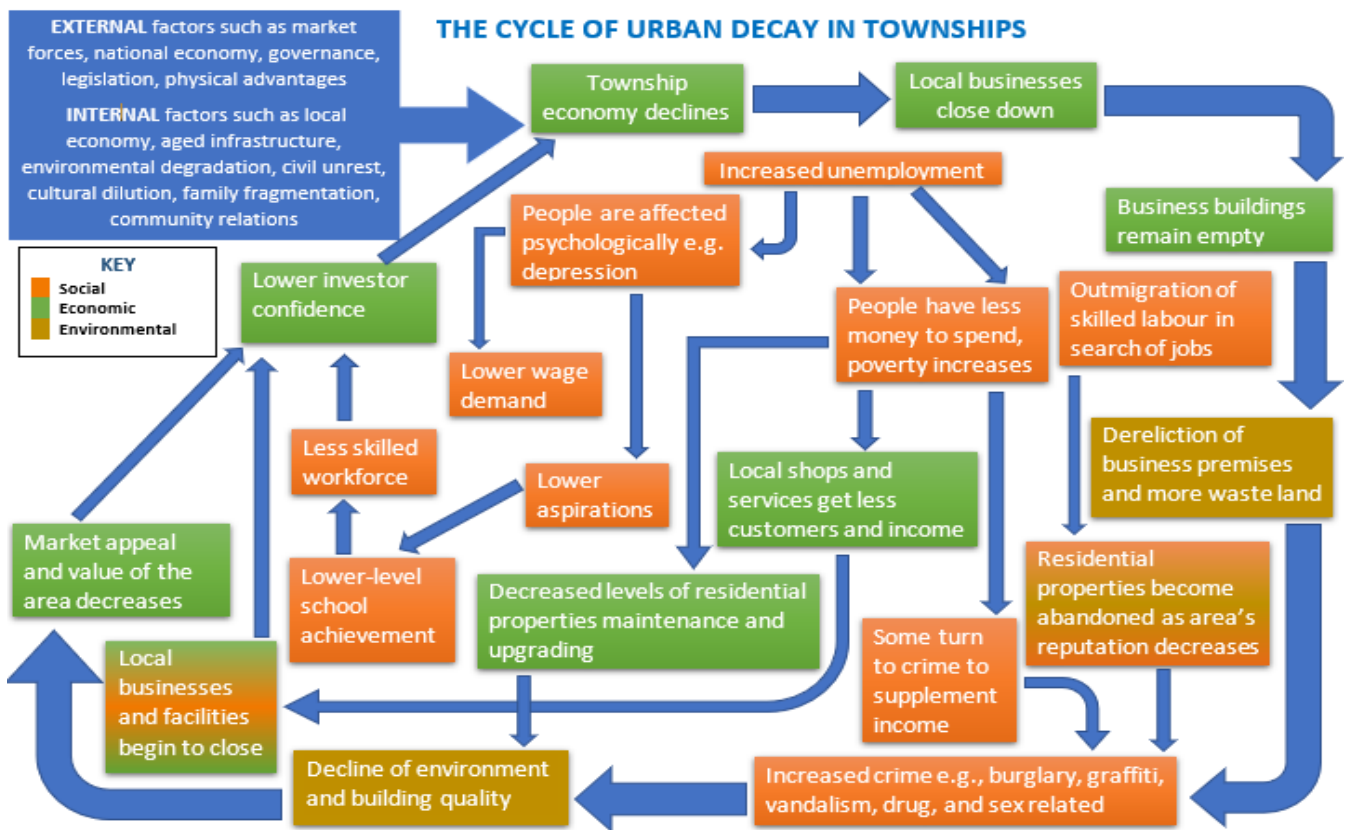
decay impetus. This example was adopted from the case of deindustrialization in world cities cited on the Cool Geography website<sup>10</sup>.

Generally, urban decay occurs because of urban land use practices, changes occurring over time, interactions within urban spaces and natural wear and tear of infrastructure. To categorize these causes and their attributes in a logical manner, I link a stipulation by (Breger, 1967, p. 376) that the causes of urban blight are directly related to four factors (the change in land uses, the evolution of technology, improved social values and ongoing misuse of property), with credible suggestions by other scholars that urban decay is caused by redlining<sup>11</sup>, poverty, racial segregation and suburbanisation (Acioly, 1999, p. 7; Agueda, 2014, p. 4; Dickerson, 2016, pp. 980-990; Hwang & Woo, 2020, p. 2; Pacione, 2005, p. 438). By linking these thinking patterns, I thus articulate a more comprehensive context outlining drivers and indicators of urban decay in relation to housing.

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<sup>10</sup> [https://www.coolgeography.co.uk/A-level/AQA/Year%2013/World%20Cities/Decline/Urban\\_Decline.htm](https://www.coolgeography.co.uk/A-level/AQA/Year%2013/World%20Cities/Decline/Urban_Decline.htm)

<sup>11</sup> Redlining was coined in the United States around the 1950s-1960s wherein the federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) rating system used on neighbourhoods for the purposes of acquiring home loans declared black neighbourhoods of the lowest rank, encrypted in red, and the white neighbourhoods were given the highest ranks coded in green and blue. The ranks were based on levels of safety, stability and economic levels. Due to the redlining, black citizens were generally denied "low-cost and federally-insured mortgage loans" (Dickerson, 2016, p. 982)



**Figure 4.13: Social, Economic & Environmental Consequences of Urban Decay**

Adapted from: (Gamesby, n.d.)

### 4.3 Indicators of Urban Decay

#### 4.3.1 Environmental Decay

This refers to the decline of a physical environment in terms of dilapidation of the built environment, abandonment of properties, poor maintenance of the area and deficient urban planning and design. Environmental decay is also reflected through unkempt open spaces, illegal dumping and overgrown vegetation on vacant sites (Lehmann, 2019, p. 15). The most common and easily recognizable characteristic of urban decay, directly linked to this study, is decrepit housing, which is a sign of inadequacy (discussed in Chapter 2), typified by substandard residential buildings, congestion and lack of basic services such as water, electricity and sewerage systems. (Glaeser & Gyourko, 2005, p. 348) indicate that housing durability directly links urban decline to poverty, which clarifies an assertion by (Rydin, et al., 2012) that urban decay is closely related to sub-standard housing through poor

maintenance of buildings, exemplified by leaking roofing, insecure doors, cracked walls and broken windows.

Moreover, air, water and land pollution are common indicators of urban decline due to industrial and traffic combustion and poor waste management. This is especially evident when the infrastructure of dilapidating housing begins to break down and burst pipes, causing water leakages and reeking sewerage, and as informal settlers and traders toss dirty water and garbage on the streets. Congestion leads to loud noise in the area. Decayed neighbourhoods also feature neglected buildings, usually acting as dens for crime and vandalism, and in areas previously laden with industrial activity, the neglected factory buildings tend to be crime sites (Pacione, 2005, p. 759).

The most recognizable environmental impact of urban decay is damaged aesthetics. Also, dilapidated urban environments are an eyesore and lead to safety concerns because old, deteriorating buildings and infrastructure tend to collapse. The collapse of existing urban infrastructural facilities then leads to either insufficient or complete lack of necessary infrastructure in some urban centres, contributing to social ills in the area. Additionally, some fundamental environmental and health implications of urban decay are human-induced disasters like fires, industrial disasters, and natural disasters such as floods and erosion (Pacione, 2005, p. 763). Unregulated use of urban land, as is the case with the development of informal settlements on land set aside for agricultural purposes, plus vacant land used for illegal dumping, decreases the value of land, further eliciting urban decay. Unregulated development on urban peripheries also falls within this scope.

#### 4.3.2 Economic Decline

The economic decline within an area is an indicator of urban decay evident when a former economically thriving area no longer yields profits that are sufficient for its upkeep. This could be due to the failure to attract new investment opportunities or a change in consumer patterns following the relocation of previous commercial drivers due to evolution, suburbanisation, and urban sprawl. Additionally, changes in labour demand can trigger economic decline, wherein high skills are needed, but locals have low skills (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 37; Slach, et al., 2019, p. 4). In the case of industrial areas, sites are usually neglected and left vacant, or in other cases, they are not adequately used and therefore rendered unprofitable (Marais, 2008, p. 8). Housing markets also tend to perform badly as housing values decrease due to dilapidation (de Leon & Schilling, 2017, p. 18). In turn, this decrease in property values reduces the neighbourhood's tax revenue, resulting in poor service

delivery considering financial shortages. In former East Bloc countries such as Poland, Czechia, Slovakia and Hungary, inner cities decayed due to disinvestment in housing stock and relocation of affluent tenants to the suburbs (Slach, et al., 2019, p. 4). In addition, declining neighbourhoods tend to overshadow their communities' progressive traits, so crime rates increase as a means of survival. This, in turn, discourages investment opportunities and business development as prospective investors are repelled by unflattering physical conditions and unpleasing aesthetics of implicated neighbourhoods, plus fear for their safety and security (Branas, et al., 2016, p. 2063; Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 41).

Congestion of transport corridors resulting from a high influx of poor population in decayed neighbourhoods decreases the general attractiveness of the area, especially for certain business investors who see such overcrowding as a breeding place for inefficiency and poor work performance due to unintended yet unavoidable, constant lateness for work particularly where public transport is not available due to declining municipal revenue. This further instigates the economic decline of an area. Declining areas also experience brain drains as skilled labour usually relocates to better neighbourhoods, leaving behind only unskilled labour, which then decreases the work quality and performance, hence poor formal economies (Pike, et al., 2016, p. 22). The informal economic sector is also negatively impacted in that most of those residing in decayed neighbourhoods are poor and therefore have little to spend, and this poor buying power limits spending in an area. Moreover, high crime rates affect informal traders, who repeatedly face the challenge of being vandalized, thus damaging their income levels. This is a vicious circle that gets worse instead of better unless some form of intervention is instigated.

#### 4.3.3 Social Deterioration

Decayed cities are usually the centre of social afflictions (Glaeser & Gyourko, 2005, p. 348). These afflictions have multiple negative social implications on, among others, health, community unity, safety and security. The health of dwellers is affected by sub-standard housing conditions, with mouldy and dusty interiors causing skin and respiratory complications and, in the worst-case scenario, reduced physical activity and death (Pike, et al., 2016, p. 4). Since a person's health is not only affected by the house within which he dwells but also by the neighbourhood where he resides, deteriorated conditions also lead to behavioural and psychological problems such as anxiety, despair and indifference, which may also contribute to instances of irresponsible sexual activities that lead to ill health, drug abuse and suicide (de Leon & Schilling, 2017, p. 9).

Residents of well-kept houses have a strong sense of place attachment, they tend to have a deeper sense of belonging than those who reside decrepit dwellings (Newton & Schuermans, 2013). Place attachment, which can positively impact a person, is linked to the Broken Window Theory, which has negative implications. As articulated by (de Leon and Schilling, 2017, p. 11), vacant and deserted buildings "create a climate of social and psychological disorder that attracts criminal activity and violence and becomes a breeding ground for vermin". This thinking echoes the Broken Window Theory's claim that perceived and actual crime is triggered by neighbourhood disinvestment (Maskaly & Boggess, 2014, p. 1). Increased levels of criminal activity, such as drug and human trafficking, theft and homicide, are the result of urban decay in some neighbourhoods (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 41). This is directly caused by poverty, as some dwellers act beyond legal margins in the quest to attain livelihoods.

Moreover, when neighbourhoods are left in disrepair, residents become less engaged due to fear, reduced protection and lack of external support. Thus, greening and fixing broken infrastructure in the neighbourhood can increase safety. This requires some place attachment, which is reflected through community pride, commitment, guardianship and home improvements (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2004, p. 361; Konkol, et al., 2019, p. 4). In South Africa, a national study by Venter, Shackleton, Faull, Lancaster, Breetzke and Edelstein, (2022, p. 7), exposed that urban greening contributed to decreased crime rates, and so has to be on the forefront of the urban planning agenda.

#### 4.4 Drivers of Urban Decay

Drivers of urban decay fall within the parameters of functional or frictional decline. Functional decline occurs when existing land uses do not fit into the original zoning and purpose of the area. Given this, the area fails to cater to the dwellers' needs and demands. An example is a tendency to turn office spaces into residential spaces without improving infrastructural components such as ablution blocks and parking spaces. In social terms, urban decay manifests itself through magnified unemployment and resultant crime rates, while families are fragmented as other members move out in search of means of livelihoods elsewhere, hence depopulation. This is popular in South African mining towns such as Welkom/ Matjhabeng, where upon closure of mines, the hostels that previously used to accommodate the miners were used as low-income dwellings for the poor (Marais, 2013, p. 514). Another example is the alteration of previous office buildings into residential blocks in South African CBDs, such as in Johannesburg (Bethlehem, 2013, p. 23).

Frictional decline, on the other hand, manifests when adjacent land uses are incompatible, resulting in decreased performance of each other. This could be because of poor planning or urban design. An example is locating a hospital right next to a noisy and fume-producing industry. In some neighbourhoods dumping sites are located adjacent to a residential area, causing much harm to the environment, affecting health and decreasing the value of the area. The following are specific drivers of urban decay as identified by several scholars such as (Marais, 2008, p. 3; (Masron, 2020, p. 2; Yavuz, 2016, p. 156).

#### 4.4.1 Poor Urban Planning and Design

Poor urban planning practices have resulted in an urban decline in many countries. This is because investment opportunities are lost to a neighbourhood due to spatial planning that no longer caters for current conditions. This is echoed by (Marais, 2008, p. 3) in the context of South Africa, where planning laws and zoning regulations limited Black Local Authorities' access to business and investment opportunities, thus limiting retail tax in segregated areas. Moreover, constricted roads that result in traffic congestion because of poor urban design, plus insufficient means of communication, are not conducive to high economic activity and are therefore considered as 'diseconomies of scale' by (Masron, 2020, p. 2). For example, most South African townships are in areas poorly connected to economic opportunities, and some lack even basic internet service provision, while the road networks, having been developed during apartheid times, are limited and restrict multiple entries into CBDs (Scheba & Turok, 2020, p. 80).

Furthermore, land use management systems also contribute to urban decay. For one, if some urban areas are neglected in terms of economic prioritization, this could lead to the closure of existing economic drivers such as factories, human resources and buying power, thereby leading to the abandonment of buildings and a declining economy, hence urban decay. This is the case in Thaba Nchu, in the Free State province of South Africa, where disinvestment by the ruling party led to the closure of over 50% of local factories and several shopping centres, leaving buildings neglected (Marais, 2008, p. 8). Poor Urban Planning and design also contribute to housing ills, as seen with informal housing development in many countries where the poor move from areas of limited economies and use informal residence in inner cities as they cannot afford the formal options.

#### 4.4.2 Technology Evolution

While technological advancement has resulted in improved economies for some cities, it has yielded opposite results in others. Historically, the technological and industrial revolution in the late 1960s

had significant ecological implications (Yavuz, 2016, p. 156). Specifically, the advent of automobile occasioned many neighbourhood effects, especially in the US and Europe, inclusive of pressure from traffic and the development of slums due to lack of housing, resulting in the relocation of prominent residents from inner cities to suburbs and therefore declined local economies, thus urban decay (Crankshaw & White, 1995, p. 623; Martinez-Fernandez, et al., 2012, p. 217). Additionally, technological advancement such as e-commerce (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 37) has led to massive job losses as machines replaced human labour and as old industries declined (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 296; Duminy, et al., 2020, p. 7; Fol & Cunningham-Sabot, 2010, p. 367). This has direct implications for housing in that loss of employment means decreased income, hence restricted affordability for housing maintenance. Also, new standards after advancement have resulted in the decline of certain rendered services within the commercial sector, leading to decreased incomes and, therefore, failure to maintain residential and commercial properties due to economic constrictions by both the landlords and tenants.

#### 4.4.3 Conflicting Land Uses

When land uses work in agreement, they positively influence the economic vitality of an area. This is directly related to economies of agglomeration, where similar companies operate from the same locality to benefit from similar inputs, labour sources and spill-overs, thus reducing operational costs. Taking Silicon Valley, in the US, for instance, a significant number of technology-related businesses are clustered and thus attract software engineers into the area (Pinto & Sablik, 2016, p. 6). However, progress can result in parting such complementary land uses, the consequence of which is gradual, and in some instances even rapid, area decline. This is seen in Lusaka, Zambia, where the CBD, mainly designed for commercial purposes, lacks social activities to complement the residential land uses (Muchindu, 2010, p. 51).

Furthermore, new land uses in an area may conflict with existing ones or be spatially unjust, to the detriment of the neighbourhood (Ho, et al., 2012, pp. 154, 156; Muchindu, 2010, p. 51; Slach, et al., 2019). Such conflicts are usually at the boundaries between different land uses, such as industrial and residential uses or residential and agricultural uses. They often occur as a result of urban sprawl (Multnomah Country Planning Commission, 1967, p. 17). For instance, in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, when the Settlers Way freeway was constructed in Central Hill, the area soon began to show signs of decay (Swanepoel & Smallwood, 2019). This was partly due to a decline in property values and the relocation of prominent settlers to a suburban area, owing to land, air and noise pollution, view obstruction and lack of light caused by the freeway (Swanepoel & Smallwood, 2019). As reflected in

the Central Hill case, another problem is the spill over effects of new land uses upon old ones. Applying this example to housing dilapidation, it would mean that the residents of Central Hill neglected their houses because the environment was no longer conducive to them and because the houses were no longer being properly maintained, they then dilapidated.

#### 4.4.4 Property Misuse

The appearance of residents, especially poor ones, coupled with their activities within places, collectively contribute to urban blight. Congestion in blighted neighbourhoods is the cause of insufficient crucial services necessary for everyday welfare, while crime, disease, and unattractive environments are the order of the day. Vacant and neglected properties are used as crime hotspots where human and drug trafficking, prostitution and illegal dwellings occur, as in the case of Philadelphia in the US (Branas, et al., 2016, p. 2162). Added to this, high densities in poorly maintained housing cause further dilapidation, yet at the same time, poor neighbourhoods are characterized by both high densities and poor-quality housing. Therefore, deep-rooted exploitation of property is reflected through property market deficiencies, lack of public and private investments, and deteriorated public services due to overcrowding pressures.

#### 4.4.5 Social Standards and Suburbanisation

Urbanisation has driven improved social standards for some city dwellers. However, this has resulted in increased and wasteful use of resources, thus, degradation. As asserted by Yavuz, (2016, p. 156), the change in times instilled consumption rather than production tendencies within communities, especially granting the ability to afford material goods. Additionally, when inner-city dwellers get increased incomes, their preferences change, and they move to better residential areas (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 37) as in the case of suburbanisation in Hungary (Gyula & Tamas, 2016, p. 110), especially if crime rates have increased in the inner city (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 41).

The lack of low-cost housing for lower-income earners who migrate to inner cities due to the convenience of adjacent workplaces also features that the most adequate housing available is above the affordability scale of poor immigrants (Lindamood, 1974, p. 23). Also, as higher-income earners move to newer suburbs, they leave behind older, decrepit housing, which attracts lower-income earners due to its low rental cost (Kathuria & Parida, 2014, p. 57). Lower-income earners also lack sufficient funds necessary for the upkeep of the houses, thus contributing to urban decay (Slach, et al., 2019, p. 4).

#### 4.4.6 Immigration and Poverty

When poor migrants penetrate and aggregate urban areas, urban decay occurs as the area fails to grow due to low economic contribution from the occupants (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015, p. 16). When lower-income individuals are concentrated within one residential area, the social implications that follow poverty, such as increased crime and drug use, result in property decline, yet another driver for dilapidated buildings and ultimate neglect (Stadler & Dugmore, 2017, p. 14). It is common for housing stock in old neighbourhoods to deteriorate further due to a lack of upkeep, even more so when owners leave the area and rent out their houses. Tenants also fail to take responsibility for property that belongs to someone else, especially when they perceive themselves as transient. Even though suburbanisation may be viewed as a positive occurrence by those who argue that it is a sign of economic growth, suburbanisation may however yield negative results wherein out-migration occurs. When economically stable, employed residents leave a neighbourhood, they take with them their development-inducing potential, rendering this area with high unemployment and poverty levels due to higher levels of unskilled labour. This may also lead to increased crime, and failure to attract investments, therefore, ultimate urban decay (Hwang & Woo, 2020, p. 3).

Neighbourhoods with high poverty levels end up experiencing urban decay due to various factors. For one, most dwellers in poor areas fail to maintain their properties due to affordability issues. And this is if they have a property to start with. Those without houses resort to informal means of housing, which fail to meet building regulations and adequacy standards (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015, p. 14). Additionally, there is a tendency for such areas to have noticeable levels of crime and drug use, which in turn deters investment. Property values in such areas then decline, leading to further disrepair and ultimate abandonment. In South African cities, dwellers generally fail to pay for basic services, which leads to the deterioration of services infrastructure (Bethlehem, 2013, p. 17).

#### 4.4.7 Economic Policies and Market Failures

Another important driver is economic specialization, whereas the city's lack of economic diversity makes it vulnerable especially considering evolving economic activities (Agueda, 2014, p. 3). Market failure caused by a decline in rendered services can lead to decreased economic activity and thereafter decline in districts. Furthermore, the failure of states to support certain areas economically may also lead to decay. This is linked to political decisions related to the implementation of place-specific policies. Such policies aim to boost the progress of some areas and discourage or disregard development in other areas (Marais, 2016).

Globalization is another critical driver of urban decay, directly linked to market failure through the closure of local factories. In this regard, local buyers opt for cheaper international brands instead of supporting locally produced goods, to the detriment of means of livelihoods and sometimes entire neighbourhoods. Specifically, to housing, urban decay is attributed to market failure, wherein states fail to efficiently allocate housing resources. Thus, urban residents resort to informal means of housing, a fundamental contributor to urban decay (Tacoli, McGranahan & Satterthwaite, 2015, p. 14). This is linked to the idea that spatial segregation, according to class, leads to growing urban decay, in that it is apparent in poor housing market performances.

#### 4.4.8 Redlining and Racial Segregation

Low-income groups are sometimes excluded from the provision of certain services through high costs that they find unaffordable. In South Africa, the income group classified as the gap market cannot afford housing acquisition through the private sector bonded market, yet at the same time, did not qualify for social housing. This posed a fundamental challenge in terms of housing access for them, and so many resorted to informal housing. Banks also sideline some groups in the offering of housing support or in acquiring housing in certain areas (Dickerson, 2016, p. 989). There is also the issue of reverse redlining (Brescia, 2009; Haferburg & Huchzermeyer, 2017). These further instigate poverty and unemployment, plus invalidate the assistance that loans and housing support could have otherwise provided to lessen this.

Another cause of decay closely related to colonial planning is discrimination and racial segregation (Jenkins, et al., 2007, p. 113), which were common in countries such as the United States during the 1950s and 1960s (Dickerson, 2016, p. 989), and in South Africa during apartheid (Jenkins, et al., 2007, p. 228). Racial segregation leads to urban decline by reinforcing racial inequalities, which result in high unemployment levels within certain races, thereby increasing poverty and crime levels within their neighbourhoods, ultimately leading to the deterioration of specific areas. Racial segregation is also related to redlining. Neighbourhoods of racially segregated people end up decaying because their tenants are denied economic opportunities, which could help in general upkeep and maintenance of the neighbourhood, especially in improving the housing market. In countries like Britain, this spatial segregation resulted in premature housing obsolescence (Nesslein, 1988, p. 209). By stifling economic opportunities, racial discrimination therefore also indirectly stifles city growth by promoting decay.

#### 4.4.9 Personal and Political Decisions

Decisions made at different levels determine the beginnings and the direction that blight follows. On a personal scale, if individuals collectively act towards neighbourhood upkeep by maintaining their properties, for example, then the area would stand a greater chance at staying enhanced, as it would also be possible for it to attract economic investments. However, this is a matter of possibility versus capability, as it depends on the economic opportunities and means of livelihood available to the residents. Similarly, the political will of the state, reflected through supportive place-based policies and timely remedial action in times of apparent blight, may contribute to the upkeep of the urban fabric. This is notwithstanding natural wear and tear of properties. The green living and green economy movements are good examples of personal and political decisions to maintain and upkeep neighbourhoods while also minimizing excessive use of resources. Figure 4.14 illustrates the widespread drivers of urban decay, as discussed.



**Figure 4.14: Urban Decay Drivers**

Source: (Acioly, 1999, p. 7; Breger, 1967, pp. 374-375; Dickerson, 2016, pp. 980-990)

## 4.5 Conclusion

The preceding discussion revealed that urban decay emerged at the height of the industrial revolution mostly due to natural circles of decline but also because of human triggers such as rapid urbanisation and globalization. These led to a shortage of adequate housing, and by informally answering the housing need, poor urban dwellers were faced with the socio-economic ills of decaying neighbourhoods. Various international, regional and local contexts were highlighted to reflect the drivers and indicators of urban decay. The lesson here is that while different regions may vary in economic status, housing and economic development issues are at the forefront of urban decay and that in devising neighbourhood revitalisation goals, it is fundamental to understand the causes and manifestations of urban decay within local contexts. Such an understanding is integral to urban renewal strategies that truly solve inherent urban housing and economic challenges.

## CHAPTER 5: URBAN RENEWAL IN LIGHT OF URBAN HOUSING AND LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

“Dull, inert cities, it is true, do contain the seeds of their own destruction and little else. But lively, diverse, intense cities contain the seeds of their own regeneration, with energy enough to carry over for problems and needs outside themselves.” (Jacobs, 1961)

### 5.1 Introduction

Given the urban decay discussed hitherto, this chapter unpacks the concept of urban renewal, which was intended to enhance the social, economic, physical and environmental aspects of blighted urban areas (Zheng, et al., 2017(a), p. 904). Because this study focuses on understanding housing dilapidation, its impacts and mitigations, how township economies can be boosted through housing and how communities can collaborate in bettering their housing and economic dilemmas, this chapter highlight a conceptual understanding of urban renewal and its approaches integral to the study objectives. The approaches are grouped into three sections as follows; residential revitalisation (which entails gentrification, incumbent upgrading and self-help housing); economic redevelopment (comprising city marketing, mega-buildings, city centre redevelopment, event-driven regeneration, creative industries), and lastly, social restoration (which features culture-led regeneration and community development). These approaches are intertwined, and while each has distinctive characteristics, the discussion concludes that different approaches and experiences grant lessons to establish urban renewal as one of the best strategies for sustainable housing and economic transformation, thus, can be utilized to create frameworks towards viable and successful reform of decayed South African Townships.

### 5.2 Conceptual Understanding and Background

The complexity of urban renewal is inherently rooted in several definitions reflecting the economic, social and physical dimensions it aims to address (refer to Table 5.1. Various scholars have used different terms to refer to this process of alleviating urban ills, including urban revitalisation (Acioly, 1999, p. 9), remediation (Branas, et al., 2016, p. 2159), regeneration and transformation (Agueda, 2014, p. 4). Others have called it a renaissance, refurbishment and restoration of urban areas Ramlee, et al., 2015, p. 362; Winkler, 2009, p. 363). Proponents such as Branas, et al., (2016, p. 2163); Düzgüneş & Saraç, (2018, p. 2); Zheng, et al., (2017(a), p. 904) have thus attested to the ability of urban renewal to mitigate underlying implications of urban decline and improve the quality of lives for poor urban communities.

For this study, urban renewal, regeneration and revitalisation will be used interchangeably to refer to a strategic, cautious, innovative and sustainable urban planning approach meant to strengthen spatial reforms and (re)structure urban land uses through social rehabilitation, economic development, physical preservation, and cultural conservation of urban environments, thus effectively alleviating urban decay (Acioly, 1999, p. 6; Adedeji & Arayela, 2018, p. 77; Agueda, 2014, p. 5; Dickerson, 2016, p. 996; Düzgüneş & Saraç, 2018, p. 2; Liu, et al., 2017, p. 1; Ramlee, et al., 2015, p. 362; Yavuz, 2016, p. 670; Yi, et al., 2017, p. 1). The goals of urban renewal are accomplished via the principal dimensions stated in Table 5.1.

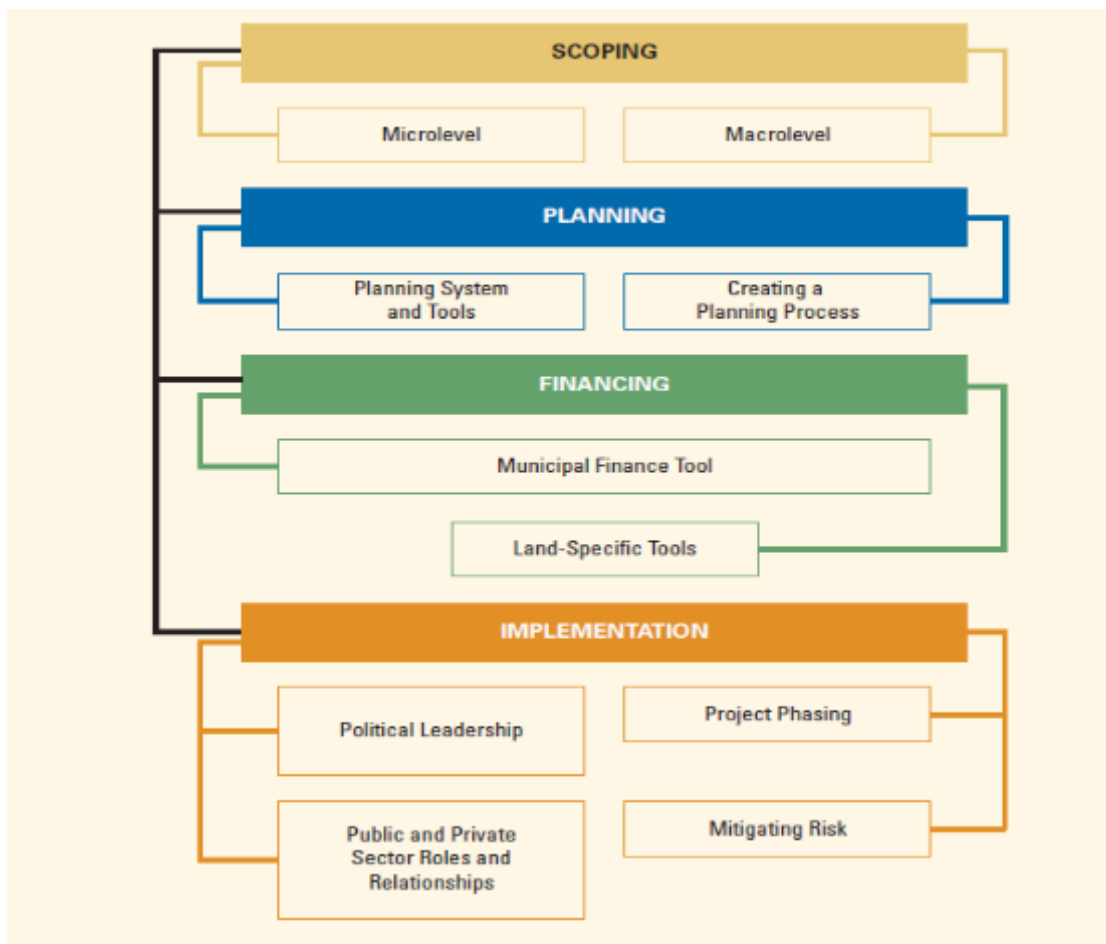
**Table 5.1: Three Principal Dimensions of Urban Renewal**

| <i>Dimension</i> | <i>Components</i>  | <i>Considerations</i>  |
|------------------|--|--|
| <i>Physical</i>  | Buildings, houses, communication systems, the general environment, public infrastructure – streets, sidewalks, open spaces, parks.     | The overarching renewal type. It must ensure resilience from natural and manmade disasters such as earthquakes, floods and congestion through good urban design and services infrastructure                |
| <i>Social</i>    | People, livelihoods, health, education, employment, safety/crime, population dynamics, cultural identity, and institutions.            | Public participation should be encouraged in order to ensure the integration of public interests and improved lives of people in renewed neighbourhoods and to counter any resultant or unintended impacts |
| <i>Economic</i>  | Businesses, property prices, costs of renewal, income generation, skill-appropriate jobs, the housing market, and resource efficiency. | Issues of profit and loss to dwellers and the ability of the place to attract investment and generate jobs should be highly considered   |

Source: (Hendler & Thompson-Smeddle, 2009, p. 8; Usta, et al., 2014, pp. 2-3)

Renewal occurs gradually (Acioly, 1999, p. 9) and may result in fundamental structural changes pertaining to urban institutions, behavioural patterns and psychological perspectives of urban dwellers (Maasen & Galvin, 2019, p. 12). Hence it is referred to as a transformation. Furthermore, demographic dynamics such as population trends were affected by deindustrialization, globalization, decentralization, global development guidelines and climate change, which have led to deterioration and a need for restructuring (Montgomery, 2008, p. 761). Additionally, urban regeneration has been linked to sustainable development to raise the importance of balancing efficient resource use, environmental care, social upliftment and economic development during regeneration initiatives. Those who advocate for sustainable urban renewal, therefore, define the concept based on the conservation of available resources during the reconstruction of urban areas as opposed to complete demolition (Ho, et al., 2012, p. 154; Zheng, et al., 2017, p. 904).

The process of urban renewal can either be state-led, private sector-led, or community-led, and all these follow the procedure of identifying the local need, designing possible ways through which the need will be answered, identifying sources of, and attaining financial and other resources support for executing plans in answer to the need for renewal (Amirtahmasebi, Orloff, Wahba, & Altman, 2016, p. 4). The various procedures and resource need to facilitate urban renewal necessitate collaboration between various people. As emphasized by Lehmann (2019, p. 24), urban regeneration is a highly complex process that involves multiple stakeholders, including government agencies, developers, local communities, and various professionals such as architects, planners, and economists. He recognizes that successful urban regeneration projects require effective collaboration and coordination among these diverse actors. A typical example of this process is highlighted in Figure 5.1.



**Figure 5.15: The Process of Urban Renewal**

Source: (Amirtahmasebi, et al., 2016, p. 4)

Urban renewal began in the US and Europe following the Second World War, and from the 1950s till the 1970s, massive slum clearance, public housing construction and general city improvements were

effected to tackle the ruin caused by war (Yavuz, 2016, p. 158). This period was typified by racialized and involuntary slum clearances and relocations of many poor dwellers, which broke up strong social networks. Some were supplied with public housing, though in many cases, it was far from the convenience of amenities and services, which then necessitated private vehicle use hence increased commuting and pollution (Dimuna & Omatsone, 2010, p. 145; (Hughes, 2010, p. 118; Maculan & Dal Moro, 2020, p. 3). Development of high-rise buildings, landscaping improvement and economic development were conducted, hence the conception of what we now know as urban renewal (Adedeji & Arayela, 2018, p. 77; Couch et al., 2011, p. 3). Jane Jacobs was vital in pronouncing the adverse impacts of this redevelopment and advocated for neighbourhood integration, sustainability, and mixed land uses (Maculan & Dal Moro, 2020, p. 3).

In the 1960s, mainly characterized by deindustrialization, urban renewal was utilized to improve city competitiveness and revive diminished economies (Griffiths, 2010, p. 3). While the 1970s saw a distinct social disconnect between deprived urban neighbourhoods (Donaldson & Du Plessis, 2013, p. 296), the 1980s and 1990s, witnessed many countries worldwide adopting inclusive urban renewal as a mode of addressing decrepit neighbourhoods, improving social well-being, encouraging partnerships and developing local economies. So initially, the process was principally state-driven and dominantly destructive, but gradually emphasised sustainability and initiation of public-private partnerships into urban renewal implementation (Paddison, 2010, p. 34; Yavuz, 2016, p. 158). Though a matter of contestation, some scholars argue that urban renewal has since been conducted in a manner that aims to preserve the human, social, economic and environmental pillars to induce sustainable development (Ho, et al., 2012, p. 154; Zheng, et al., 2017, p. 904).

Urban renewal in South Africa stems from massive and unfair house demolitions, minority groups evictions and forced removals driven by the segregationist apartheid regime. This process, though state-driven, was meant to benefit a few favoured ethnical regions to the detriment of others. The process followed top-down capitalist approaches that were wasteful in terms of resources and inconsiderate of public participation and stakeholder engagement. Homogeneous and mostly poorly located townships were created on the premise of exclusion by design during this time. Consequently, it instilled deep ethnical tensions, vast economic disparities, race-oriented poverty and low quality of life in previously discriminated areas (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20; Scheepers, 2019, p. 4). The dawn of democracy saw various levels of socioeconomic integration in urban spaces, which birthed economic progression and social emancipation on the one hand. However, high levels of inner-city

decay and deterioration of colonial and apartheid-era townships, thus continued exclusion, this time by a decline (Donaldson, Du Plessis, Spoctoer & Massey, 2013, p. 630).

Unlike in some developed countries where deindustrialization was the main driver of urban decay resulting in decreased inner city population, the opposite is true for many South African cities. The primary driver was the national transformation from apartheid, exemplified by the lapsing segregationist laws, which saw high numbers of previously excluded race and income groups infiltrating urban centres. Many of these new residents were poor, searching for economic opportunities, thus residing in inadequate housing and lower-class lifestyles. This affected the reputation of such areas and steered the ultimate relocation of high-income earners to the suburbs. Typical of the invasion and succession theory, this scattering of economic activities to broader spatial coverage and the rising suburbanisation contributed to both functional and structural inner-city decay (Govender & Reddy, 2019, pp. 98-99; Hoogendoorn & Marais, 2008, p. 55). For example, Johannesburg and Durban inner cities, experienced rapid population growth towards the end of apartheid and especially the following democracy as poor migrant's influx them and surrounding neighbourhoods in search for means of livelihoods (Ahmad, 2010, p. 6; Govender & Reddy, 2019, p. 98; Swanepoel & Smallwood, 2019, p. 2).

South African townships and inner-city zones are characterized by decrepit buildings, high unemployment, poverty, growing crime levels and poor public health (Goldberg, 2003, p. 5). In 2001, the democratic government, under the leadership of President Thabo Mbeki, strategized and implemented a phased urban renewal programme in eight areas selected for their intrinsic functional and structural decay, plus their background as previously excluded areas (Refer to Chapter 3). This place-based renewal process sought to foster physical improvement, enhance economic development, knowledge-based economies and job creation. It was also designed to promote social cohesion and inclusion, improve quality of life, alleviate crime and build institutional capacity (Ranch, 2000, p. 3; Turok, et al., 2019, p. 4).

The programme was lauded for developing without relocation (Goldberg, 2003), and conducting public participation in the form of informal community gatherings and formal stakeholder meetings. These meetings were meant to capture inclusive visions, prioritize activities, and understand perceptions and budgets (Ranch, 2000, p. 34). In recent years, some old neighbourhoods faced with issues of decrepit buildings and poor safety have undergone regeneration. The case of inner-city regeneration, citing Hillbrow in Johannesburg, is highlighted in Box 2.

## Box 2: Urban Regeneration in Hillbrow, Johannesburg

In Hillbrow, the Johannesburg Property/Housing Company (JPC/JHC) facilitated the Better Buildings Programme (BHO) to regain ownership of dilapidated buildings from slumlords and to rehabilitate them for low-income adequate housing. The City of Johannesburg (CoJ) then expedited the EKhaya Neighbourhood Programme (ENP) to answer the need for a safer, cleaner Hillbrow by mobilizing the government, landlords and tenants to actively participate in changing the perception of this neighbourhood. The ENP progressed in three phases, first mobilizing the community by facilitating neighbourhood tours to enable developers, community representatives and other key stakeholders to get to know Hillbrow and the kind of challenges in existence. This phase also included the establishment of a housing forum which identified the primary challenges of crime and grime. Following this, property owners agreed to donate a monthly contribution and used it to pay for security and neighbourhood cleanliness.

The second phase, the bottom-up physical regeneration, involved utilizing the monthly contribution of R6,400 per month for the 'Our Clean EKhaya Neighbourhood' campaign. By hiring private security and refuse removal companies, this campaign facilitated the cleaning of streets and improved safety within the neighbourhood while also gaining Johannesburg Development Agency's (JDA) support to upgrade public spaces. Phase three focused on community development, wherein annual events for children and sports activities for the community (for example, EKhaya Street Soccer) were facilitated by landlords to create social integration. The entire regeneration process was principally financed by CoJ, JHC and Trafalgar Properties, while the community also conducted some voluntary work and fundraising projects.

Regeneration initiatives in Hillbrow between 2004 and 2016 saw an increase in public and private investment in the area, with previously abandoned spaces used as drug and crime spots repurposed into recreational spaces such as the EKhaya Park, thus improving the neighbourhood's physical appearance. Moreover, there was an enhanced sense of security, therefore, a shift in perception of the neighbourhood among residents. Furthermore, community ownership and involvement in development were enhanced, hence the establishment of community security campaigns such as 'Our Healthy EKhaya' and 'Safe New Year'. The area's economy is said to have improved as some job creation was facilitated by establishing businesses and retail facilities. However, there were some challenges encountered. For one, many areas in Hillbrow are still derelict because of high poverty and unemployment. Additionally, a lack of cohesion between development institutions and aged services infrastructure continues to result in further decay in the neighbourhood.

Nevertheless, some lessons can be picked up from the entire process. For one, it is apparent that if the government works in collaboration with communities to solve urban problems, there is a greater chance for success. Therefore, public participation and stakeholder engagement are crucial in urban regeneration. The formation of PPP eases the government's financial and capacity pressures and improves the success potential. Moreover, involving communities gives them a sense of ownership, making them care for the outcomes and engage in the process. The process of collaboration empowers stakeholders and grants a voice to the voiceless. The most outstanding achievement of the Hillbrow regeneration is that it did not spur gentrification nor exclusion of low-income dwellers and informal traders. Instead, an inclusive development outcome was achieved by extensively applying the right to the city principle.

Source: (Stadler & Dugmore, 2017, p. 14; UCLG Learning, 2017, pp. 16-21; Urban Sustainability Exchange, n.d.; Winkler, 2009, p. 90).

Like Hillbrow, Khayelitsha in Cape Town underwent intensive urban regeneration as of 2000. This township, established in 1980 at the height of apartheid, served as a dormitory settlement for single men (Donaldson & Du Plessis, 2012). This is similar to the study area, Bochabela, which has two hostels. Following democracy, rapid population increase led to high unemployment levels (46% in 2003) and insufficient service provision. By 2004, numerous dwellers resided in inadequate housing,

one-third of which was in informal settlements. Economically, informal trading was primary, while there were limited formal activities. Moreover, the township had poor transport linkages owing to only two entry points, which could be easily barricaded during civil unrest. With approximately 20,000 residents using communal taps and toilets, housing needs were dire, and though the state considered community relocation, Khayelitsha ultimately underwent in-situ upgrading (Goldberg, 2003, p. 6).

The Khayelitsha regeneration prescribed freehold tenure though it ended up being economically unsustainable and resource and land intensive. Due to conducting spatial planning separately from economic planning, home ownership without means of income from the renewal programme ultimately stretched the financial obligations of beneficiaries. Therefore, many who could not afford services resorted to contesting their costs, leasing their social houses or selling them. This is typical of housing beneficiaries in South Africa, as stipulated in Charlton's six perceptions of social housing recipients, wherein on one end of the spectrum, recipients reject their houses, thus sell or lease them, and on the other end, they embrace the benefit and improve it to their preference (Charlton, 2018, p. 103). In this light, the study seeks to find ways Bochabela's residents can improve their housing.

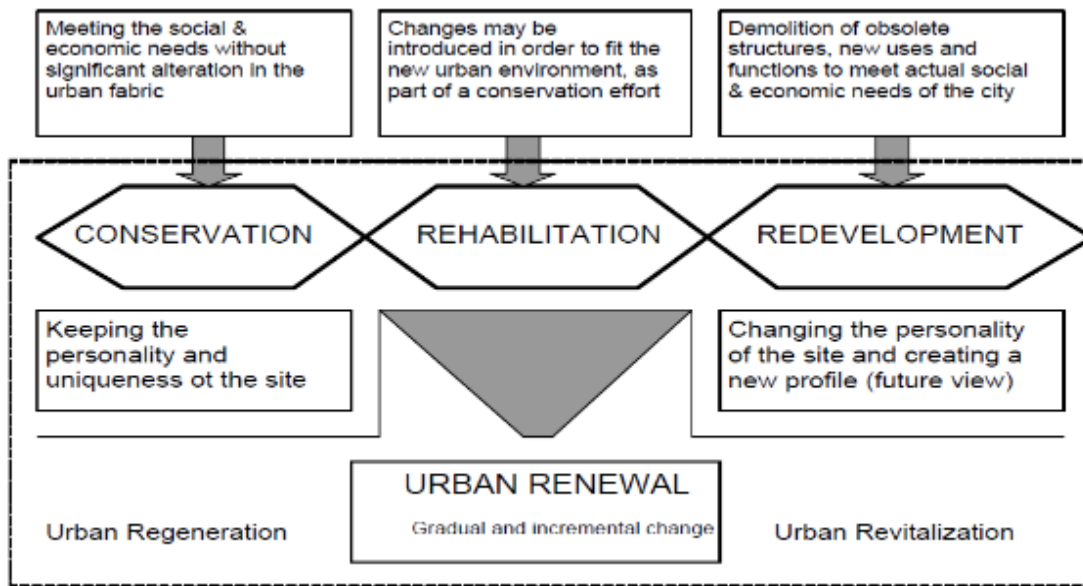
Though faced with the unfortunate consequences of an apartheid past, present-day urban renewal has improved and adapted to current conditions, addressing integral aspects of sustainable spatial development by facilitating social cohesion, inclusive and collaborative decision-making processes and environmental care. It has gradually followed bottom-up approaches though still substantially programmatic and state-centric. Though the democratic urban regeneration strategy first aimed to improve lives locally, it has also shifted to relocating residents, especially in instances of informal settlements upgrading. Some crucial setbacks of South African renewal initiatives include peripherally situated housing and a slow pace of township and housing revitalisation due to financial constraints (Ranch, 2000, p. 34). Also, the country needs legislation addressing urban decay (Govender & Reddy, 2019, p. 98).

## 5.3 Urban Renewal Approaches and Implications

### 5.3.1 Residential Revitalisation: Applying Urban Renewal to Housing Dilapidation

This component entails housing-specific improvements. The three categories of the urban renewal process are identified by Acioly, (1999, p. 11) as conservation, rehabilitation and redevelopment. These are based on the level of decay that must be addressed or the extent of transformation planned

for, as have also been mentioned by other scholars, including (Adedeji & Arayela, 2018, p. 78; Zheng, et al., 2017, p. 913). Figure 5.2 delineates the characteristics of the urban renewal categories.



**Figure 5.16: Urban Renewal Approaches**

Source: (Acioly, 1999, p. 12)

Conservation is meant to facilitate a sort of a ‘face-lift’ for the area without transforming its character; hence the area’s intricate functions remain unchanged. In consideration of housing, this approach involves minor repairs of dilapidated houses, such as fixing roofing, painting walls and replacing broken windows, cleaning up the surrounding environment and tending to public spaces. Because the main aim here is character preservation (Adedeji & Arayela, 2018, p. 78), any historical monuments and cultural artefacts within the area, such as houses with historic and political importance (as is the case with Mapikela houses<sup>12</sup> and Digaretene houses<sup>13</sup> in Bloemfontein, South Africa) are retained.

<sup>12</sup> **Mapikela House**, belonging to the family of Mr. Thomas Mapikela (the first ANC speaker), is perceived by some to be the ANC founding site. However, this is invalidated by a study by Haasbroek, who argues that Wesleyan School was the actual place where ANC was established on 8 January 1912 (Haasbroek, 2002, p. 125) and (South Africa History online, 2011, p. 2). This house, situated in Batho township in Bloemfontein (adjacent to Bochabela), though still inhabited by surviving family members, is also operating as a tourist attraction centre (Haasbroek, 2002). The house was also declared a national monument in 1998. Though it appears that the family does not benefit from the proceeds of this tourism function (Twala, 2004, p. 69), the house is a good example of how houses in townships can be utilized to improve the livelihoods of owners by generating extra income.

<sup>13</sup> **Digaretene houses** are ‘two rows of twelve houses’ which were built along Abdurahman and Nyokong Streets in Bochabela to hide the slum area when King George V and Queen Elizabeth came for a visit in 1947. The name Digaretene means curtains in Sesotho, and insinuated that the houses concealed poor housing from the royals (Munro, 2020).

Rehabilitation refers to attempts to rebuild, recover and upgrade buildings to conform to national building standards (Ho, et al., 2012, p. 163). This implies meeting housing adequacy measures (discussed in Chapter 2), such as security and privacy. It thus involves major renovations such as roof, door and window replacements, wall plastering and house extensions. Rehabilitation involves the removal of the worst structures, repairing smaller broken elements and adding new constructions, which at the household level may entail landscaping and at the neighbourhood level may include parks, recreation centres and street lighting (Adedeji & Arayela, 2018, p. 78).

Redevelopment entails a comprehensive restoration of a neighbourhood or selected parts following the demolition of blighted areas. This entails demolishing inadequate housing, especially in slum areas, and developing new residential areas. In many countries such as Hong Kong and South Africa, the public and private sectors prefer redevelopment even though it is less sustainable and requires greater resource use. Scholars have therefore advocated for a more sustainable approach to the urban renewal process through informed decision-making and sustainable building management (Ho, et al., 2012, p. 163; Massey, 2013, p. 606).

Acioly has clarified renewal terminology in that the process of urban transformation in a conservative manner that preserves an area's essence is called urban regeneration; a slow but progressive transformation of the urban environment aimed at rehabilitating decay through the gradual injection of new functions is called urban renewal; while urban revitalisation is an extreme restructuring of the urban fabric, characterized by massive changes such as demolition of decrepit buildings and redevelopment of the area's character altogether (Acioly, 1999, p. 12). All these actions are conducted to improve the urban social, environmental and economic functions at varying degrees, and housing lies right at the heart of these renewal classifications.

### *Gentrification*

Gentrification, coined by Glass in 1964 to refer to the influx of higher middle-income households ('gentry') into low-income neighbourhoods, can be viewed as either an intentional goal or an unintended outcome of urban regeneration in decrepit neighbourhoods (Zuk, Bierbaum, Chapple, Gorska and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2017:2). Residential gentrification is defined as a market-driven housing reform and public-tenure restructuring strategy (Hochstenbach, 2017, p. 401; Maculan & Dal Moro, 2020, p. 3), as well as a process that shifts population dynamics such as the social class of a locality from inferior to superior (Lees, Shin and López-Morales, 2015:451).

According to the South African Cities Network (SACN), principal drivers of gentrification include deindustrialization and the dawn of the service economy, capitalist public policy, and successive disinvestment and revival of inner-city areas (SACN, 2016, pp. 15-16). Other drivers include replacing high-rise public housing with marketable housing in the inner-city, diverse amenities, decreased crime, increased racial tolerance, low-cost credit with low-interest rates, and a flourishing creative industry. Blighted areas with affordable land, prime housing location and vibrant labour market attract gentrifiers like contractors, designers, investors, real estate agents, government bureaus (see Chapter 2) interested in capital accumulation, and high-income professionals seeking higher living standards (Hyra, 2016, p. 172; Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 2). The process of gentrification occurs in three stages. The first is pioneered by educated lower income gentrifiers looking for affordable, well-located housing offering diverse socio-economic opportunities. The second and third stages entail higher-income professionals seeking the social stability established in the initial stage, and they improve the neighbourhood by renovating housing and restoring aesthetics (Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 2).

Gentrification can either be state-led, made necessary by a civic dilemma or private-sector-driven. State-led gentrification is perceived as modernization and authoritarianism and has also been termed “accumulation by dispossession” as it entails sales of social rental housing from low-incomes to middle-high-income families (Lees, et al., 2015, pp. 448-451). It also entails the removal of rent controls hence the phrase “gentrification by stealth”, resulting in class-based transformation (Hochstenbach, 2017, p. 403). For at least half a century, gentrification debates have indicated that while it is beneficial to urban economies, gentrification burdens the urban poor as it causes their displacement from residential, cultural and employment opportunities, which is what distinguishes it from incumbent upgrading (Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 2). As a neo-liberal policy driven by political aspirations, gentrification results in social cleansing and exclusion of poor neighbourhoods as it is dominantly area-based (Hochstenbach, 2017, p. 403), while also cultivating state-driven injustices, unfair resource allocation and social inequalities (Lees, et al., 2015, p. 452). With its displacement dominantly affecting black minorities, especially the uneducated, leaseholders, underprivileged, elderly and single, gentrification is also racialized (Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 6).

While gentrification is universally criticized for instigating residential, commercial, retail and tourist displacement, some argue that such displacement occurs irrespective of whether neighbourhoods are gentrified and that from the 1970s, private actions and individual preferences fostered gentrification independent from public intervention (Lees, et al., 2015, p. 449; Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 4). According to Marcuse, gentrification can occur long after displacement, as displacement is not only in spatial terms

but also in failure to restore the place and is also caused by the rent increase, poor housing quality, worsening violence and domestic abuse, among others (Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 5). There is widespread resistance to gentrification, particularly for the displacement it is believed to cause, with more success in the global South (e.g., Istanbul, Karachi and Seoul) (Lees, et al., 2015, p. 450).

Though research methodology limits the extent to which the impact of gentrification can be tracked (Hyra, 2016, p. 174), some states have attempted to curtail this and reduce discrimination through tenure mixing. In the US, Western Europe and the Netherlands, regeneration programmes (such as the US Hope VI programme) engage in the demolition and renewal of social housing, partial and comprehensive restructuring, and alteration of housing composition in deprived localities (Hochstenbach, 2017, p. 402). In SA, where gentrification projects such as the Maboneng Precinct (Box 2) have reconstructed apartheid traits of marginalisation and segregation (SACN, 2016, p. 20), intense prior stakeholder engagement would have been worthwhile. Considering the proximity of Bochabela to the city, its appeal to gentrifiers is inevitable. So, any effort to revitalise its housing and economy should take cognizance of this threat and adopt mitigation options highlighted in Table 5.2, which summarizes the economic, physical and social benefits and detriments of gentrification as discussed.

**Table 5.2: Summary of Benefits, Disadvantages and Mitigation of Gentrification**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS   | DISADVANTAGES   | MITIGATION  |
|----------|--|---|---|
| Physical | *Rehabilitation of buildings, housing, infrastructure, the environment, historic landmarks, public spaces and amenities  | *Spatial marginalisation and lack of diversity<br>*Homogenous city scape<br>*Eliminates exclusivity   | *Mixed land uses<br>*Rent regulation<br>*Increased tax base<br>*State intervention on geographic spread         |
| Economic | *Escalates tax revenue and property values<br>*Improves city image<br>*Attracts inward investments<br>*Strengthens local economy   | *Property inflation<br>*Business and tourism displacement or closure<br>*Hikes service costs<br>*Loss of affordable housing<br>*Price shadowing<br>*Modifies consumption patterns   | *Affordable Housing Development<br>*Inclusionary Zoning<br>*Community land trusts<br>*Community wealth building |
| Social   | *Improves quality of life and services<br>*Increases neighbourhood stability by eradicating crime<br>*Fosters integration and diversity<br>*De-concentration of poverty<br>*Forced homelessness<br>*Increases police brutality and government injustice<br>*Cultural amenities improved<br>*Increased cultural mixing and diversity<br>*Develops tolerance | * Excluding and displacing long-term residents<br>*Breaks social networks<br>*Eliminates low-income services<br>*Dubious de-concentration of poverty<br>*Silences minority cultures<br>*Creates community conflict, tension, and discrimination | *Creation of public spaces<br>*Policy Reforms<br>*Civic engagement/<br>Public participation                     |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### *Incumbent Upgrading*

Incumbent upgrading is the process through which existing residents take the initiative to renovate their houses and environment, and unlike gentrification, it does not result in a substantial social, economic and demographic change in the neighbourhood's population. Instead, it assuages the impacts of gentrification by promoting long-term residence and low migration of landlords, thereby strengthening social and spatial justice (Millward & Davis, D., 1986, p. 149). Neighbourhoods experiencing housing dilapidation and environmental decay yet predominantly occupied by established middle-income homeowners with strong social relations and attachment to the area are favourable to incumbent upgrading. These neighbourhoods are typically characterized by deterrents of gentrification such as non-compliance to planning laws, the dominance of social welfare, public housing and black townships, high crime rates and low socio-economic status (Millward & Davis, D., 1986, p. 154). Residents of such neighbourhoods may choose to conserve their neighbourhoods instead of moving due to a strong sense of place, attachment to the neighbourhoods and the high cost of housing in better localities (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981, p. 47).

For incumbent upgrading to succeed, the housing must be repairable and not too costly for the owners. There also has to be some social organization within the neighbourhood, as neighbourhood associations are key to driving the mandate of upgrading by advocating for support from the government, credit institutions and the residents while facilitating neighbourhood activities towards incumbent upgrading (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981, p. 48). Government support is crucial for improving services such as parks, waste disposal, water, and electricity and enforcing building laws while simultaneously creating a balance between renovation and development of new housing. Credit institutions are crucial for financial support that the residents will require to upgrade their houses, while neighbourhood associations may also engage in crime prevention patrols, which may ultimately reduce crime, thus building a positive image of the area (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981, p. 48; Millward & Davis, D., 1986, p. 148).

Incumbent upgrading, therefore, differs from gentrification in that it entails advocacy, community involvement and willingness to improve neighbourhoods to curtail decay (Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 2). It has been applauded for alleviating redlining and driving greenlining, preventing neighbourhood decay, and, most popularly, for not driving the displacement of existing residents. It has, however, been criticized for preventing poor households from relocating into deteriorating, thus cheaper areas. This aggravates residential exclusion because for those residing in informal settlements or worse-off housing, moving into such areas is a step towards upward progression. Moreover, the red tape related

to housing renovation has proven time-consuming and relatively unaffordable to some homeowners (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981, p. 49; Millward & Davis, D., 1986, pp. 149, 150).

There is hardly any literature about incumbent upgrading beyond the 1980s, and new terms with certain similarities to incumbent upgrades, such as the people’s housing process and recently community-led housing, have emerged. Table 5.3 summarizes the discussion on incumbent upgrading.

**Table 5.3: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation of Incumbent Upgrading**

| ASPECT          | BENEFITS  | DISADVANTAGES  | MITIGATION  |
|-----------------|---|--|---|
| <b>Social</b>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Promote long-term residence</li> <li>*Limits owner migration</li> <li>*Strengthens social and spatial justice</li> <li>*Maintains strong social networks</li> <li>*Encourages advocacy and community involvement</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Discourages upward mobility through relocation</li> <li>*Aggravates social exclusion</li> <li>*Time-consuming</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Law enforcement</li> <li>*Strong social order policy</li> <li>*Government support, e.g., social grants</li> <li>*Civil society organizations</li> <li>*Credit support</li> <li>*Neighbourhood associations</li> </ul> |
| <b>Economic</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Alleviates redlining</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Expensive</li> </ul>   |   |
| <b>Physical</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Housing renovation</li> <li>*Environmental makeover</li> </ul>  |  |   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### *Self-Help Housing*

Rapid urbanisation and the failure of governments to provide affordable, quality housing and related infrastructure, plus a lack of development policy for poor neighbourhoods characterized by high unemployment, have driven poor urban dwellers to constantly fight for the right to housing and basic services. Furthermore, the extensive housing need is paralleled by empty houses within the urban setting. For example, there is one empty house for every two inadequately housed families in England (Mullins, 2018, p. 146). This resulted in self-help housing initiatives, which have been spearheaded by low-income communities for years but later took the form of public and private sector-aided developments, including site and services schemes. Self-help housing, scholastically introduced by John Turner in the 1970s, is a market-oriented, participatory and structural approach to housing provisioning and was introduced to South Africa in 1998 as the People’s Housing Process (PHP) (Gumbo & Onatu, 2015, p. 27; Newton, 2013, p. 639; Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 1).

Unlike self-build housing, constructed from scratch, self-help housing is relevant in urban renewal because it entails refurbishing existing housing structures that are either abandoned or dilapidated in

poor neighbourhoods. It is a means of neighbourhood rehabilitation, as with township upgrading and hostel redevelopment in South Africa. Therefore, the approach is meant to produce affordable housing, alleviate homelessness and facilitate local capacity building and skills development through community representatives (Pattison, Strutt and Vine, 2011, p. 7, 9; Newton, 2013, p. 640). Its extensive participatory and inclusive process also improves social cohesion and distinguishes the development of homes instead of houses, thus recognizing the desires and interests of beneficiaries (Gumbo & Onatu, 2015, p. 28). All these can only be achieved if there is a local housing need, availability of empty houses, community buy-in, financial support and external input (Mullins, 2018, p. 144).

Citing the case of Bangkok, one study indicated that the self-help housing approach is effective, inclusive and sustainable. Communities' security of tenure, quality of their lives and participation in land markets are improved, while dependency on the government is greatly reduced. Moreover, it prioritizes house provision for, and ownership by the vulnerable households in the community, while also growing their buying capacity (Yap & De Wandeler, 2010, p. 339). This is reflected in other countries such as England and South Africa, with added benefits such as reduced housing costs, creating an enabling environment such as land availability and supportive policy and collaboration between government, the private sector, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and communities. Job creation and local economic development (LED) have also been classified as crucial benefits of self-help housing initiatives. Additionally, the involvement of NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) such as Development Action Group (DAG) and the Federation of the Urban Poor (FEDUP) in South Africa, B4BOX in North East England and CANOPY in Leeds stimulates strong local accountability (Gumbo & Onatu, 2015, p. 28; Marais, Ntema, & Venter, 2008; Newton, 2013, p. 645; Pattison, et al., 2011, pp. 19, 20, 24).

Nevertheless, the effectiveness of self-help housing in providing low-income housing has been criticized. It is considered responsive instead of pre-emptive and fails to create new housing opportunities for prospective residents, as well as diverse tenure options, as it is predominantly based on individual ownership and rarely includes rentals. It is also conformist as it does not challenge the notion that adequate urban housing is only for those that can afford it, especially since such initiatives tend to encounter financial shortfalls (Gumbo & Onatu, 2015, p. 28; Yap & De Wandeler, 2010, p. 339). The opponents of this approach also argue that it is too slow to provide housing, especially due to funding deficiency (Newton, 2013, p. 649). Moreover, the level of state involvement also causes problems in that when it is abundant, community participation is defeated, thus limiting the long-term

livability of the neighbourhood, and when it is frugal, then locals are exploited for their labour (Gumbo & Onatu, 2015, pp. 32-33).

Another challenge is the tendency for this approach to be overlooked within the housing regulatory framework hence the marginalisation of poor communities, as was the case in England, where community organizations rarely qualified for membership in Homes and Communities Agency because of their minority. This was, however, counteracted by the formation of the Empty Homes Community Grants Programme in 2011, which granted support of £50 million to various low-income communities between 2012 and 2015 (Mullins, 2018, p. 145). Many communities still lack this type of financial assistance, so their initiatives fail. The South African PHP, while commended for enabling the production of better housing than the housing subsidy, has been critiqued for failing to uphold development control and accentuating technical control instead of the technical support that was to be offered by Housing Support Centres. Moreover, most NGOs and CBOs supporting communities in PHP projects lack capacity and are also typically disregarded by the government, reinforcing state and private sector control (Marais, et al., 2008).

With its strength of capitalizing on existing housing infrastructure and available resources such as community labour to improve the adequacy of housing in low-income neighbourhoods, self-help housing could be one of the best options for Bochabela Township. Self-help housing falls within a broader concept of community development and community-led housing, and though these are not frequently discussed within urban regeneration literature, their relevance to urban transformation solicits their consideration in the following sub-section. Further considerations taken from the discussion are summarized in Table 5.4.

**Table 5.4: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation of Self-Help Housing**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS  | DISADVANTAGES  | MITIGATION  |
|----------|---|--|---|
| Social   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Recognizes individual interests</li> <li>*Decreases homelessness</li> <li>*Crime reduction</li> <li>*Land tenure security</li> <li>*Improves social cohesion and inclusivity</li> </ul>         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Not a pro-active response</li> <li>*Opportunities for prospective residents</li> <li>*Slow in providing housing</li> <li>*Government involvement can be detrimental</li> <li>*Fails to uphold dweller control</li> <li>*Commonly overlooked in housing policy</li> <li>*Increases technical control and not support</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Creating an enabling community environment</li> <li>*Developing supportive policy</li> <li>*Collaborative platforms created between NGOs, communities, businesses and government</li> <li>*Government housing grants</li> </ul> |
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Capitalizes on existing infrastructure and available community labour</li> <li>*Produces affordable housing</li> <li>*Facilitates capacity building and skills development of locals</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Lack of funding</li> <li>*Conformist, e.g. develops housing for those who can afford it</li> </ul>   |   |

|          |                                       |                              |  |
|----------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Physical | *Neighbourhood housing rehabilitation | *Fails to create new housing |  |
|----------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 5.3.2 Social Restoration

This component considers rectifying social exclusion and empowering communities to participate in decision-making processes to benefit overall (re)development.

#### *Community-Led Development*

Empirical evidence and conceptual insight signal that state-led transformation often excludes local institutions, overlooks the complexity within community systems and structures, reinforces inequality, increases informality and ultimately fails to achieve set goals (Sikor & Müller, 2009, p. 1309). Such top-down approaches have failed to achieve satisfactory community development mainly due to poor leadership, lack of community engagement, limited capacity, poor leadership, insufficient resources and centralized governance, lack of accountability, marginalized groups, and a mismatch between policy and local needs. In light of this, poor communities prefer development driven by their own networks to secure their needs within fair and honourable systems that are accountable, transparent, and rights-oriented and collaboratively work towards a shared vision. The notion of community-led development thus fits into this preference and assumes an alternative rights-based approach, cognizant of international guidelines for the rights to adequate housing, work and secure livelihoods. It employs localism, a concept applied to housing and planning strategies, to encourage community influence on decisions about their localities. It also emphasises the complexity within communities and their ability to change and innovate, which entails engaging in new ways for sustainable development (Jarvis, 2015, p. 202; O'Hara & East, 2017, p. 8).

Community-led housing, through the lens of community-led development, is a collective approach that entails community members taking the lead in steering necessary housing and related infrastructure upgrading (Mullins, 2018, p. 144). Its approaches are designed to improve the quality of life, celebrate diversity, innovation and community participation, and include community land trusts, cooperative housing, co-housing, self-build housing, tenant management organizations and self-help housing (Jarvis, 2015, p. 203). It also strengthens neighbourhood networks and community support, decreasing government provisions. This approach answers the need for accessible and

affordable housing prominent, even in times of escalation in housing markets, thereby decreasing the threat of eviction and significantly improving tenure security. Moreover, it inspires sustainable development, cohesion, community control and housing accountability while rehabilitating derelict and abandoned houses (Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 2; World Habitat, 2020, p. 11).

Instead of collaborating with communities to determine their basic needs, legal systems (spatial plans and building regulations) often exclude specific citizens, localities and interests (Colenbrander & Archer, 2016, p. 8). The greatest advantage of community-led housing is thus its ability to break inequality in decision-making processes and facilitate the participation of all in implementing community projects. It can be group-led, developer-led or occur as part of an existing community project, with housing development and improvement driven by locals separate from the traditional housing market where the public and private sectors take the lead (Jarvis, 2015, p. 206). Either way, community leaders and residents need guidance on how this approach functions, what housing needs the community faces and information on relevant policies and funding opportunities (Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 3).

Community-led development usually occurs with the help of community development corporations (CDCs) in neighbourhoods characterized by dilapidated and abandoned housing plus high levels of welfare incomes, child and women-headed households, illiteracy, unemployment and crime (Silverman, 2001, p. 237). It aims to give locals the power to envision their own transformation, decentralize decision-making powers, encourage multi-stakeholder partnerships and utilize diverse ideas, practices and knowledge systems. In terms of housing and economy, it facilitates tenure security and LED by facilitating community campaigns for employment in order to warrant housing acquisition for poor community members through cooperatives and savings systems (Sikor & Müller, 2009, p. 1310; Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 6). Community-led development directs financial assets to community organizations to ease the assistance of, and enhance collaboration between vulnerable urban dwellers, facilitating an inclusive urban scape (Colenbrander & Archer, 2016, p. 15). Its characteristics are participation, inclusion and creating platforms for voicing local needs. It also embraces and capitalizes on community strengths, builds transformative capacity and develops skills of locals to break barriers and dependency syndrome. Sustainability, collective planning and implementation, accountability, community leadership, adaptability and collaboration are also known community development features (Leach, 2017, p. 20; The Movement for Community Led-Development, 2017). These are seamlessly displayed in community-led housing.

Most community-led housing organizations work within the context of informality and consider the eminent climate change on resilience while also operating under global networks to address housing and diverse social challenges. Examples include the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR), which works with certain communities in 19 Asian countries by facilitating savings groups to raise funds for housing and infrastructure needs. This indicates how communities have sought to respond to exclusion and marginalisation and gain financial autonomy (Colenbrander & Archer, 2016, p. 15). Another is Cittalov, an initiative that started in Italy to alleviate the impacts of fast food on health and now functions in 175 cities (Jarvis, 2015, p. 204). Likewise, the need for loans to procure land and develop and renovate housing has resulted in new global movements, including the Community-Led Infrastructure Finance Facility (CLIFF). This UK-operated initiative works in 15 countries in Asia and Africa to facilitate financial support for community-based organizations working towards home construction or improvements and job creation (Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 2).

However, because a community-led approach is typical of poor neighbourhoods, people with distinct deficiencies in necessary resources must be upheld for mutual support or significant project inputs. In representing communities, CDCs offhandedly become service providers on behalf of governments, which in turn weakens concrete community participation in policy-making and only involves them during implementation (Silverman, 2001, p. 243). This results in implementing policies that do not speak to the priority needs of communities. Also, existing social support systems within communities are based on similar interests, which unintendedly exclude those with divergent concerns. Power relations, exclusionary urbanisation, lack of government buy-in, difficulty in sharing information and time mismanagement can also undermine the community-led approach to urban redevelopment (Banks, 2014, p. 21; McGranahan, et al., 2016, p. 18). In terms of sustainability, ensuring that locals get construction jobs, skills training and capacity building during low-income housing projects has proven effective. This has, however, been deemed flawed as job offerings are often temporary, hence only a short-term boost to secure livelihoods (Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 6).

Through accentuating their strongpoints, the use of collaborative approaches to achieve a community transformation that curtails displacement and grants communities authority over decision-making about housing development and rehabilitation makes community-led housing an ideal method for housing rehabilitation, especially in South African townships such as Bochabela, which were previously (and perhaps still are) characterized by exclusion in decision-making processes. The points of discussion in this section are summarized in Table 5.5.

**Table 5.5: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation of Community-Led Housing**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS  | DISADVANTAGES  | MITIGATION  |
|----------|---|--|---|
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Facilitates job creation</li> <li>*Directs financial assets to communities</li> <li>*Capacity building and skills development</li> <li>*Breaks dependency syndrome</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Lack of necessary resources</li> <li>*Lack of government buy-in</li> <li>*Creates temporary jobs</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Facilitating collaboration between all stakeholders</li> <li>*Creating a representation of different concerns at the community level</li> <li>*Neutralizing power relations on collaboration platforms</li> </ul> |
| Physical | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Housing rehabilitation</li> <li>*Infrastructure renovation</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Natural resource intensive</li> </ul>  |   |
| Social   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Rights-based</li> <li>*Involves existing community systems and structuring</li> <li>*Emphasises community complexity</li> <li>*Employs localization</li> <li>*Decentralizes decision making</li> <li>*Encourages multi-stakeholder participation</li> <li>*Tenure security</li> <li>*Strengthens community networks</li> <li>*Inclusive of diverse ideas, practices, and knowledge</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Weakens communal participation in policy development</li> <li>*Power relations</li> <li>*Time (mis)management</li> <li>*Difficulty in sharing information</li> <li>*Promotes exclusionary urbanisation</li> <li>*Excludes varied community interests/concerns</li> </ul> |   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### *Culture-led Revitalisation*

Culture has always existed, yet it has long been economically underexploited in cities. However, the shift from industrial to service economies has recognized culture as a catalyst for economic development and a tool for innovative urban transformation. The recognition of culture as a source of regeneration originated in the US around 1970, then in Europe, where cities like Glasgow, Barcelona and Bilbao took the lead, and then the concepts spread to the rest of the world. Harvey, one of the prominent scholars on this topic, perceived art and ethnic diversity fused in real estate as means of stimulating lively and prosperous cities, and cultural modernization, fashion centres and creation of taste as vital elements of urban existence (Garcia, 2010, pp. 102, 114; Hughes, 2010, p. 119). Additionally, the continuity of cultural products is somehow perceived to recapture time which cannot be reversed, and so culture-led regeneration is lauded for evoking adaptive reuse of images of the past in the sense of historic preservation (Holcomb & Beauregard, 1981, p. 51; Hughes, 2010, p. 131). This is achieved through hosting artistic events such as carnivals, fairs, cultural festivals, street entertainment, and cultural infrastructure such as festival and ethnic food markets and cultural and retail squares, usually in places of historical significance (Griffiths, 2010, p. 14). It also improves the city's competitive advantage by instilling and uplifting its international identity (unique character), separate from national-level influence (Garcia, 2010, p. 105).

In the 1980s, renewed concern over city centres intensified the use of culture as a tool for economic development, with the creation of cultural amenities, prioritization of high culture in public development budgets, promotion of pleasure through leisure (mind) and recreation (body), espousing the development of cultural entrepreneurship. City centres were then re-imaged as places of consumption instead of production, thus requiring relevant laws and policies. The prestige of centrality was re-invented through residential, leisure and business development, with particular use of culture as a tool for economic development. The commodification of culture and its redefinition within a broader context inclusive of urban design, planning, architecture and LED, gave birth to the night-time economy concept and increased consumerism, hence David Harvey's perception of culture-led regeneration as "a paradigm shift from managerialism to entrepreneurialism" (Hughes, 2010, p. 121; Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, pp. 136-138). Figure 5.3 highlights how the use of culture as an economic development tool has advanced.



**Figure 5.17: Progress of Culture as a Tool for Economic Development**

Source: (Garcia, 2004 in Tallon, 2010:103)

It was in the 1990s that culture-led regeneration took a stronger foothold, thus conceiving various concepts, including the night-time economy and 'cultureconomics', which underline a culture's income generation (Hwang, 2014, p. 73). Cities like Leeds pioneered the night-time economy through its 1994 '24-Hour City Initiative', which among other objectives, aimed to instil a European culture (Hughes, 2010, p. 124). This initiative was emulated by other cities, including Sheffield, Liverpool, Glasgow, Nottingham, and Newcastle, to revitalise inner city decay caused by decreased night-time economic activities due to crime-related safety issues, gangs and poor lighting. The entertainment or 'pleasure' industry was then uplifted through the development of restaurants, cinemas, theatres, nightclubs, casinos and cafes. The youth and men, who were perceived as having a safety problem for their drunken behaviour and gangs, would then benefit from created jobs and business injection, as

decreasing crime is integral to well functional night-time economy, social justice and local democracy (Hughes, 2010, p. 123; Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, p. 143).

Culture-led regeneration is thus suitable for areas with a rich historical background, cultural diversity, aesthetics and housing innovation that can attract tourists while enhancing sustainable development (Hwang, 2014, p. 72). An example of successful culture-led regeneration is the Edinburgh Hogmanay Festival, established in 1993, which capitalizes on Jane Jacob's 'eyes on the street' concept of improving urban safety through increasing numbers of people on the street. The annual festival hosts free and ticketed activities that cater for various groups of people and age groups attracts over 500 000 people both locally and internationally and has generated more than 10 million pounds in annual revenue while remarkably reporting very low levels of crime and injuries, for example, 20 alcohol-related arrests and 100 minor injuries in 1995 (Hughes, 2010, p. 126). The Mangaung Arts and Cultural Festival (MACUFE) is a more fitting example, as it is hosted annually in Bloemfontein (Schatz, Viviers & Maputsoe, 2019, p.166). Though the event was in abeyance due to COVID-19 lockdown regulations during 2020-2021, it would be interesting to see how Bochabela, being close to MACUFE's proceedings, benefits or what potential it has in profiting, especially via lodging participants from out of town and township tourism.

Physical renovation via city centre redevelopment is sometimes extended beyond the central business district (CBD) and the inner city to the city periphery, for example, the 'townships' in South Africa, where the less privileged reside. An example of such an inclusive regeneration programme is the European City of Culture in Glasgow, which earned the city the status of European Cultural Capital in 1990 (Garcia, 2010, p. 107; Paddison, 2010, p. 44). CBD and inner-city redevelopment in Bloemfontein were conducted on the premise of underutilized residential and commercial prospects, the necessity for historic conservation, crime and grime alleviation, and investment and tourism attraction. Low-income social housing was developed in Brandwag, and the CDB redeveloped with an emphasis on mixed land uses to ensure optimal usage of existing infrastructure. Batho township underwent the demolition of dilapidated housing and construction of new houses, regularization and a home benefit scheme through Operation Hlasela (Marais et al., 2008).

This effort was, however, criticized for insufficient public participation, lack of the night-time economy and economic diversity, poor service delivery and lack of CBD housing. For this reason, Bloemfontein still has opportunities for further revitalisation, such as preserving President Reitz Street and expanding the National Museum for heritage purposes. Moreover, similar housing revitalisation,

though perhaps with more emphasis on rentals, tourism and culture inclusion, is necessary for Bochabela, which is adjacent to Batho (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, pp. 169-170; Mangaung Integrated Human Settlements Plan, 2010/13-2016/17, p. 49, 52; Potgieter & Steyn, 2007, p. 1).

Culture is viewed as more than just a sign of art and heritage. It is also considered an economic asset, as it has contributed to improving the city's image, attracted the post-industrial service sector, and fostered new urbanism. However, culture-led regeneration has been criticized for using the cultural image for economic gain, thus nullifying its true value. Moreover, the city's past has a great impact on its current image, and so there is uncertainty about the significance of culture and its capacity to change perceptions about the city, as well as questions as to who benefits from the new city image (Paddison, 2010, pp. 44-46). Cultural policy is, therefore, necessary to foster transparency and democracy, as the absence of cultural planning during regeneration results in spatial, economic and funding dilemmas, including a disconnect between the CBD and surrounding neighbourhoods, gentrification, consumerism, and divergence of preferences on whether to use the funding for events or infrastructure (Garcia, 2010, p. 102).

Post-industrial policymakers lacked cultural policy knowledge and focused on opportunities for cultural entrepreneurialism without considering social realities and implications (Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, p. 137). For example, because numerous families were experiencing distress over job and home losses when culture-led regeneration first emerged, partaking in cultural identity-boosting activities was difficult, as they were insecure and had little sense of place. Moreover, though cultural programs have formed part of urban regeneration, the development of urban cultural policies has been lagging, resulting in an imbalance of spatial benefits derived from cultural events and infrastructure (Hughes, 2010, p. 133).

Additionally, though the night-time economy is meant to turn cities into vibrant cultural centres, it is widely perceived as a social problem and has not been extensively included in cultural policy. Instead, it is mainly featured in planning, policing, health, safety and licencing regulations. As part of the social and cultural economy, it is, therefore, crucial to view the night-time economy in conjunction with urbanity and consider its stakeholders as part of the regeneration process, not just as those needing to be regulated. Also, planners should consider that if the night-time economy disregards extensive stakeholder involvement and guidance by relevant policy, it faces the risk of matching day-time economy weaknesses such as being purely grounded on consumerist capitalism tendencies (Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, pp. 139-142). Some have therefore argued that culture alone cannot succeed as a

tool for urban development and should form part of a comprehensive urban regeneration initiative to create a sense of place (Garcia, 2010, p. 104).

Township tourism presents opportunities through which culture can be infused into urban renewal to foster income generation. This has been the case in Alexandra township, one of the nodes for the 2001 Urban Renewal Programme, which aligned the Alexandra Tourism Development Project to advance economic and social development (Leonard & Dladla, 2020, p. 904). This mode of development can benefit Bochabela township, especially if it has robust community networks in place and undergoes some form of housing revitalisation. Collaboration between various stakeholders will also benefit this kind of approach as according to Lehmann, (2019, p. 196) collaboration fosters a sense of ownership, encourages innovation, and helps create sustainable and livable urban environments. As previously highlighted, Bochabela is a culturally diverse township with historical significance, boasting some landmarks, including the ‘two rows of twelve houses’, the Youth Martyr Monument and the first hotel in the Free State, all of which present opportunities for culture-led revitalisation. Points for consideration in this section are summarized in Table 5.6. The emerging question calling for further research is this: in the wake of social distancing, travelling restrictions and global economic recession instilled by the COVID-19 pandemic, how will the pleasure economy continue to flourish?

**Table 5.6: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation for Culture-Led Revitalisation**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS   | DISADVANTAGES  | MITIGATION   |
|----------|--|--|--|
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Stimulates economy and prosperity</li> <li>* Creates jobs</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Lack of economic diversity</li> <li>*Night-time economy and ‘culturenomics’ pose socio-economic problems</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Research</li> <li>*Promoting inclusivity of various cultures</li> <li>*Development of supporting policy</li> <li>*Cultural planning</li> </ul> |
| Social   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Youth management</li> <li>*Crime reduction</li> <li>*Improved urban safety</li> <li>*Improves sense of belonging and identity</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Top-down decision making</li> <li>*Insufficient public participation/ disregard of stakeholder inclusion</li> <li>*A negative past affects the city's image</li> <li>*Nullifies the true value (non-economic) of culture</li> <li>*Implemented without knowledge of cultural policy</li> </ul> |  |
| Physical | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Evokes adaptive reuse of time</li> <li>*Facilitates conservation of historic buildings and spaces</li> </ul>                             |  |  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 5.3.3 The Concept of Urban Renewal in Relation to Economic Development

The focus here is on ways urban renewal has been used to grow local economies. One of the principal aims of urban renewal is to facilitate local economic development (Düzgüneş & Saraç, 2018, p. 11)

using boosting the competitive advantage of an area and attracting new investments (Ramlee, et al., 2015, p. 362). Innovative urban regeneration played a crucial role in promoting city competitiveness during the development of post-industrial economies after the 1960s deindustrialization and inner-city decay. Regions including America, Northern England and Scotland experienced the closure of industries, economic recession and loss of jobs as systems became more computerized and service centred. This led to the exploitation of the global South, including Africa, as a destination for labour-intensive industries or industrial offshoring. This dilemma resulted in a loss of purpose and civic identity while also causing negative images of many deindustrialized cities (Bell & Jayne, 2010, p. 85; Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, p. 136; Schindler, Gillespie, Banks, Bayibag, Burte, Kanai & Sami, 2020, p. 285). Cleveland was called "*the armpit of the nation*" and "*the mistake on the lake*" due to the extensive urban decay effects it endured (Holcomb, 2010, p. 27), while Britain's rank as "*the workshop of the world*" was diminished, and Manchester experienced an identity crisis as a working-class city with extreme unemployment levels in the 1980s (Hughes, 2010, p. 139).

With the resurgence of neoliberalism, cities were viewed as commodities, extending the development of capitalist urban development policies, and the service economy was promoted to dominate manufacturing (Griffiths, 2010, p. 3). The housing market was then transformed to attract and cater mostly for the service class, and peripheral development and improved urban tourism occurred. Cities then became places of explicit dereliction and beauty, which signalled the existence of inequality and social disconnect (Holcomb, 2010, p. 25). There is a rising need to transform the image of cities for improved competitive advantage in the face of globalization, urbanisation, entrepreneurialism and the fourth industrial revolution (Vuignier, 2016, p. 10), and recently, the aftermath of the COVID-19 pandemic. Due to the distinctive nature of decaying cities and the unique effects they suffer, different approaches to urban regeneration have been adopted to foster economic, social and environmental regeneration, with Western cities like Glasgow, London, Leeds, Bradford and Liverpool, plus Bilbao and Barcelona leading as successful post-industrial cities with model urban regeneration approaches (Garcia, 2010, p. 100; Hughes, 2010, p. 118).

### *City Marketing and Branding*

"Any activity which contains within it the possibility of competitive place advantage can become incorporated into the selling of the city" (Ward, 2010, p. 77).

The statement above by Ward reflects the essence of place marketing, which refers to an intentional design of a locality's image, or the spatial application of marketing tools on urban areas in order to

promote them, to reconstruct their identity by changing the internal and external perception by a particular market including investors, businesses, local residents and international tourism, to foster local economic development (Griffiths, 2010, p. 23; Holcomb, 2010, p. 3; (Paddison, 2010, p. 36 Vuignier, 2016, p. 9). Place marketing typically involves promotion, advertising and adaptability to the new image. At the same time, social aspects such as public and private capacity, political will, transparency, accountability, flexibility and formation of public-private partnerships (PPPs) are crucial to its successful implementation (Holcomb, 2010, p. 24; Paddison, 2010, p. 45).

The concept, closely linked to neo-liberalism, originated from Kotler and Levy's 1969 proposal to extend marketing beyond the business sector into places. Other early scholars of the concept include Hunt, whose 1975 study about the contribution of place image to tourism development also highlighted place marketing, and also Ashworth and Voogd, who indicated in 1988 that for development to bear positive results, urban planning had to be infused with marketing (Holcomb, 2010, p. 31; Vuignier, 2016, p. 12). The disinvestment that came with deindustrialization generated a negative image of many cities, especially in Britain and the US. Glasgow, UK, for example, experienced a massive deterioration of the manufacturing industry in the 1970s, and this led to the city being perceived as "hard, dirty and violent", thus curtailing inward investment into the city (Ward, 2010, p. 55).

The onset of service economies, featured by big office spaces, company headquarters, educational and research institutions, finance, retail industries, low-income service industries, tourism, cultural capital, and leisure activities, turned cities into consumable products that required marketing, hence the emergence of place marketing in development policies of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century's (Holcomb, 2010, p. 23; Ward, 2010, p. 55). Entrepreneurialism has since advocated for the competitive advantage of deteriorating economies. It is effected through improving product development such as new technology and exports, enhancing consumption through the development of business zones and gentrification, strengthening command and control in financial and government institutions, as well as competing for state resources such as urban regeneration funding (Griffiths, 2010, p. 5; Vela, Fernández-Cavia and Jiménez-Morales, 2013, p. 658).

As part of place marketing, place branding is used to induce a certain perception about the place, build patriotism and improve competitiveness (Vela, et al., 2013, p. 658). This involves using slogans and brands, which are symbols used to improve the perceived value of a place, applied at the destination, national, regional, national, city or neighbourhood levels (Vuignier, 2016, p. 9). This compels place marketing to be highly influenced by locational opportunities such as progressive upward movement,

accessibility, heritage, quality of life, charm and remoteness of the area. These are then used to develop promotional strategies that advance inward investment, tourism, service industries, arts, events and political significance. These are conducted through publicity and advertising campaigns to boost the place's image and increase its competitive advantage. Though city marketing is a dynamic and profitable business, its budgets are comparatively lower than those of consumable products (Holcomb, 2010, p. 3; Laurell & Bjorner, 2018, p. 530; Paddison, 2010, p. 42).

Some popular global brands include 'I am Amsterdam', 'I♥NY', 'Be Berlin', 'Truly Asia', 'South Africa: Alive with Possibilities' which was changed to 'Inspiring New Ways' (Vuignier, 2016, p. 11). Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality's brand is "At the Heart of it All", and Bloemfontein is known as the "City of Roses". Figures 5.4 and 5.5 highlight some national, city and neighbourhood brands.



Figure 5.18: Global Brands

Source: (Farley, n/d; Malvika, 2020)



**Figure 5.19: Neighbourhood Brands**

Source: (Bottineau Association, 2021; Drake Neighbourhood Association, n.d.; MMM-IDP, 2021/2022)

A crucial aspect of city marketing is its alignment with cosmic time, which makes it relevant to Lefebvre’s notions of city rhythm. Literature suggests that because elements used in city marketing, such as culture, big events and night-time economy, go through cycles, city marketing needs to be controlled as a post-modern approach. The advantage of this is the capacity of societies to adapt to accelerated change during the advancement from the modern into the post-modern era. This way, time as space is entrenched into city marketing through publicizing and conserving heritage and also using imagery to improve city aesthetics (Andehn, et al., 2014, p. 142; Hughes, 2010, pp. 128, 129, 132; Laurell and Bjorn, 2018, p. 530). This is especially relevant for enlivening places and ensuring efficient use of the place by the locals after township revitalisation.

Moreover, place marketing reconciles business, leisure and public needs by exhibiting elements of local culture, public transit, investment attractions, and soft and hard infrastructure (sense of place and quality of life). Tools used to achieve this include television, newspaper and radio adverts and those displayed on vehicles, direct mail, press briefings, social media and international business journals. Other promotional materials include brochures, videos, websites, pamphlets, flyers, novelty items, magazine stickers, branded pens and mugs. The production standards have improved with the evolution of technology and innovation. Partaking in ranking competitions is also crucial to place marketing, and so is hosting special events of different magnitudes (Ketter & Avraham, 2012, p. 287; (Hughes, 2010, p. 120; Garcia, 2010, p. 104; Laurell & Bjorner, 2018, p. 529; Schatz et al., 2019, p. 166; Ward, 2010, p. 67).

Glasgow's Miles Better Campaign exemplifies implementing incremental place marketing aligned to market opportunities. Though some criticized the campaign for being self-congratulatory, failing to significantly decrease unemployment and improve the local economy, others commended it for greatly improving the housing sector and the environment. Moreover, it gained considerable government, civilian, and private sector support. The general perception of the city was also significantly improved, as signalled by special features such as Time Magazine's "The city that refused to die" and New York Times' "Glasgow's arising on its own, it says" (Ward, 2010, p. 55). In America, success stories include Boston (through the Quincy Market Initiative), New York (with its Big Apple branding and I♥NY slogan, Cleveland and Pittsburgh. The city of Pittsburgh, using the slogan 'We're #1', embarked on an insistent marketing campaign in collaboration with the Greater Pittsburgh Office of Promotion and Urban Redevelopment of Pittsburgh and the Neighbourhood Living Centre, which was specifically formed to promote the city image and inward investment. In 2019, the city was professed the third most livable in America and 34th globally, with its attractiveness claimed to be high safety levels, low crime rates and affordable housing (Holcomb, 2010, pp. 24,26; Paddison, 2010, pp. 41-42; Torrance, 2019; Ward, 2010, p. 56). This signifies the importance of public and private liaisons in city marketing and LED.

Place marketing is disparaged for disregarding poorer neighbourhoods as investments are steered towards high-end localities such as the CBD, a critique South Africa may overcome with its Kasi Tourism approach (see section 3.4) for the inclusion of marginalized townships. Additionally, the use of culture for marketing purposes is criticized for commodifying places by blending public and capitalist interests while excluding some elements of the city's identity, such as residential and racial aspects, to benefit potential investors and tourists. Furthermore, place marketing is risky and expensive as there is no assurance that the target market will be attracted to the product. Moreover, it may cause socioeconomic inequalities due to how public resources are allocated. It is also elitist, lacks accountability and causes competition over state resources (Garcia, 2010, p. 105; Holcomb, 2010; Hughes, 2010, p. 132; Paddison, 2010, p. 38).

The reality is that behind every well-marketed post-industrial city lies the doom and gloom of the industrial city, which local authorities try hard to conceal (Ward, 2010, p. 57). This raise concerns that place marketing is a strategic diversion from genuine urban challenges such as inadequate housing, poverty, and segregation, which in turn creates social injustice as welfare budgets are affected (Vuignier, 2016, p. 31). The rootedness of place marketing (and urban regeneration) in general, limits the innovativeness and growth potential of neighbourhoods, incites homogeneity plus undermines

and mismatch with social, political and institutional aspects of places within which they are implemented (González, 2011, p. 1412). Academically, place marketing lacks conceptual precision or a compelling theoretical basis, thus covering a broad range of research topics. It also instigates a silo mentality so that different disciplines rarely cite each other (Vuignier, 2016, pp. 26, 31). This limits the level of multi-discipline insight and replicates research efforts.

However, with caution not to emulate the social impacts of colonialism and apartheid, novel ways can be devised to make place marketing beneficial to South African townships. For one, branding would be useful in addressing the stigma that they face, thus improving their reputation. This will require regeneration strategies that are inclusive, intentional and considerate of the linkage between township problems (Gourlay, 2007, p. 5). Also, cheap innovative ways such as social media can easily decrease marketing costs (Ketter & Avraham, 2012, p. 286), while cultural traits can be used to profit the locals, for example, cultivating township cultural centres for information sharing on local tourism attractions. Improving township housing while preserving its historical character can cater as a valuable attraction that can be used for city marketing.

**Table 5.7: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation for City Marketing and Branding**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS   | DISADVANTAGES  | MITIGATION   |
|----------|--|--|--|
| Social   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Improves place and housing sector perception</li> <li>*Community participation</li> <li>*Heritage conservation</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Lacks conceptual precision</li> <li>*Lacks accountability</li> <li>*Incites homogeneity</li> <li>*Conceals real urban problems</li> <li>*Gentrification</li> <li>*Creates inequalities</li> <li>*Self-congratulatory</li> <li>*Excludes some elements of city identity, e.g., cultural, ethnic, racial</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Government, business and civilian support</li> <li>*Inclusive policies</li> <li>*Research</li> <li>*Collaboration</li> </ul> |
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Development of business zones</li> <li>*Increased entrepreneurship and product development</li> <li>*Strengthens financial, communication and governmental institutions</li> <li>*Influenced by locally available resources and opportunities</li> <li>*Reconciles business, leisure and public needs</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Risky, expensive with no assurance</li> <li>*Unequal resource allocation</li> <li>*Elitist</li> <li>*Competing over state resources</li> <li>*Fails to significantly decrease unemployment</li> <li>*Falls short of local economic development</li> <li>*Disregards poor neighbourhoods</li> <li>*Commodifies places</li> <li>*Silo mentality</li> </ul> |  |
| Physical | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Improves city aesthetics through imagery</li> <li>*Improves environmental perception</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Natural resource intensive</li> </ul>  |  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### *Design-led Regeneration*

Innovative urban design and place-making in urban regeneration have played a critical role in promoting the competitiveness of post-industrial cities. In the competition between cities as places of choice, these strategies are used to re-create the physical image of the city through lavish investments in public spaces and designer buildings for use in cultural interests such as museums, theatres and galleries. Moreover, the construction and upgrading of airports, bridges, communication towers and skyscrapers also promote cities' global status (Griffiths, 2010, p. 13; Paddison, 2010, p. 44). At the neighbourhood level, local economies are promoted by constructing flagship buildings and high-end residential units and improving landscaping, public squares, fountains, and street lighting to attract service and creative professionals. Culture-oriented events and advertising support these initiatives to promote localities, lifestyles and consumption practices. Design is therefore used in marketing cities and neighbourhoods, as it forms part of the culture of place, that being the local populace, localities, perceptions and ideas (Bell & Jayne, 2010, pp. 87-88).

Design and property-led renewal, exemplified by Haussmann's proto-Keynesian development of Paris and Robert Moses' transformation of New York, was highly criticized by Jane Jacobs' 'Death and Life of Great American Cities' for being biased and undesirable (Harvey, 2008, p. 28). She argued that central place theory disregards the complexity and naturalness of cities, which leads to unsuccessful urban planning. According to Jacobs, when neighbourhoods are allowed to evolve gradually, their investment is optimized as they have mixed land uses, whereas rapid development, as in the case of urban renewal, destroys social assets (King, 2013, p. 2409; Maculan & Dal Moro, 2020, p. 3). Moreover, she underlined the need for urban renewal to engage bottom-up approaches in small experimental projects to strengthen the resilience and welfare of neighbourhoods (Auspos & Cabaj, 2014, p. 2). Specifically, regarding shelter, Jacobs indicated that gradual development led to a diversity in the age of housing stock, which is not only beneficial for historical purposes but also conservation of social relations as well as affordability presented by old buildings (Jacobs, 1961, p. 190; King, 2013, p. 2421). Design and property-led development is also disparaged for being elitist, displacing poor communities and requiring constant maintenance, which makes it expensive (Julier, 2008, p. 18). There was a massive outcry over the London Dockland/ Canary Wharf renewal which had little public participation and was managed by London Docklands Development Corporation. Though proponents say it underlines the importance of society, values and place attachment (Giddings, 2007, p. 1973), opponents of design-led regeneration argue that it undermines traditional planning and replaces socialism with commercialism, which in turn disregards community identity, increases passive citizenry and centralized decision making (Giddings, 2007, p. 1975).

It is imperative to note that design-led regeneration is complex as it aims to benefit a neighbourhood's economic and social aspects, thus entailing diverse strategies, projects and associations. Therefore, prior research is necessary to identify the impact of the planned design implementation. Its central drivers, the design, production and consumption of the design product, must work harmoniously to produce a socially comprehensible and economically profitable object. This demands multi-sectoral and inter-sectoral partnerships to ensure that design-led regeneration adds to the value of urban areas through job creation, economic development, entrepreneurial urbanism, energy conservation and innovation. These attract investors and tourists, incite community buy-in, poverty and crime reduction. It also induces social inclusion and interaction, safety, comfort and pleasure, which increase the liveability of localities (Furlan, 2016, p. 77; (Julier, 2008, p. 18).

Consequently, clustering and liaisons between urban planning and related professions such as architecture and engineering, plus creative industries, are necessary to enhance design-led social interaction, especially in housing, public spaces and transport networks, and to improve global competitiveness through innovative production, while also linking local production to local consumption practices to grow local economies. This is especially distinguished in the Barcelona Paradigm, which combined cultural revitalisation and economic development through evolutionary rather than static approaches. This way, flagship buildings, architectural heritage, efficient public transport, seafront redevelopment, parks and plazas were made to benefit the local culture, politics and civic pride (Bell & Jayne, 2010, pp. 84, 90; Julier, 2008, p. 18).

In South Africa, other townships can take lessons from Soweto, which underwent a remarkable design-led regeneration in the democratic era, embracing residential, infrastructure and commercial aspects. Its most notable developments include Maponya and Jabulani Malls, Orlando Stadium, the Hector Peterson memorial in Orlando and Vilakazi street, and the Bus Rapid Transport and Soweto Theatre. The Soweto Theatre is the first venue to be developed in any black township in South Africa, and it endeavours to enhance community participation in the arts and foster social development while addressing past social exclusion. It also aims to generate tourism revenue and transform the township's character from a dormitory settlement to a sustainable neighbourhood through exceptional infrastructure development. While this can be considered a useful model for replication in other townships, the Soweto Theatre has, however, been criticized for failing to reflect local practices and instead predominantly catering for the elite while failing to foster necessary transformation in the township (Chipkin, 2013, pp. 8, 10; Nkosi, 2019, p. 134). With an emphasis on inclusionary approaches, design-led township revitalisation such as Soweto Theatre can benefit the

local economies and the social fabric of communities, especially in a country such as South Africa, in need of social reconstruction in the wake of past governance injustices. This should be considered a potential for an easily accessible yet economically challenged township such as Bochabela.

**Table 5.8: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation of Design-Led Regeneration**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS  | DISADVANTAGES   | MITIGATION   |
|----------|---|---|--|
| Social   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Recreates physical image of cities</li> <li>*Improves communication and mobility</li> <li>*Increases comfort and pleasure in cities</li> <li>*Decreases Crime</li> <li>*Promotes a culture of place</li> <li>*Upholds civic pride</li> <li>*Increases interdisciplinary and multi-sector liaison</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Disregards city complexity</li> <li>*Destroys social assets</li> <li>*Top-down</li> <li>*Weakens the welfare of cities</li> <li>*Displaces the poor</li> <li>*Biased</li> <li>*Excludes some cultural groups</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Complex socio-economic strategies</li> <li>*Designing relevant projects</li> <li>*Forming applicable associations</li> <li>*Research</li> <li>*Multi-sectoral partnerships</li> <li>*Community buy-in and involvement</li> </ul> |
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Encourages city competitiveness</li> <li>* Promotes local economic development</li> <li>*Enhances job creation</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Expensive</li> <li>*Elitist</li> <li>*Requires constant maintenance</li> </ul>  |  |
| Physical | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Energy conservation</li> <li>*Increases livability of place</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Disregards the natural environment</li> <li>*Weakens city resilience</li> </ul>   |  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### *Neighbourhood Commercial Revitalisation*

Small businesses have been considered a means of local economic development since the 1960s. This is because they improve neighbourhood access to and provision of goods and services, create jobs for the locals and act as places of social collaboration, attachment and make-up, thus contributing to the nature of community life and development (Sutton, 2010, p. 354). In retrospect, neighbourhood businesses (often called “mom and pop stores” in American literature and Spaza shops in South Africa) have been displaced due to urban renewal activities, to the detriment of social, cultural and economic aspects such as a sense of community, social interaction, diversity and sustainable development. This has necessitated community-driven rather than market-oriented neighbourhood commercial development (Levy, 2017).

**Table 5.9: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation of Neighbourhood Commercial Revitalisation**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS  | DETRIMENTS                        | MITIGATION                                  |
|----------|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| Social   | *Enhances community unity and social collaboration                    | *Affects sense of community       | *Community-driven commercial revitalisation |
| Economic | *Improves access and provision of goods and services<br>*Job creation | *Displaces small local businesses |   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### *Creative Cities and Industries*

While creative industries originated decades ago, their inclusion in urban renewal and as a driver of economic development appeared in the early 1990s in Australia. This proliferated in Britain with the formation of the Creative Industries Task Force, whose purpose was to determine the contribution of creative industries to the national economy (Dunska & Marcinkevica, 2017, p. 97; Gregory, 2016, p. 158). Some, however, assert that it was in the late 1980s that cities like Tokyo, New York and Amsterdam were called “creative”. Creative industries emerged due to post-industrial globalization, wherein industrial offshoring to regions of cheap labour compelled deindustrialized cities to engage in high innovation and knowledge systems to revive their economies and become competitive. They are defined as marketable services and products of the artistic genre, rooted in creativity and specialized knowledge, and capable of generating capital (Jurene & Jureniene, 2017, p. 215; Moldoveanu & Valeriu, 2016, p. 33). They have widely acted as a catalyst for urban regeneration in the global north and, to a lesser extent, in the global south. Importantly, they are linked to SDG 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) and SDG 9 (Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure), the achievement of which stimulates SDG 1 (No Poverty) (Oyekunle, 2017, p. 7).

Creative cities, creative clusters, and the creative class are three integral features of creative industries. Creative cities are urban places that activate the potential for arts and culture to foster economic growth through creative industrial development, job creation, collaboration and knowledge exchange (Moldoveanu & Valeriu, 2016, p. 32). Universities, therefore, play a crucial role in developing creative cities as they offer specialized knowledge required in creative industries. Areas with tertiary institutions can potentially incubate business start-ups, while the existence of big enterprises enables the agglomeration of smaller supporting companies for creative clusters. For this to work efficiently,

there must be enabling policies, adequate financial support and essential knowledge and abilities, quality infrastructure and diverse land use (Jurene & Jureniene, 2017, p. 221).

Creative clusters exist within creative cities as places within which creative services and products are produced and consumed, and so can be both residential and workspaces such as theatres, studios, apartments and markets. They can be naturally formed or emerge as part of intentional public policy initiatives or private sector investment. Through these, creative industries enhance a city's social networks and economic diversity, increasing local employment opportunities. This is, however, tied to having relevant skills and knowledge (Dunska & Marcinkevica, 2017, p. 99).

Central to creative clusters are agglomeration economies and enabling public policy, as they attract the creative class, who in turn drive the necessary development in creative cities. These include property developers, graphic designers, artists, producers, singers and actors, who all engage in inventive activities to promote innovative ways of life. The creative class are, therefore, those who produce and consume creative products. They are flexible and tend to seek unconventional, inner-city locations where rents are low. This presents opportunities for renewal and local partnerships in such localities. Creative cities are thus notably related to property and culture-led regeneration in that they use cultural infrastructure or property development as a vehicle for re-imagining places for urban development (Gregory & Rogerson, 2018(b), p. 34).

Creative cities improve the city image, foster physical development and place-making, and promote local economic development, collaboration and knowledge exchange between the creative class and local communities. Nonetheless, they are criticized for increasing the socio-economic divide, as the creative class usually acts as gentrifiers and participation within the creative industry is selective (Hochstenbach, 2017, p. 403). Creative industries also fail to solve social problems or foster social cohesion, while defying Just City notions (Winkler, 2009, p. 362). They are also perceived as counterfeit creativity as they rarely occur naturally under the auspices of urban regeneration. While creative industries contribute to urban regeneration in the form of cultural infrastructure and events, for example, they are a high risk as they exist within ambiguous markets.

Moreover, though they are said to affect job creation, personal wealth, foreign investment and tourism, they have also been criticized for having an unclear contribution to local economic development and instead benefit the exclusive creative class circle (Gregory, 2016, p. 160; Gregory, 2016, p. 2; Oyekunle, 2017, p. 7). This is tied to the failure of consumers to comprehend the value of

creative products as they are mostly experienced rather than tangible. Moreover, insufficient information about the market, plus increased product control and cost caused by intermediaries, also restrict creative cities to an exclusive circle (Dunska & Marcinkevica, 2017, p. 100).

Unlike other parts of Africa, there is a growing scholarship in creativity within the South African context, with Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban perceived as hubs of creativity. The creative city concept emerged in the late 1990s literature on Johannesburg's culture and knowledge-based sectors, while some related policies surfaced in the mid-2000s. For almost a decade now, the focus has been on creative industries in both Cape Town (2014 Design Capital of the World) and Johannesburg, with crafts and media being prioritized due to their potential to foster socio-economic transformation. Scholars emphasise the need for the creative industry in South Africa (and Africa as a whole) to alleviate locally specific challenges such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, and community and cultural exclusion. South African policies are now being fashioned to promote a knowledge-based economy and therefore recognize the creative industry as a crucial element of urban regeneration policy. This was especially pronounced following the issuing of the Creative South Africa Strategy, which highlighted the idea of creative cities to foster economic development (Gregory, 2016, p. 161; Gregory & Rogerson, 2018(a); Oyekunle, 2017, pp. 2, 5). Box 3 offers insight into creative cities-induced urban regeneration in Johannesburg, focusing on the Maboneng Precinct.

## **Box 2: Creative Cities Induced Regeneration in Johannesburg**

### **JOHANNESBURG:**

Regeneration through the creative cities concept in Johannesburg is more popular in the prosperous northern areas. Yet, in recent years, western and central areas such as Newtown and Braamfontein have also undergone some creative city arts and cultural-led regeneration characteristics (Gregory & Rogerson, 2018(a), p. 7). Private developers have established mixed land uses, including residential units, especially for students from the Universities of Witwatersrand and Johannesburg and the creative class. While the City of Johannesburg (CoJ) prefers private sector leadership in urban renewal due to costs and capacity issues, several of its policies, including the IDP 2015, the 2007 Inner City Renewal Charter and the 2008 SDF, also underline the significance of multi-stakeholder partnerships during the regeneration process (Gregory, 2016, p. 162) and (Winkler, 2009, p. 372).

The Maboneng Precinct, on the east side of the CBD, is one of the country's most prominent creative clusters. Previously a derelict industrial area, it was transformed into an innovative zone with old warehouses redeveloped into modern infrastructure, including studios, galleries, offices, and residential units (Nevin, 2014, pp. 187-188). In 2011 there were over 350 such residential units ranging from single to family-sized plus apartments, with a further 200 more under construction. The rental and purchasing prices were said to be affordable at the time (Gregory, 2016, p. 163). Major events, weekly shows and advertising, plus preeminent art exhibitions, the SA Fashion Week and weekly food, crafts, clothes and furniture market, were used to attract the creative class to the precinct (Bethlehem, 2013, p. 22) and (Gregory, 2016, p. 164).

Overall, the Maboneng Precinct enhanced creative entrepreneurship, as about 15 new businesses related to entertainment, art, food and beverage, events, photography, and digital media opened within months of its operation in 2011. It has therefore been commended for supporting local products while also using space creatively to increase the

presence of art and cultural activities. It also fostered strong linkages between the creative class (though initially, it was only those connected to the developer). The precinct is also accessible, safe and secure, diverse and comparatively affordable and close to other facilities such as the Ellis Park Sports Stadium and the University of Johannesburg (Gregory, 2016, p. 166). CoJ also upgraded some infrastructure, such as pavements, though this was limited. The private sector also initiated some community projects, such as the skateboard park and the rooftop garden, which are said to have improved the sense of community in the neighbourhood (Gregory, 2016, p. 167) and (Nevin, 2014, p. 195).

The limited public sector investment and the selective choice of residents and business communities resulted in the exclusion of poorer local communities and promoted social polarization and gentrification. This is a popular criticism of creative cities, even in the global north. A sudden rise in property prices resulted in involuntary sales and departure from residential units, illegal occupation and evictions, and violent protests against evictions. A notable number of small businesses were also closed or relocated as they could not afford their upkeep (Gregory, 2016, p. 168) and (Nevin, 2014, pp. 191-192).

In retrospect, creative cities have failed to cultivate considerable LED and assuage poverty in South Africa. Given this, creative industries need to support policy contributions to infrastructure development (including housing), public involvement and welfare (Oyekunle, 2017, p. 8). Also, the inclination of creative industries such as media, audio-visuals and performing arts to be decentralized (e.g., operating from home studios and set up in townships like Soweto) (Gregory & Rogerson, 2018(b), p. 46), presents an opportunity for other townships such as Bochabela to think of housing revitalisation beyond residential uses of the housing stock, yet concurrently mindful of imminent gentrification dangers. The latest trend of 'Airbnb', which entails individuals hosting tourists in exchange for fees, is another idea to consider. Table 5.10 summarizes the preceding discussion.

**Table 5.10: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation for Creative Cities**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS   | DETRIMENTS  | MITIGATION   |
|----------|--|---|--|
| Social   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Enhances social networks</li> <li>*Attracts the creative class</li> <li>*Enhances an innovative lifestyle</li> <li>*Boosts tourism</li> <li>*Promotes arts and culture</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Gentrification</li> <li>*Fails to solve wicked problems</li> <li>*Benefits only exclusive few</li> <li>*Fails to foster social cohesion</li> </ul>                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Enabling policies</li> <li>*Agglomeration economies</li> </ul> |
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Fosters economic growth</li> <li>*Job creation</li> <li>*Enables agglomeration of small businesses</li> <li>*Collaboration and knowledge exchanges</li> <li>*Enables personal wealth creation</li> <li>*Attracts foreign investment</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Increases socioeconomic divide</li> <li>*High risk</li> <li>*Unclear contribution to LED</li> <li>*Lack of market information</li> <li>*Expensive due to middlemen</li> </ul> |  |
| Physical | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Development of affordable housing</li> <li>*Development of creative business zones</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Does not occur naturally</li> </ul>   |  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

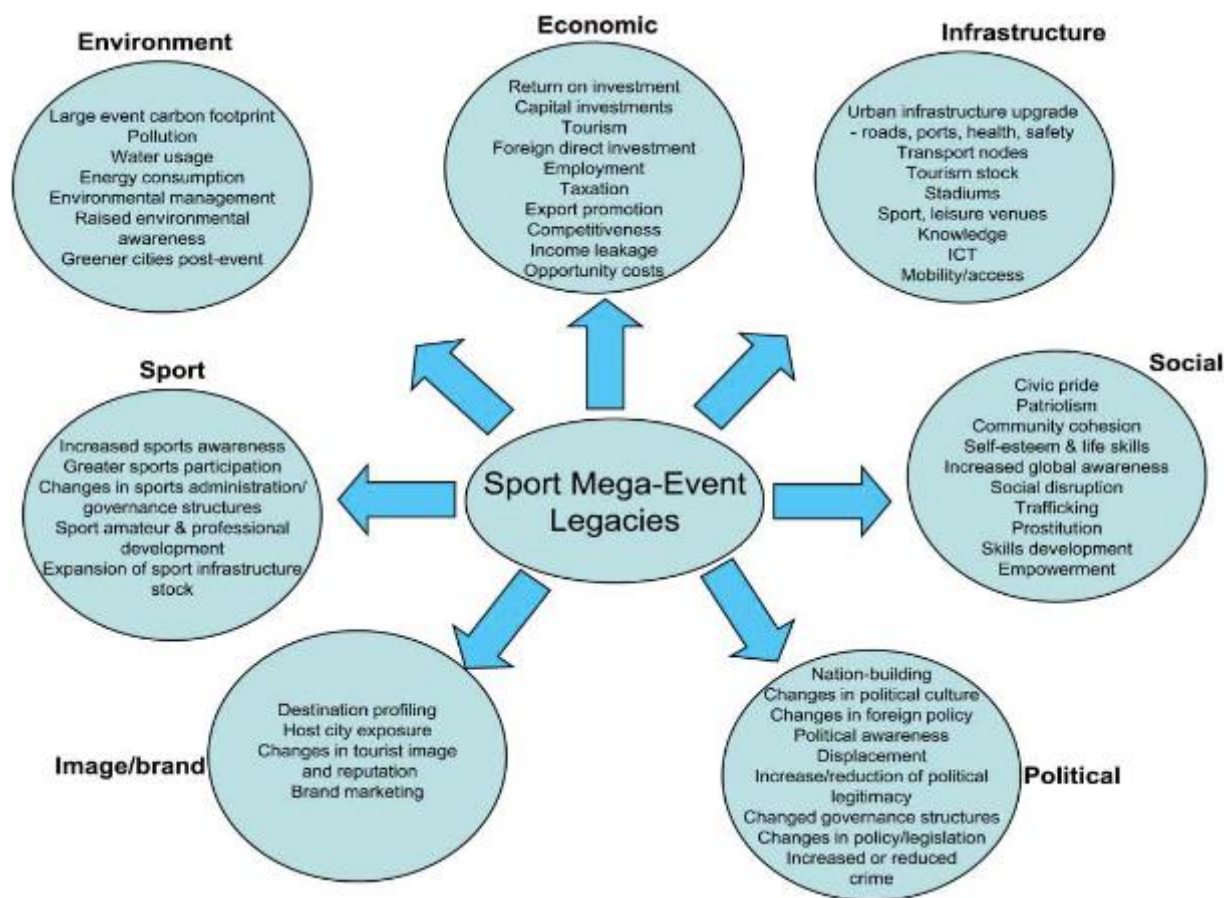
### *Event-Led Regeneration*

Mega-events are sport or entertainment episodes hosted for a set period to attract hordes of tourists worldwide and improve social cohesion. Such events are short-lived as they barely represent shared life in cities (Griffiths, 2010, p. 11; Müller, 2015, p. 6). Post-modern mega-events include sports competitions, artistic events, performing arts, trade fairs, board games, rituals and citizens' festivals (He, Zhu, Cai, Li and Zhong, 2020:1). These are used as catalysts for urban development, tools for the celebration of culture and industrial and technological progress, and as opportunities for urban regeneration. They go through stages of preparation, hosting and legacy. Instances of popular global mega-events are the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup, and city-specific ones include the Cannes Film Festival, the UK Garden Festivals, the Seville holy week processions in Spain, and Edinburgh's Hogmanay (Cornelissen, Urmilla and Swart, 2011, p. 307; Gold & Gold, 2008, p. 302; Griffiths, 2010, pp. 11-12).

Barcelona hosted the 1992 Olympics and London the 2012 Paralympic and Olympic Games in the global north. In the global south, China hosted the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008, Brazil the FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016. South Africa was put on the world map when it became the first African country to host the FIFA World Cup in 2010. The country set the standard for event-led urban regeneration in the region (Cornelissen, et al., 2011, p. 307; Molloy & Chetty, 2015, p. 3; Müller, 2015, p. 8), which is especially relevant to this study in that the Free State Stadium, walking distance from Bochabela Township, was revamped to host some games during the FIFA World Cup. So, the township may have benefitted from or could have been affected by the festivities and infrastructure development of the event. Annual affairs and festivals that may be viewed as mega-events in the country include the Grahamstown Arts Festival, Klein Karoo Kunstefees, the UFS Vrye Fees, Moria Easter Pilgrimage in Limpopo, the Mangaung Arts and Cultural Festival (MACUFE) in Bloemfontein, the Cape Town International Jazz Festival (CPIJF) and the Vodacom Durban July. While these may contribute to local economies, they do not necessitate infrastructural development (Makhaola & Proches, 2017, p. 6; Pyper, 2016, p. 116); Sadd, 2010, p. 273; Saayman, Saayman and Gyekye, 2014, p. 407; Schatz et al., 2019, p. 166).

Mega-events differ in size and structure, and countries compete in a bidding process to host global ones. Proposals for urban regeneration, local and national economic development and place marketing play a major role in determining the winner (Cornelissen, et al., 2011, p. 307; Müller, 2015, p. 6; Ward, 2010, p. 76). This renders sporting and entertainment events integral to the economies of many cities and neighbourhoods, with their stadia and arenas functioning as principal entities for

sustained socio-economic development. Particularly beneficial to townships is the propensity of mega-events to capitalize on favourite local sports and entertainment activities to aid not only in the development of stadia and arenas but also in enhancing social cohesion and cultural inclusion, implementing mixed land use development, housing provision and city marketing. Urban regeneration in many cities, including Baltimore, Barcelona and London, as well as Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town, has therefore simultaneously encompassed the design of world-class sports and entertainment venues while also aiming for the provision of residential, communication and transport infrastructure, plus businesses growth, job creation and poverty alleviation ( (Molloy & Chetty, 2015, p. 1).



**Figure 5.20: Mega-Events Legacies**

Source: (Cornelissen, et al., 2011, p. 311)

A crucial factor of mega events is the positive and negative legacy they leave. As comprehensively stipulated in Figure 5.6, these legacies span sporting, urban and infrastructural, plus economic, social, environmental and political nuances (Cornelissen, et al., 2011, pp. 309-310). These collectively refer to the development and renovation of sports arenas and buildings, modernization of transport and

communication networks, a boost in tourism and attraction of inward investment, civic pride, and an improved host city image at local and international levels. Also, alignment to sustainable development through managing the carbon footprint of such events, inclusive and collaborative planning, capacity building and a rights-based approach to hosting such events also form part of their legacy.

Event-led regeneration has been lauded for generating spin-offs that benefit neighbourhoods through financial aid, ticket sales, marketing, and advertising. Also, construction during preparation and hosting stage activities often create job opportunities for the locals. Moreover, tourism, hospitality, related services and the business sector gain from the festivities and increased human traffic during events, while the international exposure that comes with marketing the event benefits these markets long after the event (Gold & Gold, 2008, p. 301; Griffiths 1995 in Tallon, 2010, p. 12; Sadd, 2010, pp. 267, 272). It is therefore important to view hosting mega-events as an opportunity to better lives over the long term. Such benefits should be capitalized to foster and ensure sustainable economic development amid resource scarcity. Because the local culture, norms, and teams are incorporated into the city image, events and games tend to cater to local entertainment needs and interests, thus making them feel included and strengthening their attachment to the city. This also boosts the hosting city's international image and thus contributes as a crucial cash injection through the tourism, business sectors and foreign direct investment (Ward 1998 in Tallon, 2010, pp. 73, 75).

Preeminent events such as the Olympics have failed to transfer their popularity onto host cities, especially in instances where their preparations are delimited by poor planning, insufficient funding and lack of political will. This is even more prevalent when the infrastructure designs are incompetent, and the land chosen for facility construction requires the eviction of former residents and the demolition of their housing (Gold & Gold, 2008, p. 301). The Shanghai EXPO 2010 resulted in the resettlement of 400 000 dwellers, while in New Delhi, 300 000 informal settlers were displaced between 2003-2006 to pursue the vision for no slums in preparation for the 2010 Commonwealth Games. The Athlete Villages that are typical of mega-sports events and claim to answer to the housing need have also resulted in gentrification and contribute towards social disparities as only the elite can afford them. This was the case after the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games and the South Africa World Cup (Clark et al. 2016, p. 89; Steinbrink, et al., 2011, pp. 21, 26). Events-driven regeneration is also criticized for necessitating pricey, extensive construction, precarious and lengthy ventures, and generally failing to yield expected returns, while also failing to solve existing social and economic problems within communities (Gold & Gold, 2008, p. 303; Steinbrink, et al., 2011, p. 21).

Müller, (2015, p. 7) coined the term “mega-event syndrome” to refer to this negative legacy or similar undesirable characteristics that plagued different host countries globally, including South Africa. Similar connotations were again highlighted by (Molloy & Chetty, 2015, p. 7; Molloy & Chetty, 2015), citing the South African context, which presents an opportunity to understand the implications of urban regeneration from a local perspective. If one assesses the World Cup from the functionality viewpoint, South Africa exceeded all expectations through targeted and effective planning and implementation. Moreover, it could also be said that it delayed the harsh impact of the 2008 recession due to the construction at the time. However, if one focuses on the event’s contribution towards housing provision and economic development, its performance is acutely inadequate. For one, in the years preceding the event, budgets for subsidized housing were cut, and the cost of land and building materials increased due to augmented construction activities, thus increasing housing backlogs. Moreover, local-level exclusion from decision-making, displacement of low-income communities, and demolition of informal dwellings close to stadiums in the interest of beautification and upgrading, and gentrification, uncovered the ruthless side of event-led regeneration (Steinbrink, et al., 2011, p. 24).

Dwellers of Bertrams close to the Ellis Park Stadium in Johannesburg and those who resided along N2 in Cape Town were relocated as they were considered an eyesore so close to the expected visitors would arrive. In this manner, a development in the World Cup build-up thus concealed social problems such as housing informality and poverty, the everyday realities of millions of South Africans. Furthermore, stopgap policies formed part of long-term legislation and planning practice, with the government forming the World Cup court and ratifying the Special Measures Act, which placed some constitutional rights in abeyance (such as the Freedom of Speech) during the event. FIFA demanded virtual control of the country for the 2010 cup and decided if and where people could sell promotional items. In terms of job creation, new opportunities were not sustainable as most work during the period was within the construction sector, hence the compelling placement of existing workers. Another issue is the inability of most stadiums developed during this period to cover their operational costs, and while some lack permanent occupiers, all have been severely underutilized since the event. These compounded the disparities triggered by the apartheid urban planning and increased social service delivery contests (Müller & Gaffrey, 2018, pp. 256-257; Steinbrink, et al., 2011, pp. 21-25).

Considering sustainable development, the 2010 World Cup continues to disappoint, as the extensive distance between venues, use of coal for energy generation and deficiency of greening initiatives in alignment with the event resulted in a large carbon footprint. Perhaps the mega-event syndrome can be best described in numbers. While the South African government had invested over R6000 billion in

infrastructure development for the World Cup in anticipation of R93 billion in revenue, R19 billion in tax income and 415 000 new jobs, none of these expectations were met. The actual tourism revenue was R3,64 billion instead of the estimated R8,9 billion, and the risk taken by the public sector was detrimental as the stadium's expenditure was ten times the projected value (Cornelissen, et al., 2011, pp. 312, 315; Müller & Gaffrey, 2018, p. 255). This is reminiscent of the 'Big Owe' of the Montreal Olympic Stadium constructed for the 1976 Olympics, where the city lost US\$1,2 billion and subsequently struggled economically for over two decades until it could recoup the loss. Such shortfalls, termed 'the winner's curse', due to the state of monetary deprivation a city endures after winning the hosting bid, are caused by poor planning. These include a lack of long-term plans for stadia and facilities, overzealous budgets, unclear roles and responsibilities, lack of administrative capacity and exclusion of civilians (Gold & Gold, 2008, p. 305; Molloy & Chetty, 2015, p. 1). Table 5.11 summarizes the mega-event syndrome's overall symptoms, description and consequences.

**Table 5.11: The Mega-Event Syndrome**

| <i>Symptoms</i>                     | <i>Description</i>   | <i>Consequences</i>  |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>1. Overpromising of benefits</i> | Overestimating positive effects of mega-events                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Misallocation of resources</li> <li>• Loss of trust with citizenry</li> </ul>   |
| <i>2. Underestimation of costs</i>  | Actual budget vs planned budget  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Misallocation of resources</li> <li>• Profiteering</li> <li>• Subpar construction quality</li> <li>• Budget shortfalls</li> </ul>   |
| <i>3. Event takeover</i>            | Event priorities become planning priorities                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Event needs displace urban infrastructure needs</li> <li>• Oversized infrastructure</li> <li>• Unfinished infrastructure</li> </ul>   |
| <i>4. Public risk-taking</i>        | The public takes risks for private benefits                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public funds for limited or no public benefits</li> <li>• Profiteering</li> </ul>   |
| <i>5. Rule of exception</i>         | Suspension of the regular rule of law                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Reduced public oversight</li> <li>• Limited public participation</li> </ul>   |
| <i>6. Elite capture</i>             | Inequitable distribution of resources                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Spatially uneven urban landscape</li> <li>• Gentrification</li> </ul>   |
| <i>7. Event fix</i>                 | Mega-events become seemingly quick fixes for major planning challenges | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Event determines national priority for funding</li> <li>• Bypassing the regular planning process</li> <li>• Waste of resources on the event as a lever for urban development</li> </ul> |

Source: (Müller, 2015, p. 7)

On a global scale, Barcelona (through hosting the 1992 Olympic Games) is considered the best model for warranting sustainable catalytic benefits of event-led urban regeneration. It presents a useful insight into how localities can benefit from event-led regeneration. Overall, the city dedicated 83% of the event hosting budget to urban regeneration activities such as the construction of rail, road, air and communication networks, 4500 housing units, museums, offices and 5 000 new hotel rooms, and a 15 000 person capacity Olympic Village which was transformed into a hotel and offices following the games (Gold & Gold, 2008, pp. 306-307).

The city prioritized civic involvement, public infrastructure development and mega projects. Decades later, its economy continues to thrive because it used the Olympics as an opportunity to devise urban policy and implement a long-term vision for infrastructure development, create open spaces for wider community use, improve transport linkages, use the seafront for the people instead of limiting it to commerce, and integrating area-based regeneration of decayed neighbourhoods into the event-hosting plans for the benefit of existing communities. Apart from winning the Royal Gold Medal in 1999 for best architecture, the city was commended for ensuring civic participation throughout the process, sustaining a positive legacy for the locals.

Thus, Barcelona has laudable urban policy tourism, wherein approximately 5000 specialists in planning, architecture, research and policy visit annually to study its regeneration model. This is especially beneficial because urban policy tourism broadens higher education and learning systems as cities become hubs of knowledge sharing on urban development issues such as local economic development, public-private partnerships, public transport, waste management, and professional and political systems. (González, 2011, pp. 1398, 1407, 1413; (Sadd, 2010, pp. 266, 268). Table 5.12 summarizes the benefits, detriments and mitigation of mega-events.

**Table 5.12: Summary of Benefits, Detriments and Mitigation for Event-Led Regeneration**

| ASPECT   | BENEFITS  | DISADVANTAGES  | MITIGATION   |
|----------|---|--|--|
| Social   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Enhance social cohesion</li> <li>* Encourage cultural inclusion</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Fails to represent daily shared life</li> <li>*Relocation of poor communities</li> </ul>                           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Prior research</li> <li>*Inclusive budgeting</li> <li>*Planning skills and capacity</li> </ul> |
| Economic | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Capitalize on local entertainment activities</li> <li>*City marketing</li> <li>*Development of communication and transport infrastructure</li> <li>*Job creation</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Resource competition</li> <li>*Bypassing of places in dire need of regeneration due to lack of capacity</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Budget aligned to local plans</li> </ul>  |

|          |  |  |   |
|----------|--|--|---|
| Physical | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Facilitates mixed-use development</li> <li>*Fosters housing development</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Detrimental change to the natural setting</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Long-term vision</li> </ul> |
|----------|--|--|---|

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

#### 5.4 Lessons from Best Practices

Regeneration plans should, without fail, consider how poor communities will be affected, how they will deal with the implications, their resilience and adaptation strategies to the spin-offs, plus the potential for an increase in homelessness due to increased property rates and any other risks. For these to be realized, the prerequisites discussed herein must be considered.

Urban renewal is a complex process that requires a bottom-up process inclusive of all stakeholders. Lehmann, (2019, p. 40) argues that collaboration is crucial because urban regeneration involves addressing complex social, economic, and environmental challenges. These challenges often require interdisciplinary approaches and the integration of diverse knowledge and expertise. He advocates for inclusive and participatory processes that involve the local community and stakeholders throughout the decision-making and implementation stages. Because issues of inclusive, just development are interconnected, if stakeholder groups work in isolation, desired outcomes are hardly achieved. It was evident in South Africa that the idea of reconstruction through democracy soon faded because communities were excluded from housing development and decision-making. This highlights the importance of collaboration between different stakeholders to realize positive outcomes, vital for equitable and lasting development. By including communities in development, planners and decision makers create inclusive alternatives that are omitted when they are not included. Community inclusion also fosters solidarity that acknowledges the complexity of places of development (de Beer & Oranje, 2019, pp. 18, 21).

Urban developers should be mindful that some areas perceived as derelict have well-functioning and profitable businesses (Sadd, 2010, p. 270), which should not be excluded but prioritized in bettering areas as they are the root of the locality's economy. Moreover, many, if not all, such neighbourhoods have strong social networks that enable communities to solve problems cooperatively (King, 2013, p. 2409). Due diligence should be upheld to ensure that such networks are not destroyed because although new residents can swiftly inherit them, developing strong social bonds takes a long time. Also, regeneration should be all-encompassing and not only for certain classes. In this regard, planning

for existing communities should involve serious consideration of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Unforeseen outcomes may occur. For example, existing and lower-class communities may be unintentionally side-lined or displaced. Multi-stakeholder partnerships are crucial for successful urban regeneration. Communities should also be given realistic, affordable and achievable renewal promises, with post-renewal plans in place to ensure the sustainability of urban renewal.

Urban regeneration programmes must realize the significance of culture separate from economic gain but emphasise the long-term implications of aligning culture to urban transformation (Garcia, 2004 in Tallon, 2010, p. 113). It is highly beneficial for areas planning regeneration to take lessons from successful instances yet concurrently localise these lessons to fit native realities. In a time of integrated development and extreme housing shortage, planners should also be mindful that social integration is easier to achieve through public space mixing and more complicated to attain through mere housing development (Sadd, 2010, p. 272). Lastly, because urban regeneration projects often face numerous barriers and constraints, such as financial limitations, political dynamics, and differing interests among stakeholders, there is need for strong leadership, effective communication, and negotiation skills to navigate these complexities and conflicts (Lehmann, 2019, p. 21). They must therefore devise new ways of achieving successful integration through housing redevelopment. An overview of prerequisites for successful urban regeneration is listed in Box 3.

### **Box 3: Prerequisites for Successful Urban Regeneration**

- Availability of capital, technology, contemporary infrastructure and human resource
- Bottom-up governance with extensive public inclusion and participation
- Continuity and flexibility in times of governance change and rapid urban transformation
- Development of and alignment to robust policies to foster LED and housing development
- Distinguished planning, implementation, management, monitoring and evaluation
- Diversifying urban regeneration goals
- Inclusive, not for a select few (not elitist)
- Innovative ways of integrating housing provision
- Localizing international best practices and aligning them to local realities, interests, opportunities, needs
- Planning for comprehensive benefits while prioritizing the marginalized
- SMART and inclusive of post-renewal plans
- Strong social networks and multi-sectoral partnerships (PPPs) and holistic approach towards integration of diverse objectives
- Strong leadership, political will and clarity of roles and responsibilities
- Well-functioning and profitable business environment
- Winning financial models and long-term budgeting
- Acknowledge cultural significance and ensure sustained local and external consumption of cultural products

Sources: (Garcia, 2010, p. 113; Gonzales, 2011, pp. 1408-1409; Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, p. 139; Sadd, 2010, pp. 266-269)

## 5.5 Conclusion

The discussion reveals that urban renewal is a catalyst for urban development and a tool for cultural celebration and industrial and technological progress. When well planned, implemented and managed, it enables urban transformation that is conducive to locals and caters for external beneficiaries. However, it is unique to each city and faces challenges, including the global recession, stringent public budgets and extensive red tape. Contradictions between planning and functionality result in unfulfilled promises to local communities, hence loss of trust and good relations with authority. Renewal policies must shift from a top-down approach and take a community-driven, participatory viewpoint to be more meaningful and reach a broader socio-economic spectrum. They must conserve civic power, align with local identity and create a sense of place to ensure local inclusion and representation.

The COVID-19 pandemic and recent war have affected renewal initiatives and greatly impacted economic benefits that could have been achieved. It will be interesting to see how cities will utilise marketing campaigns to revive their dwindling economies post-pandemic in alignment with the ever-improving technology of the 4th Industrial Revolution. Perhaps cities will be going by interesting slogans such as “City X, most sanitized city in the world” or “City X, Corona Virus Free” to attract tourists and inward investment. Cities like Edinburgh have already devised innovative means to continue their usual culture-led activities, such as the annual Hogmanay through technology and online viewing, to ensure that they remain global leaders in city marketing ([www.edinburghshogmanay.com](http://www.edinburghshogmanay.com)). There is a research opportunity to evaluate how housing provision in line with urban regeneration is affected by the current pandemic, as reports show that the restrictions curtailed urban development, increased socio-economic imbalances and escalated housing needs.

Bochabela may have characteristics more suited for incumbent upgrading, neighbourhood commercial redevelopment and community development, though the housing may be overly dilapidated for minor renovations. The township can also capitalize on MACUFE by using it as one of its appeals to attract inward investment. This will require effective planning as maintaining funding for advertising purposes is difficult. However, because big events ensure media attention, the township might be able to drop advertising altogether and benefit from MACUFE spinoffs. However, with the existence of strong neighbourhood organizations and willing residents, together with partnerships between all stakeholders and the availability of resources, Bochabela could benefit from

one or several combined approaches to urban renewal. Any attempt at renewal must do everything it can to maintain existing social networks, engage the locals, and involve all stakeholders while also ensuring an all-inclusive economic, social and environmental redevelopment of the area. Systems must also be established to ensure that gentrification does not affect the township residents.

## CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

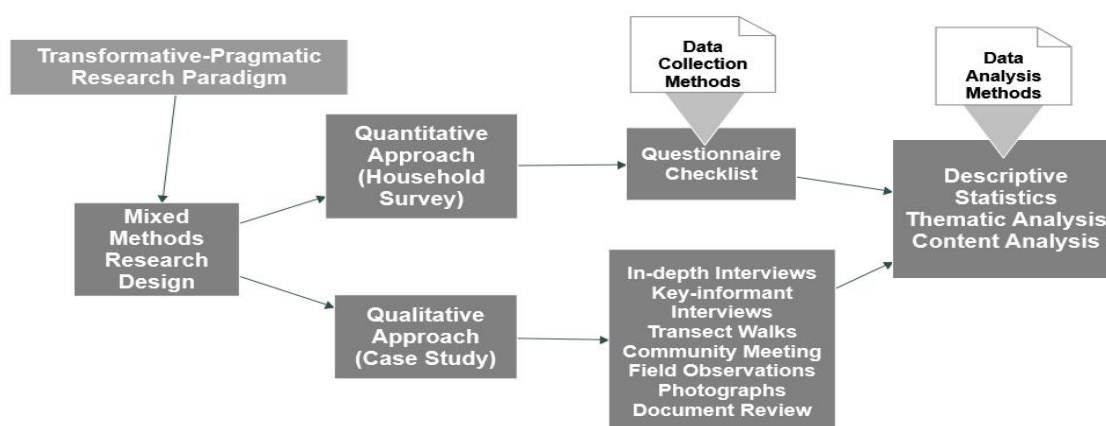
"If we knew what we were doing it would not be called research, would it?" (Albert Einstein)

"Supposing is good, but finding out is better" (Mark Twain)

### 6.1 Introduction

True to Albert Einstein's words above, my journey through this dissertation initially entailed flying blind. That is, I did not clearly understand what I was doing. However, Mark Twain's assertion that verified reality is superior motivated me to conduct robust research guided by experienced scholars and achieve the study's objectives. This assisted me in remaining accurate, impartial and logical. This study aimed to assess the nature of housing (in)adequacy in Bochabela Township, determine the socio-economic drivers and implications of inadequate housing to urban planning, and finally propose a collaborative framework for a sustainable housing economy in Bochabela Township.

Therefore, in this chapter, as summarized in Figure 6.12, I articulate the comprehensive research methodology of my dissertation. Research methodology clarifies the reasoning behind scientific techniques for gaining knowledge (Welman, et al., 2011, p. 2). I accomplish this by initially rationalizing the applied research procedure, thus discussing the transformative pragmatic paradigm through a mixed methods design I found suitable for this study. I follow this with clarification and justification of the case study approach, including sampling, data collection and analysis methods. After that, I explain the aspects of data quality, ethical considerations and limitations. I then conclude with an overview of the methodological reflections.



**Figure 6.21: Summary of Research Design and Methodology**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

## 6.2 Philosophical Worldview: Transformative-Pragmatism

This study draws from a combination of pragmatic and transformative worldviews. They are, therefore, the only worldviews discussed comprehensively in this section. There is a general consensus within the social sciences scholarship that there are four philosophical worldviews, namely positivism (or post-positivist), constructivism (interpretivism), advocacy/participatory (or emancipatory), and pragmatism (Creswell & Garrett, 2008, p. 327; du Toit, 2015, p. 64; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 30). Interestingly, some scholars such as Creswell (2015, p. 16) and Romm (2015, p. 412), but especially Mertens (1999, p. 4), who seems to have pioneered this thinking, use the term transformative paradigm with similar connotations as advocacy/participatory/emancipatory worldviews. For this reason, I regarded the transformative worldview with an understanding that it encapsulates advocacy/participatory/ emancipatory interpretations.

Though I was using the terms pragmatic-advocacy and pragmatic-transformative-advocacy interchangeably through my journey of methodological comprehension, I ultimately understood my study to be rooted in 'transformative pragmatism'. This was influenced by explanations that a research paradigm (or, as commonly known in the social sciences, a philosophical worldview) is literally how the researcher views the world or a set of shared assumptions, belief systems and values adopted by a community of philosophers to guide studying or gaining knowledge within their discipline (Creswell, 2015, p. 10; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 39; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016, p. 57; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 26; du Toit, 2015, p. 63). In his 1962 publication, 'The Structure of Scientific Revolutions', Thomas Kuhn coined the term paradigm and described it as a philosophical mindset in research. (Brynard, et al., 2014, p. 5) recently meticulously defined it as follows:

"A paradigm is a pattern of commonly held theories or assumptions on models of both scientific and sociological nature, which serve as examples or patterns for a particular research topic and which influence the research of the scientist."

Owing to probing into the literature of paradigms, I concluded that this study primarily reflects characteristics of pragmatism, followed to a lesser yet crucial degree by those of transformative paradigm, taking Creswell, Mertens and Romm's clarification that transformative is the umbrella of advocacy/participatory and emancipatory worldviews as per (Creswell, 2015, p. 16; Mertens, 1999, p. 4; Romm, 2015, p. 412). I chose my research approach with an understanding that the study aims can only be achieved through interaction with multiple data sources specific to the housing issues in Bochabela through flexible, practical methods that will reflect participants' lived experiences. Accordingly, pragmatism emphasises using workable research methods through flexibility and

adopting the best approach to gain knowledge, given the prevailing situation. It thus not aligned the positivist and interpretivist notion that only scientific methods can uncover the truth as per (du Plooy-Cilliers, 2014, p. 24; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 35). This thinking was unsuitable for this study as it disregards the scientific nature of the human aspect of decision-making in natural settings involving social interactions (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 15).

Shared assumptions (worldviews) entail five central statements: ontology, epistemology, axiology, methodology and rhetoric. I sought to improve and emphasise the statements of this single mixed methods study by using multiple philosophical paradigms as confirmed permissible by (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, pp. 67, 72; Romm, 2014, p. 134). These are defined and summarized in Table 6.1, adapted from (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 41) and substantiated by other scholars in alignment with transformative pragmatism. From Table 20, I posit that multiple experiences, values and perceptions of various stakeholders, including residents, local leaders, practitioners and policymakers drive the housing and economic realities of the study area.

Ontologically, I assume that the history of Bochabela and its residents (historical realism), their race, poverty levels, and their gender and marital status (multiple realities) structured their cultural, social and economic standpoints. Epistemologically, I attained all types of data necessary to achieve the research aims by practical means (relational epistemology) while also interacting with the participants (transactional epistemology) and advocating for their involvement in the research (collaborative). I established this by building relationships with the respondents and respecting their standpoints by not imposing my views on them, thus allowing them to co-guide the process. Regarding axiology, I acknowledge that the study aims, the objective and subjective values, cultural norms and perceptions of both the participants and me as the researcher significantly influenced the interpretation of results. I also employed ethical considerations further articulated in Section 6.8. The following section discusses the methodological position of this study.

**Table 6.1: Worldview Elements and their Alignment to Transformative-Pragmatic Worldview**

| WORLDVIEW ELEMENT   | PRAGMATISM  | TRANSFORMATIVE WORLDVIEW   |
|---|---|--|
| <p>ONTOLOGY</p> <p>-How a researcher gains knowledge based on the nature of reality</p> <p>-What is real? Multiple aspects, e.g. social, economic, cultural, and historical, drive the housing dilapidation and the township economy in Bochabela</p> | <p><i>Singular and multiple realities</i> (e.g., researchers test hypotheses and provide multiple perspectives)</p> | <p>-Political reality (e.g., findings negotiated with participants)</p> <p>-<i>Interactive</i> (continuous interaction between researcher and participants with the inclusion of historical and social views)</p> <p>-<i>Multifaceted</i> and based on different social and cultural positions, e.g., researchers recognize different power positionalities in our societies</p> |
| <p>EPISTEMOLOGY</p> <p>-How one generates knowledge based on existing assumptions</p> <p>-What is the relationship between the researcher and the element of research?</p>  | <p><i>Practicality</i> (e.g., researchers collect data by "what works" to address research questions)</p>           | <p>-<i>Pluralistic</i> (e.g., collect all types of data to best answer the research question)</p> <p>-<i>Collaborative</i> (e.g., researchers actively involve participants as collaborators, build trust, and honour participant standpoints)</p>   |
| <p>AXIOLOGY</p> <p>-Determining the role played by the researcher's values and judgements in the research</p>   | <p><i>Multiple stances</i> (e.g. researchers include both biased and unbiased perspectives)</p>                     | <p>-<i>Implicit value assumptions and worldviews</i> (e.g. knowledge is not neutral but influenced by human interests)</p> <p>-Based on <i>human rights and social justice</i> for all, e.g., researchers begin with and advocate for this premise</p> <p>-<i>Negotiated</i> (e.g. researchers negotiate their biases with participants)</p>                                     |
| <p>METHODOLOGY</p> <p>-The appropriate research process to follow</p>   | <p>Combining (e.g. researchers collect both qualitative and quantitative data and mix them)</p>                     | <p>-<i>Combining</i> (e.g. researchers collect both qualitative and quantitative data and mix them)</p> <p>-<i>Participatory</i> (e.g. researchers involve participants in all stages of the research and engage in cyclical reviews of results)</p>   |
| <p>RHETORIC</p> <p>-The language the researcher uses throughout the research</p>  | <p><i>Formal or informal</i> (e.g. researchers may employ both formal and informal styles of writing)</p>           | <p>-<i>Advocacy, activist-oriented and change</i> (e.g. use of language that will help bring about change and advocate for participants, human rights and social justice)</p>  |

Sources: (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, p. 69; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, pp. 27-28; Mertens, 1999, p. 5)

### 6.3 Mixed Methods Research Design

This study adopted a mixed method design as it was the most compatible with its transformative pragmatic stance. (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17) define mixed methods research as one study integrating qualitative and quantitative research methods. While mixing methods is typically viewed as a natural flow from pragmatism, transformative studies have been conducted using this design. Moreover, mixed methods are compatible with a study with multiple worldviews due to its characteristic obligation to consider various assumptions linked to mixing research techniques while also improving the philosophical stance of a study (Creswell & Garrett, 2008, p. 327; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017, p. 35). It further facilitates the flexibility of methodological assumptions (Romm, 2014, p. 134). Thus, it allowed using context-specific research instruments that I could have otherwise sidelined had I chosen a single design. Ultimately, this enabled a comprehensive explanation of the results and their causes. Conversely, positivism is strongly aligned with quantitative research, while constructivism and advocacy favour qualitative research (du Toit, 2015, p. 64), which made these designs unsuitable for this study.

This study explores housing, local economic development and collaborative planning, which are relatively complex phenomena requiring authentic comprehension. Accordingly, a mixed method became relevant as its core assumption is that the research problem is understood entirely through utilizing the strengths of qualitative and quantitative approaches. I, therefore, chose the mixed methods design because I had to acquire far-reaching and substantiated results of housing dilapidation concerning the economy of Bochabela Township. I also needed to involve the participants directly to attain first-hand, reliable evidence, which, according to (Caruth, 2013, p. 113), a mixed-methods approach facilitates. To achieve this, I had to test my research instruments before administering them. Furthermore, the research aims necessitated enhancing the primarily qualitative approach with quantitative elements as the findings entailed demographic features which could best be explained and analysed quantifiably.

Even though quantitative research can have a human element, it is often criticized for managing large amounts of data objective while excluding the interaction and lived experiences. Qualitative research is similarly criticised for subjectively acquiring detailed information about the lived experiences and excluding statistical aspects. A combination of these designs, which is what this study engaged, capitalized on the strengths of the two designs by obtaining comprehensive and validated outcomes (Creswell & Garrett, 2008, p. 322). The purpose of mixing this research design was thus

complementarity and completeness (Caruth, 2013, p. 113). A mixed methods design was preferred based on the aim of designing a practical, sustainable framework for housing revitalisation and economic development in Bochabela. Through it, I could achieve both the detection of underlying relationships between variables (the houses and township economy, for example) and close interaction with the participants. These facilitated designing the framework with a clear and broad understanding of the situation in the case study area supported by previous research and extensive perspectives on housing and economic problems in South African townships.

Furthermore, using a mixed methods design became valid because quantitative research is critiqued for ostensible interpretations and insignificant propositions, while the textual analysis of qualitative design makes generalizing and replicating findings difficult. Mixed methods research tackles these weaknesses by harmonizing qualitative and quantitative designs (Leedy & Omrod, 2015, p. 331). In this regard, this mixed methods study presented a nuanced insight into housing conditions in Bochabela, the socio-economic causes and implications, and sustainable solutions. Because this study fundamentally explored a mediation to housing and economic problems developed by previous researchers (i.e., urban renewal), using a mixed method approach helped establish the validity of urban renewal in Bochabela. (Creswell & Garrett, 2008, p. 322) suggest that mixed methods facilitate identifying an operational and efficient intervention. Moreover, I could assess the implications of applicable legislation, policies, and development initiatives through mixed methods.

### 6.3.1 Case Study Approach

According to (Clark and Ivankova, 2016:146), embedding quantitative methods within case study research, which is an essentially qualitative approach, can be referred to as a mixed methods case study. A case study follows a specific process to ensure interaction with the natural setting (Wellman et al., 2011, p. 194). Hence, I first demarcated the physical boundary of my study as Bochabela Township and determined the conceptual margins as highlighted in the literature review, then conducted fieldwork and lastly captured and analysed my findings. This was an instrumental single-bounded case study (Clark and Ivankova, 2016:146) since I explored lived experiences from a specific location (Bochabela Township), timeframes, and parameters (colonial and apartheid housing in a post-democratic economy). I chose the case study approach to grasp the distinctive attributes and complexities of Bochabela's housing adequacy and economic landscape. A case study is a case of a larger, wider phenomenon. Hence by studying the specific case of Bochabela, I aimed to generate insights and draw conclusions on similar cases elsewhere. Thus, I selected Bochabela township

because it reflected the characteristics of many old South African townships with weak economies and decrepit housing. This aim is characteristic of the case study research definition by (Welman, Kruger and Mitchell, 2011:25). To accomplish this, I spend considerable time regularly interacting with participants and recording their information (Leedy & Omrod, 2015, p. 271).

Moreover, I used multiple data collection methods through extensive information gathering from various sources, typical to case studies (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2019, p. 100; Rule & John, 2011, p. 61). Primary data was collected through a household survey, in-depth and key-informant interviews, a guided neighbourhood tour (transect walk), photographs, field observations and a community meeting. These helped to assess the nature of housing adequacy and identify the socio-economic drivers and their implications for planning in Bochabela. To satisfy the requirement for case studies to utilize multiple sources of information, I used primary data sources, including Bochabela residents (specifically residing in dilapidated housing), community leaders, governmental officials, private practitioners, and academics. Secondary data sources comprised scholarly publications, reports, census data, observations, visuals, and relevant regulatory framework documents. Using multiple sources helped me gain an in-depth understanding of the study topic.

I uniformly selected my sample size and reached saturation point with data collection. Scholars like (Polit & Beck, 2010, p. 1454) claim that this enhances the generalizability of single case studies. While this case study helped me identify opportunities for housing revitalisation to create a sustainable economy in Bochabela, I believe this context can apply to other townships in South Africa. However, further research may be required for townships showing pronounced differences to Bochabela. Studying Bochabela in-depth also offered significant insights to housing & township economic development elsewhere in SA and globally. It was thus a 'full' case (Rule & John, 2011, p. 72) because it sufficiently addressed my research objectives and questions given my available time, resources, and access.

### 6.5 Sampling and Data Collection Methods

To meet my research objectives, I had to consider my research methods: what information I needed, whom to contact, and how and when to collect my data. Qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied to explore opportunities for sustainable economic development through collaborative housing revitalisation in Bochabela. This section discusses the sampling, data collection and analysis methods adopted for this study.

I used non-probability sampling as defined by (Strydom, 2011, p. 231) for all participant groups. The reasons were that: not everyone who was a member of the Bochabela's population stood a chance of being selected; I could not determine the likelihood of including all members of the population residing in (seemingly) dilapidated houses in this study; and it fitted within my pragmatic approach due to its simplicity, time efficiency, affordability and practicality (Welman, et al., 2011, p. 68). I specifically applied purposive random sampling because it is considered a supreme non-probability strategy and combines qualitative and quantitative components (Rule & John, 2011, p. 64; Creswell, 2009, p. 217). I boosted this with snowballing (Strydom, 2011, p. 231), as participants recommended other informants from the population who suggested more relevant individuals.

I circulated sixteen invitations for the key-informant interviews in November 2021. Ten key informants participated, including seven officials, specialists, and academics, plus three community leaders comprising a businessman, community forum and community-based organization managers. The interviews took place from November up to the third week of December 2021. They were interviewed using an interview guide attached as APPENDIX O. Most interviews were conducted via online platforms including WhatsApp, Microsoft Teams and Google Videos. Others were conducted face to face. Notes were captured during each interview. The level of experience and relevance of those who responded, coupled with their willingness to engage in constant follow-up interviews, provided rich and informative data for the study. As argued by (Rule & John, 2011, p. 64), rather than focusing on representation, a case study aims to get a sample familiar, knowledgeable, and interested in the subject, thus generating trustworthy comprehensive information.

I also took a neighbourhood tour guided by a local in the tourism sector, which familiarized me with significant aspects of the neighbourhood. These included heritage landmarks, some community members and the township's history. The transect walk and several field observations allowed me to take pictures and familiarize myself with the streets, activities and people. It also enabled me to give tours to interested groups like my supervisors and sponsors. I was also invited to two community meetings discussing service delivery issues, which further improved my understanding of my research issues from the perspective of Bochabela's residents. My participation also improved the trust and relations between the residents and me. Hence, they added me to their community forum WhatsApp group for further interactions. In-depth interviews enabled multiple interactions with each participant and contextual depth. The transect walk gave a situated understanding of socio-economic issues in Bochabela (Rule & John, 2011, pp. 61,65,69).

For the household survey and in-depth interviews, I understood my population to be residents of Bochabela residing in old, dilapidated houses. A population refers to a complete set of factors with collective attributes from which the researcher selects a representative portion for studying. The representative portion is called a sample, signified with (n), while the population is (N) (Polit & Beck, 2010, p. 1452; Welman, et al., 2011, p. 55). Since there was no information on the total number of people living in the researched houses, I could not select a population size. As justified by (Strydom, 2011, p. 231), a sample is still valid without a population.

However, I used the total population of Bochabela to guide me as no formulas were applied to select the sample of this study. Because the total population of Bochabela is about 17 651, I planned on a sample of 450 households for the household survey. I based this on (Leedy & Omrod, 2015, p. 184) assertion that above N=5000, a sample size of 400 is adequate, and similar populations can have smaller samples. To select a generalizable sample, I had to ensure its representativeness, that is, its similar properties at a fraction of the population (Welman, et al., 2011, p. 55). While the survey reached saturation prior to completion as determined through continuous data checking and familiarising (preliminary/basic level data analysis), a total of 374 households were covered. However, the sample size I analysed was ultimately (n=314) due to inconsistencies in some data.

Moreover, I kept the transformative-pragmatic nature of my study in mind. Hence, I selected the sample, considering they should benefit from the interaction. In this instance, since the study aimed to answer a specific research question and not to provide direct assistance, the participants gained constructive information regarding possible collaborative approaches towards township revitalisation and community development. For example, they were informed about the private rental housing funding opportunities existing in South Africa, and how this idea could benefit their township. Moreover, the neighbourhood committee addressing the township service delivery issues was assisted with information on drafting proposals, and which from departments to acquire information and materials such as maps.

My sample was as consistent as possible in terms of variability or similarity to offset the criticism that non-probability sampling complicates the representativeness of findings. I approached key informants who were relevant to the study topic. I was also intentional about the type and state of houses in which prospective participants resided. So, only houses with similar characteristics (old, distinct design, dilapidated) were selected. However, there was variability regarding tenure because some houses were used as family houses, while others were leased to multiple tenants or co-occupied by

the owners and tenants. Due to this, I found it necessary to continue data collection beyond saturation, as a large variability requires a larger sample. The focused choice of people living in dilapidated houses was deliberately done to learn the socio-economic drivers of these particular houses first. This would be the gateway for further research such as on those who had fixed their houses. The study thus brought an understanding that interviewing people living in non-dilapidated housing will be valuable also to understand the factors/drivers of dilapidation, as they might have addressed them, prevented them actively or passively, or may have experienced them in the past but not now. It will then be useful to compare these two population groups in the future.

The household survey and in-depth interviews took about 60 – 120 minutes at the residents' houses which I simultaneously profiled. I did this to ensure the validity of my findings (Polit & Beck, 2010, p. 1452). I used a checklist as defined by Leedy & Omrod, (2015, p. 161) and Welman, et al., (2011, p. 170) for the housing profile to record the characteristics to be studied. This checklist itemized the condition of various physical elements of houses like walls, doors, windows, roofing and services. The measure of conditions followed the adequate housing provisions discussed in Chapter 2. I also conducted an initial visit to Bochabela where I gained permission to examine some houses and identify areas of dilapidation. It was from this observation and the literature that I decided on the elements of the houses to include in the checklist. I took photos, videos and notes to enhance my understanding of the checklist during analysis. I conducted the household survey using a questionnaire with open-ended and close-ended questions completed by the researcher (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, pp. 176-177). These helped me to attain socio-economic information and establish the condition of available services and amenities in Bochabela. It also gave explicit housing decisions of respondents and how these impact the quality of their houses, lives and the township economy. The questionnaire with the checklist is provided as APPENDIX M and the data codes developed from these are attached as APPENDIX O.

Sixty of the household surveys were erroneous, three people declined to participate, and some relevant houses were always locked, preventing participation. Fortunately, I considered the possibility of obtaining less than 450 units for analysis as initially planned, due to unusable data, unavailable residents or rejection, for example. Where possible, I sought other relevant and available participants. The purposive nature of sampling easily enabled this. I consider the data adequate and representative of the population because of the relatively high and reaching saturation. Table 6.2 summarizes the data collection methods and tools I used.

**Table 6.2: Data Collection Methods and Tools**

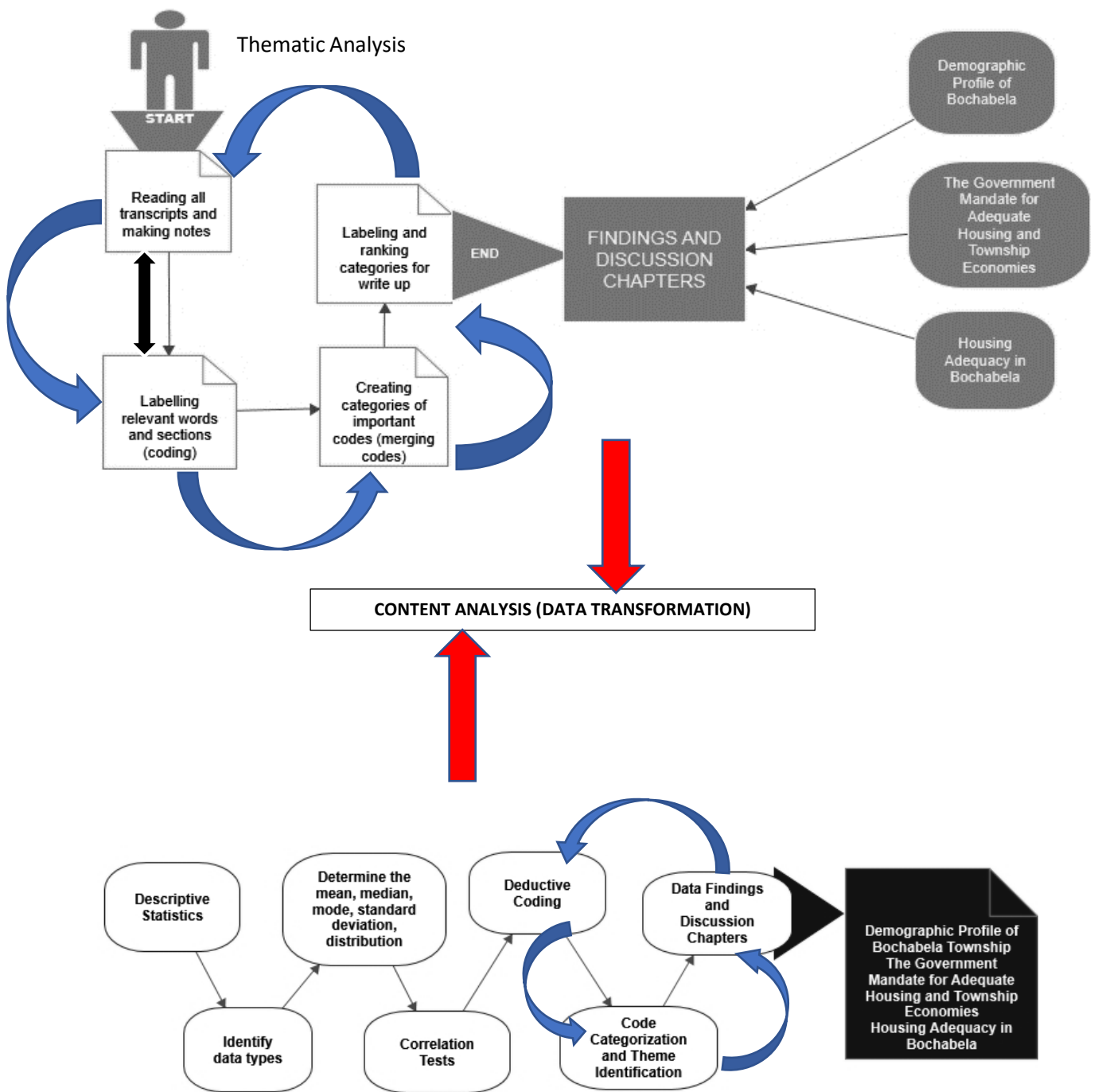
| Data Collection Methods   | Data Collection Tools  |
|---|--|
| Household Survey: gathering socio-economic and demographic data of Bochabela      | Questionnaire  |
| Observations: gathering field notes by conducting an observation as an observer   | Checklist on housing adequacy<br>Guided neighbourhood tour                         |
| Interviews: key-informants and in-depth (In-person, Web-based and WhatsApp Video) | Questionnaire<br>Interview guide   |
| Document Analysis: public documents, photographs, literature review               | Policy and Legislation Websites<br>Books Dissertations<br>Journal articles Reports |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 6.6 Mixed-Methods Data Analysis

This study was primarily qualitative and secondarily quantitative. The rationale for combining the two components during data collection, analysis and interpretation was fourfold. Firstly, to comprehensively interpret participants' everyday experiences (completeness). Secondly, to offset the subjectiveness of qualitative methods and objectiveness of quantitative ones (compensation). Thirdly, to combine similar perspectives about everyday experiences (complementarity). Fourthly, to uniformly document qualitative and quantitative findings in alignment with literature (triangulation) (Caruth, 2013, p. 113; Delport & Fouche, 2011, p. 445; Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017, pp. 110-111). I, therefore, applied strategies for successfully managing the qualitative and quantitative components to answer my research questions and achieve my objectives. I followed five of the seven phases recommended by (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 22) for mixed methods data analysis: reduction, display, transformation, correlation, and integration.

This section discusses how through the five phases, I identified and examined elements of my data crucial to achieving the research objectives (thematic analysis), transformed the qualitative and quantitative components to create comparative matrices (content analysis) and did correlation tests to find the relationships between the two components (descriptive statistics). These analytical strategies are suitable for mixed methods and case studies, as articulated by (Welman, et al., 2011, p. 194; Leedy & Omrod, 2015, p. 276). Figure 6.13 summarizes the mixed methods analysis discussed in this section. It shows that I consider the data transformation, conducted through content analysis a direct link for qualitative and quantitative data.



**Figure 6.22: Mixed Methods Data Analysis Process**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 6.6.1 Data Reduction

"Involves reducing the dimensionality of the qualitative data e.g., thematic analysis and descriptive statistics" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 22)

I recorded the fieldwork data in numbered checklists and questionnaires for the household survey and field notes for field observations, interviews, community meetings and the neighbourhood tour. These later helped me to remember spoken or observed information relevant to the study. I accumulated an immense amount of data, which entailed many words given the study's primarily qualitative nature. I read my transcripts (all recorded data) line by line to examine words and compare and contrast the content. Reading through the texts, I labelled parts in different colours to identify themes. Themes are oversight ideas identified throughout the data collection process (Welman, et al., 2011, p. 211). I transcribed the field notes verbatim to Microsoft Word and the questionnaires and checklists to Microsoft Excel. The transcribing was consistent as I asked all participants similar questions in Sesotho or English, depending on their understanding and acceptance. Sesotho entries were translated to English during transcription. I used thematic analysis because of its flexibility to be applied to any research paradigm (Kiger & Varpio, 2020, p. 2).

I used my research questions to develop initial codes and categories for the data in Microsoft Excel. Codes are numerical labels assigned to data to make it easier to manage (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, p. 236). I did the same for the data in Microsoft Word, where I categorized the data according to themes guided by research questions. This process was cyclical as I kept going back and forth throughout my analysis until I had clear, concise categories. I addressed inconsistencies and errors in the data and then transferred the transcribed databases to SPSS, R and NVivo, where I grouped the data according to similarities. This helped me analyse the qualitative and quantitative data accordingly. Table 6.3 shows the categories and associated research objectives and questions.

**Table 6.3: Data Categories by Research Objectives and Questions**

| Objective  | Research Questions  | Categories   |
|--|---|--|
| Determine Socio-Economic Drivers of Housing Adequacy and their Implications on Planning in Bochabela | <p>Why do some residents of Bochabela reside in dilapidated housing?</p> <p>How is housing used to contribute to the township's economy?</p> <p>What kind of housing decisions do residents make?</p> <p>What impact does this have on the social and economic aspects of the township?</p> | Demographic Details  |
|  |   | Labour markets   |
|  |   | Poverty and Social standards   |
|  |   | Migration and Immigration  |
|  |   | Personal Decisions   |
|  |   | Safety and Security  |
|  |   | Urban planning and design  |
|  |   | Business and enterprises   |
|  |   | Technological Evolution  |
|  |   | Law and Policy   |
|  |   | Political Decisions (Needs Identification and Prioritization, plans and initiatives) |
|  |   | Collaboration and Opportunities  |
| Implementation Challenges  |   |  |
| Objective  | Research Questions  | Categories   |
| Assess the nature of housing adequacy in Bochabela township  | <p>How has housing dilapidation manifested in Bochabela?</p> <p>What is the condition of infrastructure and services in Bochabela?</p>  | Accessibility  |
|  |   | Affordability  |
|  |   | Tenure Security  |
|  |   | Habitability   |
|  |   | Location   |
|  |   | Infrastructure and Services  |
|  |   | Cultural Aspects   |
| Propose a framework for collaborative housing and economic development in Bochabela                  | <p>What opportunities are there to improve and sustain the economy of Bochabela through collaborative housing revitalisation?</p> <p>How can opportunities be implemented in alignment with existing economic activities and needs?</p>   | Housing Adequacy   |
|  |   | Economic Factors   |
|  |   | Social Attributes  |
|  |   | Planning Component   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 6.6.2 Data Display (Descriptive Analysis)

"Involves describing pictorially the qualitative data e.g., descriptive statistics" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 22).

Because I had identified and categorized the data based on the study's objectives and research questions, the reliability and validity of data were determined using descriptive statistics, frequency distributions, Cronbach's alpha, and correlation tests. These helped me formulate scales, graphs, charts, tables and maps using NVivo, SPSS, R-Project and GIS. Using GIS required obtaining existing municipal shapefiles and combining these with my field data, for example, the streets on the survey footprint. I also included photographs of the surveyed houses and key elements around the neighbourhood to better understand my narrative. The importance of graphic visuals in data analysis is summarising what is being reported in a manner that is easy to understand. A summary of the results is provided by highlighting category relationships, trends and distributions of data, as well as the significance of the results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, p. 239).

### 6.6.3 Data Transformation

"Wherein quantitative data are converted into narrative data that can be analysed qualitatively and qualitative data are converted into numerical codes that can be represented statistically" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 22).

I applied some data transformation by selecting categories to examine, then quantifying some qualitative data and qualifying some quantitative data. Initially, this allowed me to describe my data as I became familiar with it, and later I could interpret it. I had already created codes and themes, so I calculated their occurrence frequencies. I then created graphs comparing the qualitative and quantitative variables in the Y and X axes. I compared the qualitative and quantitative data aligned to similar research questions to identify consistencies and inconsistencies between them (Leedy & Omrod, 2015, p. 278). According to Welman, et al., (2011, p. 221), content analysis involves creating codes and themes, counting the number of times specific terms, expressions or perceptions in the data occur, and generating comparative matrices from this information.

### 6.6.4 Data Correlation (Correlation Tests)

"Involves the qualitative data being correlated with the quantified data" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 22).

I picked important themes from my qualitative data (housing adequacy) and related them to relevant qualitative data (socio-economic drivers and planning implications). Because housing adequacy was

the main area of interest, I treated habitability, infrastructure and service (some adequacy measures) as dependent variables and socioeconomic and planning aspects as independent variables. I assessed the relationship between the themes or variables in the data by running correlation tests. These are measures of data validity and reliability. To achieve this, I first checked the scales independently and then identified their relationship with the socio-economic variables. For example, I identified the relationship between household income and habitability. I could then determine the mean, median, mode and standard deviation (I checked the spread of the variables).

I created scales for habitability, infrastructure-condition, infrastructure-ten-year-change, services-condition and services-ten-year change. It was possible to create scales for these measures of housing adequacy (and not all of them) because the housing checklist collected qualitative data that made this possible. The reliability of these scales was measured using Cronbach's alpha. Four of the scales were reliable since they scored above 0.70. (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018, p. 404) explain that for a newly developed scale, 0.70 is an acceptable minimum Cronbach alpha score. Table 6.4 gives the exact scores in this regard. I considered this important as the scales guided my housing adequacy findings and discussion chapter.

**Table 6.4: Cronbach's Alpha for Housing Adequacy Scales**

| Housing Adequacy Measure      | Cronbach Alpha        |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Habitability                  | $\frac{x}{0.7900741}$ |
| Infrastructure Condition      | $\frac{x}{0.8576174}$ |
| Infrastructure 10-Year Change | $\frac{x}{0.5287384}$ |
| Services Condition            | $\frac{x}{0.7135279}$ |
| Services 10 Year Change       | $\frac{x}{0.934068}$  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 6.6.5 Data Integration

“Characterizes the final stage whereby both qual and quan data are integrated into either a coherent whole or two separate sets” (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 22).

This last phase helped me to organize my findings and discussion chapters. At this point, I had a clear picture of the findings, whether they answered the research questions and objectives, and the relationship between the quantitative and qualitative components. I integrated the components by

presenting and interpreting my findings in three chapters. One chapter assesses the nature of housing adequacy in Bochabela by linking the in-depth interviews, household survey and housing profile checklist to the literature. Two chapters determine the socio-economic drivers of housing adequacy and their implications for planning in Bochabela. The first highlights the demographic profile of Bochabela based on the household survey and in-depth interview. The second discusses governance and planning findings from key informant interviews and neighbourhood tours. The socio-economic and housing adequacy chapters unify a narrative of findings (qualitative) and their statistical illustrations (quantitative) to make the discussion easier to follow. The governance and planning chapter is purely qualitative.

### 6.7 Ethical Considerations

An ethically sound mixed methods study combines qualitative and quantitative research ethical standards (Caruth, 2013, p. 115). Hence, I followed ethical considerations throughout my study, keeping in mind that as a researcher, I must conduct a safe and ethical inquiry (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016, p. 161). I first applied for ethical clearance from the General Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of the Free State to obtain permission to collect data. As soon as I received the ethical clearance certificate (APPENDIX J), I began planning for data collection. Obtaining this permission allowed me to conduct my research in a manner characterized by autonomy, non-maleficence, and beneficence, which warranted quality research (Rule & John, 2011, p. 112).

Before commencing with the field work at Bochabela Township, I contacted the municipality and local councillor to alert them of my intention. I then conducted several study area observations and created rapport with the residents. At this point, I was not collecting data but familiarizing myself with my study area. Before conducting key-informant interviews, I sought consent to conduct research from the City Manager of Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, who also communicated with the departments of Human Settlements, Town and Regional Planning, Economic and Rural Development and Tourism to authorize my visits. Moreover, I communicated with officials from these departments verbally, telephonically and by email about my work and set up interviews with them. The municipality granted me a verbal consent to collect data and allowed me to commence before they could draft me a letter of confirmation. This was because the municipality was undergoing administrative challenges necessitating change of the city manager. I eventually received an email confirmation in 2022, and it is attached at APPENDIX L.

I closely monitored my interactions with participants to ensure discretionary involvement, informed consent, confidentiality, honesty and avoiding harm. During fieldwork, I first described the objectives of my research thoroughly to participants and made it clear that they would not gain handouts or monetary benefits. Because ethical standards call for not forcing anyone to participate in research proceedings (Strydom, 2011, p. 116), I also explained that they were free to contribute and withdraw at any time. We would then go through the consent form together, which they would sign as an indication of informed agreement to participate in my study. I kept the names and addresses of all participants anonymous and stored filled questionnaires, field notes and photographs in a safe locker inaccessible to others. As recommended by (Leedy & Omrod, 2015, p. 336; Rule & John, 2011, p. 112), my goal was to protect participants' rights to privacy and ensure their safety from physical and emotional harm.

A fundamental requirement is that the researcher remains objective and aware of their positionality concerning the research context (Rule & John, 2011, p. 113). Accordingly, I had to constantly ensure that my appearance, actions and words were not manipulative towards the participants and that I did not treat them as objects. I dressed appropriately in non-revealing comfortable clothes for all my interactions with the participants. At all times, I listened intently to the responses given and did not direct the responses towards my preconceived beliefs or knowledge. I also asked further questions, encouraged further explanation where I did not understand the responses and offered my explanations where the respondents required them. By sharing my contact information with those interested in further communication about the study, I was able to keep some participants updated on its progress. Additionally, I joined a WhatsApp group of a community committee, so we could be in constant communication and sometimes meet to exchange information.

## 6.8 Delimitations and Limitations

The study was not without procedural, practical and personal challenges. Procedurally, identifying the case and determining whether it was too broad or a worthy topic was the first challenge. Throughout this study, though the integral focus never changed, the boundaries kept expanding, and any effort to reduce them brought feelings of doubt about the topic's relevance. This triggered the personal challenge of my imposter syndrome. Additionally, I found it challenging to choose between transformative and pragmatic paradigms before grounding my study in both paradigms. I then faced another challenge in naming the combined worldview. My study, however, became clearer as I engaged with literature and gained a deeper understanding of both worldviews, which made devising

a combined term simpler. Another challenge in drawing boundaries and limiting contents resurfaced during the findings and discussion chapters as I had too much data. However, constantly revisiting my objectives helped me use relevant data. I learned that the final report does not reflect all field data.

The practical challenges identified by (Caruth, 2013, p. 113; Creswell & Garrett, 2008) that mixed methods research is time-consuming and costly did not bypass me. Firstly, I appointed research assistants due to the extensive amount of data to be collected. However, hiring and retaining these assistants was problematic due to limited resources and their other commitments. While I always intended to have five assistants, there was a constant occurrence of some resigning (sometimes without notification) or failing to pitch up for fieldwork. Moreover, while I conducted training before fieldwork, some questionnaires were invalid. I could not use their data, or where possible, I revisited some participants. I mediated this with constant refresher meetings with the research assistants, which was time-consuming and costly. The data-capturing process was lengthy, and data cleaning was tedious as there was too much data.

The political and administrative challenges in Mangaung affected the timeliness and smooth progression of fieldwork. This was coupled with the Covid 19 hindrances. It was challenging to finally have meetings with any of the officials and professionals due to these challenges. There were service delivery strikes in Bochabela and other townships that demanded postponement of fieldwork due to safety issues. Perhaps these also influenced the perceptions of participants. Some participants refused to sign informed consent forms because they suspected I would use their signatures for other reasons. They explained that they do not trust the municipality with their houses and are worried about losing them. However, they assured me that verbal consent was sufficient to continue the interview.

## 6.9 Conclusion

This chapter presented an extensive explanation and justification of the research design and methodology adopted for this study. Initially, it explains the merging of pragmatic and transformative worldviews to enhance the study's ontological, epistemological, axiological, methodological, and rhetorical statements. It follows with a description of the mixed methods design plus the data collection and analysis methods used, given the case study and household survey approaches. Finally, the chapter clarifies how the study adhered to ethical principles and highlights the procedural, practical and personal challenges encountered. By highlighting the information-gathering process to achieve the research objectives, this chapter gives way to the chapters that present, analyse and discuss the findings.

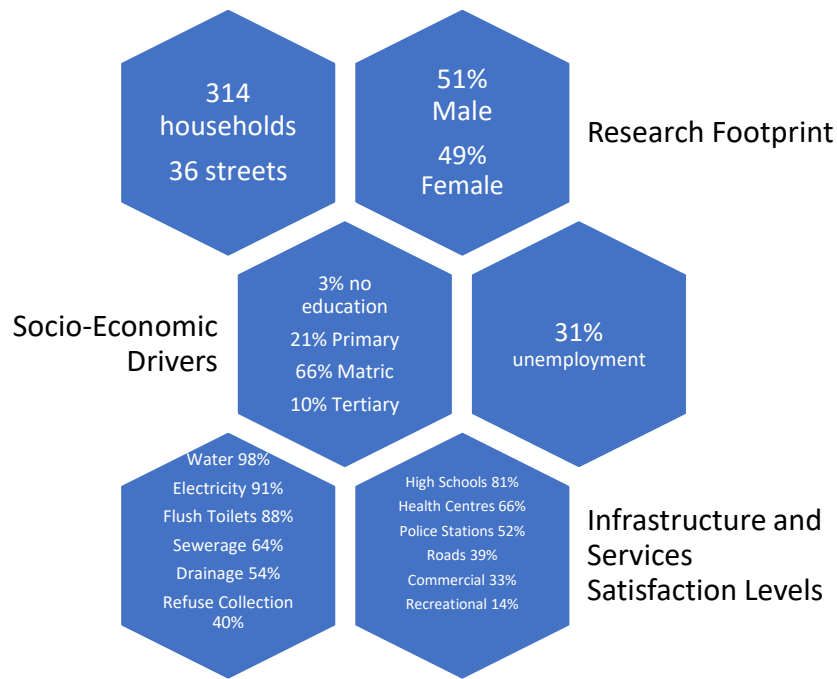
## CHAPTER 7: THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF BOCHABELA TOWNSHIP: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

“...a thorough description of participants allows readers and researchers to determine to whom research findings generalize and allows for comparisons to be made across replications of studies. It also provides information needed for research syntheses and secondary data analyses. As a result of these analyses, gaps in existing bodies of research can be identified as well as universals and variations that occur within and between populations.” (Hammer, 2011, p. 261)

### 7.1 Introduction

The objectives of this mixed-methods study were to 1) determine the socio-economic drivers of housing inadequacy and implications to urban planning in Bochabela; 2) assess the nature of housing adequacy; and 3) propose a framework for collaborative housing and economic development in Bochabela. These were based on the aim of exploring opportunities for sustainable economic development in Bochabela through collaborative housing revitalisation. A household survey, in-depth and key-informant interviews, neighbourhood observations, community meetings, and a guided tour (transect walk) of the township were conducted to accomplish this aim. A descriptive statistical analysis was conducted to quantify the household survey data set in conjunction with thematic analysis to identify themes stemming from qualitative data. A content analysis was applied to data acquired during the neighbourhood observations and township tours. These methodological aspects were comprehensively discussed in Chapter 6.

This chapter presents, analyses and discusses major findings related to the socio-economic drivers of housing adequacy in Bochabela. It is reflected as a demographic profile of the township, shedding light on the social aspects; service delivery components; economic dimensions: some insight from COVID-19 pandemic and tourism. Covid-19 and tourism were not part of the study focus initially. However, they came out strongly as relevant, cross-cutting issues concerning Bochabela’s economy. Figure 7.23 depicts an overview of the findings discussed in this chapter. This information is useful beyond the purpose of this study as it contributes new insight to scholarly literature about Bochabela.



**Figure 7.23: An Overview of Socio-Economic Findings**

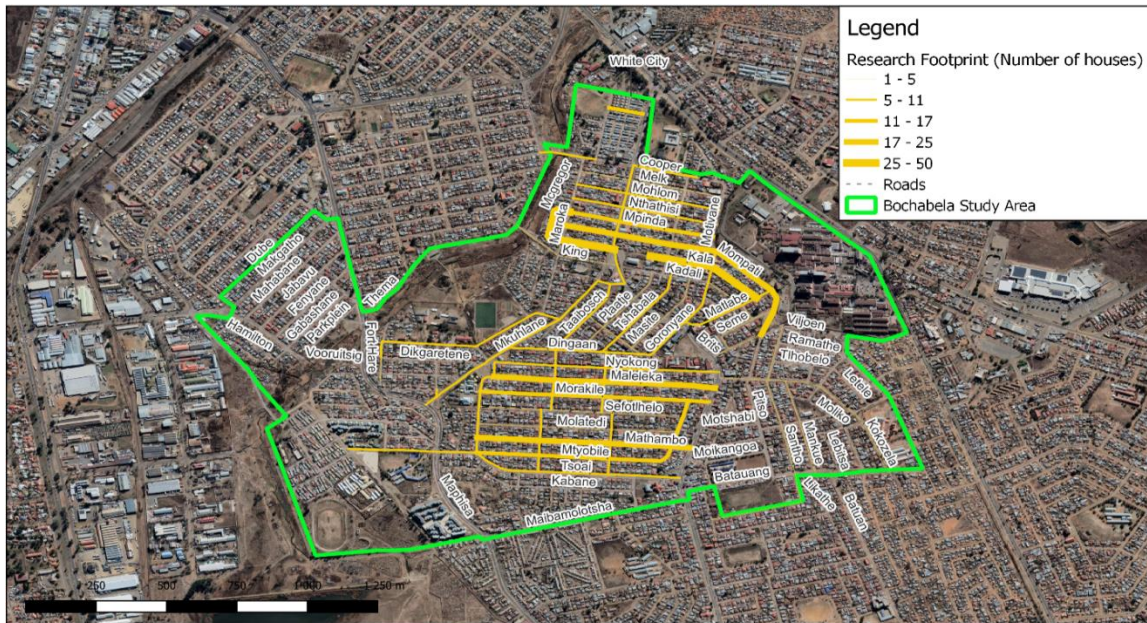
Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

## 7.2 Social Aspects of the Township

This section discusses findings concerning the population, gender, age, race, and ethnicity, citizenship, marital status of respondents. These were identified as the social drivers of housing adequacy in Bochabela. The main finding here was that though there were migrants from within and outside the country, most respondents were never married, South African males born in Bloemfontein and living in Bochabela to be closer to family and friends.

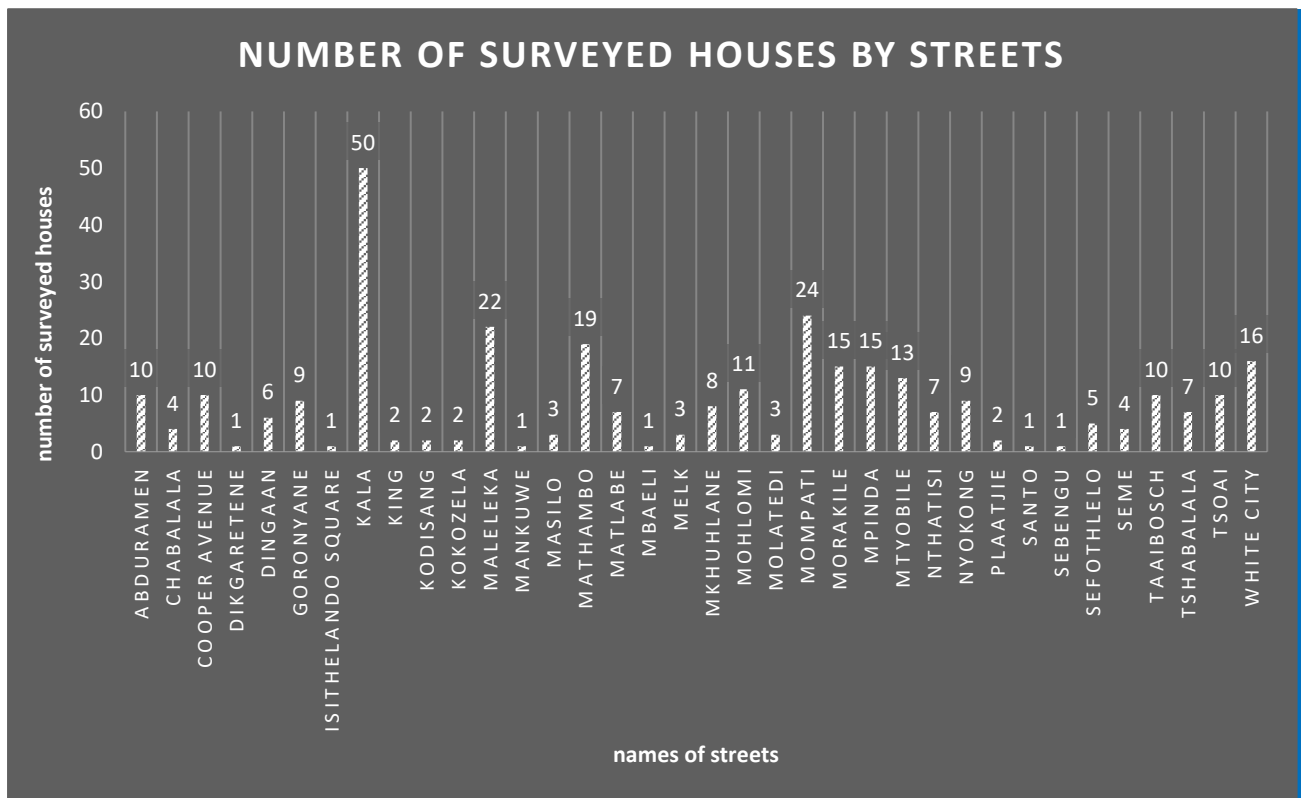
### 7.2.1 Study Area and Population Dynamics

The study surveyed 314 dilapidated houses along 35 streets in Bochabela. The total number of people residing in houses specific to the study focus could not be determined. However, (Statssa, 2011) estimated that 11,210 people were living in 6,579 households in Bochabela. Map 7.6 and Figure 7.24 show the research footprint, indicating the number of houses surveyed per street. The research footprint map is attached as APPENDIX E.



**Map 7.6: Research Footprint Map**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022



**Figure 7.24: Number of Surveyed Houses by Street**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

*Reason for coming to Bloemfontein and living in Bochabela*

The participants gave various reasons for residing in the city of Bloemfontein, with most having been born there (232 respondents at 73.9% share of the sample). The second highest reason was employment (50 respondents/15.9%), followed by being closer to family/friends (14 respondents/4.5%) and education (9 respondents/ 2.9%), respectively. The least likely reason for respondents to reside in Bloemfontein was health and marriage, each with 1 respondent at 0.32% share. Close to these on the lower rung was being brought by parents and political challenges, both with 2 respondents and 0.64% share. The following least likely reason for the respondents to have moved to Bloemfontein was upward mobility, with 3 respondents at 0.96%. Most respondents (37.9%) indicated that they chose to live in Bochabela because it was closer to family/friends, while the least number (0.96%) resided in Bochabela due to its closeness to town/CBD. Table 7.1 gives an overview of reasons for coming to Bloemfontein and reasons why respondents chose to reside in Bochabela.

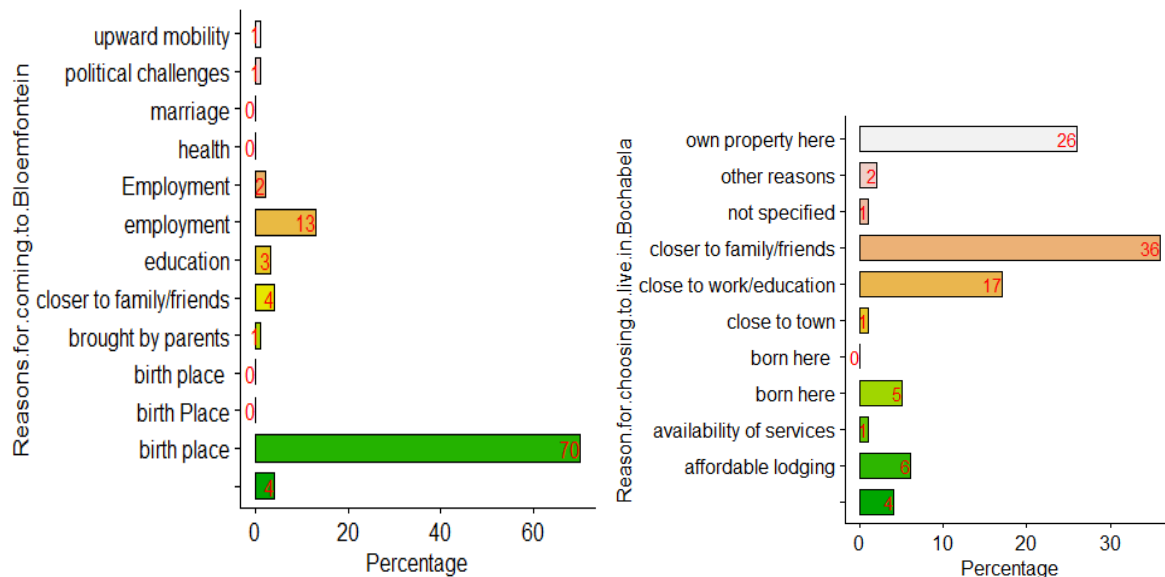
**Table 7.1: Reasons for Coming to Bloemfontein and Living in Bochabela**

| Reason for Coming to Bloemfontein | Number of Respondents | Percentage  | Reason for Choosing to Live in Bochabela | Number of Respondents | Percentage  |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|--|-----------------------|-------------|
| Birthplace                        | 232                   | 73.9%       | Born Here                                | 19                    | 6.1%        |
| Employment                        | 50                    | 15.9%       | Close to work/education                  | 56                    | 17.8%       |
| Closer to Family/Friends          | 14                    | 4.5%        | Closer to Family/Friends                 | 119                   | 37.9%       |
| Education                         | 9                     | 2.9%        | Own property here                        | 85                    | 27.1%       |
| Upward Mobility                   | 3                     | 0.96%       | Availability of services                 | 4                     | 1.3%        |
| Brought by parents                | 2                     | 0.64%       | Affordable lodging                       | 20                    | 6.4%        |
| Political Challenges              | 2                     | 0.64%       | Close to town                            | 3                     | 0.96%       |
| Health                            | 1                     | 0.32%       | Other Reasons                            | 6                     | 1.9%        |
| Marriage                          | 1                     | 0.32%       | Not Specified                            | 2                     | 0.64%       |
| <b>Total Respondents</b>          | <b>314</b>            | <b>100%</b> | <b>Total Respondents</b>                 | <b>314</b>            | <b>100%</b> |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

As highlighted in Figure 7.25, there is nearly an equal share of employment opportunities being the reason respondents are in Bloemfontein and Bochabela. Though a significant number of respondents (119) chose to live in Bochabela due to closeness to family/friends, this was not the case with the reason to move to Bloemfontein, as only 14 participants showed this reason. Another strong correlation is between the place of birth in both Bloemfontein and Bochabela and the age groups. The data show that 128 respondents between the 18-86 age groups were born in Bloemfontein, specifically Bochabela, and have been staying there since birth. With this being 40.8% of the sample, one can attest that this indicates low levels of outbound movement (migration) by Bochabela's

residents. Of the total number (232) of respondents born in Bloemfontein, 19 chose to live in Bochabela because they were born there, while 77 owned a house in this township.

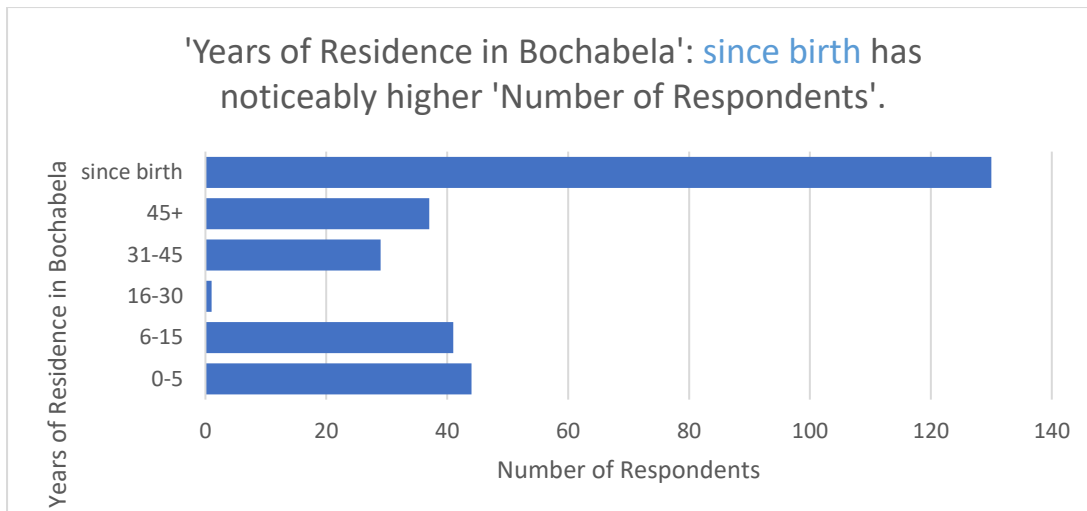


**Figure 7.25: Reasons for Coming to Bloemfontein and Residing in Bochabela**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

#### *Years of residence in Bochabela*

Most respondents were not yet born when the township was established in accordance with the Natives Land Act (No: 27) 1913 and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (No: 21) 1923. There were 37 respondents who have been residing in Bochabela for over 45 years, 29 who have resided for 31-45 years, 33 for 16-30 years, 41 for 6-15 years and 44 for less than 5 years. The majority (4.5%) of the respondents who have stayed in Bochabela for less than 5 years are formally employed, while most residents (6.4%) who have been there for over 45 years are retired and second-generation owners of the profiled houses. According to Figure 7.26, the largest share of respondents (41.4%) has been living in Bochabela since birth, while the lowest is of those who have been living in the neighbourhood for 16-30 years.



**Figure 7.26: Years of residence in Bochabela**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

With Bochabela having been established over 90 years ago (1931), it comes as no surprise that some residents have been residing in the township for over 45 years. Their presence up to now may very well be a sign of a deep sense of place attachment. However, it may also be representative of a lack of options and stagnation. During apartheid in South Africa, township dwellers lacked place attachment due to the constant dispossession of their houses (Pirie, 1983, p. 349; Scheepers, 2019, p. 2). The democratic government has tried to address such township challenges through urban renewal, which underlines the importance of place attachment and job creation (Donaldson, et al., 2013, p. 631; Giddings, 2007, p. 1973). However, historical townships still reflect high unemployment levels and a lack of community commitment. This may be due to unsustainable approaches and inefficient stakeholder collaboration (Thwala, 2006, p. 42, 48). It is, therefore, necessary to implement inclusive approaches towards urban renewal, where multi-stakeholder alliances and voluntary collaborative initiatives are engaged to improve place attachment and job creation. Such thinking is reflected in the New Urban Agenda 2016 (United Nations, 2017, p. 39). Residents of Bochabela and other stakeholders should be enabled similar opportunities and access to services, information and renewal projects, so that their community commitment and participation are improved.

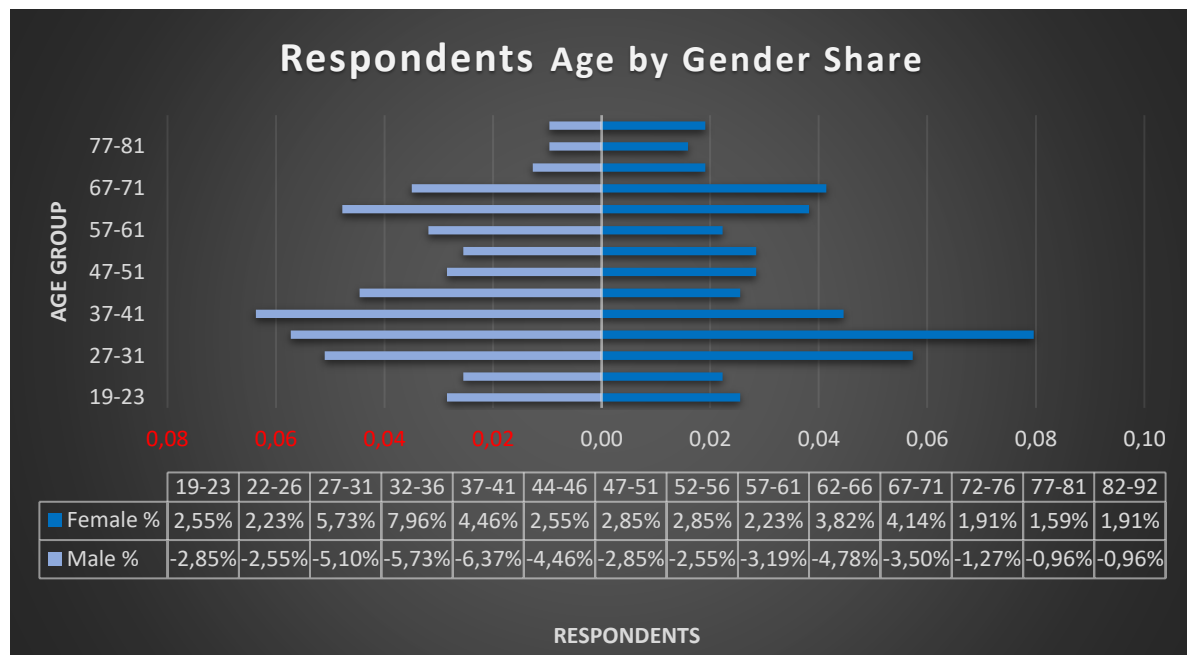
### 7.2.2 Age and Gender Ratio

Out of the 314 survey participants, 153 were female (48.7%), while 161 were male (51.3%). These figures are slightly inconsistent with those depicted from the 2011 census for both Mangaung and Bochabela, wherein the male population was marginally higher than that of females. However, the

general indication that there is almost a balance of males and females is similar. The respondents were born between 1923 and 2003, their ages ranging from 19 to 92. There were 57 respondents (18.2%) in the retirement age range and 245 (78%) within the economically active age. Twelve respondents (3.8%) did not specify their age.

The largest share of the sample is within the economically active category and between 32-36 years, with a total number of 43 and 13.7% of the total sample. The age category with the second largest number of people is the younger working age category, 27-31 years, with a total share of 10.8% (34 respondents), followed by the 62-66 years age category with 8.6% share and 27 respondents. The age category with the least number of people is the old/retired age group, 77-81 years, with only 8 respondents (2.6%). The second lowest category is still that of retired people at 72-76 years, with a share of 3.2% and 10 respondents. Of the 161 males, 132 were at working age, and 23 were at retirement age, while 113 of the 153 females were at working age and 34 were at retirement age. As shown in Figure 7.5, the highest share of respondents was that of females in the 32-36 age group, followed by males in the 37-41 age group.

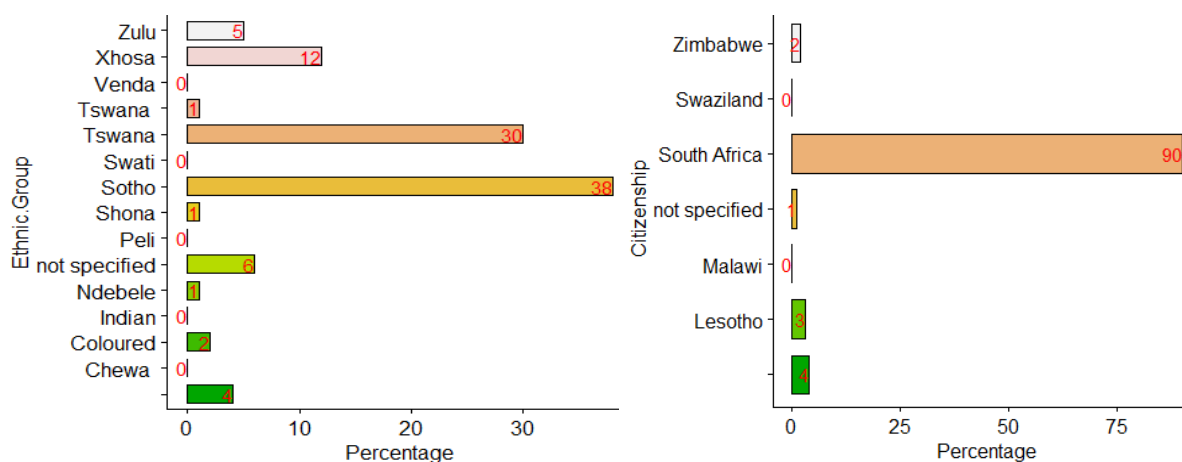
The high share of the working age group puts Bochabela at an economic advantage. Human capital determines a city's economic performance as it is the knowledge economy, representing the innovative capacity necessary for sustained growth (Glossop, 2008, p. 7). Figure 7.27 summarizes some gender and age aspects discussed in this section.



**Figure 7.27: Respondents' Age and Gender**  
Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 7.2.3 Race, Ethnicity and Citizenship

The findings show that all respondents were of African origin, with citizenship from within and outside South Africa. Black African respondents were the largest group at 98.1% (308). They were followed by 1.6% Coloured, 0.3% Indian and 0% White. This indicates that true to its original purpose, Bochabela is still almost exclusively a Black African township. The existence of Coloured residents is possibly due to the proximity to Heidedal, a township formerly demarcated for Bloemfontein's Coloured residents. 39.8% of the Black Africans were Sotho (125), 31.5% Tswana (99), 12.1% Xhosa (38), 4.8% Zulu (15), 0.96% each for Ndebele and Shona (3), 0.32% each for Venda, Peli, Swazi, and Chewa (1). Due to the diversity of ethnic groups in Bochabela, various languages exist. These include Sesotho, Setswana, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Tshivenda, Afrikaans, Ndebele and English. Sesotho is the most spoken language among participants, followed by Setswana, while Tshivenda and Chewa are the least spoken. This is because the township was originally demarcated for Sotho and Tswana ethnic groups. Figure 7.28 shows the percentage share of ethnic groups and citizenship.



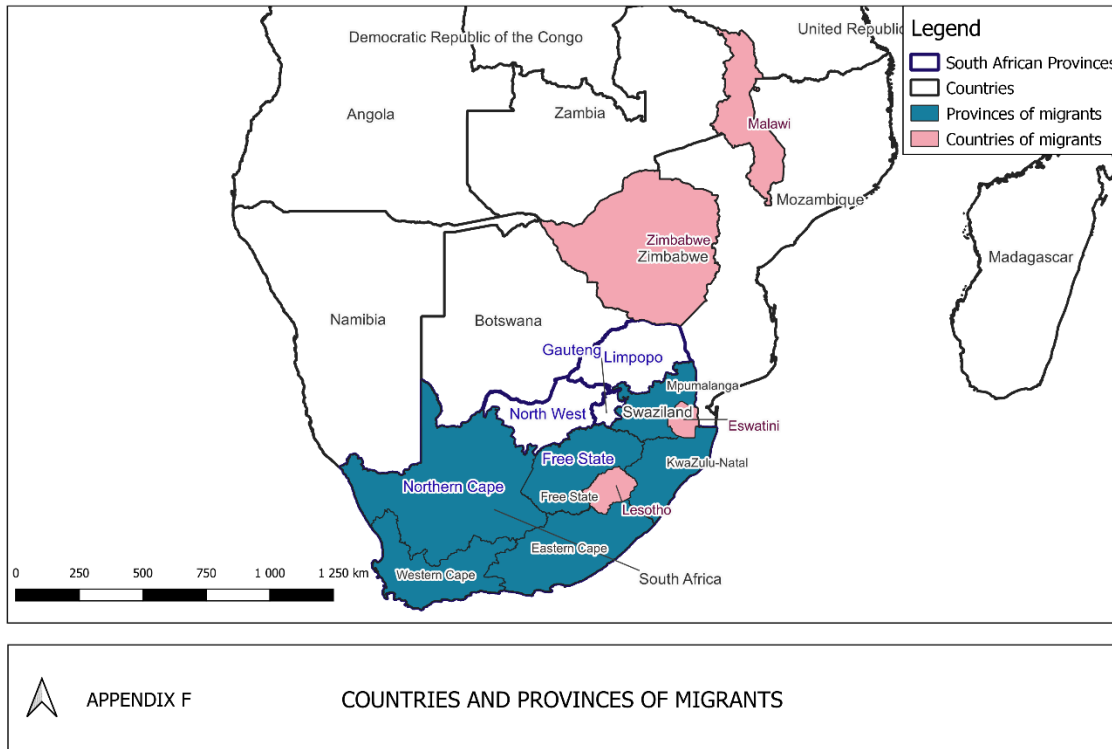
**Figure 7.28: Ethnic Groups vs Citizenship**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

While most participants (296 or 94.3%) were South Africans, 16 hailed from several SADC countries, including Lesotho 9 (2.9%), Zimbabwe 5 (1.6%), Malawi 1 (0.32%) and Swaziland 1 (0.32%). Of these SADC respondents, 2 indicated that they were born in Bloemfontein, while 12 came for employment and 1 to get away from political challenges. 1 other respondent chose to reside in Bochabela due to closeness to family and friends. Those that were South African citizens were born in different provinces and various towns besides Bloemfontein. These included Eastern Cape (King William's

Town) 5, Gauteng (Johannesburg) 4, Northern Cape (Kimberly) 1, KwaZulu Natal (Nkandla) 1, and Limpopo (Venda) 1.

Map 7.7/APPENDIX F illustrates the countries and provinces of origin of migrants found in Bochabela.



**Map 7.7: Countries and Provinces of Migrants**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

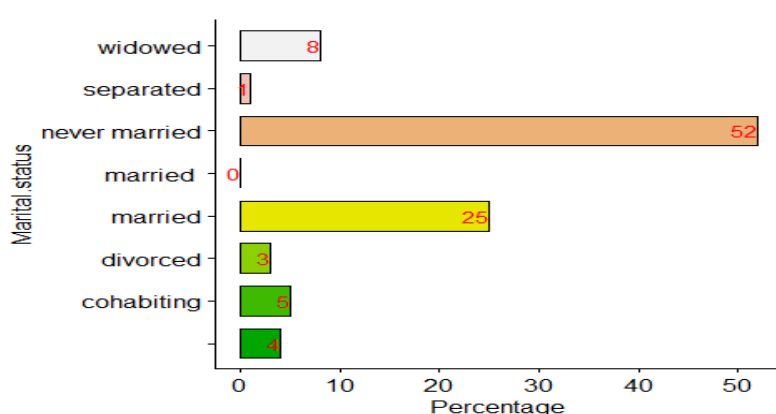
These findings suggest that Bloemfontein has an attractive labour market, and Bochabela is an entry point for transient migrants seeking opportunities. This may be due to the closeness of the township to industrial areas, suburbs and the CBD, plus the nature of available housing, for example, affordability (more about housing in Chapter 8). Old and dilapidated areas like Bochabela, with affordable land, prime housing location and vibrant labour market, attract gentrifiers interested in capital accumulation and high-income professionals seeking higher living standards (Hyra, 2016, p. 172; Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 2). Housing emerges here in that the level of its adequacy determines whether the city attracts or repels the necessary human capital for economic growth. Well-located housing is, therefore, necessary for access to labour markets (Satterthwaite, 2020, p. 3).

### 7.2.4 Marital Status

The results presented in Table 7.2 show the highest number of participants were never married and fell between the 18-78 age group. Separated persons in the 57-76 age group, at 7%, were the lowest group. The highest difference between genders (7%), though marginal, was in the 'married' category, where slightly more males than females were married. There is a significant disparity between the 'never married', and 'separated' categories. Furthermore, both females and males reported low levels of being separated. The highest level of married participants was within the 32-36 age group, while the lowest level was in the 22-26 age group. It is apparent from the results that divorce levels followed the separated category in the lowest rung, while those that were never married were followed by the married and widowed in the highest rung. Cohabiting seemed to also be common in the neighbourhood, with a total of 17 respondents practising it. Six of these were born in Bochabela, 9 in other parts of South Africa and 1 in Lesotho. Marital status can positively impact place attachment, which in turn has positive implications for housing adequacy. Figure 7.29 shows the percentage of marital status across all categories.

**Table 7.2: Distribution of Population by Marital Status and Gender**

| Marital Status | Total  |            | Female |            | Male   |            |
|----------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|--------|------------|
|                | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage |
| Never Married  | 172    | 54.8%      | 85     | 27.1%      | 87     | 27.7%      |
| Married        | 84     | 26.8%      | 39     | 12.4%      | 45     | 14.3%      |
| Cohabiting     | 17     | 5.4%       | 8      | 2.6%       | 9      | 2.9%       |
| Separated      | 3      | 0.96%      | 1      | 0.32%      | 2      | 0.64%      |
| Divorced       | 11     | 3.5%       | 4      | 1.3%       | 7      | 2.2%       |
| Widowed        | 27     | 8.6%       | 16     | 5.1%       | 11     | 3.5%       |
| Total          | 314    |            | 153    | 48.7%      | 161    | 51.3%      |



**Figure 7.29: Percentage Share of Marital Status Across Categories**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 7.3 Service Delivery

The findings reveal that Bochabela township has diverse services, including electricity, running water, flush toilets, sewerage and stormwater draining systems, and garbage disposal. Efficient provision and maintenance of social services and infrastructures such as drainage, water, sanitation, energy, garbage disposal and emergency services improve the quality of life for residents (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 29; Tonkin, 2008, p. 74; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). The correlation between services condition and change was 1 (Figure 7.30). The two variables were perfectly correlated and completely dependent, so an analysis of one would yield the same results for the other. Thus, it was not necessary to analyse both variables (van Lill & Grieve, 1990, p. 7.6). I, therefore, analysed the condition of services based on the respondents' satisfaction.

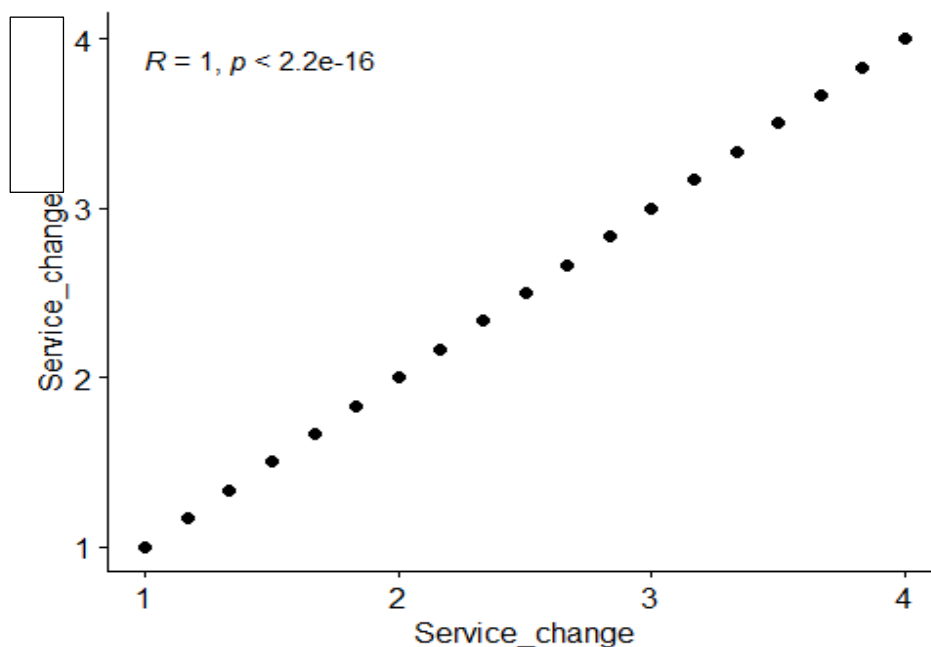


Figure 7.30: Services Condition and Change

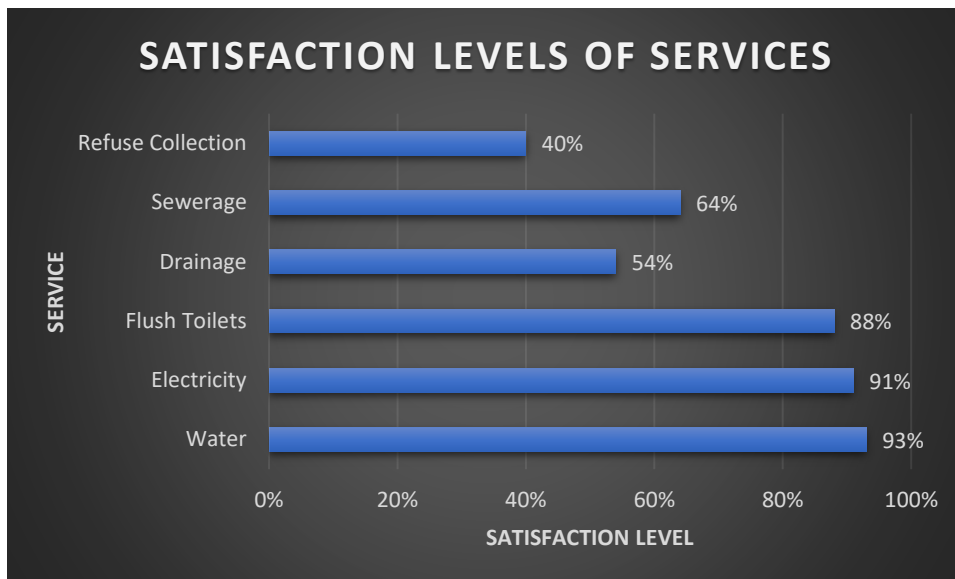
Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

#### Box 5: Overview of Service Delivery Findings

- Electricity is the most commended service in Bochabela though load-shedding and high prices are the principal grievances concerning electrical supply in the township
- Outdoor taps and toilets raise issues of safety at night as well as user convenience. Both are also aged and need of fixing or replacing, as there are instances of damaged or missing tap handles, seals, doors and cisterns.
- There are frequent instances of bursting sewage pipes in the neighbourhood
- Delayed collection of garbage is the greatest service challenge facing Bochabela

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The findings indicate that there are relatively high satisfaction levels regarding services and infrastructure in Bochabela. Box 5 summarizes the general findings discussed comprehensively in this section. Figure 7.31 indicates an overview of the satisfaction levels of services excluding housing. According to this data, the respondents find the services to be generally good or satisfactory, especially electricity and running water. Garbage disposal had the lowest positive reviews though still higher than what I anticipated as the data were collected around the time of garbage collection strikes in Mangaung townships.



**Figure 7.31: Percentage Share of Household Services Satisfaction**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Human capital, especially highly skilled labour, is attracted to efficient infrastructure and service delivery. Poorly serviced areas constrain residents’ access to employment hubs, deter investment and limit business growth, thus intensifying poverty (Glossop, 2008, p. 8). This means that Bochabela can attract skilled residents, especially if housing adequacy is improved. Further discussion concerning infrastructure and services is discussed in the following sub-sections.

### 7.3.1 Water and Electricity

16.9% of the respondents (53) indicated electricity provision as very good, 77% said it was good (242), 4.8% indicated it as bad (15), and 0.64% said it was very bad (2). Reasons for electricity supply being bad or very bad include load shedding, high tariffs and landlord or sharing tenants not buying enough to last the month. Only 1 respondent (0.32%) raised the issue of having no electric connection, while

there was mention of unsafe and illegal connections, and faulty plugs, no street lighting and dripping during rainy weather. The majority of those who found the service good or very good indicated that they were satisfied as the electrical supply was always available and that using a prepaid meter was beneficial. Among these were those who highlighted that cable theft, load shedding and high tariffs were areas for municipal improvement or intervention.

**Box 6: Meter Box, Outside Tap and Household Electrical Appliances**



Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

17.8% indicated that the running water supply was very good (56), 75% said it was good (238), 4.5% said it was bad (14), 1.6% and said very bad (5). Some issues causing dissatisfaction with the running water supply include high and sometimes inaccurate tariffs, leaking taps, occasional water cuts, low pressure and unclean water. Only one respondent (0.32%) said he does not have a water connection. Those who gave a positive review indicated that their water supply had no problems as it was always

available, clean, free, installed meter and fixed. They also pointed out that some areas for improvement are water taps installed outside the house, reducing tariffs, addressing occasional water cuts and the lack of geysers. Table 7.3 illustrates the perceptions of electricity and water conditions and the change in the last ten years.

**Table 7.3: Condition and Change of Water and Electricity**

| CONDITION OF ELECTRICITY |     |       | 10 YEAR CHANGE |     |       | CONDITION OF WATER |     |       | 10 YEAR CHANGE |     |       |
|--------------------------|-----|-------|----------------|-----|-------|--------------------|-----|-------|----------------|-----|-------|
| Cond.                    | #   | %     | Cond.          | #   | %     | Cond.              | #   | %     | Cond.          | #   | %     |
| Bad                      | 16  | 5.1%  | Don't know     | 81  | 25.8% | Bad                | 12  | 3.8%  | Don't know     | 104 | 33.1% |
| Very bad                 | 9   | 2.9%  | Got better     | 77  | 24.5% | Very bad           | 4   | 1.3%  | Got better     | 66  | 21%   |
| Good                     | 238 | 75.8% | Got worse      | 42  | 13.4% | Good               | 238 | 75.8% | Got worse      | 9   | 2.9%  |
| Very good                | 48  | 15.3% | No change      | 114 | 36.3% | Very good          | 57  | 18.2% | No change      | 135 | 43%   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

It is apparent in these results that the water and electricity supply in Bochabela is generally good. However, this does not exclude the requirement for minimum maintenance, especially because there are indications of these services deteriorating in the past ten years. Box 6 is an indication of this need.

### 7.3.2 Sanitation and Stormwater Drainage

At the household level, 45 respondents (14.3%) stated that flush toilets were very good, 234 said it was good (74.5%), 12 said very bad (3.8%), and 21 said bad (6.7%). The reasons for negative reviews were broken or no toilets, no sewers, water shortages and leaking manholes. Moreover, a common complaint was frequent burst pipes and leaking along the street, or regular blockages, while inefficient stormwater drainage resulted in flooding of streets, yards and even houses during rainy weather. Forty-one respondents (13.1%) alleged to have a very good sewerage system, 194 said good (61.8%), 14 said very bad (4.5%), and 57 said bad (18.2%). Blocked and leaking sewerage pipes, delay in fixing and having a manhole in the yard were the reasons stipulated to cause grievance to the residents, though most insinuated that they undertook their own maintenance hence rare blocking or bursting of pipes. Some also indicated that there was the regular and urgent municipal fixing of sanitation and drainage problems.

**Table 7.4: Condition and Change of Sanitation and Drainage**

| CONDITION OF SANITATION |     |       | 10 YEAR CHANGE |     |       | CONDITION OF DRAINAGE |     |       | 10 YEAR CHANGE |     |       |
|-------------------------|-----|-------|----------------|-----|-------|-----------------------|-----|-------|----------------|-----|-------|
| Cond.                   | #   | %     | Cond.          | #   | %     | Cond.                 | #   | %     | Cond.          | #   | %     |
| Bad                     | 84  | 26.8% | Don't know     | 88  | 28%   | Bad                   | 105 | 33.4% | Don't know     | 91  | 29%   |
| Very bad                | 20  | 6.4%  | Got better     | 48  | 15.3% | Very bad              | 34  | 10.8% | Got better     | 44  | 14%   |
| Good                    | 155 | 49.4% | Got worse      | 27  | 8.6%  | Good                  | 127 | 40.5% | Got worse      | 39  | 12.4% |
| Very good               | 47  | 15%   | No change      | 151 | 48.1% | Very good             | 44  | 14%   | No change      | 140 | 44.6% |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022



**Figure 7.32: A View of Sewerage and Drainage Issues**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Housing without necessary infrastructure has environmental, health, and economic implications. For example, countries with poor sanitation, substandard housing and deficient health services have higher child mortality rates caused by airborne and waterborne diseases (Bah, et al., 2018, p. 12). Because there are high levels of positive reviews concerning sanitation and drainage, Bochabela may be safe in this regard. However, the negative reviews indicate that MMM must improve its response rate for maintenance and fixing these services by attending to grievances in a timely and efficient manner, while communicating any setbacks with the affected community.

### 7.3.3 Refuse Collection

Only 30 respondents (9.6%) indicated garbage collection as very good, while 179 said it was good (57%). Twenty-five indicated that it was very bad (8%) and 148 bad (47.1%). Burning garbage in the yard, littering the neighbourhood, inconsistent collection, and no collection were the reasons given for dissatisfaction with this service. Those who showed satisfaction did so on the grounds that garbage is collected weekly on Mondays, though some indicated the inconsistency of the collection, which led to littering. Overall, unreliable garbage collection was the respondents' main grievance.

**Table 7.5: Condition and Change of Refuse Collection**

| CONDITION OF SERVICE | No. | %    | CHANGE IN 10 YEARS | No. | %     |
|----------------------|-----|------|--------------------|-----|-------|
| Bad                  | 69  | 22%  | Don't know         | 97  | 30.9% |
| Very bad             | 3   | 1%   | Got better         | 24  | 7.6%  |
| good                 | 47  | 15%  | Got worse          | 59  | 18.8% |
| Very good            | 15  | 4.8% | No change          | 134 | 42.7% |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

**Box 7: Examples of Garbage Waiting to Get Picked and Illegal dumping in Bochabela**



Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

It is a known fact that MMM is currently failing at waste management. With current deliberations aimed at addressing the administrative challenges daunting the municipality, key players should not only consider that poor refuse management negatively impacts the health and safety of dwellers (Mkuzo, et al., 2019, pp. 4, 13), but should also fast-track weekly garbage collection, organize neighbourhood clean-ups and address any internal challenges. If Bochabela remains littered, this will also deter investors who may have negative perceptions about the township based on its environment. Moreover, the housing market in the township might also decrease because of this.

#### 7.3.4 Roads and Transport

As highlighted in Table 7.6, the condition of roads was mostly perceived as bad, with the highest number of respondents indicating that there had been no change in the condition in the last ten years. It was a common perception that the condition of transport services was good, with many respondents indicating that they did not know of any change in this condition.

**Table 7.6: Condition and Change of Roads and Transport**

| CONDITION OF ROADS |     |       | 10 YEAR CHANGE |     |       | CONDITION OF TRANSPORT |     |       | 10 YEAR CHANGE |     |       |
|--------------------|-----|-------|----------------|-----|-------|------------------------|-----|-------|----------------|-----|-------|
| Cond.              | #   | %     | Cond.          | #   | %     | Cond.                  | #   | %     | Cond.          | #   | %     |
| Bad                | 135 | 43%   | Don't know     | 70  | 22.3% | Bad                    | 4   | 1.3%  | Don't know     | 163 | 51.9% |
| Very bad           | 50  | 16%   | Got better     | 62  | 19.8% | Very bad               | 1   | 0.32% | Got better     | 64  | 20.4% |
| Good               | 92  | 29.3% | Got worse      | 82  | 26.1% | Good                   | 231 | 73.6% | Got worse      | 0   | 0%    |
| Very good          | 33  | 10.5% | No change      | 100 | 31.9% | Very good              | 60  | 19.1% | No change      | 84  | 26.8% |
| Neutral            | 0   | 0%    |                |     |       | Neutral                | 2   | 0.64% |                |     |       |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

In terms of negative reviews for road conditions, issues raised included badly damaged roads with potholes and in need of maintenance or new paving. The need for speed humps due to the danger speeding vehicles posed for pedestrians, especially children, was emphasised. Common grievances were flooding and muddy roads during rains. Concerning transport, some complained that it was difficult to get transport between Bochabela and Twin City Mall in Heidedal, and others mentioned that some vehicles were messy and not road worthy. Another issue was that the transport only served local destinations, yet the neighbourhood was along a route that exited Bloemfontein through the N8 and M1 to other towns. The most utilized mode of transport was public transport (minibus taxis, buses and cabs, locally known as *maroana*), as 59.2% of respondents indicated that this is how they got to work or town. 24% of the respondents claimed to walk to and from town or work, while 5.4% used

their private vehicles as their means of travel. Only 0.32% (N=1) of respondents mentioned cycling as their means of transport.

**Table 7.7: Means of Transport**

| MODE OF TRANSPORT | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
|-------------------|--------|------|-------|------------------|
| Private           | 4      | 13   | 17    | 5.4%             |
| Public            | 109    | 77   | 186   | 59.2%            |
| Walking           | 24     | 55   | 79    | 25.2%            |
| Cycling           | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%            |
| Not Specified     | 16     | 15   | 31    | 9.9%             |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022



**Figure 7.33: Gravel and Tarred Roads in Bochabela**

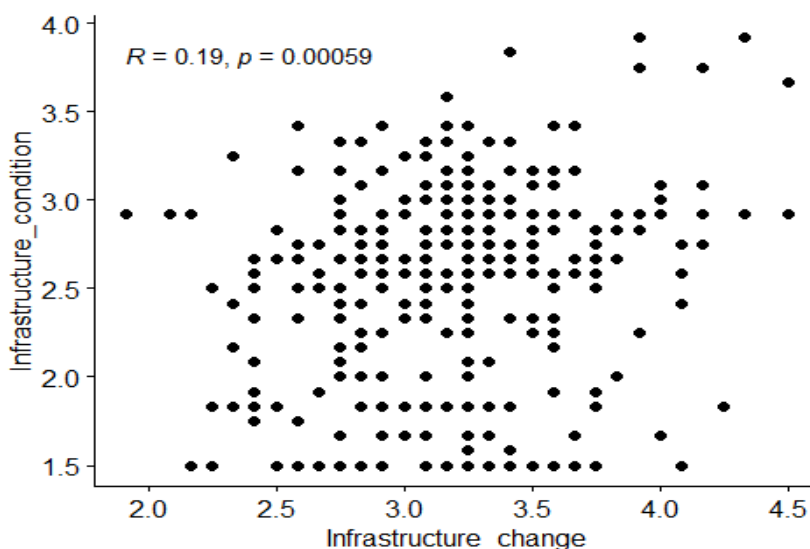
Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Whether owners or tenants, residents should be able to move between their homes and different services and amenities. It is, therefore, important to ensure adequate transport linkages and walkways between housing and different social services (Satterwhwaite, 2020, p. 10). Efficiency in this aspect is an indication of housing adequacy. Bochabela can therefore be classified as adequate in this regard. It is thus necessary to improve or add pavements and roads where necessary within the neighbourhood to improve adequate movement of pedestrians and vehicles.

### 7.3.5 Community Facilities (Infrastructure)

The perceptions of respondents in terms of the efficiency of community facilities, including schools, police stations, clinics, parks and community halls, were also considered. The correlation between their condition and change was close to zero, as shown in Figure 7.34. In this manner, the relationship between infrastructure conditions and change can be seen as non-linear and widely distributed, thus making it difficult to predict one variable from the other (Leedy & Omrod, 2015, p. 250; van Lill & Grieve, 1990, p. 7.5).

Table 7.8 highlights respondents' perception towards these community facilities, specifically in terms of their current condition and change over time. Creches, police stations and administrative facilities were mostly perceived to be in good condition, with the highest number of respondents indicating that they did not change in the past ten years, while the least number specified that the facilities got worse. Primary schools were considered mostly in good condition and getting better, with the least perception being that they got worse. The most common perception for high schools and health centres was that they were in good condition without any change, while the least number of respondents indicated that they did not know of any changes due to their children having finished high school and some having medical aid thus not using the public health facilities.



**Figure 7.34: Correlation between Infrastructure Change and Condition**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Many respondents indicated a lack of tertiary institutions within the neighbourhood, with no change of this over the years, while the least said that the condition of tertiary institutions got worse. The

common view for recreational and sports facilities was that they were in bad condition and had not changed in the past ten years, and the least common perception was that they got better. Finally, the community halls were viewed as good, without any change, while the least common view was that they improved within ten years.

**Table 7.8: Condition of Social Facilities**

| FACILITY                | CONDITION                  | #   | % | 10 YRS CHANGE | #   | % | COMMENTS  |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-----|---|---------------|-----|---|---|
| Creches                 | Don't know                 | 16  |   | Don't know    | 58  |   | -no longer have small kids so don't know  |
|                         | Bad                        | 18  |   | Got better    | 101 |   |   |
|                         | Very bad                   | 5   |   | Got worse     | 6   |   |   |
|                         | Good                       | 213 |   | No change     | 128 |   |   |
|                         | Very good                  | 62  |   |               |     |   |   |
| Primary Schools         | Don't know                 | 8   |   | Don't know    | 46  |   | -corruption<br>-dilapidation<br>-neglected townships  |
|                         | Bad                        | 17  |   | Got better    | 124 |   |   |
|                         | Very bad                   | 3   |   | Got worse     | 10  |   |   |
|                         | Good                       | 226 |   | No change     | 105 |   |   |
|                         | Very good                  | 60  |   |               |     |   |   |
| High Schools            | Don't know                 | 12  |   | Don't know    | 9   |   | -the neighborhood has two high schools  |
|                         | No high school             | 16  |   | Got better    | 113 |   |   |
|                         | Bad                        | 24  |   | Got worse     | 5   |   |   |
|                         | Very bad                   | 6   |   | No change     | 180 |   |   |
|                         | Good                       | 213 |   |               |     |   |   |
|                         | Very good                  | 43  |   |               |     |   |   |
| Tertiary Institutes     | Don't know                 | 39  |   | Don't know    | 37  |   | -none in township<br>We don't know the condition or change since we never went there (UFS, CUT, etc)<br>-they opened one along Hillside View  |
|                         | No tertiary institution    | 210 |   | Got better    | 13  |   |   |
|                         | Bad                        | 35  |   | Got worse     | 1   |   |   |
|                         | Very bad                   | 3   |   | No change     | 262 |   |   |
|                         | Good                       | 21  |   |               |     |   |   |
|                         | Very good                  | 6   |   |               |     |   |   |
| Health Centres          | Don't know                 | 4   |   | Don't know    | 8   |   | -Pelonomi, Batho/ Sports, Mmabana,<br>-bad service<br>-very far<br>-lack of beds<br>-lack of medication<br>-long queues<br>-understaffed  |
|                         | No health centre           | 26  |   | Got better    | 57  |   |   |
|                         | Bad                        | 66  |   | Got worse     | 23  |   |   |
|                         | Very bad                   | 10  |   | No change     | 142 |   |   |
|                         | Good                       | 169 |   |               |     |   |   |
|                         | Very good                  | 39  |   |               |     |   |   |
| Recreational Facilities | Don't know                 | 6   |   | Don't know    | 87  |   | -Johnson Bandile Stadium<br>-next to leaking drainage system<br>-gang, drugs, crime spots<br>-illegal dumping site<br>-homeless spot<br>-neglected and needs maintenance<br>-vandalized |
|                         | No recreational facilities | 44  |   | Got better    | 33  |   |   |
|                         | Bad                        | 169 |   | Got worse     | 79  |   |   |
|                         | Very bad                   | 48  |   | No change     | 113 |   |   |
|                         | Good                       | 33  |   |               |     |   |   |
|                         | Very good                  | 14  |   |               |     |   |   |
| Police Stations         | Don't know                 | 7   |   | Don't know    | 114 |   | -Batho, Heidedal, Kagisanong, Mangaung, Phahameng<br>-bad service<br>-delayed response<br>-favoritism<br>-rude officials<br>-dangerous  |
|                         | No police station          | 52  |   | Got better    | 49  |   |   |
|                         | Bad                        | 82  |   | Got worse     | 15  |   |   |
|                         | Very bad                   | 9   |   | No change     | 144 |   |   |
|                         | Good                       | 144 |   |               |     |   |   |
|                         | Very good                  | 20  |   |               |     |   |   |

| FACILITY                  | CONDITION            | #   | % | 10 YRS CHANGE | #   | % | COMMENTS  |
|---------------------------|----------------------|-----|---|---------------|-----|---|---|
| Administrative Facilities | Don't know           | 8   |   | Don't know    | 95  |   | -Batho, Hostel 1, Phahameng<br>-Words fail/ can't even explain<br>-dilapidated and closed<br>-corruption<br>-don't function to full capacity<br>-buildings require maintenance<br>-poor infrastructure<br>-too far<br>-unsatisfactory councilor |
|                           | No admin facilities  | 29  |   | Got better    | 46  |   |   |
|                           | Bad                  | 88  |   | Got worse     | 23  |   |   |
|                           | Very bad             | 24  |   | No change     | 148 |   |   |
|                           | Good                 | 128 |   |               |     |   |   |
|                           | Very good            | 17  |   |               |     |   |   |
| Community Halls           | Don't know           | 6   |   | Don't know    | 86  |   | -Paradise, Zenzela, Dikgaretene<br>-being renovated<br>-crime spots<br>-dilapidated and need maintenance<br>-now used as residence<br>-vandalized<br>-does not benefit the community, should be youth centre                                    |
|                           | No community halls   | 12  |   | Got better    | 23  |   |   |
|                           | Bad                  | 98  |   | No change     | 116 |   |   |
|                           | Very bad             | 57  |   |               |     |   |   |
|                           | Good                 | 118 |   |               |     |   |   |
|                           | Very good            | 15  |   |               |     |   |   |
| Sports Facilities         | Don't know           | 25  |   | Don't know    | 89  |   | -Sports, Rocklands, Jackson Bandile Stadium, Boxing Arena<br>-vandalized, ageing and need maintenance<br>-too far<br>-poor standard compared to town<br>-shacks erected on soccer field<br>infrastructure<br>-dumping site<br>-drug zone        |
|                           | No sports facilities | 22  |   | Got better    | 39  |   |   |
|                           | Bad                  | 118 |   | Got worse     | 53  |   |   |
|                           | Very bad             | 30  |   | No change     | 130 |   |   |
|                           | Good                 | 91  |   |               |     |   |   |
|                           | Very good            | 26  |   |               |     |   |   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022



**Figure 7.35: Paradise Hall with Graffiti on Entrance Wall**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Overall, the highest number of responses concerning the condition of facilities was positive, indicating that primary schools were good, while the lowest indicated bad conditions of the primary schools and tertiary institutions. In terms of change over ten years, the highest perception was that there was no change concerning tertiary institutions, while the lowest was that the same facilities got worse. Some positive comments given were that facilities such as police stations and administrative facilities were close, clean and offered good service, while sports facilities were recently upgraded. In general, most responses given indicated a positive inclination towards facilities in Bochabela. However, community forums, youth programmes, and institutional incentives must be conducted to address issues like vandalism, poor service, delayed response and corruption. The continuation of negative outcomes here will perpetrate the poor image and perception of Bochabela, to the detriment of its economy.

### 7.3.6 Other Services and Facilities

#### *Commercial/Shopping Centres*

Commercial centres are a means of local economic development and housing adequacy. This is because they improve neighbourhood access to and provision of goods and services, create jobs for the locals, and acts as places of socialization, attachment and character, thus contributing to the nature of community life and development (Sutton, 2010, p. 354). All respondents indicated they must access various commercial services in and outside the township. They buy small or urgent household items such as bread from the neighbourhood spaza shops, while for larger grocery shopping, they go to either the CBD, Central Park, Twin City Mall in Heidedal, Spa or Shoprite in Rocklands. These commercial centres are said to be easily accessible and modern.

Respondents who thought that commercial centres were bad, very bad or got worse complained that in comparison, commercial centres in the town were better than those in the township. This is because there are no large commercial centres in Bochabela. This could be due to the failure to attract new investment opportunities. Consumer patterns, suburbanisation, and demand for high skills while locals have low skills are some reasons that may deter investment opportunities (Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 37; Slach, et al., 2019, p. 4). Other grievances were that they were too expensive, dangerous places due to occasional break-ins and bombing of nearby ATMs, and they were also too far. Some also complained of receiving poor services from foreign-owned spaza shops, which are also viewed as destroying local businesses. There was a general dissatisfaction that foreign businesses are expensive and profit other countries. As stipulated: *“These Indians are making a lot of money. Then they send it to their countries. How do we benefit? Tell me.”* Perhaps the interaction between commercial centres

and residents should be further studied. This will help in understanding the social health of Bochabela. As found by (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2008, p. 148), the character of businesses impacts the social structure of neighbourhoods.

**Table 7.9: Condition and Change of Commercial Centres**

| CONDITION OF FACILITY | No. | %    | CHANGE IN 10YRS | No. | %     |
|-----------------------|-----|------|-----------------|-----|-------|
| Don't know            | 7   | 2.2% | don't know      | 163 | 51.9% |
| No commercial centres | 29  | 9.2% | got better      | 51  | 16.2% |
| Bad                   | 21  | 6.7% | got worse       | 7   | 2.2%  |
| Very bad              | 4   | 1.3% | no change       | 90  | 28.7% |
| Good                  | 226 | 72%  |                 |     |       |
| Very good             | 8   | 2.6% |                 |     |       |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The findings, as reflected in Table 7.9, indicate that the highest share of respondents considered commercial centres to be in good condition in terms of services offered and their infrastructure. Moreover, most residents were not aware of the change that had occurred with the commercial centres in the past ten years. It was important to understand the changes herein because sometimes progression comes with new standards, leading to certain commercial services' decline. This perpetrates loss of employment and decreased incomes. The direct implication of this for housing is restricted affordability for maintenance. If any neighbourhood commercial revitalisation is conducted in Bochabela, implementers must be mindful that gentrification does not occur, as it displaces local commercial and retail stores (Lees, et al., 2015, p. 449; Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 4).

#### *Communication Services and Internet Connection*

Efficient internet and communication amenities are considered economies of scale because they are conducive to high economic activity (Masron, 2020, p. 2). The internet aids communication and information sharing that is necessary for collaboration during development and for acquiring skills. Thus, improving communication services is one of the major components of urban renewal, especially in this fourth industrial revolution (Hendler & Thompson-Smeddle, 2009, p. 8; Usta, et al., 2014, pp. 2-3). The responses to the quality of communication services and internet connection show that 30 respondents considered it very good and 179 good. However, 12 respondents considered it very bad while 22 thought it was bad, and 10 did not use communication services/the internet at all, while 33 said there were no internet or communication services in their home or the neighbourhood. Those who did not use the internet at all fell under the 27-92 age group, with the largest share in the 59-62 age group. This indicates that communication and internet service in Bochabela is mostly accessible.

Thus, the township is well-placed for innovation and collaboration using these means. However, there was a high instance of respondents claiming to have no communication facility. This high number is a problem for communication during any planning and renewal. Table 7.10 summarizes these findings.

**Table 7.10: Condition and Change of Communication and Internet Services**

| CONDITION OF FACILITY       | No. | %     | CHANGE IN 10YRS | No. | %     |
|-----------------------------|-----|-------|-----------------|-----|-------|
| Don't know                  | 15  | 4.8%  | Don't know      | 181 | 57.6% |
| No communication facilities | 135 | 43%   | Got better      | 24  | 7.6%  |
| Bad                         | 50  | 15.9% | Got worse       | 3   | 1%    |
| Good                        | 98  | 31.2% | No change       | 103 | 32.8% |
| Very good                   | 5   | 1.6%  |                 |     |       |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### *Safety and Security*

The respondents showed varying views of safety and security based on their perceptions, feelings, available security services, and efforts to ensure safe and secure homes. 38.2% of the respondents felt safe and secure, 21.7% very safe and secure, 31.9% felt unsafe and insecure, and 7.3% felt very unsafe and insecure. Though 0.96% of respondents had no thoughts on (neutral) or did not know of any issues concerning safety and security due to a short length of stay in the area or minding their own business, those who said their houses were aged had the highest percentage (15.9%) of feelings of insecurity and unsafety. Given that this was 50 respondents, one might state that 1 out of 6 residents of Bochabela feels unsafe and insecure due to residing in aged house structures. Only 3.5% felt unsafe because they have experienced crime, which may justify the argument that Bochabela has relatively low crime levels compared to the national levels of 31% individual crime and 34% street crime (StatsSA, 2022).



**Figure 7.36: Reasons for Safety and Security Perceptions**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Some of the various reasons given for perceptions of safety and security are indicated in Figure 7.36, with the highest reasons being precarious house structure (15.9%), fear of perceived criminal activities (6.7%) and personal experience of some crime either on the streets of the township or at home (3.5%). In this regard, respondents feared a high crime rate in the neighbourhood, especially with the youth taking drugs and loitering during day and night. Regarding precarious structures, some respondents mentioned that they feared their houses would collapse on them, especially during bad weather, while others indicated that the current state of their houses determined their feelings of safety and security. Along the same lines, some indicated that they felt quite safe due to the installed security features in their homes. Extra safety features like security fences, locked gates, and trellis gates were said to increase feelings of safety and security. The reasons that were lowest on the determining scale were theft from within the family, working at night, cooperative ownership, lack of a title deed, only female residents and having enemies. These all had a similar response rate of 0.32%.

The perception that Bochabela is a safe neighbourhood also contributed to positive feelings of safety, and this was linked to having resided in the neighbourhood long enough to have established solid social relations, which are also perceived to assure safety and security. Most tenants feared that they would be evicted in an unplanned or aggressive manner at any given time. This fear also reigned among respondents within cooperative ownership. This significantly moved their perceptions of safety and security towards the negative side and raised the question of tenure security.

It is important to consider that dilapidated houses, neglected buildings and vulnerable means of survival threaten the safety and security of neighbourhoods. This is because they have tenure and health implications. They also characteristically attract criminal activities. Fear of eviction is a sign of threatened tenure security, which is a component of housing adequacy. Furthermore, since a person's health is not only affected by the house within which (s)he dwells but also by the neighbourhood where (s)he resides, perceptions of fear and safety also lead to behavioural and psychological problems such as anxiety, despair and indifference. These may also contribute to instances of irresponsible sexual activities that lead to ill health, drug abuse and suicide (de Leon & Schilling, 2017, p. 9). The fear of criminal activity discourages prospective investors from granting investment opportunities and business development to neighbourhoods (Branas, et al., 2016, p. 2063; Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 41).

## 7.4 Economic Dimensions of Bochabela

Findings about employment, income, education and investment decisions are discussed in this section. These are crucial community development drivers. In order to access the labour market, poor community members must also have access to housing on top of necessary skills. Thus, efforts to facilitate neighbourhood job creation must be aligned to available skills in relation to required services. Home ownership facilitates innovative ways of generating income that can be used in cooperatives and savings systems necessary for education, household investments and the neighbourhood economy (Sikor & Müller, 2009, p. 1310; Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 6). Moreover, education levels determine employment type and income levels, which in turn impact the choice of residence and spending decisions.

### 7.4.1 Education and Skills

The levels of education attained were measured between primary, high school and tertiary levels. Data for those currently studying or without any education were also included. The highest number of participants completed high school (65.6%), while the lowest number attained tertiary level (9.6%). The number of participants with a tertiary degree was higher than those with no education, though it was significantly lower than those with primary and high school education. This information is highlighted in Table 7.11.

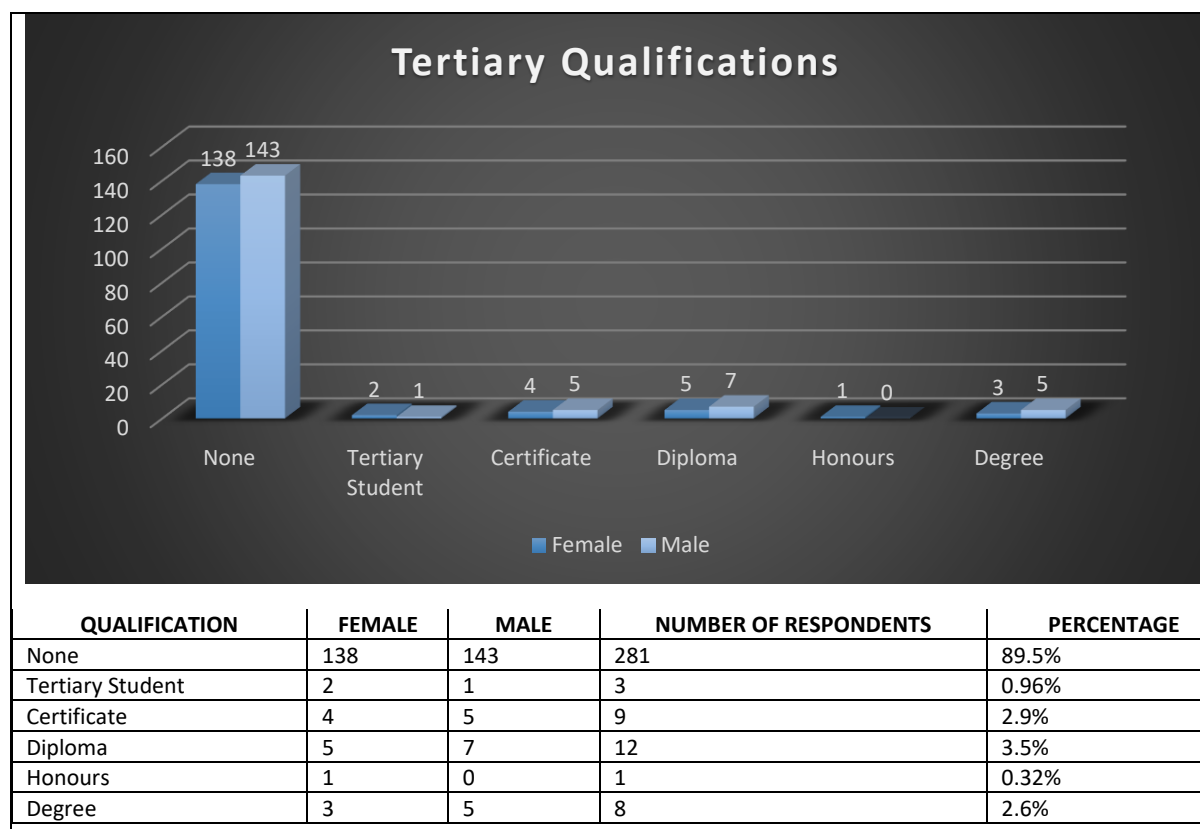
**Table 7.11: Education Levels Attained**

| HIGHEST QUALIFICATION | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE |
|-----------------------|--------|------|-------|------------|
| None                  | 1      | 10   | 11    | 3.5%       |
| Primary School        | 33     | 34   | 67    | 21.3%      |
| High School           | 106    | 100  | 206   | 65.6%      |
| Tertiary              | 13     | 17   | 30    | 9.6%       |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

In Figure 7.37, findings show that 89.5% of the participants had no tertiary qualifications, while for those who had tertiary level education, most had a diploma (14.3%). This was followed by those with a national certificate (2.9%) and a degree (2.6%). The lowest number under this category was of participants with an honours. There were some participants (0.96%) who were currently studying at the tertiary level. As shown in Table 7.12, most participants with a national certificate were self-employed, that is, running their registered businesses, while none were unemployed. The highest share of participants with a diploma was seeking other employment, and others were formally employed, while the lowest share was self-employed, including in cosmetology. None of the diploma

participants were engaged in informal activities or unemployed. Additionally, one participant with an honours degree was formally employed as an educator, while those with degrees were mostly self-employed or formally employed concurrently. The occupations of businessperson, cashier, educator and nurse were common across the various qualification levels. This insight into the residents' education and occupation gives an understanding of the township's housing and economy and may guide the future development of the area.



**Figure 7.37: Tertiary Level Qualifications**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

**Table 7.12: Qualification by Employment Status**

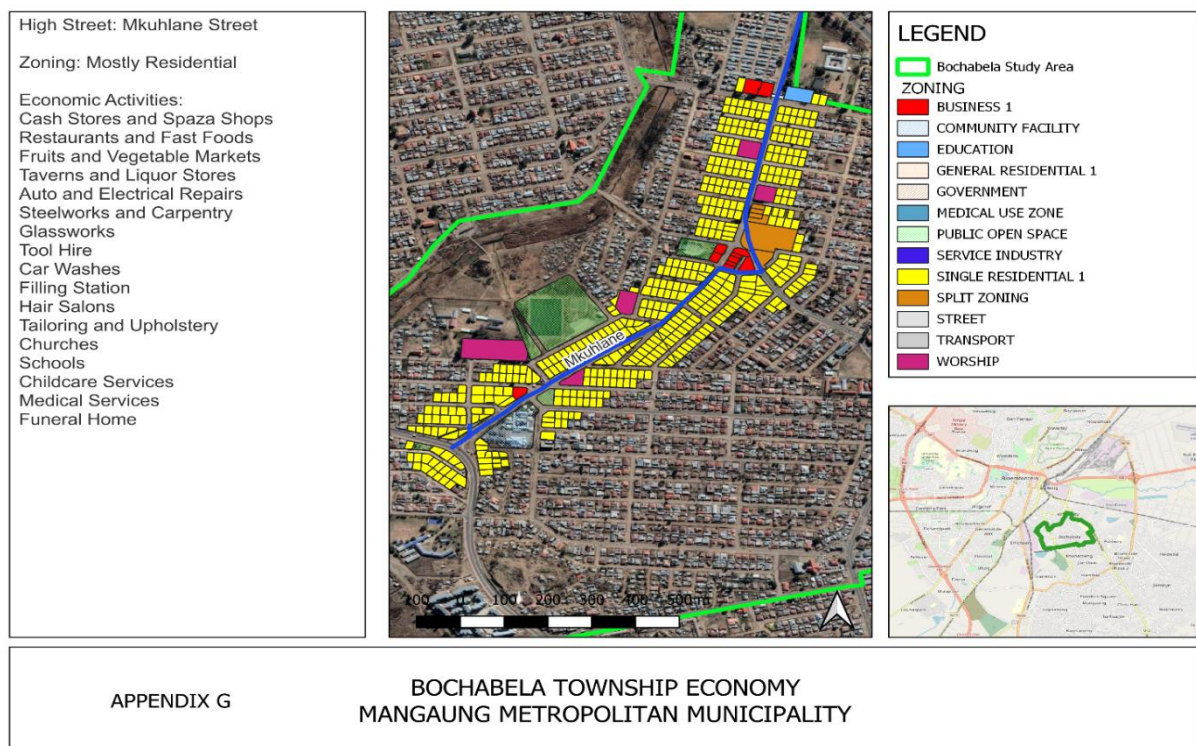
| EMPLOYMENT STATUS   | CERTIFICATE                                  | DIPLOMA  | HONOURS       | DEGREE  | TOTAL |
|---------------------|--|--|---------------|---|-------|
|                     | <b>Number of participants and occupation</b> |  |               |   |       |
| Formal Employment   | 2<br>nurse, clerk                            | 5<br>petrol attendant,<br>construction<br>workers (2), logistics<br>officer, cashier | 1<br>educator | 3<br>Educator, nurse,<br>maintenance<br>worker  | 11    |
| Informal Employment | 2<br>vendors                                 | 0  | 0             | 0   | 2     |
| Self-employment     | 3<br>Mechanic,<br>student, n/s               | 2<br>cosmetologist,<br>general worker  | 0             | 4<br>businessperson<br>(2), manager,<br>caterer | 9     |

| EMPLOYMENT STATUS  | CERTIFICATE                           | DIPLOMA                                | HONOURS | DEGREE        | TOTAL |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---------|---------------|-------|
|                    | Number of participants and occupation |  |         |               |       |
| Seeking Employment | 2<br>cashier, student                 | 5<br>recycler, housewife, student, n/s | 0       | 1<br>educator | 8     |
| Unemployed         | 0                                     | 0                                      | 0       | 0             | 0     |
| Total              | 9                                     | 12                                     | 1       | 8             | 30    |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

#### 7.4.2 Township Economy

Based on the neighbourhood tour (transect walk) and findings about the respondents' economic activities, it is understood that the economic structure of Bochabela Township consists of both formal and informal activities. These are the essence of the township economy. Like Bochabela, they are typically diverse and survivalist in nature (Charman, et al., 2020, p. 69). Some existing economic activities are highlighted in Map 7.8 and the photo gallery in Box 8 and Box 9.



**Map 7.8: Bochabela's Township Economy**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Mkuhlane is the high street, functioning as the commercial hub of the township. Its economic activities include private medical facilities, business services, takeaway stores, street vending, liquor shops and

micro-manufacturers. Map 7.8/APPENDIX G illustrates the township economy of Bochabela, zooming into the high street.



**Figure 7.38: A View of Mkhuhlane Street (High Street)**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

**Box 8: Economic Activities Along the High Street**



Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Other activities are found within the residential zone, including spaza shops, hairdressing saloons, steelworks, taverns, fruit and vegetable stalls and childcare services. Most of the businesses along the

high street were run within permanent structures, while most of those within the residential zone were in temporary structures. Additionally, some landlords within the residential zone generated income by permitting the use of their houses or separate structures within their yards for business purposes. There were also mobile traders on various corners selling their merchandise on the go.

**Box 9: Economic Activities in Residential Zoning**



Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

These findings indicate that housing is indeed a business sector wherein jobs are created and livelihoods improved not only through its construction, transactions, and upkeep but also through home-based businesses such as convenience shops, bars, childcare services, churches and salons (Scheba & Turok, 2019). The SDG 8 aims to promote sustainable economic development through diversifying job opportunities, improving technology and innovating labour-intensive initiatives (United Nations, 2016; United Nations, 2017). Accordingly, housing policy should ensure that diverse housing needs are met, as this will create enabling environments for dynamic economies (Satterthwaite, 2020, p. 14). A comprehensive solution includes not only providing various housing options at different economic levels, but enabling business operations within both privately and publicly financed housing.

However, home business guidelines and building standards in South Africa are incompatible with township housing (Scheba & Turok, 2019). This means that the housing in Bochabela, even in a good state, mostly fails to fit into the legalities of home businesses. Hence the economy of the township is

restricted. This is a vicious circle, as access to economic opportunities enables housing development, and adequate housing enables participation in the economy. Because the availability of adequate housing is a sign of well-performing economic policies, Bochabela requires strategic support to improve the existing economic activities by making them more sustainable. This should be done in a collaborative, bottom-up, community-oriented manner that is considerate to heritage management (Scheba & Turok, 2020:77).

Business and employment opportunities determine the income of residents, which is linked to housing adequacy. This study needed to gain perceptions on the availability of these opportunities to guide thinking towards Bochabela's needs and appropriate solutions. Insights showed that opportunities for business and employment are primarily unavailable. The reason was that since democracy, it has become difficult for residents to get employment or business support. This has been made worse by the COVID-19 pandemic, which not only caused job and business losses among residents but also made it difficult to access new opportunities. Table 7.13 gives a summary of these findings.

The study further found that most residents who have renovated their homes or engaged in continuous maintenance use services from formal and informal businesses in the township. Those who were satisfied with the service of these businesses were significantly higher than those who were dissatisfied (e.g., 12% vs 3%). This indicates that the township can be self-sufficient in terms of housing construction and maintenance services. From the highlighted comments, residents are seeking support for business and job creation. There is a need for unified support like that applied in India (further discussed in Chapter 9), where the private and public sectors collaborated to create low-income housing opportunities. According to this model, local suppliers of housing construction materials are incubated in one place. Public housing specialists are also based in that place to offer technical support for participating community members. This then improves the convenience of obtaining housing construction advice and materials in one place while also supporting local businesses and creating jobs.

**Table 7.13: Perceptions on Business and Employment Opportunities**

| Perception on Availability of employment and business opportunities | Number of Respondents | Percentage Share | Respondents Comments   |
|---|-----------------------|------------------|--|
| Both available  | 25                    | 8%               | <p>"There is high competition between business and job opportunities, but they are both available"</p> <p>"There is business everywhere. And jobs are there also. People are lazy to search for jobs or open businesses. So, they say they are not there. They are many"</p>   |
| Both unavailable  | 126                   | 40.1%            | <p>"Not since after 1994. Everything is bad now. We are struggling more than we were during apartheid. I am saying this because during apartheid everybody had jobs and food on the table. Now we are suffering every day. Promises broken."</p> <p>"Our youth try but no support"</p> <p>"There is a huge market that needs government support"</p>   |
| Only Business Available   | 133                   | 42.4%            | <p>"There are many opportunities to open businesses because I see many people opening businesses. I cannot. I don't have money, but the chances are there for other people."</p> <p>"A person can start an informal business. The community buys from the spaza shops. Also, from the street they buy"</p> <p>"There are no jobs here, but it is easy to open business. I plan to start a market in front of my house when I have money"</p> <p>"Depends. Many are in the business of selling alcohol"</p> |
| Only Employment Available   | 10                    | 3.2%             | <p>"There is high employment rate here"</p> <p>"Sometimes we get piece jobs"</p> <p>"There is slow progress here. People get jobs. But it is slow"</p> <p>"It is easy to get a job here. That is why we are here. We come from many places but come to Bloemfontein for jobs"</p>  |
| Don't know  | 18                    | 5.7%             | <p>"Not sure about these opportunities but my grandchildren are employed. Many people say their children don't have jobs. So I don't know what is happening."</p>  |
| Not specified   | 2                     | 0.6%             | n/s  |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 7.4.3 Employment and Income

#### *Employment Status and Duration*

Most middle to low-income urban dwellers reside in townships typified by declining economies, high unemployment levels, rampant poverty, increasing crime levels and inadequate housing (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 4; Schmidt & du Plessis, 2013). It is important to know participants' employment status to understand this implication on their housing conditions and choices. Data show that at 26.1%, most participants were seeking employment at the time of the research. One of the most notable reasons given for this was that the COVID-19 lockdown had resulted in the loss of existing jobs or decreased opportunities for part-time jobs or 'hustling' as some called it. For example: *"You know, I can't hustle because of lockdown. Before I was hustling and at least made something on the street. Now it is difficult."* The second highest group comprised formally employed participants at 19.1% while those on the lowest rung were employed part-time (1.6%) and the unemployed (4.8%). Many of the participants had worked for over 15 years, followed by those in the 1-5 years and 6-10 years categories, respectively. The least number of participants had worked for 11-15 years, followed by those without work experience. Table 7.14 indicates the percentage share of employment and duration, including the gender breakdown per category.

**Table 7.14: Employment Status and Years of Employment**

| EMPLOYMENT STATUS           | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
|-----------------------------|--------|------|-------|------------------|
| Unemployed                  | 10     | 5    | 15    | 4.8%             |
| Seeking Employment          | 51     | 31   | 82    | 26.1%            |
| Part-time Employment        | 1      | 4    | 5     | 1.6%             |
| Informal Employment         | 11     | 11   | 22    | 7.0%             |
| Formal Employment           | 28     | 32   | 60    | 19.1%            |
| Self-employed               | 9      | 37   | 46    | 14.7%            |
| Retired                     | 39     | 33   | 72    | 23%              |
| Students                    | 4      | 8    | 12    | 3.8%             |
| YEARS OF OVERALL EMPLOYMENT | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
| 0                           | 29     | 20   | 49    | 15.6%            |
| 1-5                         | 36     | 35   | 61    | 19.4%            |
| 6-10                        | 23     | 37   | 60    | 19.1%            |
| 11-15                       | 19     | 19   | 38    | 12.1%            |
| Over 15                     | 42     | 49   | 91    | 29%              |
| Not specified               | 4      | 7    | 11    | 3.5%             |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Unemployment is a driver of housing obsolescence as residents lack the financial resources necessary for the general upkeep and maintenance (Nesslein, 1988, p. 209). The fact that most respondents are not employed means that Bochabela may be unable to simultaneously take care of their houses while also catering for their basic needs like education, health, food and clothing. Job creation should therefore

form part of urban renewal plans for Bochabela. Taking that the old housing existing here is over 60 years, lessons can be taken from vibrant economies that epitomize heritage housing as a means of employment creation, sustainable and inclusive development and socio-environmental protection. Some ideas include Airbnb, historic home museums and cafés.

### *Place of work and Occupation*

The place of work was demarcated into formal business, informal activities, government and household-based. According to the data, the highest number of participants were employed within the formal business sector, while the lowest share was in household-based activities such as domestic work and gardening. Moreover, the second highest employment sector was the government, while the second lowest sector was informal activities. Some participants mentioned not having a place of work. Table 7.15 gives a summary of findings about place of employment.

**Table 7.15: Workplaces**

| PLACE OF WORK       | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
|---------------------|--------|------|-------|------------------|
| Formal Business     | 60     | 76   | 136   | 43.3%            |
| Government          | 19     | 26   | 45    | 14.3%            |
| Household Based     | 20     | 10   | 30    | 9.6%             |
| Informal Activities | 16     | 24   | 40    | 12.7%            |
| None                | 31     | 17   | 48    | 15.3%            |
| Not Specified       | 7      | 8    | 15    | 4.8%             |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

More findings show that various occupations exist in Bochabela, which can be classified under professional, employment, business and vocational categories. These categories are further broken down into specific occupations in Table 7.16 to give a comprehensive view. Data reveal that the types of occupation with the highest number of participants are those classified as employment, or rather working for others and not requiring formal training, such as retail worker, domestic worker, general worker, cleaner and construction worker. However, the occupation types considered professional or required specialized knowledge and some form of formal training rank lowest. These included aluminium workers, clerks, cosmetologists, engineers, firefighters, legal rights advocates, machine operators, medical assistants, social auxiliary workers, and soldiers. Those falling under the business category are the producers of goods and services, such as unclassified business owners, vendors, and mechanics. Most of the participants here were engaged in unclassified businesses, and the least, with an equal number of respondents, were vendors and mechanics. Vocational skills including plumbing and hairdressing fell under the last category. The interesting finding was that while there were both male and female hairdressers, there were no female plumbers.

**Table 7.16: Comprehensive List of Past and Present Participant's Occupation**

| OCCUPATION                 | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE |
|----------------------------|--------|------|-------|------------|
| Aluminium Works            | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Business                   | 1      | 6    | 7     | 2.2%       |
| Car wash Attendant         | 1      | 1    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Caretaker                  | 1      | 1    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Carpenter                  | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Cashier                    | 14     | 0    | 14    | 4.6%       |
| Caterer                    | 5      | 1    | 6     | 1.9%       |
| Cleaner                    | 15     | 3    | 18    | 5.7%       |
| Clerk                      | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Construction Worker        | 0      | 16   | 16    | 5.1%       |
| Cosmetologist              | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Courier                    | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Customer Service Attendant | 4      | 0    | 4     | 1.27%      |
| Domestic Worker            | 17     | 3    | 20    | 6.4%       |
| Driver                     | 1      | 6    | 7     | 2.2%       |
| Educator                   | 5      | 0    | 5     | 1.6%       |
| Engineer                   | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Factory Worker             | 1      | 2    | 3     | 0.96%      |
| Fire Fighter               | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Gardener                   | 0      | 3    | 3     | 0.96%      |
| General Worker             | 6      | 13   | 19    | 6.1%       |
| Hairdresser                | 2      | 1    | 3     | 0.96%      |
| Housewife                  | 4      | 0    | 4     | 1.27%      |
| Manager                    | 2      | 0    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Legal Rights Advocate      | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Logistics Officer          | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Machine Operator           | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Maintenance Worker         | 0      | 4    | 4     | 1.27%      |
| Manager                    | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Mechanic                   | 0      | 4    | 4     | 1.27%      |
| Medical Assistant          | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Miner                      | 0      | 4    | 4     | 1.27%      |
| None                       | 7      | 5    | 12    | 3.8%       |
| Not Specified              | 22     | 20   | 42    | 13.4%      |
| Nurse                      | 4      | 1    | 5     | 1.6%       |
| Pastor                     | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Pet Taker                  | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Petrol Attendant           | 0      | 8    | 8     | 2.6%       |
| Pensioner                  | 1      | 0    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Plumber                    | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Police Officer             | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Post Office Teller         | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Prison Warden              | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Railway Worker             | 0      | 3    | 3     | 0.96%      |
| Receptionist               | 1      | 1    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Recycler                   | 2      | 0    | 2     | 0.64%      |
| Retail Worker              | 11     | 7    | 21    | 6.7%       |
| Rigger                     | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Secretary                  | 1      | 0    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Security Guard             | 5      | 4    | 9     | 2.9%       |
| Social Auxiliary Worker    | 1      | 0    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Soldier                    | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%      |
| Student                    | 5      | 9    | 14    | 4.6%       |
| Taxi Driver                | 3      | 1    | 4     | 1.27%      |
| Vendor                     | 9      | 7    | 16    | 5.1%       |
| Waiter                     | 3      | 1    | 4     | 1.27%      |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The findings in this section indicate that most residents were in sectors requiring skilled labour, hence a more stable income. It is therefore important to devise ways through which such skilled labour is retained, and more skilled workers are attracted to Bochabela. Homeowners could be capacitated to develop and lease homes (as in private sector affordable rental), residents with relevant skills supported to run various house development businesses while a community-based skills development centre can be opened. Services and infrastructure in Bochabela could also be improved. According to Shannon, (2018, p. 18) and Glossop, (2008, p. 6), housing impacts place economies based on their unique context relating to labour markets, enterprises, infrastructure and business, as well as transport, water, sanitation and electricity infrastructure, amenities, environment and strategic growth zones. When economically stable, employed residents leave a neighbourhood, they take their development-inducing potential with them, hence inducing high unemployment and poverty levels due to higher levels of unskilled labour in an area. This may also lead to crime escalation and failure to attract investments, thus causing ultimate urban decay (Hwang & Woo, 2020, p. 3). This comprehensive view of existing occupations can aid the planning of community-led development in Bochabela. Community-led development capitalises on existing skills within neighbourhoods and creates localized economic activities. This benefits the community as planning becomes considerate, inclusive and collaborative (Colenbrander & Archer, 2016, p. 15).

#### *Distance to Work or CBD*

Most respondents (44.9%) indicated that it took less than 15 minutes to get to their workplaces or the CBD for various services. Of these respondents, 3.2% used walking as a mode of transport. The lowest share at 2.9% was of those participants who took over 60 minutes to get to their workplaces or CBD, of which 1.6% walked. The share of those who took 15-30 minutes and 50-60 minutes was respectively 30.9%, with 11.5% walking and 4.5% with 2.9% walking. Table 7.17 indicates the gender breakdown versus the time travelled.

**Table 7.17: Time it Takes to Work or CBD**

| DISTANCE TRAVELLED IN MINUTES | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
|-------------------------------|--------|------|-------|------------------|
| Less than 15                  | 77     | 64   | 141   | 44.9%            |
| 15-30                         | 45     | 52   | 97    | 30.9%            |
| 35-45                         | 8      | 15   | 23    | 7.3%             |
| 50-60                         | 5      | 9    | 14    | 4.5%             |
| Over 60                       | 3      | 6    | 9     | 2.9%             |
| Not specified                 | 15     | 15   | 30    | 9.6%             |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The distance travelled to work relates to the principle of housing location, which reasons that adequate housing is that which is in proximity to social amenities and economic opportunities (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 85; UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15; Satterthwaite, 2020, p. 4). The respondents spend little time and money travelling to work and socio-economic amenities as Bochabela is relatively close to industrial areas and the CBD. These curtailed costs not only increase residents' convenience but can also attract investors for enhancing neighbourhoods' economy (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 35) and (Tonkin, 2008, p. 79). This strength can be capitalized in creating opportunities for economic development in Bochabela.

#### *Monthly Household Income and Primary Means of Livelihoods*

The upkeep of housing should not compromise the procurement of other liberties and daily needs of dwellers (UN-Habitat, 2009, p. 4; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). Housing affordability and the neighbourhood's economic character are highly affected by household income (Tonkin, 2008, p. 75). As findings indicated, the respondents' monthly household income ranged from below R1,500 to over R13,000 (see Table 7.18). While most respondents were comfortable disclosing their financial information, 8.6% did not share it. 1% did not know the household financial information due to their household role. Most households' monthly income was R1,600 – R3,500, followed by those with less than R1,500. The least number of respondents indicated that their monthly household income was between R6,600 – R13,000, followed by those receiving above R13,000.

**Table 7.18: Monthly Household Income**

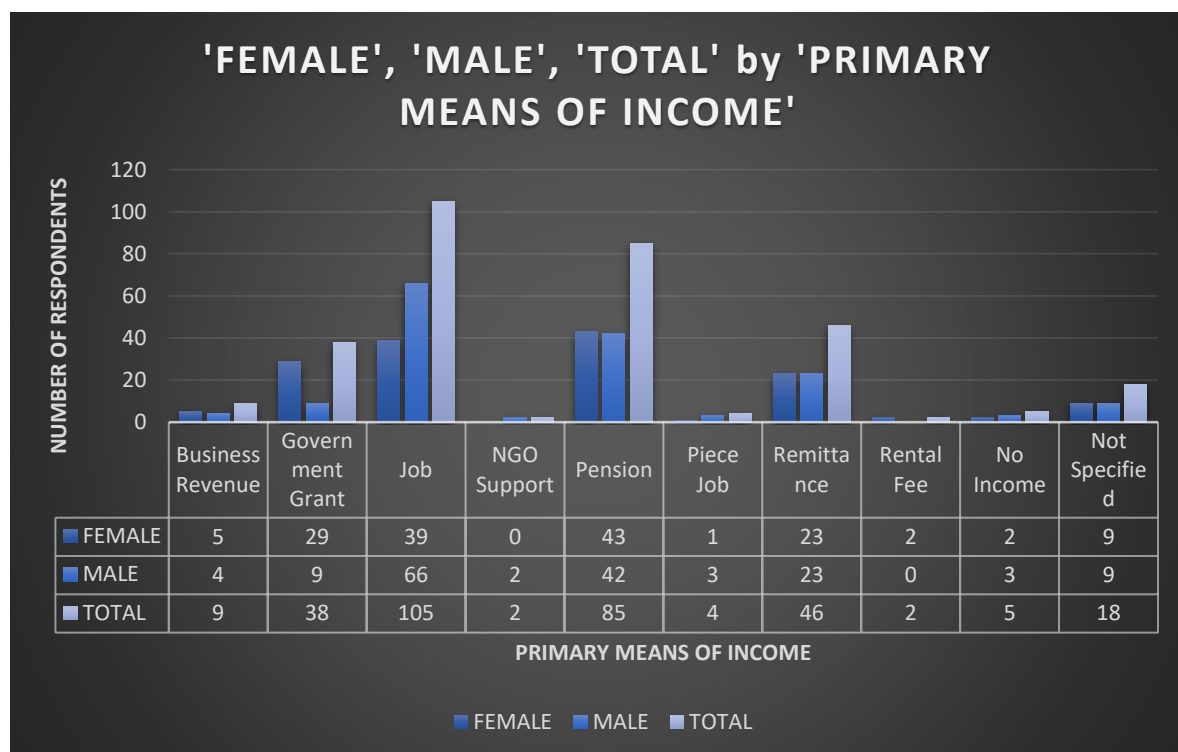
| <b>MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME<br/>ZAR</b> | <b>FEMALE</b> | <b>MALE</b> | <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>PERCENTAGE<br/>SHARE</b> |
|---|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Below R1,500                            | 35            | 22          | 57           | 18.2%                       |
| R1,600 – R3,500                         | 87            | 84          | 171          | 54.5%                       |
| R3,600 -R6, 500                         | 17            | 20          | 37           | 11.8%                       |
| R6,600 – R13, 000                       | 4             | 9           | 13           | 4.1%                        |
| Above R13, 00                           | 3             | 3           | 6            | 1.9%                        |
| Not Disclosed                           | 10            | 17          | 27           | 8.6%                        |
| Don't Know                              | 1             | 2           | 3            | 1%                          |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The data indicate that the respondents' means of livelihood included jobs, government grants (disability, child support, foster child and care dependency grants), pension funds, remittances, non-governmental support, and other sources. According to the respondents, other sources include house

rentals, school bursaries and product sales. Figure 7.39 highlights that wages from employment were the most common source of income (33.4%), closely followed by pensions at 27.1% for the elderly. Contrastingly, NGO support and rental fees were in the lowest rung at a similar share of 0.64%.

The primary means of income were compared to the monthly income per household in Table 19. The monthly household income was scaled based on all sources of income that the household had. This ranged from below R1, 500 to above R13, 000 as stipulated in Table 7.19. The data showed that jobs were the highest means of income in almost all monthly household income categories, for instance, in the <R1500, R3600-R6500, R6600-R1300 and <R13000 categories. Rental fees scored the lowest income source, with only a single monthly household income category featured, e.g., R1, 600-R3500.



**Figure 7.39: Primary Means of Income**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

**Table 7.19: Means of Income by Monthly Household Income**

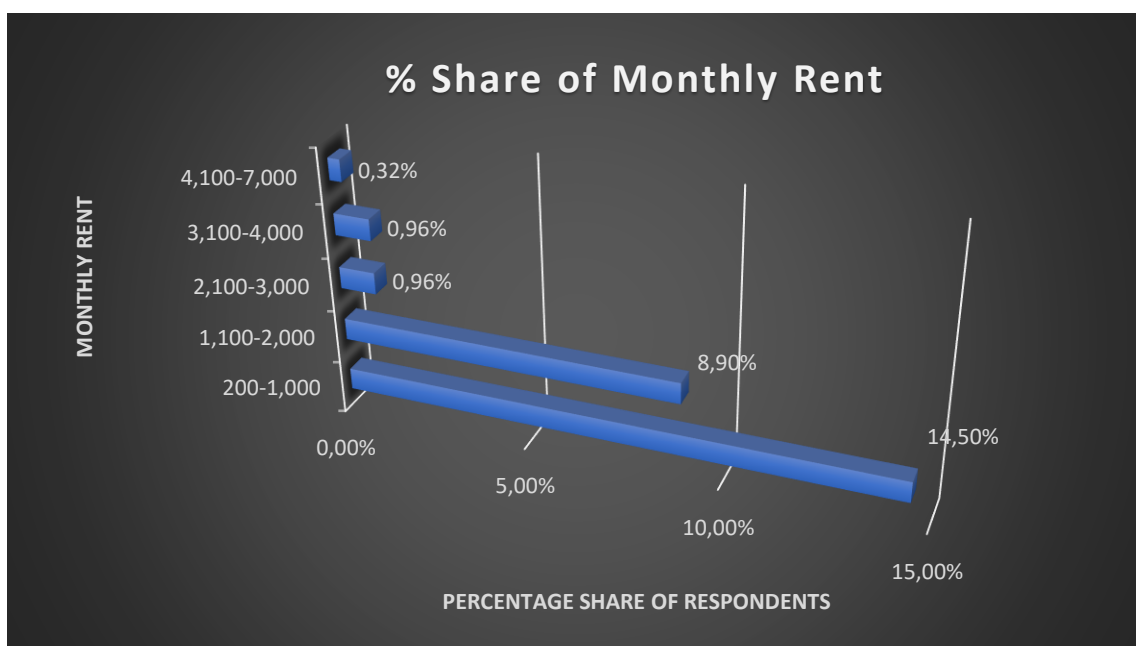
| Primary Means of Income | Monthly Household Income (number and % of respondents) |               |               |               |            |               |            | Total |
|-------------------------|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------|-------|
|                         | <R1,500  | R1,600–R3,500 | R3,600–R6,500 | R6,600–R13,00 | >R13,000   | Not Disclosed | Don't Know |       |
| Business Revenue        | 4<br>1.3%  | 1<br>0.32%    | 2<br>0.64%    | 2<br>0.64%    | 0          | 0             | 0          | 9     |
| Government Grant        | 9<br>2.9%  | 27<br>8.6%    | 1<br>0.32%    | 0             | 0          | 1<br>0.32%    | 0          | 38    |
| Job                     | 17<br>5.4%   | 49<br>15.6%   | 21<br>6.7%    | 9<br>2.9%     | 3<br>0.96% | 6<br>1.9%     | 0          | 105   |
| NGO Support             | 1<br>0.32%   | 1<br>0.32%    | 0             | 0             | 0          | 0             | 0          | 2     |
| Pension Fund            | 10<br>3.2%   | 59<br>18.8%   | 8<br>2.6%     | 0             | 2<br>0.64% | 5<br>1.6%     | 1<br>0.32% | 85    |
| Piece Job               | 2<br>0.64%   | 1<br>0.32%    | 1<br>0.32%    | 0             | 0          | 0             | 0          | 4     |
| Remittances             | 8<br>2.6%  | 26<br>8.3%    | 3<br>0.96%    | 2<br>0.64%    | 0          | 5<br>1.6%     | 2<br>0.64% | 46    |
| Rental Fee              | 0  | 2<br>0.64%    | 0             | 0             | 0          | 0             | 0          | 2     |
| No Income               | 1<br>0.32%   | 3<br>0.96%    | 0             | 0             | 1<br>0.32% | 0             | 0          | 5     |
| Not Specified           | 5<br>1.6%  | 2<br>0.64%    | 1<br>0.32%    | 0             | 0          | 10<br>3.2%    | 0          | 18    |
| Total Respondents       | 57   | 171           | 37            | 13            | 6          | 27            | 3          | 314   |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Irrespective of the residents' tenure, housing upkeep, rent and services costs should be below 30% of the household income (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 83). Considering the inflation after the COVID-19 pandemic, the cost of food has significantly increased. The National Agricultural Marketing Council (NAMC) reported that the cost of an urban food basket had increased from R1 073.86 in May 2022 to R1 094.51 in June 2022. It further stipulated that the monthly basic food price increase was 1.9% in 2022, while the annual increase was 11.9% between 2021 and 2022 (NAMC, 2022). Low-income earners tend to dwell in inadequate housing because they cannot afford better options (Lindamood, 1974, p. 23). Considering these findings, one can conclude that because most households have a monthly income below R3,500, it may be difficult for them to maintain their houses while adequately sustaining their livelihoods. Perhaps the spending within the township has also decreased, thus, the local economy was affected. Governments should consider such circumstances by establishing policies that avail affordable housing for those with low incomes. This could be in the form of housing subsidies, market and rent controls and eviction protection (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 28). It is good that MMM is currently developing low-income rental housing in Bochabela. There is an opportunity for a more collaborative model of affordable housing development in Bochabela, as further deliberated in the next section (7.4.3.5).

#### 7.4.3.5 Zooming into Housing Rentals

As previously indicated, housing rentals were another source of income for some families, whether as a sole, primary or secondary income. The minimum cost of rent per room ranged from R200 – R1, 000, while multiple rooms cost from R2000 upwards. Both depended on the size or number of rooms plus the level of dilapidation of the house. The highest rent charged ranged from R4100-R7000, which was generated through renting multiple rooms. This was, however, only one respondent. The most common range of monthly rent was R200-R1,000. This indicates that most tenants rented one room, which typically had electricity, a shared water tap and an outside toilet. The percentage share of rent is shown in Figure 7.40.



**Figure 7.40: Percentage Share of Monthly Rent**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Many of the leased houses were used by multiple occupants, with mostly single rooms within the houses as opposed to double rooms or the entire house leased out. This meant that those households earning the highest rent income were either leasing the highest number of rooms, charging the highest rent, or both. All respondents gaining income from rentals indicated that this was a stable and efficient source of income, but only if the tenants paid the rent on time. They highlighted here that sometimes they were forced to be lenient with the tenants as challenges such as harsh business season, loss of employment, family crises, ill-health, irresponsibility and most recently, the COVID-19 lockdown and aftereffects made it impossible for them to pay rent on time, if at all.

Social rental housing is generally accepted to improve affordability and quality (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 39). It is also acknowledged that private housing can be a profitable asset when leased. Bochabela should therefore seek opportunities to generate capital through private housing. This can boost the township's economic functioning and place desirability (Arku, 2006, p. 386). One such opportunity is presented by the private sector affordable rental, wherein homeowners or private developers establish small-scale rental accommodation to respond to the market demand. In South Africa, this approach is not sponsored by the government and, so far, is popular in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Enterprises like iBuild, Indlu and Bitprop avail funding and technical support for qualifying homeowners to develop affordable yet adequate backyard rentals (Cities Support Programme, 2021; Schirmer, et al., 2020). Such businesses can be approached to grant similar support in Bochabela, or similar ones established locally. This will require research on their applicability in Bochabela. An advantage is that because homeowners are already leasing their houses, they may be open to testing such initiatives. Moreover, this will improve the township's economy by improving business and employment prospects.

#### 7.4.4 Household Financial Decisions and Distribution of Poverty

##### *Number of Dependents*

Almost half of the respondents had between 3-5 dependents, while the lowest proportion was over 10 dependents. Moreover, the second highest share of respondents had 1-2 dependents. According to the findings, only 8.9% of the respondents had no dependents, and so many were supporting between 1 and 10 dependents. For respondents with many dependents and low income, it becomes difficult to maintain the homes alongside providing basic needs for dependents. This means that the prospect of housing habitability may not be achieved.

##### *Monthly savings*

Another aspect used to determine the distribution of poverty in Bochabela was how much each household saved per month. In this regard, most households had no monthly savings, followed by those saving between R50 - R1,000. The lowest shares were households saving between R6,000 - R15,000 per month. The primary reason for having no savings was that the households used all their monthly incomes for essential needs. A comprehensive insight into the monthly savings, gender breakdown and percentage share are given in Table 7.20.

**Table 7.20: Monthly Savings per Household**

| MONTHLY SAVING     | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
|--------------------|--------|------|-------|------------------|
| 0                  | 86     | 65   | 151   | 48.1%            |
| R50 – R1,000       | 43     | 59   | 102   | 32.5%            |
| R1,500 – R2,500    | 10     | 6    | 16    | 5.1%             |
| R3,000 – R5,000    | 0      | 3    | 3     | 1%               |
| R6,000 -R10,000    | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%            |
| R10,000 – R15, 000 | 0      | 2    | 2     | 0.64%            |
| Don't Know         | 4      | 4    | 8     | 2.6%             |
| Not Disclosed      | 10     | 20   | 30    | 9.6%             |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The highest share of the source of housing maintenance funds was savings. This means Bochabela's residents can innovatively use their savings to renovate their homes. Perhaps they can engage in community-led development, facilitating tenure security and LED through community campaigns. Such campaigns warrant housing acquisition for poor community members through cooperatives and savings systems (Sikor & Müller, 2009, p. 1310; Smith & Brown, 2019, p. 6). Moreover, community-led development directs financial assets to community organizations to ease the assistance of, and enhance collaboration between vulnerable urban dwellers, hence facilitating an inclusive urban scape (Colenbrander & Archer, 2016, p. 15). This is an opportunity for Bochabela but requires further research to understand how savings are used and what plans residents have for their houses.

#### *Household Investments*

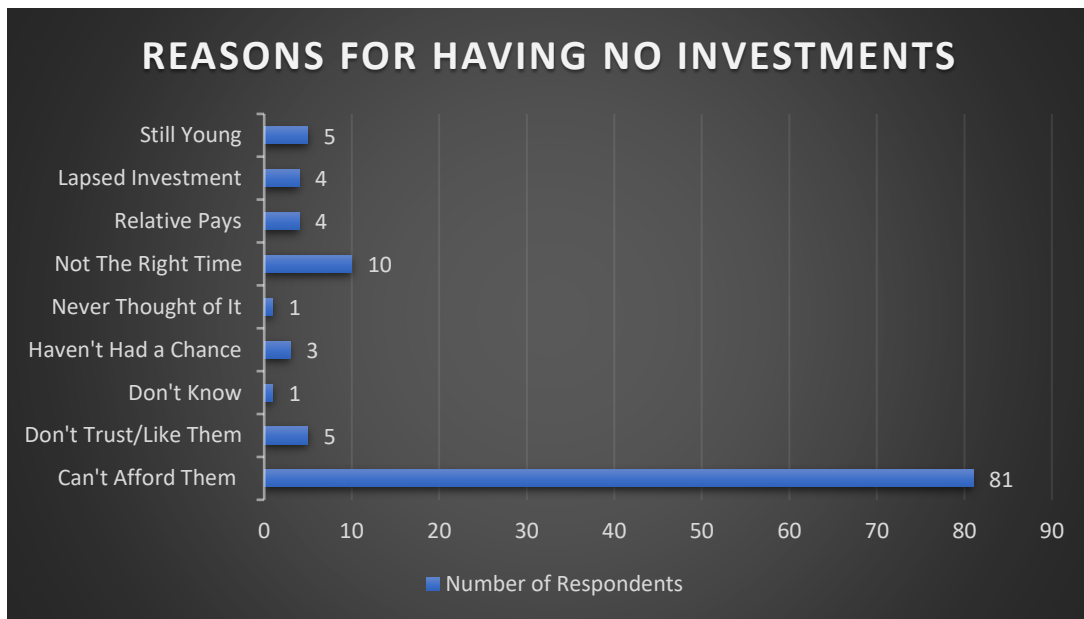
The findings reveal that most households did not have any form of investments (55.1%), yet (45.5%) did have. Property-related investments were very low at just 13%. The other types of investments identified included society membership, funeral cover and insurance. The highest share of respondents had funeral cover (24.2%), while the lowest was engaged in society membership (9.6%). Moreover, most males than females had some form of investments, probably due to the high rate of males being household heads, while most females had funeral cover. Table 7.21 summarizes these findings.

**Table 7.21: Investment Types**

| INVESTMENTS          | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
|----------------------|--------|------|-------|------------------|
| Yes                  | 67     | 76   | 143   | 45.5%            |
| No                   | 86     | 87   | 173   | 55.1%            |
| Don't Know           | 0      | 1    | 1     | 0.32%            |
| TYPES OF INVESTMENTS | FEMALE | MALE | TOTAL | PERCENTAGE SHARE |
| Society              | 15     | 15   | 30    | 9.6%             |
| Funeral Cover        | 39     | 37   | 76    | 24.2%            |
| Insurance            | 14     | 31   | 45    | 14.35            |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Several reasons were highlighted for not having any investments (Figure 7.41). The leading reason was that respondents could not afford investments, while the least likely reason was that it was something respondents never thought of. Other reasons given in order of likelihood were unsuitable timing, disliking/mistrusting investment plans, young age, paid for by a relative, and not having a chance to get one yet. However, most respondents engage in investments not related to housing improvements, capacity building and investment promotion typical of LED (Kamara, 2017, p. 98).

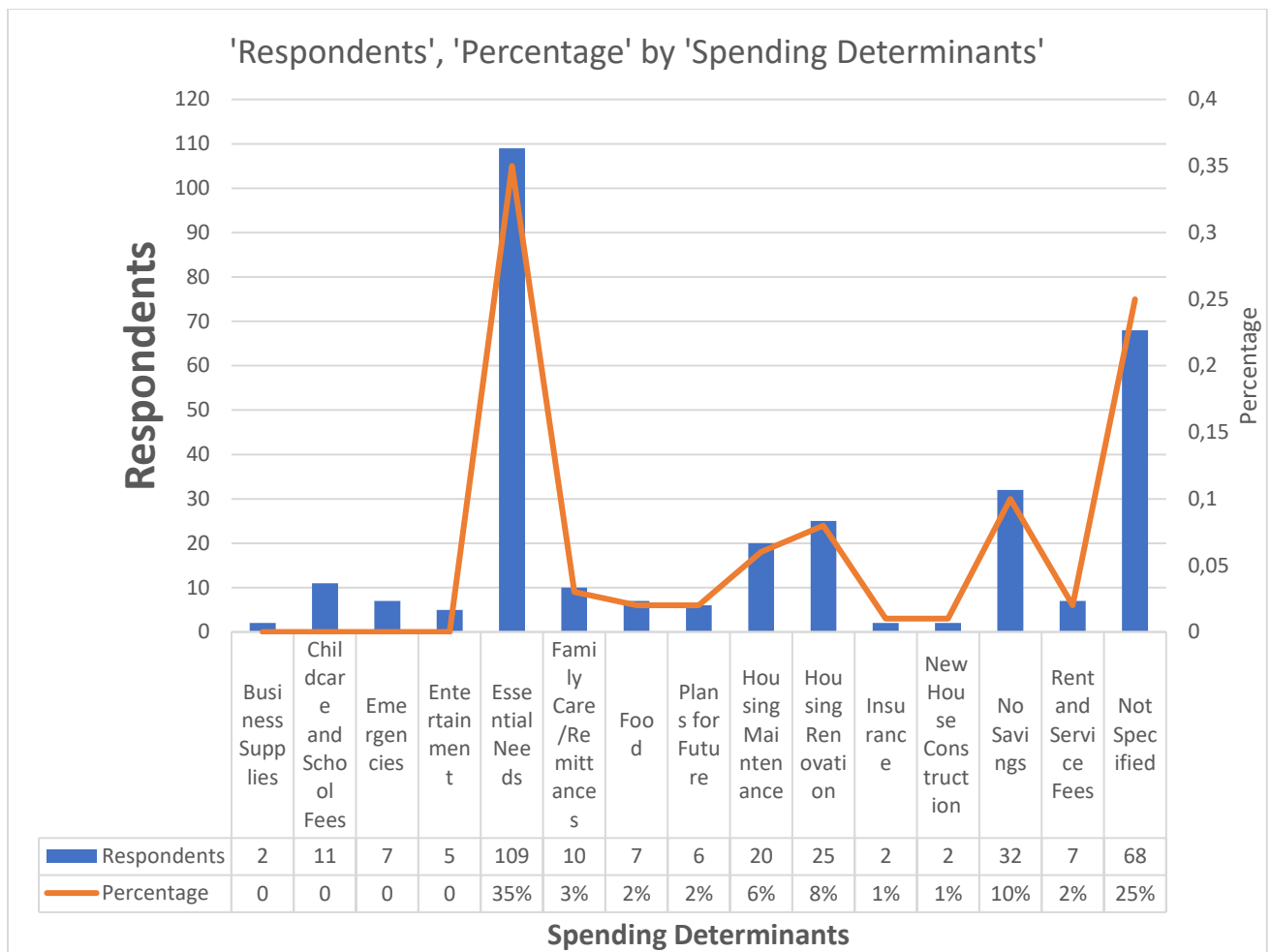


**Figure 7.41: Reasons for no Investments**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

#### *Factors that Influence Spending Decisions*

The primary determinant of spending decisions was essential needs for more respondents, while construction of new houses, insurance and business supplies fell on the lowest rank of influencing spending decisions. Housing maintenance and renovation appeared higher on the radar, though by a substantially lower share than essential needs. Still, some participants indicated that childcare, school fees and giving remittances were other primary determinants of their spending decisions. Figure 7.42 gives a comprehensive list of household spending determinants.



**Figure 7.42: Factors Determining Spending Decisions**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Cities are places of spending and consumption. However, the level and areas of spending are determined by income levels. Most of those residing in decayed neighbourhoods have low income, which hinders spending (Griffiths, 2010, p. 13; Paddison, 2010, p. 44). As portrayed in the findings, this constrained buying power limits the spending in areas regarded as non-essential. Based on their household income, most respondents chose to spend on essential needs instead of housing maintenance, renovation or construction. Such choices, while inevitable, lead to housing dilapidation and ultimate neighbourhood decay. Therefore, innovative ways for income generation to ensure improved and sustained spending towards housing improvement in Bochabela are necessary. This will be further deliberated in Chapter 8.

## 7.5 The Curious Case of COVID-19

The onset of the pandemic during this study was a research opportunity not to be missed. In this regard, though this was not an initial plan, some questions relating to COVID-19 were asked during data collection in alignment with housing adequacy and township economies. The following discussion categorizes the impacts as social, economic and direct for those affected. Under the combined social and economic implications, 1.3% (4) respondents did not know of any COVID-19 impacts, even at a personal level, and 27.4% (86) were not affected. Under the direct impacts, 89.9% (281) indicated that they were not affected, and 0.32% (1) did not know of any impacts. A comprehensive insight into these follows.

### 7.5.1 Social Implications

It was apparent in the data that some respondents (3) socially experienced the pandemic in good light as the lockdown enabled their families to finally spend some much-needed time together. Hence the uncertain time brought them closer. However, some (12) experienced multiple negative impacts such as retrenchment, lack of basic needs, disrupted social life and school attendance. Twelve respondents were affected by stalled school attendance as they worried that their children's education would be affected indefinitely. For those who still worked during the lockdown, this implication caused inconvenience as they had to find daytime care for their children. Other respondents (8) were unhappy with the social disruption caused by the lockdown, wherein they could not visit friends, family or entertainment spots as they preferred, while one indicated that a lack of efficient transport was inconvenient. Along similar sentiments, 25 were mostly affected by the restriction of movement.

Moreover, 18 respondents indicated that their mental well-being was affected negatively as they were confined, feared for their health and families and worried about how and when the pandemic would end. While 5 respondents experienced hardship during the onset of the pandemic but became fine after adjusting their lifestyles accordingly, 9 respondents experienced food shortages in their households as constrained movement hindered their usual income-generating activities. One of the respondents experienced theft as they had vacated their rental home during the lockdown. Though two respondents viewed the pandemic in a bad light, they admitted that the period also brought new knowledge that they would have otherwise not learned had they not personally experienced the lockdown.

### 7.5.2 Economic Impacts

One respondent highlighted the positive experience of the pandemic as having taught his family to spend more cautiously. Undesirably, data show that business activities in the township were affected on two fronts: closure (10) and dwindling revenue (6) due to reduced economic activities during the pandemic. Thirty-nine respondents lost their jobs, while 13 experienced salary cuts and 23 were mostly affected by restricted job opportunities. Moreover, one respondent had to reduce their tenants' rent which also decreased their monthly household income. 26 respondents admitted that due to constrained means of livelihood during the pandemic, they lacked all their basic needs, while 10 felt that the price inflation was at its worst and confined their spending. Lastly, 1 was faced with a lapsed policy due to a lack of income.

### 7.5.3 Direct COVID-19 Impacts

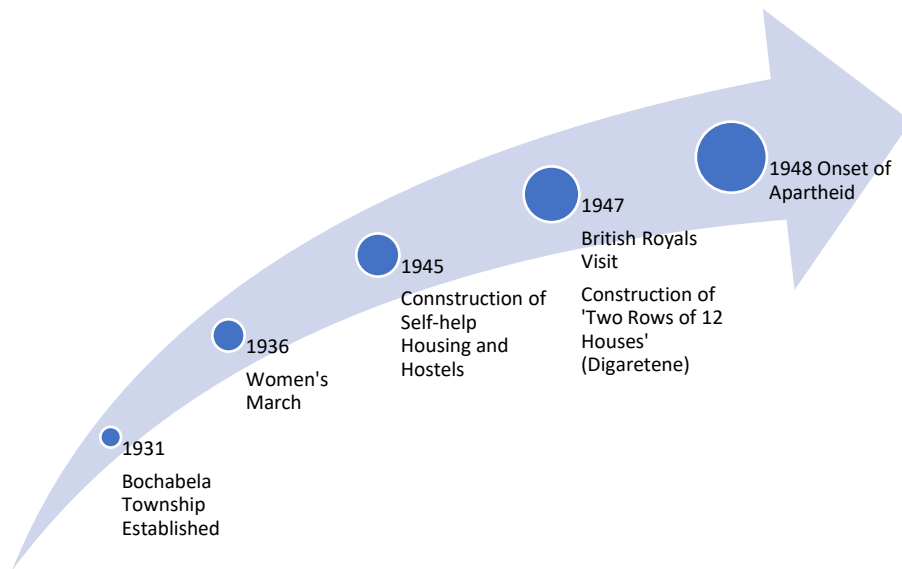
In terms of direct COVID-19 impacts, the highest share of respondents was those who lost one or more family members due to related sickness (3.5%), followed by those who contracted the virus and got very ill (2.2%). Next were respondents who were psychologically affected (1.9%) due to fear of contracting the virus or even losing their lives and so had to take medication to ease their anxiety. After that 1.3% of respondents were subjected to a family member contracting COVID-19. They indicated that the most difficult thing was taking care of their sick relatives as the nature of the disease required social distancing. Only 0.32% of respondents in the nursing profession indicated being overworked during this emergency.

## 7.6 The Heritage of Bochabela Township as an Opportunity for Tourism

The issue of tourism frequently surfaced during interviews with various informants. This sparked an interest and the apparent need to include this topic in the research due to its relevance or potential to contribute towards the township economy. Consequently, this sub-section highlights the findings from some interviews and the transact walk. This neighbourhood tour was guided by an MMM official and a resident who has lived in the township all his life (over 4 decades) and initiated a skills development community-based organization. Bochabela's tourism niche is rooted in its rich political history and liberation heritage. Hence the department of tourism facilitated routed township tours as part of its Kasi Tours initiative. As specified by one respondent:

“It is only now that the Minister Kubai, [of Human Settlements since 2021 and of Tourism prior], designed and launched the township tourism route, which saw the opening of Kayla-K. In 2010, the brown tourism signage boards were installed in Bochabela”

This indicates that the tourism potential has not been thoroughly explored, and only recently was there any government-related initiative to support the township’s economy through tourism. The effort is, however, geared towards the right direction and may open ways to instigate future culture-led revitalisation. It is, therefore, useful to draw attention to the heritage narratives of Bochabela, some of which are summarized in Figure 7.43 as a timeline.



**Figure 7.43: Bochabela Township Pre-Apartheid Timeline**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Bochabela was demarcated as a Tswana and Sotho township in 1931, and five years later, in 1936, the Women’s March occurred here, though not well known nor documented, while *“the 1930 and 1956 ones happened elsewhere.”* During the height of apartheid, many liberation meetings were held close to what is now known as Paradise Hall, while the African National Congress (ANC) previewed the Freedom Charter at Klein Magasa Hall, another spot for secret meetings which is now a heritage monument. Streets in Bochabela also possess a heritage significance as they depict names of historical Basotho and Barolong chiefs and liberation activists, while church buildings such as the Anglican, Methodist and Catholic churches form an important part of the township tour route. The Catholic precinct has a Youth Martyr Monument at St Bernard High School. However, tourists tend not to be impressed with the location and small size of the monument. The common request is to improve the monument and make it grand like the one in Soweto. The mention of Soweto signifies that, as highlighted in the literature (see Chipkin, 2013, pp. 8, 10; Gregory & Rogerson, 2018(b), p. 46; Nkosi, 2019, p. 134), this township has led the way for local revitalisation that can be replicated by other townships such as Bochabela.



**Figure 7.44: The Youth Martyr Monument**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Typical of the old townships, Bochabela has two dormitory-style residential precincts, White City (commonly known as Hostel 1) and Silver City, which were established around 1945-1950. The Beer Hall at Hostel 1 (now known as Bochabela Maddison Square Garden) used to be the entertainment spot for migrant workers and Bochabela residents, where some alcohol was illegally produced as the legislation of that time prohibited black Africans from trading in or consuming European produced alcohol. There is currently a social housing development opposite Silver City, giving the area a facelift. As highlighted in the MMM IDP, this development is meant to improve access to affordable rental housing in the neighbourhood, which is a dire need currently. With this improvement, there will likely be an influx of more transient migrants into the neighbourhood.



**Figure 7.45: The White City Beer Hall and Hostel 1**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

In 1947, when King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visited Bloemfontein, two rows of twelve houses (24 houses) were constructed to conceal the slum huts and dormitories and as assembly points during the royal tour of the township. The locals named these houses ‘*Digaretene*’ (curtains) due to their purpose. *“The surveyor general, national archives and national museum have more information about these cottages, which still exist, and many in their almost original state as they had low-level maintenance and no major renovations. To this day, Bochabela is said to still have a connection with the British Royal family, which could be favourable for the township as not many places in Africa have the same courtesy”* (Respondent, 2021). These 24 houses pose a rich heritage for the township. In the era of Airbnb, they can be rehabilitated for owners to offer cheap lodging for tourists as means of income generation. This aligns with Jane Jacob’s articulation of why cities need old buildings.

### Box 10: 'Two Rows of Twelve Houses'



Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Another historically significant place in the township is Bochabela Boxing Arena. During apartheid, it was one of the few areas in which the black community in Bloemfontein entertained itself. Many boxing tournaments were held here, and the youth were encouraged to participate. Such tournaments united the community amid a difficult political landscape. The Boxing Arena was recently revamped in 2019, wherein security fencing, ablution blocks and an amphitheatre were added. It also has full-time security personnel to guard it against vandalism. The municipality is struggling to develop it further by adding shading, although this is in the pipeline due to a lack of funding. The Boxing Arena is seemingly underutilized, perhaps due to the recent pandemic, yet it is another opportunity through which the township's economy can be supported or improved. For example, regularly hosting scheduled events here for various interests and age groups in line with other tourism activities in the township or Bloemfontein.



**Figure 7.46: The Boxing Arena**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Bochabela has a hospitality route boasting entertainment spots such as Kayla-K, The Zone and Street Corner Braai, all of which form part of the township experience. The Zone is part of a heritage monument, and the tourism department is meant to convert it into a Tourism Centre. However, due to the negative connotation of the building related to past events, this plan was in vain. During a political uprising just after democracy, the community stormed into a supermarket owned by Mr Lebogang, operating from the building that is now The Zone. In self-defence, the owner shot and killed one of the political activists. The building was then neglected and eventually dilapidated. In 2017 it was revamped into the popular restaurant and carwash it is today. Some MACUFE activities (discussed in Chapter 5) and popular artists like Zahara and Makhadzi, have been hosted here.

Other economic activities in the township include barber shops, private medical clinics (dentist, surgeon, general practitioner, clinic), a filling station (which is at the boundary of Bochabela and Phahameng), mechanics, tools hire, salons, spaza shops, aluminium and glass works. In 2021, a media team from UK and Germany came to experience township tourism and publish news articles about places such as Bochabela back in their home countries as a form of city marketing. This indicates that the township has the potential to grow in the tourism industry and attract even global patrons.

There is a potential benefit in rehabilitating the housing and economy of Bochabela townships for tourists and perhaps investment attraction, whose spillovers will improve the residents' livelihoods. A

record of privately owned heritage housing<sup>14</sup> should be created for Bochabela to identify opportunities and facilitate development in this sector. Furthermore, due to the lack of adequate maintenance, the owners of dilapidated houses should be guided into active participation in preservation initiatives. This should aid conservation of historical and cultural value and warrant social, economic and environmental sustainability. One of the ways this could be achieved is by developing township-specific heritage resource guidelines for township rehabilitation. Location and significance are highly regarded in managing heritage sites and addressing their problems. Current legislation fundamentally disregards township economies (Scheba & Turok, 2019). Architectural controls and building plans approval should therefore be cognizant of the nature of townships to avoid further marginalisation and to warrant sustainability (economic, environmental, social). In Bochabela, for example, the '2 Rows of 12 Houses' can be revitalised and converted into income-generating properties such as museums and Airbnb, facilitating a collaborative economy in the township.

## 7.7 Conclusion

The study identified leading socio-economic drivers of housing adequacy in Bochabela: household income, transient residents, household financial decisions, poverty, and perceptions about opportunities. It further found that most respondents had a high school education, and the lowest share attained tertiary qualifications. This determined the economy of the township and the individual decisions towards housing investments. While the formal employment rate was higher than that of informal and self-employment, most respondents were seeking employment or retired. Economic inactivity was, therefore, lower than economic activity in the sample. Understandably, this contributes to the adequacy of housing in the township, as respondents have insufficient money to answer to the principles of housing adequacy that are in their control. In terms of planning implications, many respondents highlighted that the combined requirement for housing upkeep and the services like water and electricity was too expensive. Overall, the service delivery of Bochabela was deemed satisfactory though garbage disposal was not undertaken efficiently. This caused environmental pollution posed health threats and affected the neighbourhood's character. The lived experiences of respondents were highlighted in the qualitative data, while the quantitative data provided an overview of the township demographics. This chapter gives way to a comprehensive analysis of respondents' perceptions towards Bochabela's housing adequacy and existing collaborative practices.

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<sup>14</sup> According to the National Resources Management Act 1999, houses older than 60 years are heritage resources

## CHAPTER 8: THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF HOUSING ADEQUACY IN BOCHABELA TOWNSHIP

“Privacy” (Respondent#49, 2021), and “...situated in a good location with all basic services and must be a good structure with enough rooms” (Respondent#181, 2021).

### 8.1 Introduction

The concept of housing adequacy might seem simple when viewed as just a roof over one’s head. Chapter 2 showed that housing adequacy depends not only on the ability of houses to provide functional comfort for their inhabitants; it also allows sustainable livelihoods that contribute to the local economy. Chapter 3 demonstrated how regulations in South Africa influenced housing adequacy. Chapter 4 gave an understanding of drivers and the effects of housing inadequacy. And Chapter 5 showed that collaborative practices are critical to ensuring housing adequacy. This chapter presents, analyses and discusses the main findings (Box 11) based on the research objective: assessing the degree of housing adequacy in Bochabela by answering how housing dilapidation had manifested. The study also looked at the condition of infrastructure and services in Bochabela. The findings were gained from the household survey and in-depth interviews. The houses were purposely selected for their dilapidated condition, with most having a distinct design (see Chapter 6).

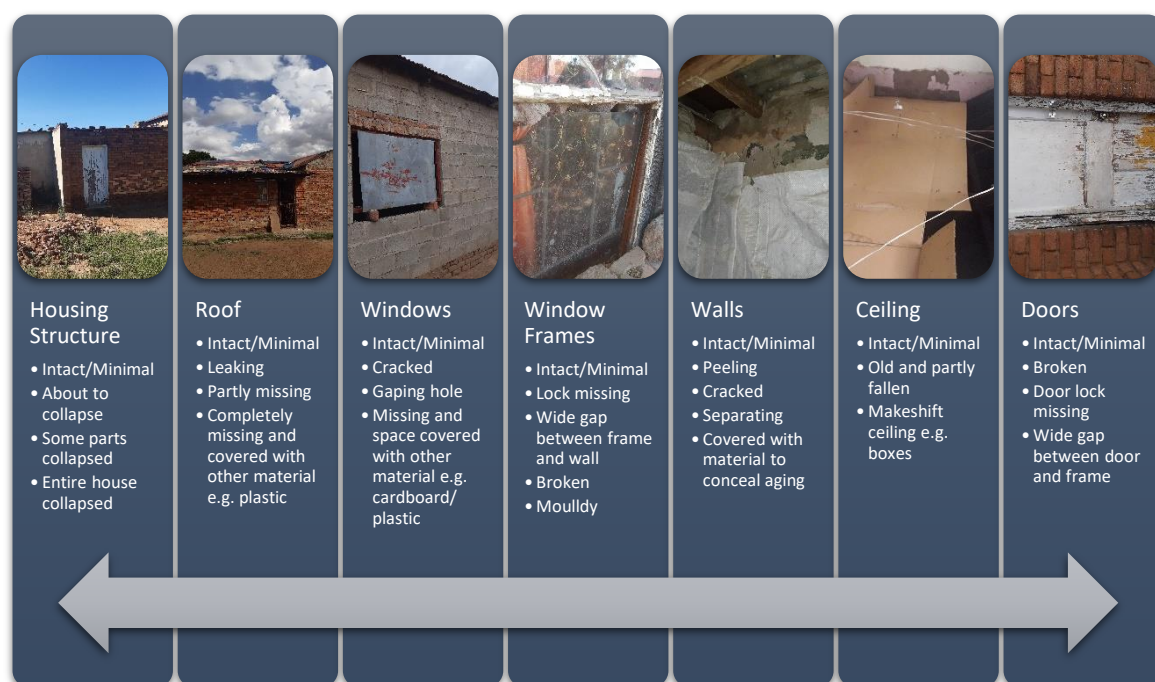
Scales for habitability, services condition, services change, infrastructure condition, and infrastructure change were created as these were housing aspects directly related to dilapidation. Each scale is first analysed independently, then correlated with each other, and some socioeconomic drivers are discussed in Chapter 7. The housing aspects were treated as dependent variables and the socioeconomic drivers as independent variables. Correlation plots were created between the dependent variables. Because infrastructure and services were comprehensively reviewed in Chapter 7, they will be discussed only in relation to habitability. Other findings show the importance of accessibility, affordability and tenure security to housing adequacy in Bochabela.

#### Box 11: Summary of Housing Adequacy Findings

|   |
|---|
| <p><b>Accessibility:</b> Houses were inherited, government-provisioned or bought.</p> <p><b>Affordability:</b> Low household-income restricted housing maintenance and restoration</p> <p><b>Tenure Security:</b> Types included ownership (majority), cooperative, private and public rentals. Secured by formal title deeds, wills, informal purchases and verbal rental agreements</p> <p><b>Habitability:</b> Substantial damage requiring conservation, rehabilitation or demolition. The main reasons for dilapidation are natural lifecycle, lack of funds, and tenant negligence.</p> <p><b>Location:</b> Bochabela is optimally located (close to the CBD, industrial zones, services, and facilities)</p> <p><b>Cultural Aspects:</b> Various ethnic groups (including immigrants) live in Bochabela. Locals felt that this triggered loss of locally owned businesses, scarcity of jobs and increased crime.</p> <p><b>Services and Infrastructure:</b> Condition generally bad, with no change in the past 10 years</p> |
|---|

## 8.2 Habitability

Habitable housing has a durable structure and sufficient space to provide comfort and protection from natural and structural hazards (Aigbavboa & Thwala, 2013, p. 21; Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 85; Reber, et al., 2013; Sanderford, 2015, p. 1098). Thus, habitability is essentially characterised by solid walls, intact windows and doors, firm roofing, and clean surroundings. With the first objective aiming to assess the nature of housing adequacy in Bochabela, it was crucial to profile the houses' structural and physical attributes. Figure 8.47 stipulates the different types of structural damage considered in articulating the level of housing adequacy in Bochabela.



**Figure 8.47: Specific Types of Damage to the House Elements**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 8.2.1 House Structures and Roofing

The level of collapsing determined the damage to housing structures. For example, some parts collapsed, or the entire house collapsed. Leaking, partly missing or makeshift roofing (e.g., covered with other material) were some determinants of roofing damage. Some roofs were partly collapsed, blown away or covered with tents or plastic sheeting (Box 12). Leaking roofs and collapsed parts of homes were the most common challenges, which decreased the number of usable rooms. *“Already three rooms have collapsed. One room remains, but I fear that if I stay here, it might collapse on me. I cannot afford to do anything about it.”* The worry about safety due to the precarious structures,

especially during storms, pushed some respondents to engage in non-financial coping strategies as most indicated that they could not afford to fix, or any fixing done made little impact. One indicated that “Four rooms have completely collapsed, and I am left with one in a *very bad state*. You see I covered that wall over there with a tent.” Another said: “I don’t think there is much really left to do. I have already put basins on the floor for when it rains. I am not scared that the house will fall on me. But my wife is afraid to sleep here. As a man, I should take care of my house.”

### Box 12: House Structure and Roofing



Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

#### 8.2.2 Indoor Walls and Ceilings

The condition of indoor walls was defined based on peeling, cracking, separating or covering with material, e.g., paper, to conceal mould, stains and ageing. Ceilings were specified based on whether they were old and stained, partly fallen, or completely collapsed and replaced with makeshift ceilings such as cardboard. Many respondents complained that the cracked walls and collapsed ceiling (Box 13) made the houses too hot in summer and extremely cold in winter. Their houses were also shaken by strong winds and storms, which scared them because many had mud walls, and some had experienced their ceilings collapsing. For example: “I was lying in bed the other day feeling sick. The

*ceiling fell on top of me, and I could not even shout for help. Now I am always afraid to be in this house. My brother found me like that when he came. Who knows what will happen next time?"* Some who could not afford plastering and painting covered their mud walls with newspapers or cloth to improve the aesthetics of rooms. Some respondents were satisfied with their homes regardless of the poor state of walls because it was *"...better than staying in shacks. There [in the informal settlements] is much worse than here. At least here we have brick walls."*

**Box 13: Walls and Ceiling**



Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 8.2.3 Windows and Doors

Gaping holes, cracks, and shattered or missing glass guided an understanding of the condition of windows. For window frames, this was determined by gaps between the frame and wall, brokenness and mould. Broken doors and locks and wide gaps between door and frame determined the condition of doors. These are captured in Box 14. Some windows were left with gaping holes where they had shattered or covered with cardboard, while some had been replaced. Some doors could not close properly, so zinc or cardboard sheets were used for extra security. There was consensus that broken windows and doors increased the chances of break-ins and many respondents showed concern for their security and safety. One said: *“They broke into my house. It was very easy for them because it is easy to break in when the windows and doors are like this [broken].”* Others knew of neighbours who were victims of break-ins. *“He also has broken windows through which criminals enter.”* Some women were especially concerned about the possibility of being raped or murdered.

**Box 14: Windows and Doors**

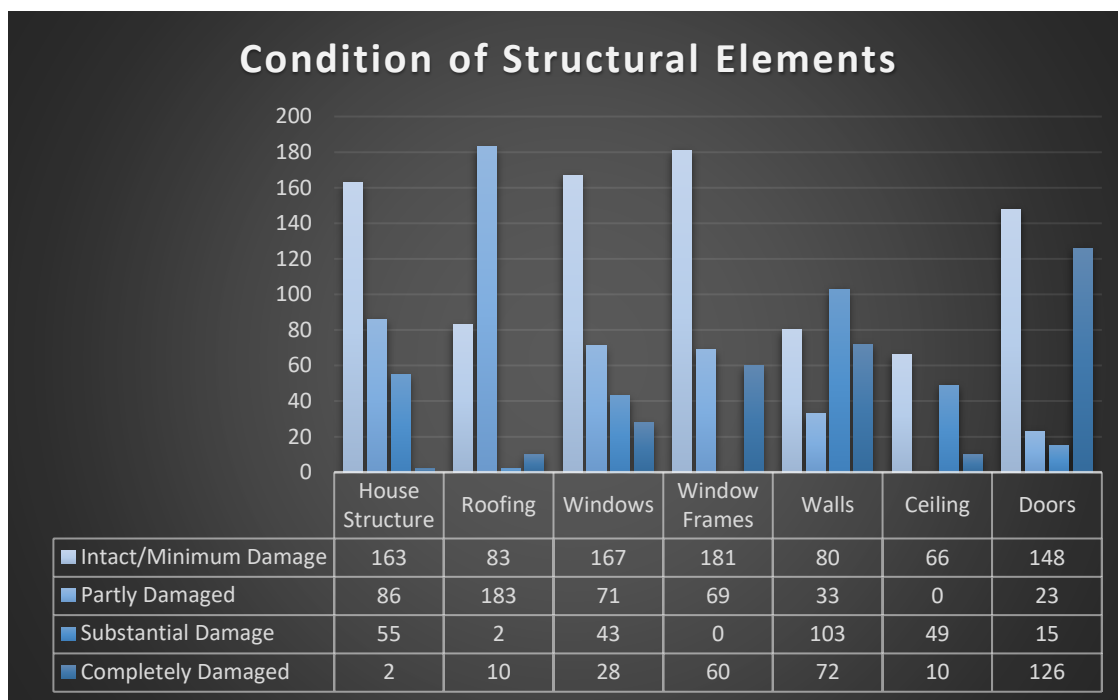




Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

A notable number of were structurally functional with varying degrees of damage. Figure 8.2 summarises the condition of structural elements as determined using a researcher-filled checklist. The findings show that most houses were regarded to have intact window frames (57.6%), windows (53.1%), house structure (51.9%) and doors (47.1%). On the lowest ranks under this category were ceiling (21%), walls (25.4%) and roofing (26.4%), indicating higher levels of damage. The highest share of partial damage was in the roofing at 58.2%, and the lowest was doors (7.3%), while there were no instances of the partly damaged ceiling. The highest percentage of substantial damage was identified in walls at 51% and the lowest in roofing (0.64%), while no window frames were substantially damaged. Doors were the highest (40.1%) in complete damage, and house structure was the lowest at 0.64%. Further data articulate house classifications that did not necessarily indicate the level of damage. For one, 66.9% of the profiled houses had corrugated iron roofing, and only 0.96% had tiles. The rest had other types, such as asbestos and PVC/vinyl material. In addition, 60% of the houses had no ceiling, 30% had plastered walls, 18.2% had painted walls, and 17.2% had bare walls. The average opinion about combined habitability elements rendered most houses partially or substantially damaged (Figure 8.45).

Despite many houses being structurally sound, their dilapidation made them inadequate as they triggered disasters, poor health, and crime, which hindered the right to life. The findings support the assertion that Decrepit buildings, high unemployment, poverty, crime, and poor public health characterise south African townships and inner-city neighbourhoods. (Goldberg, 2003, p. 5). Bochabela thus needs housing rehabilitation that encapsulates durable and adaptable designs. This will reduce the resource impact, improve residents' well-being and increase the value of housing (Naicker, et al., 2017); (Reber, et al., 2013); (Rydin et al., 2012, p. 2098): (Sanderford, 2015, p. 1098) and (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 20).



**Figure 8.48: The Structural Condition of Houses**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

#### Habitability in Relation to Some Socioeconomic Drivers

Some socioeconomic dynamics of owners, such as the reason for coming to Bloemfontein, employment status, household income, tenancy, age, perception of a good place and community unity, affected the house conditions. Scales for habitability, infrastructure, services, infrastructure change, infrastructure condition, service condition, and service change were created to assess the relationships between housing adequacy and some socioeconomic drivers discussed in Chapter 7 (Figure 8.46). Table 8.1 shows the process that guided the creation of the scales where 1 is the least favourable and 5 is the most favourable, and  $\alpha$  (coefficient alpha) is the reliability measure. The infrastructure change scale was not reliable.

**Table 8.1: Development of the Housing Adequacy Scales**

| Variable                                   | Questions   | Elements  | Answers   |
|--|---|---|---|
| Habitability<br>$\alpha = 0.7900741$       | What is the level of damage on the following elements | House structure and roofing<br>Ceiling and walls<br>Windows, frames and doors | 1. complete damage<br>2. substantial damage<br>3. partly damaged<br>4. intact/minimum |
| Services Condition<br>$\alpha = 0.7135279$ | What is the condition of these services               | Electricity, water, sewerage, stormwater drainage, garbage disposal           | 1. very bad<br>2. bad<br>3. good<br>4. very good                                      |

|  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| Services Change<br>$\alpha = 0.934068$           | What was the 10-year change in these services      | Electricity, water, sewerage, stormwater drainage, garbage disposal  | 1. don't know<br>2. got worse<br>3. no change<br>4. got better           |
| Infrastructure Condition<br>$\alpha = 0.8576174$ | What is the condition of the infrastructure        | Creches, primary and high schools, tertiary institution, health centre, recreational facility, police station, administrative facility, community hall, sports centre, roads | 1. no infrastructure<br>2. very bad<br>3. bad<br>4. good<br>5. very good |
| Infrastructure Change<br>$\alpha = 0.5287384$    | What was the 10-year change in this infrastructure | Creches, primary and high schools, tertiary institution, health centre, recreational facility, police station, administrative facility, community hall, sports centre, roads | 1. don't know<br>2. got worse<br>3. no change<br>4. got better           |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Figure 8.49 illustrates that there was a wide range of opinions concerning habitability and services change, while infrastructure change had the least opinions from the respondents. These are discussed previously in this section and Chapter 7. On average, respondents rated their homes as partially or substantially damaged, infrastructure very bad or bad, and services bad or good. Respondents also generally felt that the infrastructure had not changed in the past ten years, while the services had worsened or remained the same.

| variable                 | n   | mean  | sd    | min   | Q1    | median | Q3    | max   |
|--------------------------|-----|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
| Habitability             | 323 | 2.497 | 0.757 | 0.750 | 1.875 | 2.500  | 3.125 | 3.875 |
| Infrastructure           | 323 | 2.854 | 0.401 | 1.833 | 2.542 | 2.875  | 3.125 | 4.125 |
| Services                 | 323 | 2.610 | 0.485 | 1.462 | 2.231 | 2.615  | 2.923 | 4.077 |
| Infrastructure_change    | 323 | 3.199 | 0.451 | 1.917 | 2.917 | 3.167  | 3.500 | 4.500 |
| Infrastructure_condition | 323 | 2.509 | 0.583 | 1.500 | 2.000 | 2.583  | 2.917 | 3.917 |
| Service_condition        | 323 | 2.718 | 0.562 | 1.286 | 2.286 | 2.714  | 3.000 | 4.143 |
| Service_change           | 323 | 2.485 | 0.920 | 1.000 | 1.500 | 2.833  | 3.167 | 4.000 |

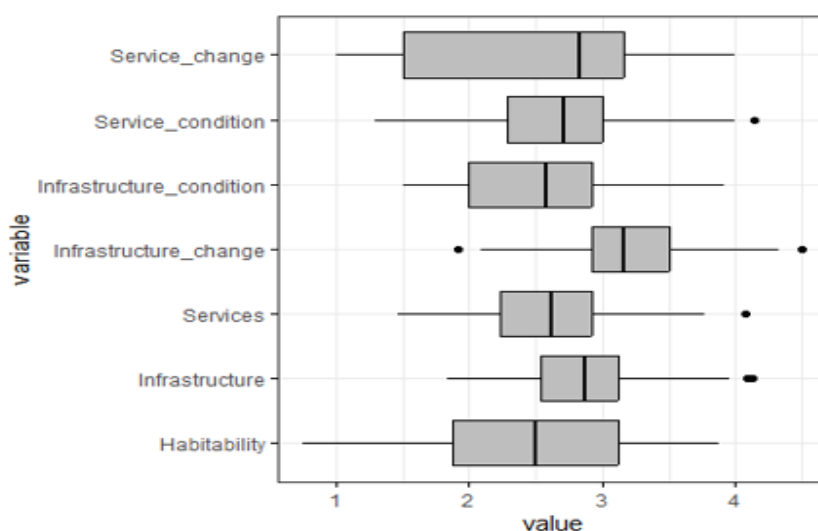
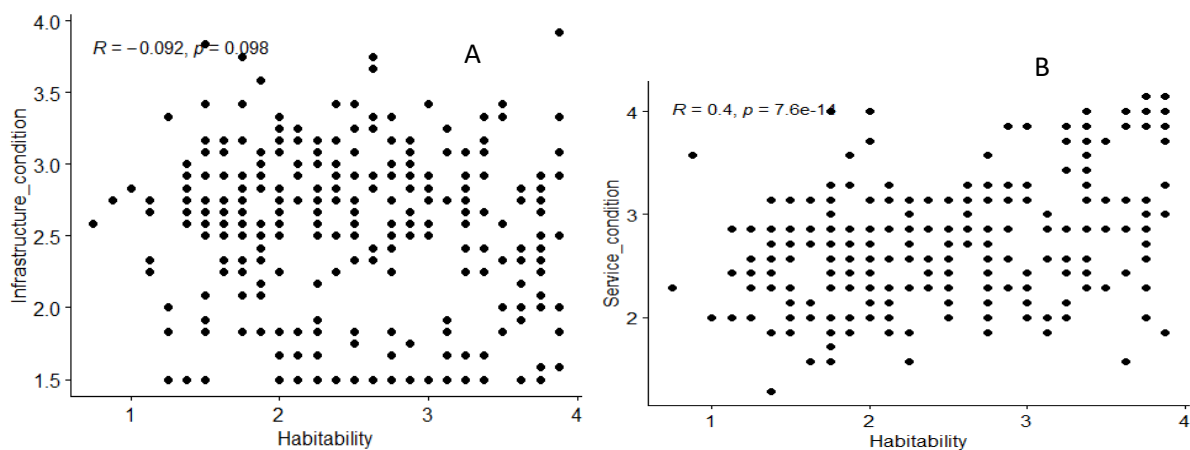


Figure 8.49: Housing Adequacy Scales

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

According to the findings, a change in the condition of services did not result in a change in the condition of infrastructure and vice versa. Thus, the relationship between the condition of infrastructure and services was almost non-existent, meaning that the two variables are independent (Figure 8.50). According to the scatter plot in Figure 8.50(A), there was almost no correlation between infrastructure condition and habitability. Therefore, a high occurrence of one variable did not necessarily mean the same for another. Figure 8.50(B) shows a moderate relationship between habitability and services condition. So, having many respondents complaining about the habitability of their houses did not result in high incidences of negative feedback about services or infrastructure. Thus, some residents of severely damaged houses perceived infrastructure and services favourably. The reason for this may be that while the government maintained the infrastructure and initially developed on-site services, the owners were responsible for the upkeep of some services and housing maintenance, which they could not afford.



**Figure 8.50: Linking Habitability to Infrastructure and Services**

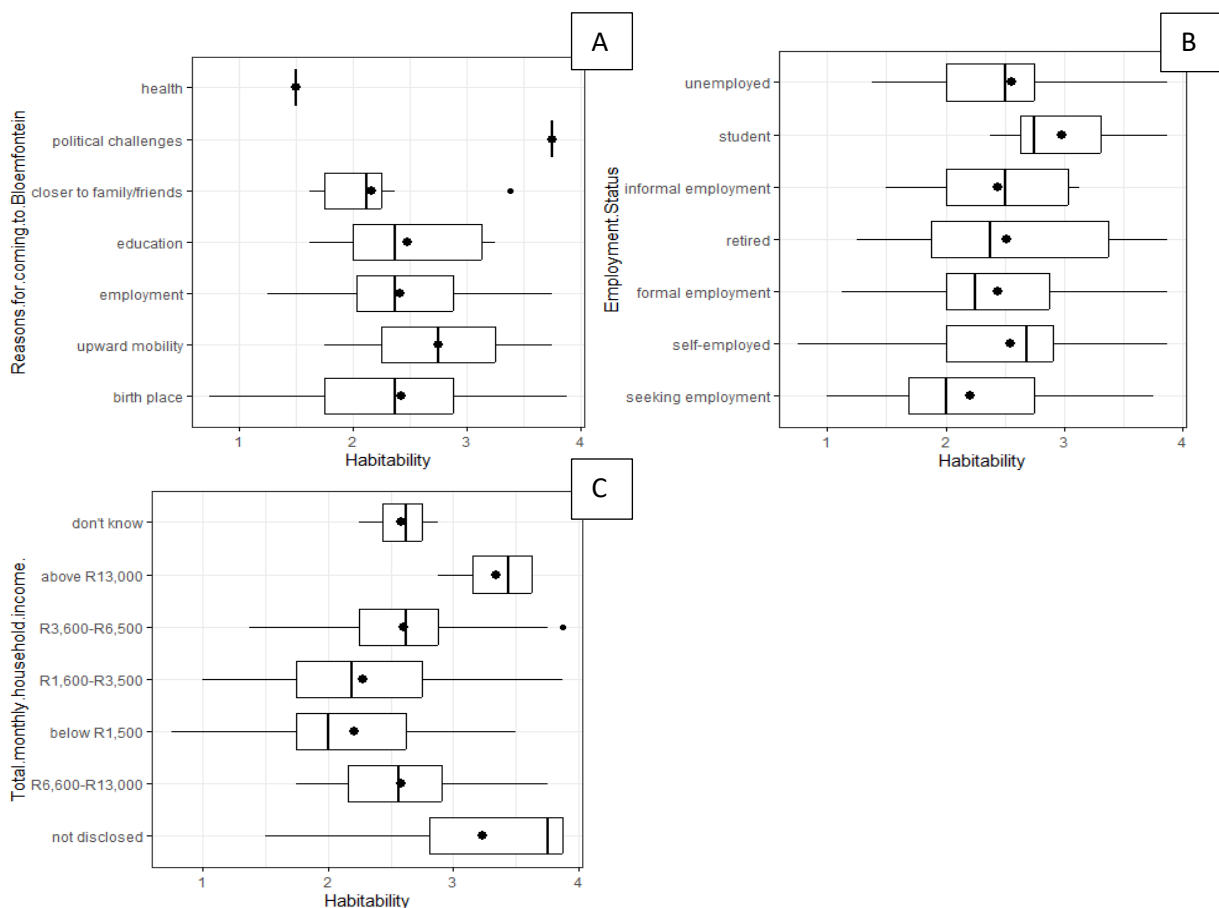
Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Most respondents were born in Bloemfontein and stayed in Bochabela because they owned property there or moved to be close to family and friends. The reason many came to Bloemfontein was employment. Many of these were leasing houses. Figure 8.51(A) shows that most respondents who were in Bloemfontein for employment, education and upward mobility were more satisfied with the habitability of their houses than those born in Bloemfontein or came due to health reasons.

Figure 8.51(B) illustrates that most respondents who expressed less inadequacy of their homes, and thus a higher likelihood of habitability, were students without jobs, followed by people in informal

employment. Those in part-time employment and seeking employment mostly indicated higher inadequacy of their houses and thus less likelihood of habitability.

Figure 8.51(C) illustrates that houses occupied by households with the lowest income levels (mostly those below ZAR1500, followed by those earning up to ZAR3500) showed significant substantial damage. Most of the respondents here occasionally struggled to afford essentials or had just enough money for essentials respectively. They were also mostly retired, seeking employment or formally employed. While the highest share of these respondents was born in Bloemfontein, many also came for employment and education. Hence, they rent their homes. Relatedly, the more dilapidated the house, the lower the rent was, further restricting fixing. Those who had not disclosed their household income and those earning above ZAR13,000 showed the highest instances of residing in partially damaged houses hence a higher likelihood of housing habitability.



**Figure 8.51: A Variance of Housing Habitability Against Socio-Economic Dynamics**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

In comparing the age of respondents and house data, results indicated that the highest number of houses owned by the elderly were partially damaged, with the greatest damage to ceilings, roofing and walls, respectively. Most elderly were deeply attached to their houses and therefore cared for the upkeep. However, some found it difficult to tend their homes because they felt "...too old to do anything about it," counted on their children to take over or encountered problems with people they hired. For example: *"I hired men to fix my roof and that collapsed wall that side. You saw it. They left it like that after I paid them. The roof is still leaking. I don't know how they fixed it. I am still waiting, and many months have passed."*

There was an apparent variance in the maintenance of these houses in relation to whether the inhabitant was the owner or tenant. The data relating to the occupancy type and housing profile reveals that the highest number of houses showing extreme levels of dilapidation were those leased. Most tenants felt this was because *"the owner does not care. He is not fixing anything"* and *"sometimes we replace our roof, yet we pay rent."* They also felt it was not their responsibility, so they *"...cannot fix anything in this house because it is not my property."* There was a general sense of poor communication from the owners regarding the failure to maintain the houses, which created bitterness among tenants and even some neighbouring owners. One owner said: *"Most of them leave their old houses and do not care. It is only us poor that are left behind."*

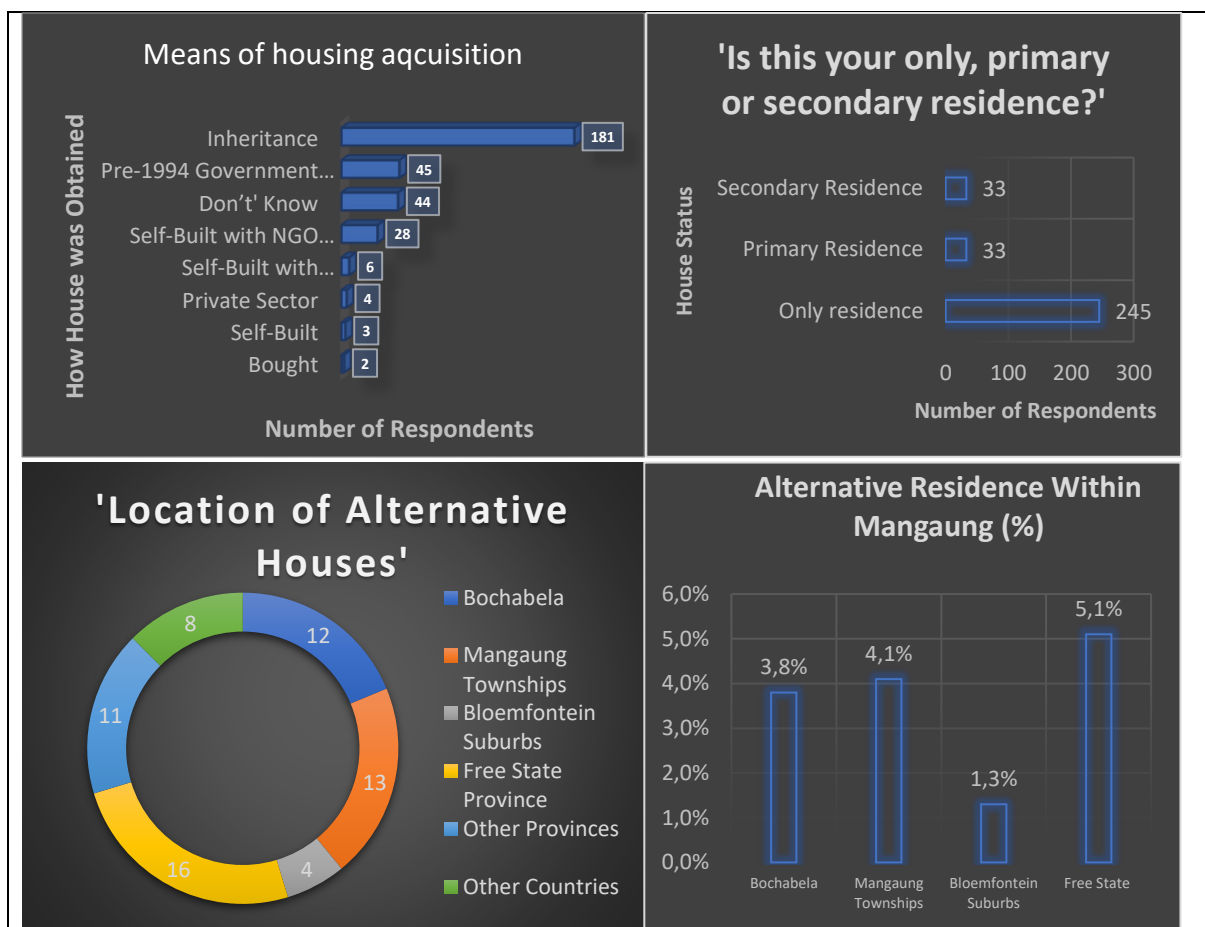
However, some tenants showed understanding and pro-activity towards housing maintenance. For example: *"The owner is disabled so he does not come to attend issues here because he is often sick. He makes promises but they never come to pass. Sometimes I paint walls and not make him pay. When I replace the windows, I take the balance out of the rent. Other tenants left their windows with holes because they are not willing to fix."* The common hindrance to maintaining the houses among landlords was that *"tenants give me a headache. They do not pay rent. In fact, I want to kick them all out. One of them is in Lesotho as we speak. No rent paid since..."* Another said: *"tenants give me lots of problems in my head."*

These findings mirror the claim that the concentration of lower-income residents in a residential area prevents growth due to the occupants' low economic contribution. In the long run, this may result in increased crime, a lack of investment, property decline and urban decay (Hwang & Woo, 2020, p. 3). As in Bochabela, old neighbourhoods often suffer further deterioration due to a lack of upkeep, even more so when the owners leave and lease their properties to poor migrants. Tenants fail to take responsibility for property that belongs to others, especially if they are perceived as transient (Ahmad, 2010, p. 6; Govender & Reddy, 2019, p. 98). Despite suburbanisation being viewed as a positive phenomenon by those who argue that it is a sign of economic growth, it can have negative

consequences when it leads to out-migration. As economically stable, employed individuals leave a neighbourhood, they transfer their development-inducing potential, leaving an area with high unemployment and poverty due to high levels of unskilled labour (Govender & Reddy, 2019, pp. 98-99; Hoogendoorn & Marais, 2008, p. 55). The findings indicated that this was indeed the case in Bochabela. Hence, low income, out-migration of skilled labour and in-migration of unskilled labour are some socioeconomic drivers considered crucial to determining housing adequacy and economic development in Bochabela Township.

### 8.3 Accessibility

Accessibility is rooted in the centrality of housing as a constitutional right. Every citizen, irrespective of socioeconomic status, is thus entitled to a dwelling (Bah et al., 2018, p. 1; Durojaye & Mirugi-Mukundi, 2020, p. 5; Chirisa & Matamanda, 2019, p. 66; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 21; Kumar, 2014, p. 47). The following questions helped determine housing accessibility in Bochabela; how did you obtain your house? Is this your only primary or secondary residence? Where is your alternative house?



**Figure 8.52: Means of Acquisition, House Status and Location of Alternative House**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Figure 8.52 shows that most respondents with ownership inherited their houses while the lowest share bought them. Forty-five acquired them as pre-1994 government houses, 3 respondents indicated that the houses were self-built (i.e., by original owners), 6 were self-built with government subsidy, 28 were self-built with NGO support, and the private sector provided 4. The highest share of residents indicated that the houses were their only residence (78%), 10.5% indicated that they were their primary residence, and 10.5% showed that they were their secondary residence.

The houses in Bochabela were the primary or secondary residence for 66 respondents, 43 of whom resided in single dwellings, 14 detached (e.g., had backrooms) and 9 hostel units. Moreover, 29 alternative residences were in Bloemfontein (9.2%), mostly Mangaung townships (13 or 4.1%), but to a lesser degree in the suburbs such as Langenhoven Park (4 or 1.3%). Those in Bochabela were 12 or 3.8%. Some alternative residences were outside Bloemfontein but still within MMM; for example, 5 or 1.6% in Botshabelo and 6 or 1.9% in Thaba Nchu. Twenty-four respondents had alternative houses outside MMM, with 16 based within the Free State (5.1%), 3 in Eastern Cape (0.96%), 2 each in Western Cape and KwaZulu Natal (0.6%), 1 each from Limpopo, Northern Cape and Gauteng (0.3%). Those with other houses outside South Africa were from Zimbabwe (2 / 0.6%) and Lesotho (6 / 1.9%).

**Box 15: Government-Supplied Houses**



Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

In support of the right to housing, the colonial-cum-apartheid government provided standardised houses and hostels and required self-built houses to follow certain regulations. Thus, respondents explained that their house designs were determined by whether they were government supplied or self-built. However, the government's political will and capacity to implement just policies was feeble, as it deliberately enforced separation (Ratshitanga, 2017, p. 65; Masron, 2020, P. 12).

#### **Box 16: Self-Built Houses**



Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Accordingly, some respondents resided in Hostel 1, which was designed as a dormitory settlement for cheap labour in the late 1940s. Many claimed their families resided at the hostel for generations. Also, because only 16.6% of females owned houses elsewhere, the legacy of gender-biased policy that excluded vulnerable groups like women, the elderly and migrants persists in Bochabela (Hall & Posel, 2019; Monroy et al., 2020, p. 12; Turok, 1994). Box 15 and Box 16 reflect some designs of the surveyed houses, which differ from the post-apartheid RDP and BNG houses (see Chapter 3).

The choice by respondents to stay in these houses was motivated by closeness to job opportunities, affordability, rental options and (inherited) ownership. Thus, the claim that labour markets and housing demand determine the accessibility of housing in cities (Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 29) rings true for Bochabela. Also, as higher-income earners move to newer suburbs, they leave behind older, decrepit housing, which attracts lower-income earners due to its low rental cost (Kathuria & Parida, 2014, p. 57). Most respondents (245 or 78%) independently or jointly owned their houses. This was a

positive sign for accessibility in Bochabela, given that black citizens were only allowed to own urban housing after 1988 (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 20). Fifty-seven respondents (18%) rented houses where the owners did not live. They accessed the houses through word of mouth or asking about rentals availability door-to-door. Some saw social media advertisements on platforms like Facebook Marketplace. The use of the internet to advertise private rental housing indicated that Bochabela residents use new technologies at their disposal. As a crucial component of e-planning systems, social media should be utilised to improve stakeholder collaboration for Bochabela's development.

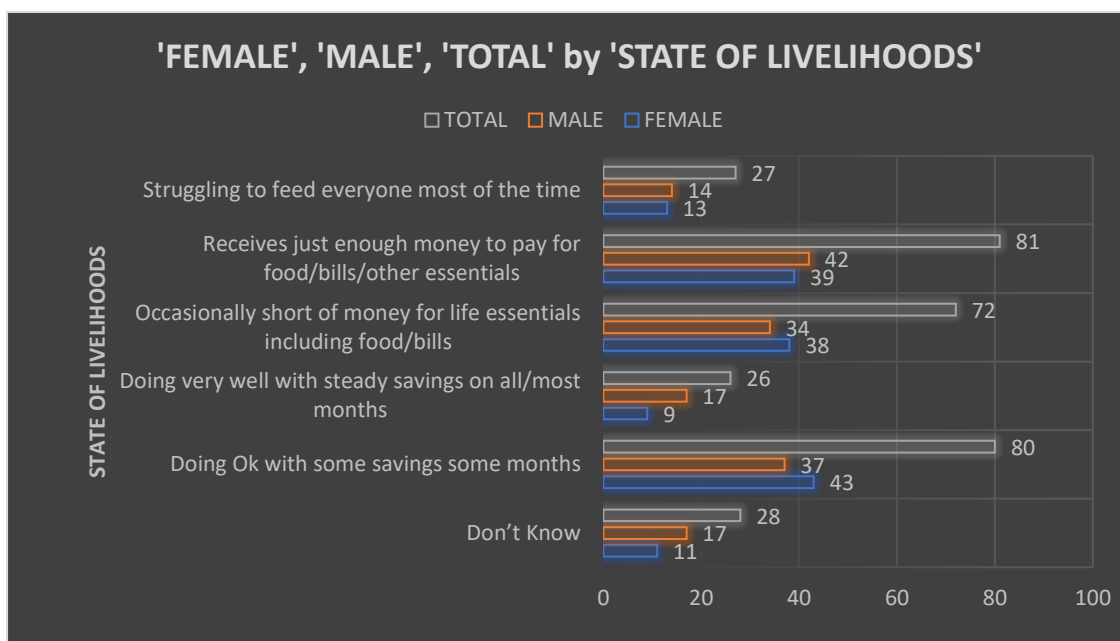
In low-income communities, overcrowding signifies that housing is not easily accessible or affordable (UN-Habitat, 2011, p. 21). Findings show that multiple occupants inhabited most rented houses, while a relatively high proportion of respondents felt that their homes were overcrowded due to too many people residing in limited space, e.g., three people in one room without a bathroom (see section 8.3.). Moreover, tenants indicated that it was difficult to find spacious houses close to their workplaces at affordable prices. Some indicated that the combined advantage of cheap housing and being able to walk to work was an attraction in Bochabela. Therefore, housing demand and supply in MMM should call for compact development, where low-income housing will be made available in proximity to socioeconomic opportunities (Monroy et al., 2020, p. 10). Fortunately, there is a social housing development underway in Bochabela. Residents should therefore be encouraged to walk to work as the township is less than 5km from the CBD, but only 24 respondents use it as a mode of transport. Sustainable development through lower emissions and accessibility will thus be improved. It is essential that various stakeholders collaborate to increase accessibility in the sense that housing development will meet various needs, including those relating to gender, tenure and affordability.

#### 8.4 Affordability

Housing affordability means that irrespective of tenure type, upkeep costs do not compromise other basic needs. It is a common international standard for affordability that housing related costs should not exceed 30% of household income per month (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 83; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). To determine housing affordability in Bochabela, these questions were asked: What is the state of household livelihoods? What kind of maintenance and investments are made towards the houses? How much is spent towards housing maintenance? What is the source of housing maintenance funds? How much rent is paid? Is the rental income re-invested into the house?

### 8.4.1 State of livelihoods

Regarding livelihoods, the findings indicate that respondents were facing financial difficulties exacerbated by the socioeconomic effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. The highest share of respondents came from three categories with an almost equal number of respondents; those who received just enough money to pay for their essential needs (25.8%), those doing satisfactorily financially with savings on some months (25.5%), and those who occasionally fell short of affording their basic needs (22.9%). The lowest number of respondents, at almost the same share, were those doing very well with steady savings on all or most months (8.3%) and those struggling to feed everyone most of the time (8.6%). This insight is summarised in Figure 8.53.



**Figure 8.53: State of Livelihoods**

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Most of the participants who were struggling to feed everyone most of the time fell within the R1,600-R3,500 household income range and were never married males born between 1960-1995, either heading their households or having a child. They were also mostly South African citizens seeking employment with no tertiary qualifications. Most of those doing very well with steady savings on all or most months were South African males born between 1971-2003. Most were never married, household heads with high school education, earning between R1,600-R3,500 through formal employment. A significant number of respondents earning between R6,600-R13,000 and those with tertiary education in this category. In this study, most respondents had low incomes, which restricted

their ability to fulfil basic needs. This indicated the important correlation between household income and housing affordability. As found elsewhere, low-income earners dwell in inadequate housing as they cannot afford better options (Lindamood, 1974, p. 23; Bah et al., 2018, p. 5).

#### 8.4.2 Housing Maintenance and Renovation

One hundred twenty respondents (38.2%) had spent money fixing minor structural issues, and 156 (49.6%) had undertaken major housing maintenance. Others had undertaken housing development at different levels. House extensions (53), backyard units (64) and security installations (111) were some major housing investments undertaken. The funding sources for housing maintenance were savings, bonuses, government, pensions, bank loans, funeral policies, remittances, loans from people, retirement funds, and NGOs. Rent revenue was never used for major housing upgrades. Table 8.2 shows how much was spent on improving houses using various sources.

**Table 8.2: Source of Housing Maintenance Funds**

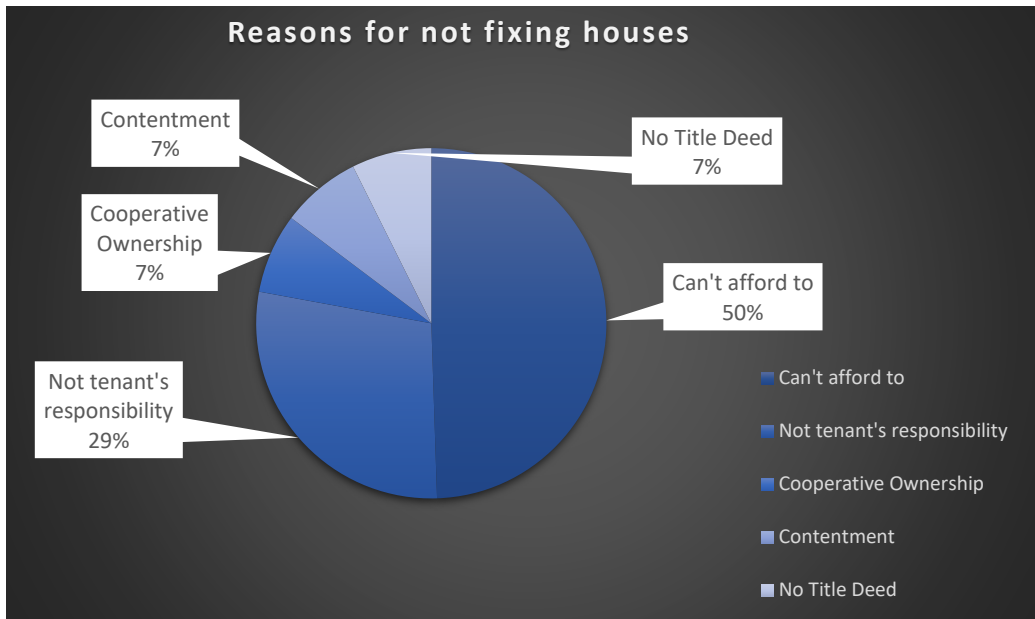
| Source of Funds  | Sum of Total Cost in ZAR |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| Savings          | 2,349,400                |
| Bonus            | 412,000                  |
| Other            | 397,000                  |
| Government       | 342,000                  |
| Pension          | 235,000                  |
| Bank Loan        | 158,000                  |
| Funeral Policy   | 100,000                  |
| Family Members   | 50,000                   |
| Loan From People | 7,200                    |
| Retirement Fund  | 5,000                    |
| NGOs             | 2,900                    |
| Rental Income    | 0                        |
| Grand Total      | 4058500                  |

Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The amount spent was determined by the materials used and the source of funding. Building materials were mostly bricks and mortar with corrugated iron roofing. However, there were instances of house extensions and backyard rooms constructed with zinc sheets. The money spent on house extensions ranged from ZAR1000-400,000. Money paid for backyard rooms was ZAR1,500-80,000, and for fencing and security, it was between ZAR500-65,000. Savings were the most used source of finance (155 respondents), thus financing the highest amount at ZAR2,349,400. The overall amount of money spent

on all renovations from all sources of funding was ZAR4,058,500. Barnes & Nel, (2017, p. 223) and Martin-Breen & Andreas, (2011, p. 47) describe such maintenance and renovation as reflecting community level change through the adaptive cycle. Initially, the houses were newly constructed, but eventually became dilapidated and then were restored.

Respondents who did not conduct any housing maintenance were restricted for various reasons, as illustrated in Figure 8.54.



**Figure 8.54: Reasons for Not Fixing the Houses**

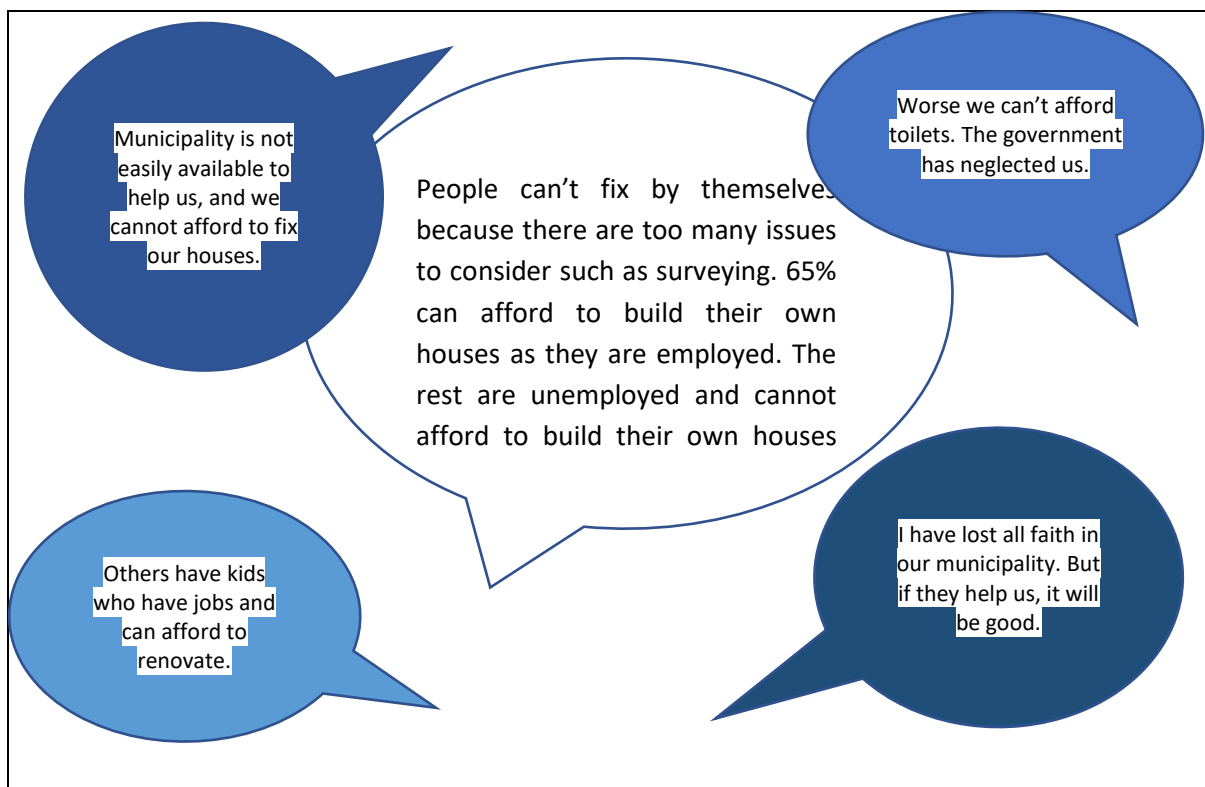
Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Most respondents (50%) could not afford to improve their houses, and this included those who were still saving to fix or maintain the house. The second highest share (29%) were tenants who did not feel responsible for the housing maintenance. Others failed to fix or maintain the houses due to cooperative ownership, still saving, contentment with the current situation and lacking title deeds. In this regard, 7% of the respondents indicated that since the house belonged to the family (cooperative ownership), they would not single-handedly fix the house, as this was not their responsibility alone. Others highlighted that they were unwilling to conduct any maintenance due to conflicts over housing ownership, which can be related to tenure security issues.

Another tenure security issue was the lack of title deeds which restricted 7% of respondents from conducting housing maintenance. Another 7% showed that they were content with the state of their

house because they had accepted that there was nothing they could do. There was a feeling of hopelessness and indifference among this last group. This confirms that decrepit housing and neighbourhoods cause behavioural and psychological problems such as anxiety, despair and indifference (de Leon & Schilling, 2017, p. 9). The consensus was that respondents expected the government to repair or replace their houses, even after approaching the municipality several times without success. Some comments about these sentiments are quoted in Box 17.

### Box 17: Voices from the Field



Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Though there was a popular expectation or claim that the government should provide new houses, there were other opinions. Many respondents did not want the government to supply them with BNG houses. They complained that the current social housing was of poor quality and too small to fit their family members and belongings. They were most displeased that their old houses had to be demolished to get new government houses. This was unacceptable to them because they mostly perceived the houses to have cultural and historical significance. This showed place attachment, which

was reflected in their pride, commitment, guardianship and anticipation for home improvements (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2004, p. 361; Konkel, et al., 2019, p. 4).

**Box 18: “There is hope yet”: Bricks Stored for Future Use**



Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

They wanted financial and technical support to fix the houses they already had. Many had even stacked the bricks, stones, roofing and frames from the collapsed parts of the houses with the hope that these could be reused (Box 18). I was enthused to learn that the community was thinking of using existing resources sustainably. Existing regulations in MMM might be further improved to cater for pro-poor and pro-economic alternative housing strategies that will promote sustainable development at the local level (Meyer, 2014, p. 630).

#### 8.4.3 Zooming into Housing Rentals

Not being able to fix houses due to unaffordability links to income levels and reasons for leasing houses, as cross-tabulated in Table 8.3. The study found that in terms of why 29.6% of the profiled houses are being leased (93 houses), respondents mentioned various economic and social reasons. The highest number of houses (81 or 25.8%) were being leased for economically driven reasons, such as the rental money being the only means of livelihood (2.87%), the primary (1.91%) or secondary source of income (15.29%) to pay for essential needs (4.46%) and least of all, due to market demand

(0.64%) and owning multiple houses for income generation (0.64%). Twelve, or 3.82%, houses were being leased for social reasons. These included following a trend (0.64%), rooms not being used (0.64%), owner residing at primary residence and in need of a caretaker (1.59%) or increasing security to feel safe (0.64%) and making room for relatives (0.32%).

These findings show that secondary income sources and money for basic needs account for the highest likelihood of leasing houses. Most respondents leasing rooms in their houses earned primary income ranging from below R1,500 to R3,500 from formal private sector jobs, with social grants being the least of their income sources. The least number of respondents leased their houses to accommodate relatives. Those who owned multiple houses specified that it was either through inheritance or intentionally buying them for business purposes. It is clear from these findings that Bochabela's residents view their houses as economic assets with the potential for sustained livelihoods, unlike previous studies in which housing is viewed less frequently as an economic opportunity (ASSAf, 2008, p. 32; Shapurje & Charlton, 2013; Turok, 2020, p. 42; UN Habitat, 2016, p. 12). Therefore, any rehabilitation in Bochabela must be intertwined with an economic perspective that addresses exclusion, congestion, and spatially concentrated poverty (Glossop, 2008, p. 1).

Many homeowners who resided by themselves or had small families leased the rest of their houses and used the smaller part for themselves. Hence, almost all the leased houses had multiple occupants who rented single rooms rather than double rooms or the entire house. This meant that households earning the highest rent income were either leasing the highest number of rooms, charging the highest rent, or both. All respondents gaining income from rentals indicated that this was a stable and efficient source of income, but only if the tenants paid the rent on time. Occasionally, they had to be lenient towards tenants who could not pay rent on time, if at all, due to harsh business seasons, job losses, family crises, illness, irresponsibility, and recently, the effects of COVID-19.

The minimum cost of rent per room ranged from ZAR200–1,000, while multiple rooms cost from ZAR2000 upwards per month. Both depended on the size or number of rooms plus the level of dilapidation of the house. The highest revenue ranged from ZAR4100-R7000, generated through renting multiple rooms. However, only one house was generating this amount. The most common revenue generated was R200-R1000, indicating that most tenants rented only one room, which

typically had electricity, a shared water tap and a toilet outside. Figure 8.9 shows the percentage share of monthly rent.

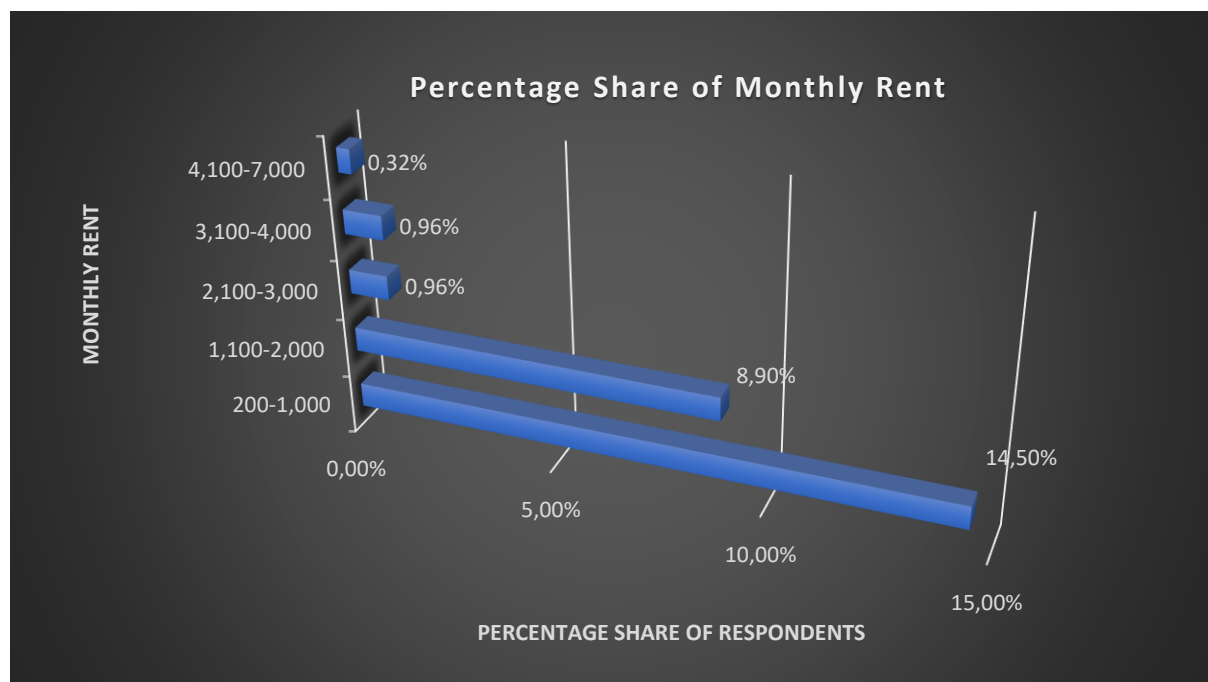
Just as social rental housing is generally believed to improve affordability and quality, private housing is acknowledged to be a profitable asset when leased (Monroy et al., 2020, p. 39). Stakeholders should therefore seek opportunities to generate capital through private housing in Bochabela. This can boost the township's economic functioning and place desirability (Arku, 2006, p. 386). Moreover, generating support for rehabilitating existing affordable rental housing will open opportunities for labour markets (Glossop, 2008, p. 7). One such opportunity is presented by the private sector affordable rental, wherein homeowners or private developers establish small-scale rental accommodation to respond to the market demand.

In South Africa, this approach is not sponsored by the government and, so far, is popular in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Enterprises like iBuild, Indlu and Bitprop avail funding and technical support for qualifying homeowners to develop affordable yet adequate backyard rentals (Cities Support Programme, 2021; Scheba and Tukok, 2020, p. 128; Schirmer, et al., 2020). Such businesses can be approached to grant similar support in Bochabela or similar ones established locally. This will require research on their applicability in Bochabela. A benefit is that because homeowners are already leasing their houses, they may be open to testing such initiatives. This will improve the township's economy by improving business and employment prospects. Currently, they are not informed about such options, and think their only support should come from the government.

Figure 8.55 illustrates that 18.4% of the respondents that are landlords do not re-invest the rent into maintaining the houses, 6.6% spend some rent money on housing maintenance, while 1.9 % do not know if any rent money is re-invested back into the houses as they are not responsible for the family's finances. Perhaps this indicates a need for capacity building and deeper acknowledgement by landlords that private rental housing improves sustainable income generation for households.

Based on the findings, one can conclude that because most households have a monthly income below R3,500, it may be difficult for them to maintain their houses while adequately sustaining their livelihoods. Perhaps the spending within the township and in Bloemfontein has also decreased following the pandemic. Thus, the local economy was affected. Development and rehabilitation of

private rental housing require collaborative support if it is going to decrease the township's decay and informality. Governments should consider such circumstances by establishing policies that avail affordable housing for those with low incomes. This could be in the form of housing subsidies, market and rent controls and eviction protection (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 28). It is good that MMM is currently developing subsidised rental housing in Bochabela (see Chapter 8). As suggested previously, there is an opportunity for a more collaborative model of affordable housing development in Bochabela.



| Monthly Rent       | Rental Income Re-invested into Property |           |            | Grand Total |
|--------------------|---|-----------|------------|-------------|
|                    | No                                      | Yes       | Don't Know |             |
| R200 - R1000       | 32                                      | 11        | 3          | 43          |
| R1 100 - R2 000    | 19                                      | 8         | 1          | 27          |
| R3 100 - R4 000    | 2                                       | 1         | 2          | 3           |
| R2 100 - R3 000    | 2                                       | 1         | 0          | 3           |
| R4 100 - R7 000    | 1                                       | 0         | 0          | 1           |
| don't know         | 2                                       | 0         | 0          | 2           |
| <b>Grand Total</b> | <b>58</b>                               | <b>21</b> | <b>6</b>   | <b>79</b>   |

**Figure 8.55: Percentage Share of Monthly Rent and Total of Rental Re-Investments**

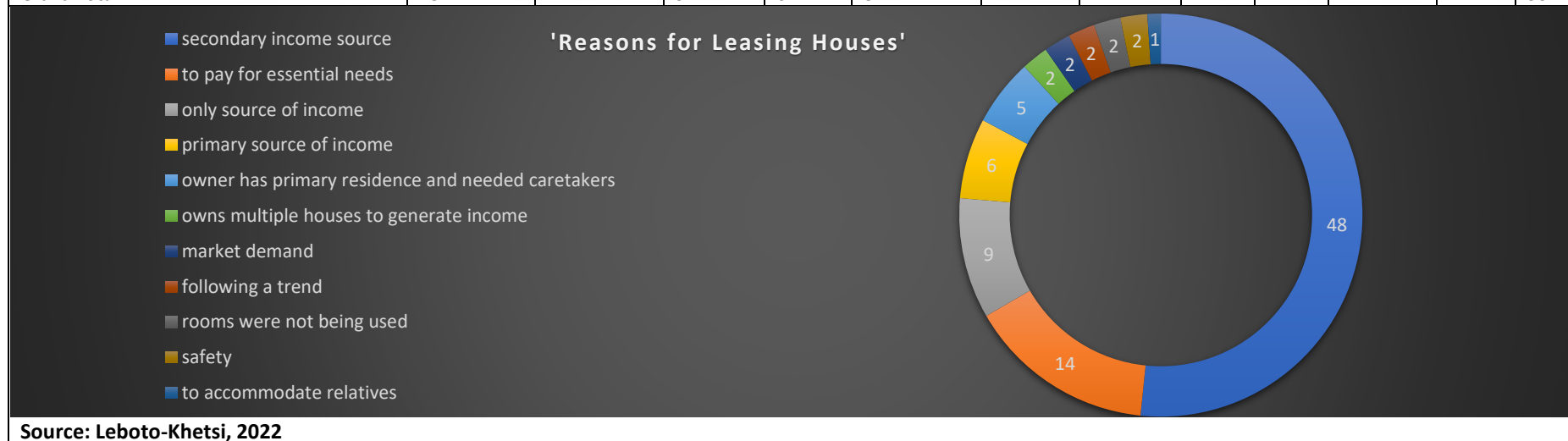
Source, Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The findings also show that several issues deter the respondents from fully enjoying housing affordability. Regardless of the residents' tenure, housing upkeep costs should be below 30% of the household income (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 83). The cost of housing expenses such as rent, maintenance, renovation and mortgage should not hinder securing other essential needs such as food, clothing, medical care and education. Yet, most respondents had to choose between housing costs and other basic needs as they could not afford both. Considering the inflation that occurred after the COVID-19 pandemic, the cost of food has significantly increased.

The National Agricultural Marketing Council (NAMC) reported that the cost of their urban food basket had increased from R1 073.86 in May 2022 to R1 094.51 in June 2022. It further stipulated that the monthly basic food price increase was 1.9% in 2022, while the annual increase was 11.9% between 2021 and 2022 (NAMC, 2022). As shown in Chapter 7, most respondents chose to spend on essential needs instead of housing maintenance, renovation or construction based on their insufficient household income. Such choices, while inevitable, lead to housing dilapidation and ultimate neighbourhood decay. Thus, low-income earners, including those in Bochabela, tend to dwell in inadequate housing because they cannot afford better options (Lindamood, 1974, p. 23).

**Table 8.3: Monthly Income vs Reasons for Leasing Houses**

| Total monthly household income | Reasons for Leasing Houses |                            |                       |                          |  |  |               |                   |                           |        |                          |             |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--|--|---------------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------|--------------------------|-------------|
|                                | Secondary income source    | To pay for essential needs | Only source of income | Primary source of income | Owner has primary residence and needs caretakers | Owens multiple houses to generate income | Market demand | Following a trend | Rooms were not being used | Safety | To accommodate relatives | Grand total |
| R1,600-R3,500                  | 21                         | 7                          | 8                     | 3                        | 3  | 1  | 1             | 2                 | 1                         | 1      | 0                        | 48          |
| below R1,500                   | 13                         | 2                          | 1                     | 1                        | 1  | 0  | 0             | 0                 | 1                         | 0      | 1                        | 20          |
| R3,600-R6,500                  | 5                          | 1                          | 0                     | 0                        | 1  | 1  | 0             | 0                 | 0                         | 0      | 0                        | 8           |
| not disclosed                  | 5                          | 2                          | 0                     | 0                        | 0  | 0  | 0             | 0                 | 0                         | 0      | 0                        | 7           |
| R6,600-R13,000                 | 3                          | 1                          | 0                     | 2                        | 0  | 0  | 0             | 0                 | 0                         | 0      | 0                        | 6           |
| don't know                     | 1                          | 0                          | 0                     | 0                        | 0  | 0  | 0             | 0                 | 0                         | 1      | 0                        | 2           |
| above R13,000                  | 0                          | 1                          | 0                     | 0                        | 0  | 0  | 1             | 0                 | 0                         | 0      | 0                        | 2           |
| Grand Total                    | 48                         | 14                         | 9                     | 6                        | 5  | 2  | 2             | 2                 | 2                         | 2      | 1                        | 93          |

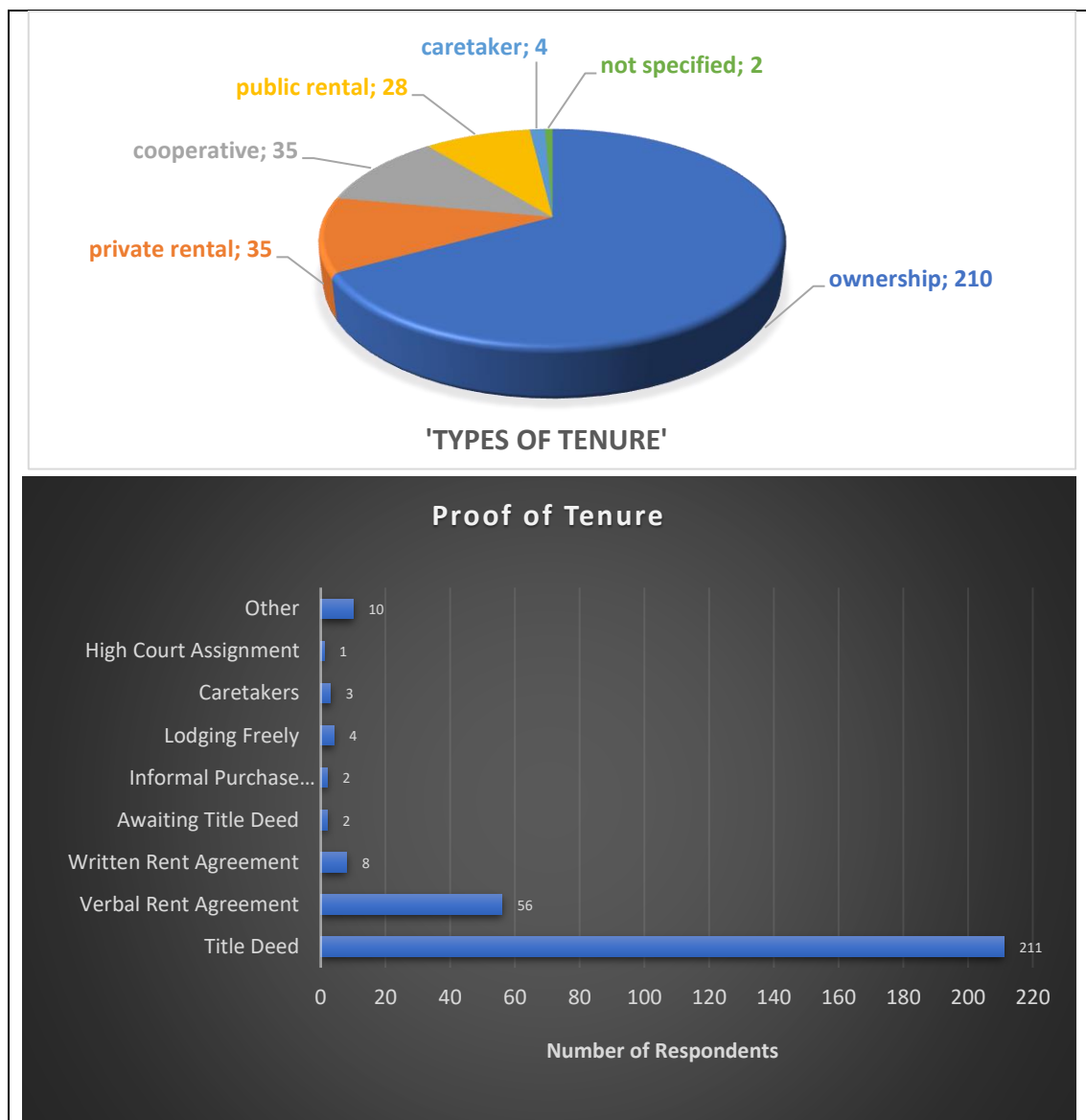


Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

## 8.5 Tenure Security

Tenure security demands that the right to adequate housing includes protection from involuntary eviction and discrimination (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15; Tonkin, 2008, 2008, p. 112). It exists in several forms, including formal and informal ownership or rental, communal trusts, private or public title and emergency housing (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 6). To determine tenure security in Bochabela, types of tenure, household arrangements and plans, and housing security perceptions were studied.

### Box 19: Residential Arrangements



Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The study found that types of tenure existing in Bochabela include full ownership (66.9%), public rentals (8.9%), cooperative ownership and private rental (11.1% each), as well as caretaking (1.27%). Dwellers require relevant documentation as proof of secure tenure irrespective of tenure type (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 6). Most respondents with full ownership had title deeds (67.2%), while those who rented had reached verbal agreements with the landlords (17.8%). Other arrangements were written rent agreements (2.5%), informal purchases and court orders. Some respondents were lodging freely or taking care of the houses in the absence of owners. Ten others had 'other' types of housing arrangements. Box 19 summarises these findings.

Having proof of tenure ensures a sense of security, dignity and physical investment and also avails a safety net in times of income need for residents (Tonkin, 2008, p. 112) and (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 10). The lack of this proof among respondents showed this statement to be true. There were feelings of insecurity in those who were renting and in cooperative ownership. For renters, this was caused by fear of being removed at any time. Two primary reasons were identified as the cause of fear. Firstly, the verbal agreements did not give any rubberstamp assurance. And secondly because *"the landlord is not good. No good relations with any of us [tenants]. This has caused us much stress. Especially for me because we are not in good relations. She doesn't like me all. In fact, if she arrives now while I am talking to you, I will be in trouble."*

The second reason indicated the existence of powerplays where landlords threaten tenants in some way, perhaps so avoid being forced to spend their rental income on conducting the much-needed housing maintenance. This was highlighted in another statement: *"Aah! The owner will never fix this house. I have asked many times until I gave up. Last time he said I can look for a house elsewhere. There are many people who are willing to stay here with the low rent. Every time I ask for paint, or report the leaking roof, he tells me the same thing."* Renters are, therefore, most unsecure as they face the risk of eviction by landlords, especially when they cannot afford to pay for housing costs (Chirisa & Matamanda, 2016, p. 80).

Some cooperative owners shared that their houses are contested as family members are fighting over ownership rights. The principal reason for such contestations was that inherited houses were willed to several family members, while in some cases, existing title deeds were in the names of original owners, e.g., the grandparents. Families decided which elder was the overseer of the house, while generations of family members had some liberties within the house. For example: *"this is my ancestors' home. Everyone comes here for family traditions. We all come together here for family*

*things [customs].” And: “though I am the last born, my dad made sure he gave me the papers before he died so that everyone knew the house was my inheritance.”*

However, this kind of cooperative ownership meant that power relations at the family level could be enforced. Hence sometimes, members were kicked out as a form of discipline or intimidation. This lack of secure tenure leads to members not renovating houses due to fear that they could be disowned at any time, depending on the outcome of the family rivalry. One respondent said this: *“I am afraid to lift even a finger here. My uncle is very tricky. He wants to own this house alone with his children, I think. I will not fix anything. What if I fix it today and tomorrow my uncle tells me to live?”* Cooperative ownership in Bochabela thus requires some legislative guidance, which can be achieved through collaborations and information sharing with relevant officials.

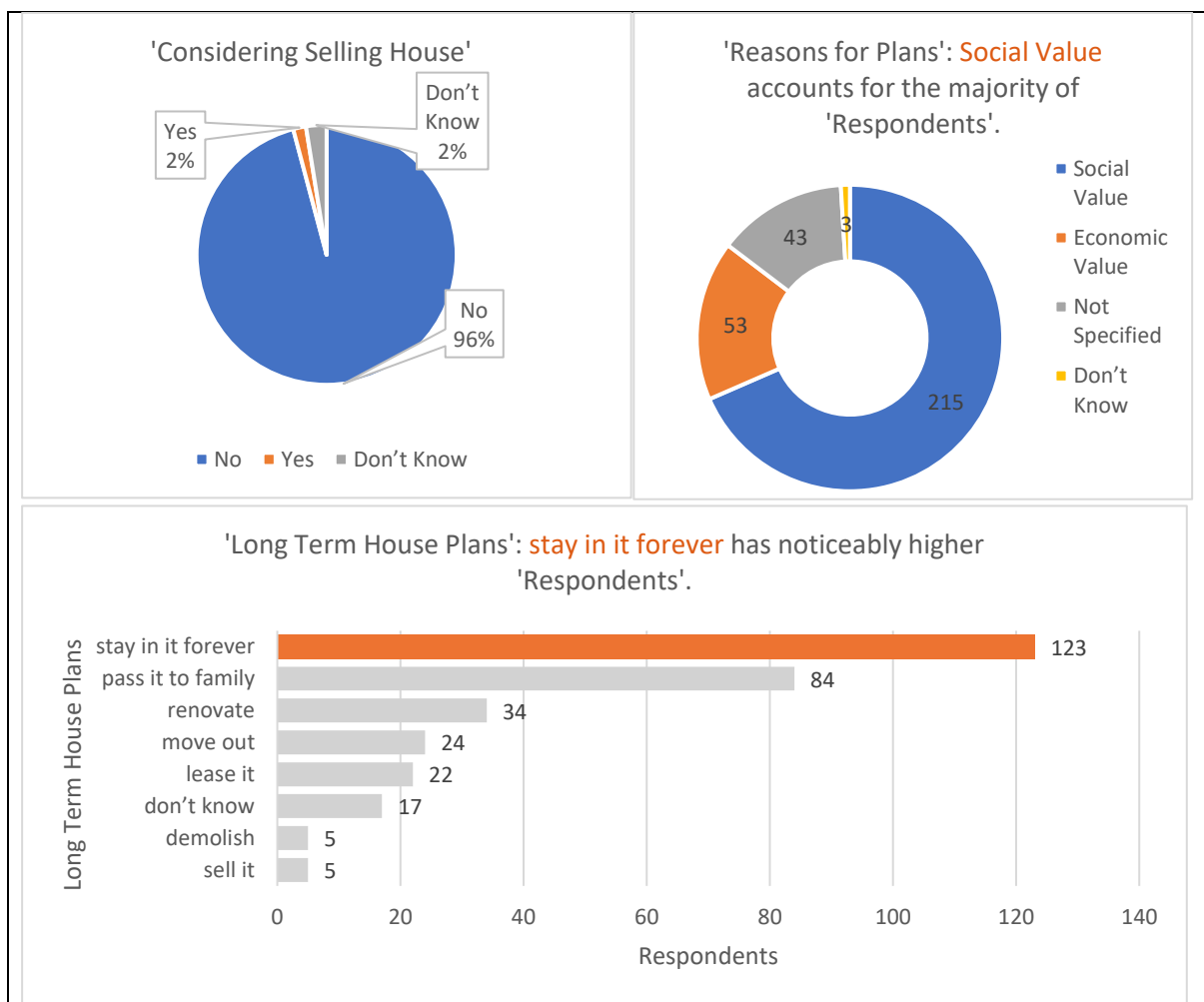
Given that acquiring tenure security tends to be a lengthy, daunting and expensive process, it is surprising that most respondents indicated having title deeds. This is because findings elsewhere found that most urban poor fail to attain title deeds due to a lack of information and insufficient funds. (UN Habitat, 2016, p. 8). Perhaps the residents of Bochabela used the proximity of the municipal offices to their advantage. While MMM headquarters are in the CBD, a subdivision is simply called Hostel 1, close to the old dormitory in Bochabela. The residents use this office to acquire administrative needs. Perhaps the proximity of Hostel 1 municipal offices availed relevant information to the residents to enable their getting a hold of title deeds.

Though not confirmed through this study, it is my thinking that as the municipality rolled out land reclamation initiatives, the residents of Bochabela made haste to acquire title deeds. Moreover, some respondents commented that because their houses were inherited, they had title deeds or ‘papers’ in their family names. They indicated then that the transfer of ownership from the deceased family members to the living ones still had to be done, while others had already started the process and were awaiting their title deeds. Some were suspicious in their waiting: *“I think the municipality people are not giving me my title deed because they want to take my house for their own children.”* The issue of many respondents claiming to have title deeds poses an opportunity for further research, as this study did not explore it any further.

The likelihood of any of the surveyed houses being sold was very low (Box 20). This was interesting as it contradicted assumptions that owners with title deeds would be more willing to sell. Many respondents reasoned that they would not sell their houses for social reasons, including that they

were “family heirloom” and “...ancestral property. My ancestors would turn in their graves if I sold this house. My grandparents would definitely come back to hold me accountable. Because you see my sister, our family celebrations are held here.” The social value was also entrenched in the belief that there were no other options or opportunities for housing elsewhere. “I will be dead before a simple RDP is given to me or my children. Where will my children go if I sell this house? And their children? They will be homeless.” Others were suspicious of the informal housing market where they saw opportunities: “They come but I refuse to sell. I do not trust buyers.” Relatedly, there were some underhanded occurrences concerning housing sales in the area: “I wanted to buy this house from the owner but failed because it belongs the family. What happened is that the owner wanted to cheat the other owners by sanctioning them out of the money and Hostel 1 [MMM] refused. I was offering ZAR400,000.” For many, the thought of selling their houses seemed to have never crossed their mind. The idea to do so was met with a resounding “No. I will not sell this house” without any reasons given.

**Box 20: Plans for the Houses and the Reasons**



Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The study revealed how residents perceive the condition of their houses and make plans concerning them. 42.9% of the respondents thought the houses were tolerable, while 55.7% considered them to be in a degraded condition (Table 8.4). Moreover, almost the same count of respondents thought the houses were not changing. They felt the houses were getting worse. Observing such perceptions was necessary to understand the respondents' plans for the houses.

**Table 8.4: Perceived House Conditions and 10-Year Changes**

| House Condition Perceptions | Count of House Condition Perceptions | 10 Years House Change   | Count of 10 Years House Change |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Bad                         | 138                                  | Neutral (no change)     | 134                            |
| Good                        | 118                                  | Negative (dilapidating) | 124                            |
| Very bad                    | 37                                   | Positive (improving)    | 54                             |
| Very good                   | 17                                   | Grand Total             | 314                            |
| Neutral                     | 3                                    |                         |                                |
| Grand Total                 | 314                                  |                         |                                |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

When asked about their long-term plans with the houses, most respondents intended to stay in them forever. Of course, some highlighted the need to renovate the houses if finances permitted. However, others showed a sense of hopelessness about whether the houses would be fixed in their lifetime, especially given the expectation that the government should be the one undertaking rehabilitation. The next level of respondents planned to pass the houses to their children, as their parents and grandparents had done. This was a continued indication that the social value of these houses was held in high regard. Moreover, it showed a deep sense of place attachment motivated by a sense of responsibility towards the family more than anything else.

Economic reasons to stay in the houses were mainly that they could be leased to generate income. This also went for those who wanted to lease or renovate the houses. Many residents who planned to move out of the houses were tenants residing in Bloemfontein due to current employment. Some were actively seeking employment elsewhere, while others would move out when they relocated to their places of origin. There were two reasons for planning to demolish the houses. The first was that the government would have supplied the RDP, and the second was that once the children found steady jobs, they would build new houses for their families.

The respondents showed varying degrees of safety and security based on their perceptions, feelings, available security services, and efforts to warrant this aspect. 38.2% of the respondents felt safe and secure, 21.7% were very safe and secure, 31.9% felt unsafe and insecure, and 7.3% felt very unsafe and insecure. Though 0.96% of respondents had no thoughts on (neutral) or did not know of any

issues concerning safety and security due to a short length of stay or minding their own business, those who said their houses were aged had the highest percentage (15.9%) of feelings of insecurity and unsafety. Given that this was 50 respondents, one might state that 1 out of 6 residents of Bochabela feels unsafe and unsecure due to residing in aged house structures. 3.5% felt unsafe because they have experienced crime, which may justify the argument that Bochabela has relatively low crime levels compared to the national levels of 31% individual crime and 34% street crime (Statssa, 2022).



**Figure 8.56: Reasons for Safety and Security Perceptions**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Some of the various reasons given for perceptions of safety and security are highlighted in Figure 8.56, with the highest reasons being precarious house structure (15.9%), fear of perceived criminal activities (6.7%) and personal experience of some crime, either on the streets of the township or at home (3.5%). In this regard, respondents feared a high crime rate in the neighbourhood, especially with the youth taking drugs and loitering during the day and night. Regarding precarious structure, some respondents mentioned that they feared their houses would collapse on them, especially during harsh weather such as heavy rains and strong winds. Others indicated that their houses were, in their current state, attributed to their feelings of safety and security. Along the same lines, some indicated that they felt quite safe due to the installed security features in their homes. Extra safety features like security fences, locked gates, and trellis increased feelings of safety and security. Reasons that were lowest on the determining scale were theft from within the family, working at night, cooperative ownership, lack of title deed, only female residents and having enemies. These all had a similar response rate of 0.32%.

The perception that Bochabela is a safe neighbourhood also contributed to positive feelings of safety. This was linked to having resided in the neighbourhood long enough to have established solid social relations, which are also perceived to assure safety and security. Most tenants feared that they would be evicted in an unplanned or aggressive manner at any given time. This fear also reigned among

respondents within cooperative ownership. This significantly affected their safety and security perceptions towards the negative scale and raised the question of tenure security.

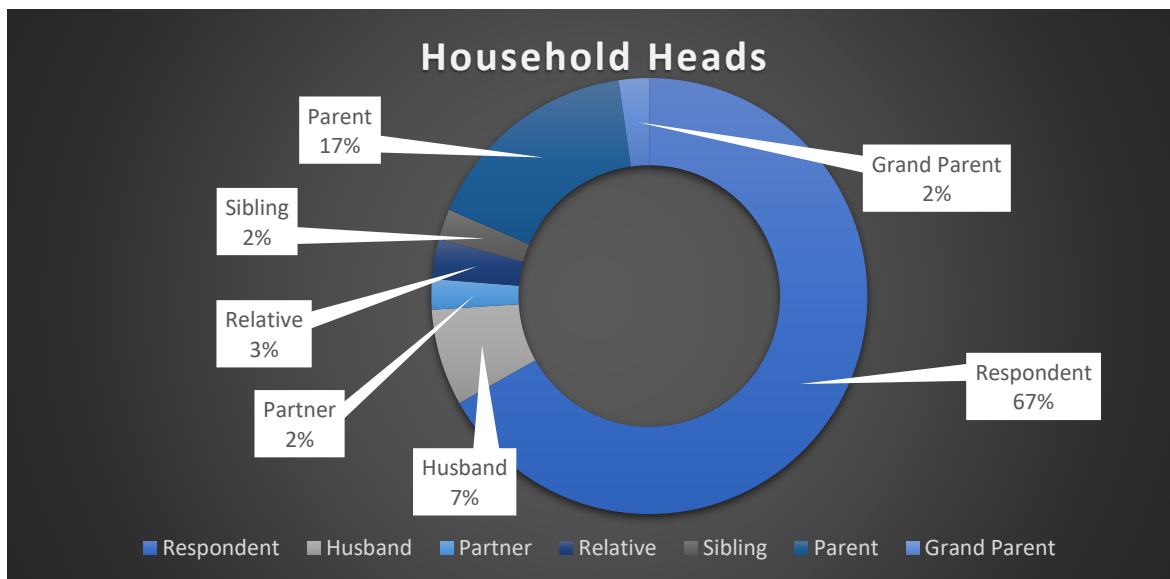
It is important to consider that dilapidated houses, neglected buildings and vulnerable means of survival threaten the safety and security of neighbourhoods. This is because they have tenure and health implications and characteristically attract criminal activities. Fear of eviction is a sign of threatened tenure security, a component of housing adequacy. Furthermore, since a person's health is not only affected by the house within which s/he dwells but also by the neighbourhood where s/he resides, perceptions of fear and safety also lead to behavioural and psychological problems such as anxiety, despair and indifference, which may also contribute to instances of irresponsible sexual activities that lead to ill health, drug abuse and suicide (de Leon & Schilling, 2017, p. 9). The fear of criminal activity discourages prospective investors from granting investment opportunities and business development to neighbourhoods (Branas, et al., 2016, p. 2063; and Hoogendoorn, et al., 2008, p. 41).

## 8.6 Cultural Adequacy

Cultural adequacy refers to the ability of a house to sustain residents' values, attributes and preferences relating to lifestyle, beliefs, traditions and ethnic identity (King, 2004, p. 60; UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). To determine the cultural adequacy of housing in Bochabela uses of houses, household arrangements, family fragmentation and neighbourhood cultural changes were studied.

### 8.6.1 Households Arrangements and Family fragmentation

The study found the average household size of the 314 surveyed households to be 3-5 people. Most respondents (205 or 65.3%) were their household heads, with a share of 87 females (42.4%) and 118 males (57.6%). This was typical of South African households, which were estimated to have 42.1% female-headed households in 2021 (StatsSA, 2022). Other households were headed by the respondents' husbands (22), partners (7), relatives (9) and siblings (7). Additionally, 50 households were headed by parents, and 7 by grandparents. The percentage share of these findings are illustrated in Figure 8.57. The household head was determined in consideration to the person in authority of the household, "the person who controls the maintenance of the household and exercises the authority to run the household" (Budlender, 1997). The dominant occurrence here was male-headed households across all groups of household heads. This may be associated with cultural norms and customary laws that restricted women from heading households, accessing financial resources and owning land and property (Monroy et al., 2020, p. 8; UN-Habitat, 2016, p. 25).



**Figure 8.57: Household Heads**

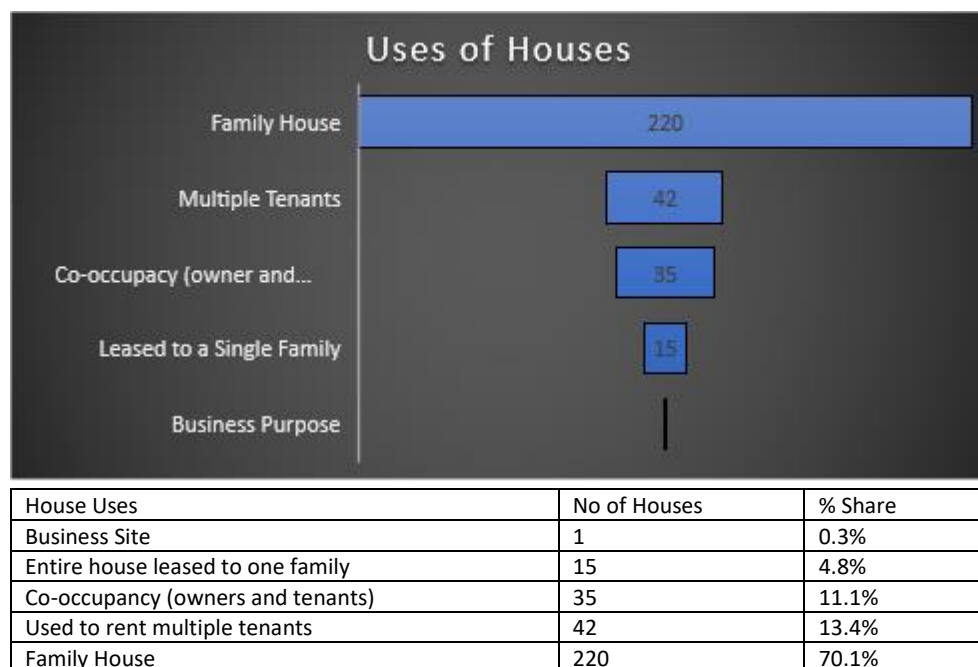
Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

The number of one-person households was nine (2.87%), while the number of households with six or more members was 33 (10.5%), showing a significant difference compared to the national estimates of 23.3% for single-person households and a marginal contrast for households with more than six members (13.9%) (StatsSA, 2022). Nuclear families were 208 (66.2%) of the surveyed households, which was higher than the national estimation of 41.5%. Extended families comprised 33.1% (104) of the respondents, matching the national estimate of 33.6%. The households also comprised a breakdown of two generations, three generations and those with grandparents and grandchildren only (skipped generation).

The substantial house damage altered some of the families' set-up. Some members had moved out of the old houses for fear of safety or because collapsed walls decreased the number of habitable rooms. These affected issues of household heads, size and whether a family was nuclear or extended. For example, there was an elderly man who insisted on staying in his old house while his wife stayed in a zinc-sheet house set up in the backyard. Most parts of the old house had collapsed, leaving three rooms uninhabitable. However, one room still had three walls, and so that is where the older man stayed. He used flour sacks to conceal the open space. Because of staying in separate houses, his wife no longer cooked nor washed for him. Though the two seemed to be getting along, they no longer shared family responsibilities. He cooked, bathed and slept in his room. This example shows just one of the various ways in which the poor habitability of the houses affected cultural aspects.

## 8.6.2 Occupancy and Uses of Houses

The profiled houses were essentially used for residential purposes, with some integrating home-based businesses. Some substantially damaged ones were used for storage as owners had safety and security concerns over their residential use.



**Figure 8.58: Uses of Profiled Housing in Bochabela**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi

As shown in Figure 8.58, at 70.1%, the highest number of these houses were being utilised as family houses, with 3.2% of them headed by second-generation owners (this being the grandparents, as the great-grandparents were the first owners). Some houses were accommodated by multiple generations of the family (extended family). The overall number of leased houses was 93 (29.6%), of which multiple tenants occupied 13.4%. The next level of occupancy was by both owner and tenants at 11.1%, wherein the landlords and their families occupied some part of the house and leased out the rest of the rooms. Other houses were in latent use because the owners had contracted a caretaker to look after the house while deciding what to do with it. Some caretakers reside in the houses while others regularly come to clean and check-up. 15 (4.8%) houses were wholly leased to a single family. The least number, at 0.3%, was business use, wherein one house was rented to operate partly as a supermarket, with other rooms rented for residential use.

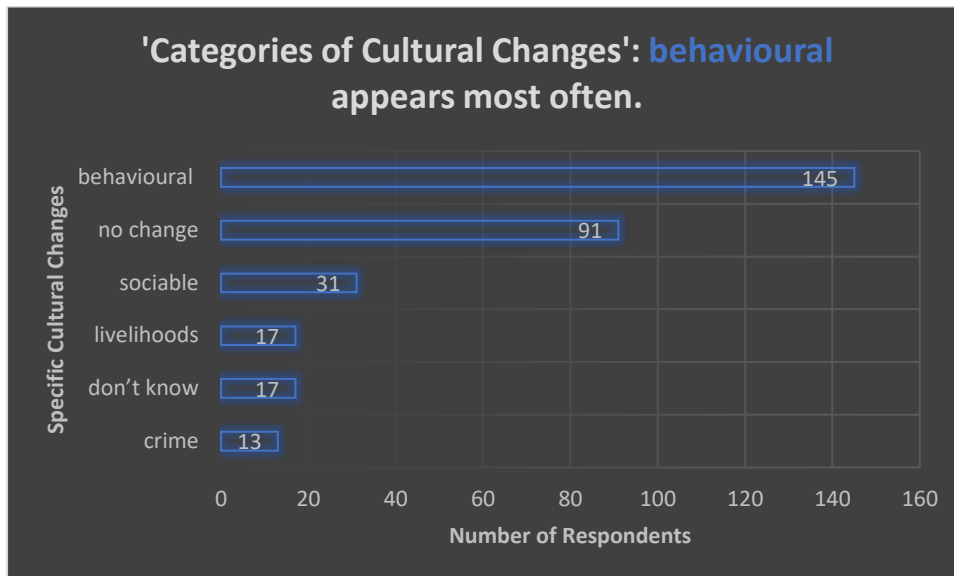
In terms of size, 99 houses had 1-3 rooms, 173 had 4-6 rooms, 30 had 7-9 rooms, and 3 had 10-12 rooms. In terms of the number of individual rooms, the highest share was that of 5-roomed houses (75), followed by 4-roomed houses at 60 and 41 6-roomed houses. While only 1 house had 12 rooms, 2 were 10-roomed, 4 were 9-roomed, and 7 were 8-roomed, and these fell on the lower rung. The 12-roomed house was extended for use by both owners and tenants. The size of a house plays a big role in determining proper childcare, social interaction, intimacy, recreation, self-expression, and societal positioning (Tonkin, 2008, p. 134). In this regard, 110 respondents (35%) said their houses felt overcrowded. An array of reasons raised for this feeling include bad relations between residents (5 or 1.6%), lack of privacy (5 or 1.6%), limited outside space for gardening, playing, socialising (3 or 0.96%), occasional overcrowding, e.g., when relatives visit (2 or 0.6%) and too many people sharing limited space (87 or 27.7%).

Moreover, 42 of the 87 households that felt overcrowded due to too many people sharing limited space claimed to have no monthly savings, while 2 had a monthly savings range of ZAR1500-R2,500, and 33 stated it as ZAR50-1,000. The monthly household income range of these 87 respondents was one respondent above ZAR13,000, 17 below ZAR1,500, 50 between ZAR1,600-3,500, 10 between ZAR3,600-6,500 and 2 between ZAR6,600-13,000. 51 of these 87 respondents stayed in houses with 1-3 rooms, 46 resided in 4-6 roomed houses, and 13 in 7-12 roomed houses. The 201 respondents (64%) who did not feel overcrowded in their houses indicated that they fit comfortably with their belongings and that there was free movement and adequate privacy. Forty-eight resided in 1-3 roomed houses, 127 in 5-7 roomed houses and 20 in 8-10 roomed houses.

With 110/35% of all respondents feeling overcrowded, it can be deduced that a notable number of poor urban dwellers rarely have reasonable internal and external privacy, comfort and adequate social spaces. This is directly related to the spatial arrangements of their houses, such as the number of rooms and layout plus interaction with surroundings. Housing privacy has two components, seclusion of the family from the external world and reciprocal isolation of family members to separate incompatible activities (Massey, 2015; Rapelang et. al., 2018, p. 698). Proper consideration of this creates harmony between tenants and their housing and should therefore be part of housing development concerns in Bochabela.

### 8.6.3 Cultural changes

Cultural changes were identified in terms of social practices and interaction. According to the study, most respondents (206 or 65.6%) believed that cultural changes had occurred since they lived in Bochabela, while 91 (29%) believed that no cultural changes had occurred, and the least 17 (5.4%) did not know. The changes were categorised as behavioural (46.18%), sociable (9.87%), livelihoods (5.41%) and crime (4.14%) related, as highlighted in Figure 8.59.



**Figure 8.59: Categories of Cultural Changes**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Behavioural changes included adopting modern or foreign practices and were blamed on a high influx of people from other parts of South Africa and neighbouring countries. Many indicated that the local youth adopted bad behaviour, such as drinking excessively, taking drugs and disrespecting their elders. Social relations were said to have deteriorated, as community members “don’t understand each other anymore” and the “spirit of ubuntu died.” To a low extent, the locals were also considered unwelcoming to foreigners, which caused tension in the neighbourhood. Most respondents, however, felt that there were peaceful relations between foreign nationals and locals.

Some stipulated that foreign nationals who established businesses in Bochabela reduced local job opportunities as shop ownership shifted from locals to foreigners. Others indicated that various ethnic groups and foreign nationals induced crime escalation. The South African ethnic groups the respondents identified to have infiltrated Bochabela included Xhosa, Zulu, Tswanas, Venda and Ndebele people. Those from outside the country included Basotho, Zimbabwe, Ghanaian, Malawian,

Congolese, Ethiopian, Somalian, Indian, Mozambican, Nigerian, Batswana, and Cameroonian people. Basotho, Indian, Ethiopian and Nigerian people were frequently cited as a resident of Bochabela. Some thoughts reflecting these findings are shown in Box 21.

**Box 21: Thoughts on Cultural Changes**

“Different cultures exist, also behaviour changed when other cultures came here.”  
“There is diversity of culture. We were fine when we stayed with Basotho, amaZulu and Xhosa. The Zimbabweans and Ethiopians and these other cultures make too many children in a short time”  
“Foreign nationals came to Bochabela due to cheaper rent and also close to work. People walk to the firms. Basotho are more than any other, they bring bad habits and crime, caused chaos”  
“We see more people from outside coming to do their drugs. Nigerians infiltrated drugs into the neighbourhood, some say this is rumour. I think it is true”  
“Rape increased, stolen phones. South Africa tries to put foreigners in order. Since independence influx of foreigners brought instability. We call it the new SA, our diversity democracy”  
“Ethiopians do not link with other community members, they have shops. I don’t have personal experience, but others say they are problematic. They just sell their products”  
“It is important to share, but others bring trouble when drunk. We buy from their businesses, they have curbed the country’s progress, influenced our communities and challenged our businesses”.  
“Locals only link with foreigners when they need favours and trash their shops during strikes.”

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

It was established in Section 8.2 that the surveyed houses were structurally damaged and that owners and tenants could not afford their upkeep, hence contributing to Bochabela’s neighbourhood decay (Slach et al., 2019, p. 4). The insinuation that many migrants are concentrated in Bochabela due to the availability of cheap housing and that most have entered into verbal rental agreements aligns with the claim that migrants are among those who struggle to access adequate housing rights (Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 12). As similarly found elsewhere, lower-income earners who migrate to inner cities due to their convenient proximity to workplaces have difficulty finding satisfactory low-cost housing, as most adequate housing available is unaffordable for them (Lindamood, 1974, p. 23). This, plus the claim that migrants also contribute to crime, underscores the necessity to provide private housing rentals in a manner that supports local measures against illegal migration in Bochabela and MMM.

### 8.7 Community Unity and Collaborative Efforts

Respondents were asked if and how the community members of Bochabela worked together to solve problems and what kind of individual contributions or collaborative efforts they had made to improve the neighbourhood. The common finding, shown in Table 8.5, was that community members of Bochabela were not united and that individuals did not work towards neighbourhood improvements.

Moreover, some insight was sought into which groups were considered important in driving community development and support in the past two years. This part includes findings from key-informant interviews with four community leaders.

**Table 8.5: Perceptions on the Existence of Community Unity and Individual Assistance**

| Community Unity | Respondents | Percentage | Individual Assistance | Respondents | Percentage |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------|
| No              | 164         | 52.2%      | No                    | 212         | 67.5%      |
| Yes             | 141         | 44.5%      | Yes                   | 94          | 29.9%      |
| Don't know      | 9           | 2.9%       | Don't know            | 8           | 2.6%       |
| Total           | 314         | 100%       | Total                 | 314         | 100%       |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 8.7.1 Community Unity

In most cases, those who said the community was united because it fights crime together (15.92%). Bochabela's residents were said to tackle safety issues, especially those facing women by reporting incidents to the police and the street committee. They also formed a neighbourhood watch ('operation *wa nya tsotsi*') which patrolled at night, attended house break-ins and did not tolerate criminals and gang violence. There was a common perception that the community supported each other during difficult times, especially funerals and disasters. "We face any crisis together", for example, when houses collapse or get flooded. Community members help to build emergency houses for distressed families or make necessary improvements such as replacing the roofs and windows or using alternative materials in the event of not affording new ones.

They also held meetings to share information, address conflicts, discuss job opportunities and service delivery, and organise strikes. One respondent said, "*The community is already united, but one only gets to see this during strikes.*" Speaking of strikes, some indicated that community members protected foreigner businesses from looting. As one indicated: "*I protected the Ethiopians during the strikes last week. We went to their shop to stop these unruly people from damaging and stealing. We hid them in my house. The whole night we protected them and gave them food while others guarded their shop. Not a single thing was stolen.*" In general, the perception here was that the Bochabela community had "*love for one another*" and "*spirit of ubuntu.*"

Respondents who indicated that there was no community unity said the community lacked cohesion and did not help after the crime occurred. As stated, "they will let you suffer alone, then gossip about you." Moreover, there was no community forum for collaboration, and different classes caused division. Hence, hatred, jealousy and animosity existed between community members. Respondents

also complained that their street committee was dissolved, which made it difficult to report any issues and resulted in a silo mentality. So, there was a tendency for community members to “mind their own business” and individually consult the councillor, police or municipality when they had issues. This group was generally disheartened about community unity, indicating that Bochabela had no solutions for housing and economic problems because “everyone [was] in their comfort zone” and “never pitch even when one tries” so community meetings were no longer held. This lack of community pride and commitment may make it difficult to encourage meaningful participation in community-led regeneration, incumbent housing upgrading and local economic development. This is because these require advocacy, community involvement and willingness to improve neighbourhoods and curtail decay (Shannon, 2018, p. 5; Zuk, et al., 2017, p. 2).

### 8.7.2 Individual Assistance

Some respondents indicated having helped in their community at some point (94 or 29.94%), while others never did (124 or 39.49%). Some comments relating to this are highlighted in Box 22. Those who never provided community support were hindered by old age, lack of income, and not identifying any problems that required their attention. Others provided details of the assistance they conducted in their personal capacity. Many claimed to have approached the government about issues like lack of services and then gave feedback to the community. Others participated in the IDP meetings “but the government department does not report back, they never do what they promised.”

#### Box 22: Individual Community Support

| Reasons for Not offering Community Support    |  |
|---|--|
| Old age                                       | Only focuses on own survival   |
| Poverty                                       | Lack of income   |
| No problems identified                        | “I cannot help while struggling myself”  |
| Community Support Given                       |  |
| Helping the poor and supporting neighbours    | Mobilises community to act against poor service delivery   |
| Giving shelter and food to orphans            | Fights corruption and reports crime to police  |
| Providing groceries during lockdown           | Organise and attend a community forum  |
| Assisted employer during lockdown             | Raising awareness of existing problems   |
| Taking care of the sick and burying the poor  | Reports municipal service issues   |
| Made a wheelchair for a community member      | Established an NPO or part of one  |
| Maintains and fixes the house, fit paving     | Spoke with a councillor to fix flooding in the homes, thus helping neighbours                              |
| Community's handyman                          | Fixed the roads and potholes with sand   |
| Mentoring students and empowering youth       | Collecting waste when municipality fails. Active in addressing community issues, is running for councillor |
| Buying school uniform                         | Write formal complaints to councillors and MMM   |
| Helped in the emergency of a burning house    | Chaired street committee, passed funeral announcements to the community until retirement                   |
| Organise football tournaments for the youth   | Community patrol and combatting crime  |
| Volunteered as a cook at a school             | Helped to develop a park for kids  |
| Clean the neighbourhood, soccer field, church | Community upliftment where necessary   |
| Provide plumbing services                     | Social media posts about neighbourhood issues  |
| Praying for the community                     |  |
| Volunteers care work to assist the elderly    |  |
| Volunteer to paint people's houses            |  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Respondents who were particularly bothered by the neighbourhood decay facilitated and took part in campaigns to clean the neighbourhood and even beyond, for example, the old Zoo, which they were trying to revive. They invited the mayor, police officials, business owners, and municipal officials to gain support for their activities. However, there was consensus that support from these parties was very weak, if it existed at all. There was an instance of community support in the form of skills development: *“those who wait by the streetlights for any kind of offer indicates a willingness to work but lack of skills. If such people are armed with relevant skills, they can make a living anywhere they are. So, I train such people to become tourism guides.”* Most respondents were satisfied with helping the community from an individual perspective. However, some of those supporting the community as part of their responsibility felt let down: *“People come, and request help and I always assist but all the time they always blame my unit [community committee] whenever the police van is here.”*

### 8.7.3 Importance of Various Groups in Neighbourhood Improvement

There was an interesting view by respondents on which people they considered active in neighbourhood improvement and community support. As highlighted in Table 8.6, most respondents considered the local government and political leaders to have been least supportive of community issues in the past two years. This was because they had mostly failed to undertake their responsibilities, including promised development or intervention during the pandemic. Churches, individuals and neighbourhood committees were perceived as most helpful during the same period. Churches were praised for offering food parcels, school resources and psychological support, though this tended to be only for their members. Individuals, including those in business, were highly instrumental in providing basic needs to the poor, especially during emergencies. Neighbourhood committees were especially helpful in fighting crime, keeping the neighbourhood orderly and mobilising service delivery on behalf of the community. Property management companies, property owners associations and NGOs were generally unheard of, which may have implications for housing development and support in Bochabela.

Some thought that the community of Bochabela could not conduct any collaborative development due to dependency on handouts, no money and lack of unity. However, there was consensus that collaboration between community members was necessary to promote community unity and support community rights. The thinking here was that if the community collaborated, a stable local economy would be developed through strengthening existing capabilities, thus stabilising local livelihoods. There was consensus that the community needed to first unite and work together to monitor the government, support each other and take of communal services and infrastructure.

**Table 8.6: Groups that have been important to neighbourhood improvement in the past two years**

| Perception        | Individuals | Local Govt | Political Leaders | Neighbourhood Committee | Traditional Leaders | Property Owners Association | Property Management Company | NGOs | Churches |
|-------------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|------|----------|
| Not important     | 101         | 201        | 202               | 92                      | 159                 | 87                          | 82                          | 84   | 138      |
| Important         | 117         | 81         | 63                | 114                     | 52                  | 30                          | 19                          | 48   | 133      |
| Don't know        | 76          | 25         | 40                | 39                      | 59                  | 69                          | 77                          | 75   | 31       |
| Unaware it exists | 20          | 7          | 9                 | 69                      | 44                  | 128                         | 136                         | 107  | 12       |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Some suggestions to strengthen the economy were for Bochabela residents to establish communal businesses and create local employment, form community-based organisations and community development forums to address local challenges and engage in community commercial farming on vacant plots. The respondents highlighted the necessity for creating platforms where community members could identify local needs and share ideas about possible solutions. Such platforms would also allow the community to establish opportunities and ways to collectively improve their housing, take care of the physical environment, mobilise service delivery and meaningfully engage in decision-making processes. Moreover, safety, crime control, and youth guardianship were other areas deemed achievable through community collaboration.

From these findings, Bochabela gains financial assets such as community commercial farms and communal businesses, while social benefits include enhanced collaboration between vulnerable urban dwellers and decision-makers, thus facilitating an inclusive urban scape (Colenbrander & Archer, 2016, p. 15). Through participation, inclusion, and the creation of platforms to voice local needs, Bochabela's residents can embrace and utilise community strengths, build local capacity and skills, and enhance sustainability and transformative capacity to break down barriers and dependency syndrome (Leach, 2017, p. 20 The Movement for Community Led-Development, 2017).

Thoughts on how the private and public sectors can support Bochabela were mostly geared towards developing new houses and creating employment opportunities, which most thought should be done simultaneously. An almost equal share of respondents reckoned that the best support from these sectors could be a neighbourhood renewal, funding for individuals, business development funding and improved service delivery. They stated that the private and public sectors should convene a house-to-house needs assessment that would enable them to understand the local needs. This was to be

followed by a robust improvement of community facilities and the hiring of locals to clean the surroundings. Some also mentioned that *“the municipality should give us our title deeds”* and *“fix our houses.”* A group of respondents conveyed that their faith in the government was completely lost, so there was nothing it could do. *“This government is not willing to address any issues. They are concentrating on their elections. To strategise how they are going to steal out tax.”* (This was in relation to the local government elections preparations). Therefore, some thought the two sectors should work together to end corruption, eradicate crime and improve security.

It was recommended that these could be achieved by strengthening the leadership, including the community in development plans, sensitising them about laws and their rights and encouraging activism. It was also deemed necessary to support street committees and police forums. As part of the crime reduction strategy, rehabilitation facilities for drug users were also deemed necessary. To prioritise support of vulnerable groups, the government could liaise with businesses already assisting the community to provide various means of non-financial community support such as basic needs, including free education, reduced electricity and water costs, food parcels and clothing. The private sector was expected to collaborate with the government to build community capacity and collaboration, facilitate expert support, and provide communal farms so Bochabela could be a sustainable community. Such support was expected to be monitored and evaluated once it existed.

These suggestions corresponded to those discussed in Chapter 5 (Box 4), which generally called for strong leadership, political will and bottom-up governance with extensive public inclusion distinguished planning, implementation, management, monitoring and evaluation as well as strong multi-sectoral partnerships (Garcia, 2010, p. 113; Gonzáles, 2011, pp. 1408-1409); Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, p. 139; Sadd, 2010, pp. 266-269).

## 8.8 Conclusion

To assess the nature of housing adequacy in Bochabela, this chapter presented and analysed data concerning housing adequacy parameters: location, accessibility, tenure security, affordability, habitability, infrastructure and services and cultural adequacy. In terms of tenure, the study found that the houses were inherited, government-provisioned or bought, with most comprising nuclear, male-headed families. Most respondents had full ownership of their houses secured with formal title deeds. The claim by many respondents to have title deeds was interesting as this is unusual in South African Townships. This thus presents an opportunity for further research.

Bochabela is well-located in proximity to the CBD, industrial areas and places of work for most respondents. It is also easily accessible through two municipal roads and efficient public and transport systems. Because of this, it attracts transient migrants and low-income families who cannot afford high housing and transport costs. Thus, besides housing owners, the surveyed houses were also leased to migrants from other provinces and countries like Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia. Most of these tenants had entered into verbal agreements with the owners. There was some scepticism that they could be evicted at any time due to poor relations with their landlords. This was also true for residents who owned cooperatives and whose family politics threatened their tenure security.

The study also found that while the houses in Bochabela were substantially damaged, it was not from lack of maintenance effort from the owners, but rather, that the level of maintenance or renovation demanded more extensive repairs than what most owners could afford. Most respondents had a household income below ZAR1,500-3,500, and many struggled to meet all their basic needs for the past twelve months. Hence, they could not undertake extensive renovations. Moreover, many tenants indicated that they could only afford the housing offered in Bochabela, as its dilapidated state made it cheaper. The affordability of adequate housing is therefore one of the challenges faced by residents.

The dilapidated state of the houses triggered disasters such as flooding during storms, collapsing walls, roofing and ceilings, and challenges like poor health due to mould and extreme heat or cold during different seasons. Some families had stored the rubble from the collapsed houses in the hope of future use. It was also difficult to achieve privacy and comfort in most houses due to overcrowding. For many, separating the activities of different age groups within the houses was a challenge. This meant that the habitability and cultural adequacy of the houses were limited.

Given these findings, it is necessary to conduct collective planning and implementation, accountability, community leadership, adaptability and collaboration so that Bochabela can achieve the benefits of community-led development highlighted in the last part of this section.

## CHAPTER 9: MANGAUNG METRO'S MANDATE FOR ADEQUATE HOUSING AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN BOCHABELA

“How to convert policy into action, where you need to start drafting policy is easy but implementation is a challenge. This is rooted in skills. Not understanding necessary processes as they are complex, which in turn results in poor participation or standing in the way of progress” (Respondent A, 2021)

### 9.1 Introduction

The nature of governance, existing laws and policies are integral to urban planning, economic development and housing adequacy (Chapters 2 and 4). Additionally, collaborative practices between stakeholders towards action and support for housing and economic development determine outcomes in this regard (Chapter 5). Chapter 3 comprehensively reflected this thinking concerning South Africa's experience. Based on findings from 10 key-informant interviews with municipal officials, specialists, academics and community leaders in executive and senior positions, this chapter determines the planning implications in Bochabela through the lens of the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality's mandate towards ensuring access to adequate housing and spearheading local economic development in the township. The chapter thus presents and discusses the operative legislative and policy frameworks in Bochabela, initiatives geared towards housing and economic development, their progress and implementation challenges. This chapter also identifies existing opportunities for housing and economic development in Bochabela, which may encourage residents to seek change collectively.

### 9.2 Operative Legislation and Policies

Question: What are the key legislation and policies operative in Bochabela and other townships?

As per constitutional provisions discussed in Chapter 3, there are three levels of governance in South Africa. This means that national, provincial and local directives guide development within Mangaung. The key respondents' were officials from Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM), Free State Provincial Departments, independent practitioners and academics. Their everyday work included capacity building and strategic municipal support, facilitation of land use applications, connecting the local and national governments and external stakeholders such as academia and the private sector, and handling tourism, housing and economic development. They indicated laws and policies guiding them, as listed in Table 9.1. From this list, it can be deduced that Mangaung has systems aligned with the constitutional guidelines to govern, provide services, promote economic and social development

and provide a safe and healthy environment for its residents (Sections 155(1) and 156). However, given that the municipality is currently under national administration (Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 2022, p. 1), the effective and efficient application of these guidelines has failed. In short, MMM is not fulfilling its mandate.

While the Respondents suggested that these regulations were crucial to enabling job creation, housing and economic development and identifying and allocating the necessary resources to achieve these, there was some scepticism regarding their applicability. As one Respondent stipulated: "*legislation does not feature to me as a priority so long as its applicability is weak*" (Respondent F, 2021). There are two main findings concerning this: it is challenging to implement the regulations because 1) an understanding of adequate housing is not consistent across relevant departments and stakeholders, and 2) some regulations are not suitable for townships.

Regarding the first finding, one Respondent speculated that "there is a conflict in how the constitution, other relevant legislation, implementing officials and residents define adequate housing" (Respondent A, 2021). This disparity occurs at the institutional level, where there is a constant need for compromise in implementing housing development regulations. This grievance links to the argument that the South African constitution fails to guide and capacitate local governments to execute housing delivery concretely (Turok, 2016, p.14).

The second finding occurs at the township level, where residents contravene the law by renovating houses without municipal approvals. This could be due to legislation incompatible with township realities, expensive building plans and land use applications, and the residents' ignorance regarding regulations. As contended in previous chapters, scholars like (Charman, et al., 2017) and (Marais, 2008, p. 3), unsuitable regulations lead to neighbourhood deterioration as residents contravene them, and officials cannot enforce them. This then hinders the intended development. One Respondent said of these contraventions: "*Laws and rules are there to serve us. Those that are unfair are automatically contravened*" (Respondent B, 2021). In this regard, MMM should not just be about controlling housing and economic development. Instead, it should have a housing support department that offers technical support to residents. Support can include guidance regarding steps to follow for housing (re)development, best practices, preferred materials, new technologies and available opportunities. This will be cheaper for the indigent as they will not have to appoint costly private assistance.

**Table 9.1: Relevant National, Provincial and Local Regulations Operative in Mangaung**

| <b>NATIONAL POLICIES, LAWS AND REGULATIONS</b>   |   |
|--|---|
| The White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1995)<br>Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 108 of 1996<br>The Housing Act 107 of 1997<br>The National Environment Management Act (NEMA) 107 of 1998<br>Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000<br>Municipal Structures Act, 1998<br>Municipal Finance Management Act 56 Of 2003<br>Breaking New Ground (A Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Integrated Sustainable Human Settlements) 2004<br>Intergovernmental Relations Framework Act 13 of 2005<br>The National Environment Management: Waste Act 59 of 2008 | The National Housing Code 2009<br>New Growth Path (NGP) 2010<br>National Tourism Sector Strategy 2011<br>Tourism Master Plan 2011<br>National Development Plan 2030 (NDP) 2012<br>White Paper for the Development of Human Settlements Legislation (2015)<br>Integrated Public Transport Network (IPTN) Plan 2018<br>Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) 2016<br>The National Framework for Local Economic Development Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) |
| <b>PROVINCIAL REGULATIONS</b>  |   |
| Free State Human Settlements Strategic Plan<br>The Free State Growth and Development Strategy<br>District LED Strategies   |   |
| <b>LOCAL REGULATIONS</b>   |   |
| MMM Integrated Human Settlements Plan<br>Housing Development Plan<br>MMM-Integrated Development Plan (IDP)<br>Built Environment Performance Plan (BEPP)<br>Service Delivery and Budget Implementation Plan (SDBIP)   | MMM-Spatial Development Framework (SDF)<br>Mangaung Economic Development Strategy 2006<br>Mangaung Heritage Framework 2012<br>Land Use Management By-Laws 2021<br>Sectoral Plans  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

### 9.3 Housing and Economic Development in Bochabela

Question: Which public investment and economic development plans and initiatives have been implemented for Bochabela Township?

The study found that Bochabela was included in various development plans and initiatives within the past five years. The aims, outcomes and implementation challenges of these are summarized in Table 9.2.

**Table 9.2: Development Plans and Initiatives in MMM**

| <b>Mangaung Spatial Development Framework</b>      |  |
|--|--|
| Aims   | To guide where specific development will occur<br>To address illegal land invasion<br>To control land use and addresses changes on it through the Land Use Scheme (LUS)  |
| Outcomes   | Development and maintenance of municipal infrastructure through the Municipal Infrastructure Grant (MIG)<br>The Municipal Infrastructure Support Agent (MISA) supports development and maintenance of cemeteries and sanitation<br>"Land development applications attract investors who can also train locals and create jobs"<br>(Respondent B, 2021)   |
| Implementation challenges                          | None specified   |
| <b>Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP)</b>      |  |
| Aims   | To serve the purpose of municipal community support and local level development  |
| Outcomes   | Facilitates public-private-partnerships<br>Trains locals to make them employable<br>Creates jobs for the local community   |
| Implementation Challenges                          | None specified   |
| <b>Bochabela Community Residential Units (CRU)</b> |  |
| Aims   | To develop public rental housing and upgrade hostels<br>To provide affordable housing to the low-income earners  |
| Outcomes   | Land parcels were released by government to develop human settlements that are closer to socio-economic opportunities There is social housing development (CRU) in Bochabela next to Silver City Hostel  |
| Implementation challenges                          | Informal settlers disrupt municipal plans. They must be prioritized over the original plans, so resources are redirected to addressing their issues or crises.<br>"They develop in dangerous or reserved land and when government advices them about the danger of settling in areas like swamps, they say "metsi a ts'aba motho" (water fears the people) yet when disaster strikes, they demand and expect us to deal with the implications as government. It is now seen as our fault" (Respondent A, 2021) |
| <b>Bus Rapid Transit (BRT)</b>                     |  |
| Aims   | To facilitate public transport efficiency and affordability  |
| Outcomes   | The BRT is ongoing<br>The main transport routes are being fixed in Mangaung Townships including Bochabela<br>The hop-on hop-off bus system proposed by this initiative can potentially improve access and support to businesses and the tourism sector of Bochabela  |
| Implementation Challenges                          | None specified   |
| <b>The Bill on Township Tourism</b>                |  |
| Aims   | To launch the Township Tourism Initiative  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Outcomes   | Created a route along Mangaung townships (including Bochabela) and stops at pivotal points including food and beverages businesses, landmarks and historical buildings<br>Supports the local economy through income generation<br>Launched at Kayla-K Food Court and Car Wash in Bochabela<br>"International reports to write about Bochabela/Mangaung" (Respondent C, 2021).   |
| Implementation challenges                                | The bureaucracy that comes with the by-laws impinges on township economic development. For example, opening spaza shops is difficult and applying for business is expensive. Migrants also make it difficult for residents to participate in the local economy. "Bangladesh, Somalians and Ethiopians overlook the by-laws and get away with it but when our people do so we give them grief. 5 billion rands gets repatriated out of the country every year to the detriment of local economies. The illegal migrants are not even using local banks. The country is running on a negative balance. At least Basotho buy in South Africa and contribute to the economy, these far ones we are benefitting nothing" (Respondent C, 2021). Home-economics principles should apply to local economic development. Mangaung can take lessons from Tanzania and Kenya which dispelled Arabians because they were crippling the economy. |
| <b>Free State Township Economy Bill</b>                  |   |
| Aim  | "The Free State Township Economy Bill is in the pipeline. It is aimed at improving the economy of townships by supporting local businesses."  |
| Outcomes   | "Serviced stands. There is more private investment going into public development"   |
| Implementation Challenges                                | "We take responsibility in old townships during disasters and by funding local initiatives that are on the priority list"   |
| <b>Coca-Cola Company Township SMME Support Programme</b> |   |
| Aim  | "The Coca-Cola company wants to zoom into townships to promote the economy especially through role players in their sales and distribution value chain for example shebeens, spaza shops, shesanyama spots."  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

Bochabela is clearly in the government's scope in terms of housing, services, infrastructure and economic development. Looking at the scope of development, socio-economic issues like unaffordable housing, unemployment, business failure, poor transportation and unplanned development are being addressed. This is advantageous because it addresses multiple components of housing adequacy in Bochabela (Chirisa, 2018, p. 308; Ling, 2020, p. 15; Monroy, et al., 2020, p. 8; UN-Habitat, 2012, p. 9).

## 9.4 Identifying and Prioritizing Developmental Needs in Townships

Question: How are plans and initiatives deemed necessary or prioritized?

Understanding how Mangaung decides which neighbourhoods need what form of development assistance was crucial to knowing how Bochabela features in the municipality's plans. This study found that public participation is essential to identifying and prioritizing township development needs. The Respondents stated that the primary regulations guiding this process were the Constitution, Municipal Systems Act the municipal IDP. As one stipulated: *"Firstly, we are guided by the constitution. Check chapter 7, section 152, which entails the object of local government. We should use this section to evaluate the local government, anything beyond this [section] is immaterial"* (Respondent D, 2021).

The IDP was found to be most instrumental in guiding development in townships like Bochabela as it is informed by community per ward and are consulted yearly to get local priorities. Once priorities are set, they go into the IDP as projects. As indicated: *"The IDP informs us, we don't do things out of our heads. We do things that help communities"* (Respondent C, 2021). The people's aspirations also determine the kind of development that is prioritized for initiation. Different people within different wards aspire for different things, mostly things they cannot afford. Relatedly, Respondent E, (2022) said: *"In South Africa, just like Ghana and Europe, township residents aspire for a colonial legacy they could not have. This pushes them to demand the kind of development existing in the suburbs. This has also instilled a culture of entitlement and dependency, which is the case with welfare state."*

Through the IDP consultation meetings, the municipality then gains insight into local needs, which they prioritize according to urgency and feasibility. One Respondent gave a practical illustration of this: *"Viability of proposed initiatives for example, if ward A and D require roads, but B and C proposed a different development, we may decide based on the level of need that developing a road is the best or most viable option. In this case, instead of developing disjointed roads at A and D, we may then decide to develop a linked road from ward A through B and C up to D. This will require communication and negotiation with the residents of wards B and C who had previously prioritized a different development. Their initial propositions will then be moved to another financial year"* (Respondent A, 2021).

While some Respondents consider the IDP a consultative process, others think the consultations are superficial and only done for municipal checklists. Case in point, Respondent D, (2021) said, *"There is supposedly a community participation process, and theoretically, councilors interact with the civil society to attain urgent needs of communities."* This indicates that those facilitating the public participation process during development do not have confidence in the way it is conducted. It also

shows that there is a need for improved collaboration and inclusion of stakeholders within Mangaung. This finding is consistent with (Thwala, 2009, p. 48; Watson, 2009, p. 179) that urban renewal in South Africa demonstrates rhetorical public participation, thereby resulting in a lack of community commitment and ownership. Mangaung must elevate public participation towards informed decision-making to ensure a sustainable urban renewal process. Scholars, including (Ho, et al., 2012, p. 163; Massey, 2013, p. 606), also suggested this approach for other areas.

It was also found that the IDP directs municipal spending, as funding is only availed to plans included in the IDP. This is because the IDP targets and local economic development strategy direct the yearly plans and prioritization based on available resources and comprehensive needs of the neighbourhoods. Moreover, there is a limit to the number of projects that can be implemented annually due to financial and capacity constraints. *"It has happened that some wards are not funded within a particular year due to lack of funding. When this occurs, councilors should be notified by the municipality so that they can then communicate to their communities that their needs will not be funded in that particular year. However, this is where the government is failing"* (Respondent F, 2021).

The Respondents indicated that plans and initiatives are prioritized because "Certain powers are centralized, yet their functions are needed at the local level. In order to foster intergovernmental collaboration or decentralization, these plans were implemented to promote accountability, monitoring and evaluation." This shows that Mangaung considers the SPLUMA principles of efficiency, good administration and spatial justice (SPLUMA, 2013).

Another finding was that Mangaung takes best practices from several international countries to identify and learn about ways of development. Municipal officials from the relevant departments, such as Town Planning, Local Economic Development, Human Settlement Intergovernmental Relations and Funding, travel to other countries for training. International experts also visit the municipality to train officials. Mangaung then uses such international practices to guide the implementation of some plans, projects, and initiatives. As stipulated by (Sadd, 2010, p. 272), it is highly beneficial for areas planning urban renewal to take lessons from successful instances. They should, however, localize such lessons to fit local realities. In this regard, there was a strong opinion that Mangaung is failing dismally in the localization and application of international best practices for housing and economic development. Because this point is integral to this study, an extended extract from the interview is highlighted in Box 23.

### Box 23: Adopting International Best Practices

#### South Africa's Implementation of Borrowed Best Practices

"South Africa tried the Thailand community trust model which facilitates neighbourhood upgrading, the Virginia shutter building which was drawn elsewhere and the Hungary agri-villages. The Thailand model has a formalized community structure. The Thailand forum has a global standing due to its comprehensive stakeholder inclusion. Though it excludes the private sector, it includes the public, academic, NGO, civil society etc sectors. The Virginia model entailed walls build by pouring cement in a shutter. Instead of the normal 8mpa thickness, the wall was 25mpa thick. However, since it was an imposed foreign technology, the community rejected the development regardless of its quality. Government officials also went to Hungary, saw Agri-villages and tried to apply them locally. The Hungary Agri-village was implemented in Springfontein. Money was spent in setting up infrastructure in Springfontein, all in vain. None of these borrowed models are working today. So, if it is a great idea but not accepted by the recipients, then the plan will fail."

#### Food for Thought

"The India model includes the private sector in an absolutely impressive manner. housing material specialists are grouped under one 'roof', and each specializes in one product e.g., doors, door frames, windows, window frames etc. These producers are based under a housing support centre where the government personnel offer technical support to public housing (and other) beneficiaries. For example, drawing up a list of materials to buy for building a house. They can buy the materials under one roof from different local suppliers. This model concurrently supports adequate housing development and local economic development."

Source: Respondent F, 2021

As seen in Box 23, the South African government adopted international development models out of context. Hence, their application in Bloemfontein and elsewhere failed dismally. This was because they did not try to first understand the local realities in alignment to the models. It is best to understand the root of the situation and the context before applying a foreign solution. The application of borrowed best practices should align with the local culture. Before any solutions are applied in Bochabela, for example, the Indian model, the township's context should be understood in all its completeness and complexity. Implementers should know the residents' needs and preferences and the best complementary support necessary besides capital. For example, technical advice on innovative building technology that is aligned to their culture. Such considerations make initiatives more acceptable to communities, thus leading to a successful implementation and sustainable development.

### 9.5 Major Challenges for Implementation

Question: What have been the major challenges of implementation?

The study found that Mangaung encounters institutional, stakeholder and resource challenges in implementing development plans. Institutionally, the underlying challenge is that even with regulations in place, there is a general lack of clear or unified interpretation and understanding of obligations and processes necessary for successful development. This is reinforced by a shortage of in-service training, indifference to studying policies and legislation and officials unwilling to perform

their civic duties. Moreover, councillors are not empowered to understand strategic processes. An example was given: *"The IDP is not easy, it is complex. Thus, councillors distance themselves from the process as they do not understand it"* (Respondent C, 2021). Masron, (2020, p. 12) contends that housing accessibility depends on the government's capacity and political will to implement policies. Therefore, this situation in Mangaung is not unique and hinders access to adequate housing.

The lack of understanding of roles is linked to incompetence and inexperience among many implementers. Two claims are cited in this regard. *"To convert policy into action, where you need to start drafting policy is easy, but implementation is a challenge. This is rooted in skills. Not understanding necessary processes as they are complex results in poor participation or standing in the way of progress"* and *"lack of skills for project management such as the Neighbourhood Development Grant, Inner City Development Grant, Urban Settlement Grant. Projects, therefore, tend to fail even when there is funding because skills are lacking"* (Respondent E, 2021). This finding resonates with earlier opinions by (Kamara, 2017, p. 98; Meyer, 2014, p. 630; Shannon, 2018, p. 2) that the success of local economic development is driven by conceptual clarity, understanding of roles, the collaboration between stakeholders, human capacity and necessary capital.

Though there was a claim that the capacities of municipalities are being improved by filling critical posts such as the CFO, planners and housing managers with qualified personnel, there was a disparity which fed into major implementation challenges. The issue was that *"positions are still filled by incompetent rather than qualified staff due to issues such as nepotism and corruption"* (Respondent D, 2021). This finding aligns with past events like those highlighted by (Bond & Tait, 1997, p. 27; Tissington, 2010, p. 36), where the state showed excessive corruption, lack of implementation capacity and flawed financial management during housing development. This shows that mentioning corruption in the South African context cannot be avoided as doing so would be avoiding reality. Systems should be created to address this hindrance.

Intergovernmental hindrances like red tape, power relations and political interference also form part of the institutional challenges. The findings show that planning decisions related to urban renewal take too long because of cutting across the three spheres of government. *"The municipality need only do what the constitution allows, anything outside this else is unlawful"* (Respondent E, 2022). Given the objects of local government (Section 152) and the constitutional court judgement that municipalities are responsible for housing, this statement is incorrect (van Wyk, 2012, pp. 470-475). There is a powerplay within the institutional framework that makes the implementation of the legislative framework difficult. Respondent B, (2021) made an example using a recent occurrence:

*“There is being right and politically correct. If you are right yet politically incorrect, then you are wrong. For example, Dr Angelique said Omicron in SA was not as severe as the rest of the world and she was crucified because of not being politically correct.”* There is political interference in planning initiatives, and officials are often inexperienced and lack the necessary capacity and support to combat this.

As clearly stipulated by Respondent G, (2021): "And I'm not sure, but I suspect one can put up a flyer and say our professionals need more support. The health discipline supports doctors, but I don't know if our professionals in practice are being supported. I have not, for one, seen them opposing political interference. The municipality's general apathy is based on long-term politicians lambasting planning decisions. Perhaps administrative fatigue is connected to high-level disconnection. Energized Heads of Departments must be appointed to lead their departments out of this sinkhole. Municipal officials are reluctant to make decisions to perform optimally because they can't crucify their paymasters, the politicians. This has to change. Professional bodies have to address the issue of political correctness, interference in planning and impinging professional practice by supporting their practicing professionals such as town planners, architects and surveyors."

Stakeholder challenges are rooted in inefficient collaboration practices and the existing top-down governance in Mangaung. Respondents have a unified view that there is poor communication and information dissemination between stakeholders. On the one hand, *"there is a lack of collaboration at all levels, there is a silo mentality, and especially within government departments. It seems people guard their jobs by refraining from collaboration"* (Respondent C, 2021). So, officials believe sharing information and ideas risks their jobs. Perhaps this is explained by the issue of political interference and the need for professional bodies' intervention. On the other hand, councillors do not want to be unpopular by being carriers of bad news, so they fail to communicate efficiently with the public. However, communication is crucial in any setting and for any feedback, as it enables stakeholders to devise solutions collectively.

The primary finding regarding resources is poor management of municipal finances and lack of funding. Local economic development requires capital (Oranje & Voges, 2014, p. 34). Respondent G, (2021) clarified that *"our [municipal] capital base is sourced from treasury, the equitable share and municipal rates and taxes."* But Mangaung is said to be ineffectively budgeting for operational and maintenance costs and new projects. It is failing in service delivery because it cannot generate income while also owed over R2 billion in levies. The lack of funding and service functions in MMM has hindered development and triggered public contestations. The segregationist history of service delivery and housing provision plays a role here. In summary of this, Respondent B, (2021) voiced that

*“The demography of our cities is highly dependent on the political history, wherein the traditional Bloemfontein city spent rates and taxes only on white residents. Now these have to be spread over the entire municipality, most of which [residents] are not contributing. Suburbs then suffer in terms of service delivery though they don't deserve it as their residents pay their rates and taxes. These are also not duly collected, and what is collected is not spent properly.”*

Considering these findings, the overarching issue seems to be a disconnect between regulations, Mangaung and local needs. This is seen in that regulations speak of human settlements, yet the municipal (and provincial) Department of Human Settlements is focused on building houses, while other departments determine where these houses and social amenities will be built separately. Government legislation sees human settlements as a long-term project, but the funding is in cycles that are not aligned with the longer-term development period of human settlements. The capital budget runs for two to three years. Such budgets should consider demographic information like the number of households, income spread, gender, and household needs and identify areas of improvement and where subsidies are needed. A human settlement means moving towards comprehensive development and not just housing development. For example, the municipality should spend a certain amount on developing schools, clinics, houses, roads, public spaces and the economy in a neighbourhood instead of spending only on housing development. Though this is the aim of the BGR policy, there are human settlements without social amenities. A way forward could be to define a project area, determine the amount needed for developing the area comprehensively, and identify a community structure in place. A community trust is a good starting point because it is formal and legitimate. However, it may be a precarious effort and thus requires intense research, especially on best practices such as the Thailand model of Agri-village.

The issue of existing political instability within Mangaung emerged frequently. However, Respondents were reluctant to delve deeper into the topic, though they indicated that it also affected service delivery and hindered efficient institutional functioning. As it stands, available resources are spread too thin. The municipality needs to improve its management. For example, there are growing instances of leaking water pipes, whether in townships or suburbs, staying that way for over three weeks even though residents constantly report to the municipality. *“Residents respond to this through guerrilla urbanism and capabilities approach”* (Respondent F, 2021). This means a groundswell of civil society in taking on municipal responsibilities during service delivery challenges. Examples include taking garbage to a central point like an open space due to failing municipal collections and illegally connecting water and electricity. In Chapters 2 and 3, scholars including (Bah, et al., 2018, p. 12; Pacione, 2005, p. 759; Selebalo & Webster, 2017, p. 29; Tonkin, 2008, p. 74) debate the principle of

infrastructure and services in adequate housing, and how municipal neglect of these lead to neighbourhood decay and poor public health.

In many neighbourhoods in Mangaung, residents have planted flowers and shrubs (suburbs) and vegetables (townships) in open spaces and sidewalks. *"This is called tactical urbanism"* (Respondent, F, 2021). Because food security is a socio-economic aspect featured in adequate housing, one can take a lesson from this by asking how people in Bochabela can adopt such thinking and action. For instance, residents already engaging in small-scale agriculture can be supported to promote subsistence farming in the neighbourhood. Noting that municipalities like to control the space to the detriment of development, the challenge here will be how Mangaung controls the situation despite its poor service delivery.

### 9.6 Stakeholders for Collaborative Housing and Economic Development

Question: What can be the contribution of the following stakeholders in the collaboration towards improved housing and economic conditions in Bochabela?

Having seen the challenges encountered by Mangaung in implementing development plans, it was crucial to identify how various stakeholders could collaborate for better execution. The Respondents shared thoughts on how residents, the municipality, local businesses and other players can participate in coordinated decision-making for housing and economic development in Bochabela.

#### 9.6.1 Bochabela Residents

Findings on how Bochabela residents can contribute relate to two main points: community agency and community-government liaison. The Respondents believed that residents lack a sense of ownership as they tend to vandalize infrastructure and any development in their neighbourhood. This may indicate that the residents feel excluded from the decision-making process. As highlighted by (Stadler & Dugmore, 2017, p. 14), involving communities gives them a sense of ownership, making them care for the outcomes and engage in the process. They also indicated that residents contribute to corruption and contravention of municipal regulations. As implied by Respondent B (2021): *"They must take responsibility and stop bribing officials to get things done."* It is, therefore, necessary for Bochabela residents to realize that their township's development is in their hands. (Shannon, 2018, p. 5; Kamara, 2017, p. 99) indicated that being primary decision-makers encourages communities to have meaningful participation and a sense of ownership of development initiatives. As a way forward, Bochabela residents must form a community forum or trust and participate in community

development initiatives. Furthermore, Mangaung must consider them as equal players in decision-making processes. Respondents thought that the Peoples Housing Process and IDP meetings were the best platforms for residents of Bochabela to contribute as players and not receivers of decisions.

The study found that the apartheid history was perceived to hinder the vigorous participation of communities in decision-making. Respondent C (2021) raised a concern that *"The apartheid system created a dependent community. They are not free to think out of the box. They are used to being dictated and planned for. There should be a shift from such a way of doing things."* As cited by (Gorgens & Van Donk, 2012; Harvey, 2003; Pirie, 1983, p. 349; Scheepers, 2019, p. 2), colonial-cum-apartheid legislation excluded natives from decision-making processes, marginalized and discriminated against them, and imposed their unequal access to housing provision and economic opportunities. It also denied their right to the city through dispossessing them of their property and forcibly removing them from urban land. This caused loss of dignity, mistrust in government, increased poverty levels and lack of place attachment among natives. It is apparent that these effects have lingered among the residents of Bochabela, who are now called to solve this by adopting *"self-pride and self-efficacy"* (Respondent B, 2021) by *"[acquiring] skills relevant to the market"* (Respondent C, 2021).

Another finding was that Bochabela residents must help Mangaung by being the gatekeepers of the township. Some identified ways to achieve this include *"fighting against informal settling themselves"* (Respondent E, 2021) and engaging in community-led development. Respondent C, 2021) said of this: *"Culture ended after 1994 when we were no longer fighting the government. Community development should be pushed as a mandate. A new culture of development, as government alone cannot drive development. People centred development is what we need."* This must be supported by research, information and compassion for the nation. For this to happen, the residents must first trust that plans made by the government are for their own good. (Müller, 2015, p. 7) indicates that a lack of trust in government causes bad relations that are not conducive to successful implementation. Hence, it is time to shift from top-down approaches within Mangaung to community-driven, participatory methods. When development aligns with a local identity, residents take meaningful participation in decision-making, which develops civic power and creates a sense of place.

Speaking of community-government liaison, Respondent F (2021) said: "Our solution is in civil society. Communities already have solutions or working mechanisms, these should not be ignored. Planning and development should be cognisant of this." This statement shows the importance of including indigenous knowledge systems in development, which can only be achieved by making communities part of decision-making. It also indicates the role of communicative/collaborative planning (Gunton &

Day, 2003, p. 8; Innes and Booher, 2010, p. 30). Instead of reinventing the apartheid wheel, communities should be included. For successful development, the ways and practices of Bochabela residents should be thoroughly studied and understood in alignment with their needs, and solutions should include their indigenous ways. (Shannon, 2018, p. 2; Meyer, 2014, p. 625) share this line of thinking and attest that indigenous knowledge can be used to stimulate area economic activities and bolster local competitiveness.

#### 9.6.2 The Public Sector

Findings show that the government's mandate is clearly to develop where there is no development and so it should develop all underdeveloped areas in collaboration with communities. Respondent A, (2021) uttered: *"Look at how many times the social component has been stated by the minister from 2000 in the housing development plan. The NDP and the BNG are clear about an inclusive and collaborative housing delivery process which considers multi-stakeholders. This process was first essentially steered by the private sector (1994-2001), then the public sector (2001-2004) and back to the private sector (2004-to date) through FLISP."* An understanding that emerged here is that the government is keeping to its end of the deal to implement collaborative development. However, some areas for improvement were identified concerning Bochabela and townships in general.

Respondents indicated that the government must create an enabling environment through its legislation. This was based on the finding that current legislation is incompatible with township realities. Scholars including (Myers, 2016; Rasmussen, 2019; Ren, 2019) have argued that this is typical to African countries. Hughes, (2010, p. 133) posits that this mismatch causes an imbalance of spatial benefits that can be derived from the application of regulations. Thus, *"land use management by-laws have to be relaxed to accommodate township situations especially along activity corridors. Even those [townships] with pivotal land do not have business rights"* (Respondent C, 2021). While *"some red-tape is unavoidable [because] ... compliance is important"* (Respondent E, 2021), processes must, however, be fast-tracked through collaboration between all involved. Hence, in housing and economic development initiatives, Mangaung should create systems that understand and acknowledge the differences between suburbs and townships.

There seemed to be indifference or within the municipal Department of Town Planning to engage in housing and economic development issues directly and extensively. As the respondent specified, the department only deals with applications relating to rezoning and subdivision of such developments. Thus, they consider the department of human settlements a more relevant player in this regard. Perhaps this is an indication of a need for municipal departments to strengthen their linkages and

disperse with a silo mentality. As demanded by SDG 17, the only way to achieve sustainable development is through a strong collaboration between various groups and levels of stakeholders, including within local government (United Nations, 2017). This collaboration will present access to necessary and diverse resources and views, thus enabling inclusion, innovation and shared vision.

### 9.6.3 The Private Sector

The study found that the common perception is that of businesses as funders more than partners. As maintained by Respondent A (2021), *"they should provide funding and construct meaningful contribution and collaboration."* However, there was some apprehension in this regard. The sentiment was that the private sector will not participate in any collaboration if their only expected role is financial support. *"However, if there is an opportunity for them to make money they will engage. They are business and profit oriented"* (Respondent F, 2021). Others indicated that the opportunity for businesses to make a profit through collaboration is as important as the benefit they would bring townships. This understanding is supported by this statement: *"It [private sector] must invest in townships e.g., hotel development. Soweto has Protea hotel in Kliptown. Pick'n'Pay and other chain stores should seriously consider opening branches in townships"* (Respondent C, 2021).

Another finding was a lack of trust between the municipality and the private sector, which hinders collaboration. Many businesses have large social responsibility budgets and will invest if the money does not go through the municipal budget. The reason for this is twofold. First, the private sector is dubious because of the bureaucracy and the tendency of the municipality to delay payments. *"We have gone through a circle of engaging the private sector for housing development, and it is now reluctant to liaise with the public sector"* (Respondent F, 2021). Secondly, the municipality feels that the private sector is focused only on profit-making to the detriment of communities. *"They must put the interest of communities first. They get the tenders and must invest in locals instead of being greedy and self-absorbed"* (Respondent B, 2021). For sustainable development to occur, the private sector must have some compassion for the social and environmental aspects, not just the economic aspect. It is, therefore, necessary to understand and acknowledge that they are important stakeholders because the government alone cannot generate development.

The importance of the private sector in development cannot be disputed. As articulated by (Sutton, 2010, p. 354), businesses are means of local economic development as they improve neighbourhoods' provision of and access to goods and services, create jobs for the locals, and act as places of social collaboration, attachment and make-up, thus contributing to the nature of community life and development. Failure to include local businesses in decision-making has led to social, cultural and

economic dilemmas that are not conducive to sustainable development (Levy, 2017). Thus, local businesses should not be excluded in improving townships like Bochabela as they are the essence of the local economy. Beyond funding and investments, their role in collaboration must also include innovation, knowledge sharing and capacity building with other stakeholders.

#### 9.6.4 Other Stakeholders

The study found a need to establish and collaborate with local NGOs, CBOs and other community organizations to facilitate community development in places like Bochabela, which has chronic poverty, dilapidation, high unemployment, and depends on welfare income. Silverman, (2001, p. 237) attested that such neighbourhoods were suitable for development assisted by non-profit organizations. The main reason for a lack of such organizations locally was perceived to be corruption. According to Respondent F, (2021), *“NGOs are non-profit and so necessary. The NGO sector took a dip after democracy and got even worse with rising corruption in the government. This country has negative publicity globally and is therefore no longer receiving much external financial support like before. The NGO sector can however facilitate real change within townships.”*

Proponents like Gumbo & Onatu, (2015, p. 28); Marais, Ntema, & Venter, (2008); Newton, (2013, p. 645) and Pattison, et al., (2011, pp. 19, 20, 24) indicate that non-profit and community organizations stimulate strong local accountability (Marais, et al., 2008) emphasised that most NGOs and CBOs supporting communities in PHP projects are typically disregarded by government in the process, which then reinforces state and private sector control. Thus, it is necessary to create such organizations and ensure their participation in decision-making. This way, their benefit at the institutional level will be to address corruption and other accountability issues. Respondents showed preference and appreciation for the non-profit nature of NGOs and suggested some ways through which they can collaborate. *“NGOs do not exist for profit, they should try to bring food parcels to those in need, and also financial support, capacity building and skills acquisition”* (Respondent B, 2021).

Other organizations deemed necessary were security, education and skills development institutions. There was hope that such organizations would benefit the community and the public and private sectors. There is a willingness to involve academic institutions. As stipulated by Respondent F (2021): *“Academics are perceived as objective, and so both the public and private sectors are willing to collaborate with them.”* In comparing different public housing initiatives, South Africa is the only one that builds houses for recipients. This is considered a weakness caused by a lack of academic involvement in such policymaking. Thus, institutions like the University of the Free State, Central

University of Technology and Motheo College should play an integral role in development as they bring skills, information and researched insight.

## 9.7 The Role of Various Enabling Factors to Achieve Collaborative Development

Question: What is the role of the following factors in achieving this?

Several international (SDG 17 and NUA), regional (Africa Agenda 2063), and national (the Constitution and Urban Renewal Programme) directives call for multi-stakeholder alliances and voluntary collaborative initiatives during housing and economic development (United Nations, 2017, p. 39). This pushes Mangaung to be mindful of engaging collaborative approaches towards implementing urban renewal plans. Various enabling factors like subsidies, access to micro-credit and title deed reform should exist to spearhead collaborative development.

### 9.7.1 Multi-Stakeholder Collaboration

The study found that multi-stakeholder collaboration was considered a crucial aspect of development. This thinking was rooted in the Respondents' experiences and knowledge of collaboration. Respondent A (2021) summarized this evaluation: *"Collaboration is not a new concept. We have seen it work in the past. I refer to the [cultural practice] of 'Letsema'.<sup>15</sup> The government, private sector, communities and other stakeholders should come together because by itself government will not achieve sustainable development. Collaboration facilitates achievement in terms of development."*

The Respondents also claimed that multi-stakeholder collaboration eliminated community protests. This matches the thinking that collaboration empowers stakeholders and grants a voice to the voiceless while also facilitating inclusive (Stadler & Dugmore, 2017, p. 14; UCLG Learning, 2017, pp. 16-21; Urban Sustainability Exchange, n.d.; Winkler, 2009, p. 90). Moreover, *"It makes life easier by granting different views [and delegation]. It can however delay the speed of decision making due to conflicting interests and massaging egos. It is a give and take situation"* (Respondent G, 2021). The Respondents also believed that collaborative planning is critical for developing better communities as it brings unity among different people. They claimed that when there is unity, no one will vandalize as

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<sup>15</sup> A tradition through which communities practice agriculture as a unit. Different people bring diverse resources according to individual capacity.

everyone participated in the development. "This saves money" Respondent B (2021), which would have been wasted fixing the vandalized infrastructure. This thinking echoed de Beer & Oranje, (2019, p. 20), who emphasized that community inclusion cements oneness, motivates innovation and consideration to complexity in development.

### 9.7.2 Financial Incentives/Subsidies

The study found that there are views for and against the provision of subsidies for development. Those in support suggested that the best options are those that recognize different income categories, allow input from multiple stakeholders and prohibit solitary grant assistance by the government. A unified insight was that the government already offers serviced land, low social housing and public rentals like the Finance Linked Individual Subsidy Program (FLISP) and Community Residential Units (CRU) and the *"halfway incentive where half of the housing development costs are from the government and another half from a financial institution"* (Respondent A, 2021). This is consistent with the Housing Code (The Government of South Africa, 2009). As stipulated in previous chapters, the South African housing provisioning system is one of the most comprehensive and substantial in the world. It is facilitated by different levels of government within their respective boundaries (national, provincial and municipal) and capacities (Henilane, 2016, p. 175; SAHRC, n.d., p.4).

The apprehension regarding financial incentives was primarily that they cause dependency and entitlement among recipients. "I have a serious problem with RDP housing because it creates dependency syndrome generation after generation. The people should be taught how to catch fish not to be given fish. If you give to people, they depend on you and fail to think for themselves or become creative in undertaking development for themselves" (Respondent B, 2021). As raised by Leach, 2017, (p. 20); The Movement for Community Led-Development, (2017) and Yap & De Wandeler, (2010, p. 339), self-help housing and community-led development can break the barriers of dependency on government. Mangaung can therefore consider this way of housing provision to counter dependency.

Another concern was that municipalities do not have much leeway on subsidies as the national government manages them. A recommendation was that since Mangaung is responsible for taxes, it can subsidize electricity for businesses operating in the townships. This could lead to a two-way benefit as residents will be motivated to pay their levies while Mangaung will generate more income. Subsidies and institutional support are essential to take development to the next threshold where people can live ideally. The limits of people's capacities should not be pre-determined. People should

be allowed to determine their solutions while what they can do is gauged professionally. People with opportunity and support can achieve high levels of development to improve their living conditions.

People cannot develop their own bulk infrastructure, but there are other things they can develop with the right technical and financial support, for example, solar electricity that creates a neighbourhood network through municipal support. The municipality can therefore equip residents with solar panels while earning income by selling electricity to the network. The feasibility of such ideas should be extensively tested. Because the collective input of the government and other stakeholders allows for big interventions to happen, collaboration is necessary to support residents in developing their neighbourhoods in grand ways.

### 9.7.3 Access to Finance, Micro-credit and Incremental Loans

The main finding here was that access to finance, micro-credit and incremental loans were not designed for low-income residents. Though support such as the halfway incentive exists in Mangaung, it is difficult for the poor to make developments or buy houses because banks classify them as high-risk and charge them high taxes, which they cannot afford. Most, therefore, find it difficult to commit to such charges, and so they remain without secure tenure or fail to fix their houses. As stipulated by Brescia, (2009); Dickerson, (2016, p. 989) and Haferburg & Huchzermeyer, (2017), these are redlining and racial segregationist practices. They produce poverty and unemployment and invalidate the assistance that loans and housing support could have otherwise provided to prevent this. The importance of including the private sector in collaborative planning is reflected in this point. *“They should give preferential rates [interest on loans] to low-income earners such as those in Bochabela”* (Respondent E, 2021). Loans can be governed by specifying that the next person will be able to borrow only after the previous person has paid. This way, recipients are held accountable and have some responsibility over others. This can factor into collaborative practices within communities.

Another finding was that access to finance, micro-credit and incremental loans generated better outcomes. Thus, it was recommended that Mangaung should be forward-thinking, for example, by rezoning entire streets to accommodate imminent change. This will require a shift from a welfare to a developmental municipality. Additionally, patience, flexibility and enablement will also be required. All stakeholders will have to understand their respective roles and responsibilities. Small loans for building, preferably in the form of vouchers, should be supplied without controlling the beneficiaries. They must be allowed some freedom to make their preferred choices. This will also help to avoid homogeneous and non-autonomous development. *“It is a difficult paradigm shift from control and*

*supply to support. NGO support should also be sought. Funding is required, e.g., end user finance”* (Respondent G, 2021).

Such thinking already exists in other parts of South Africa. “In Fort Beaufort, a private company in collaboration with the government offered four different options for the recipients. The first is for recipients to get their own building materials and the subsidy to pay for construction costs. Secondly, they pay for some materials, and the subsidy pays for the rest together with labour. Thirdly, recipients get their own plan and materials while the subsidy offers technical support. Lastly, the subsidy paid for the material of recipient choice and labour component” (Respondent F, 2021). The outcome of this approach was that there was flexibility in housing provision while recipients were content as they participated in the decision and received preferred assistance. Gumbo & Onatu, (2015, p. 28) and Mullins, (2018, p. 144) reason that such inclusive approaches improve social cohesion, aid the development of homes instead of just houses as they recognize the desires and interests of beneficiaries.

#### 9.7.4 Title Deed Reform

It was found that the role of title-deed reform was principally tenure security, which is a crucial aspect of housing adequacy. Title deeds were attested to be forms of wealth through property ownership. *“I associate this [title deed] to wealth, which is what BNG talks about. Only when you have a title deed can you use your property as collateral. It is a very critical document”* (Respondent G, 2021). They also provide certainty in terms of ownership. For one, owners can pass their houses down the generations. Also, ownership was said to improve the mindset as people start to think about the kind of development they can do on their properties once they have secure tenure. *“It helps people to develop [their properties] without restriction. If one is sure that the property belongs to them, they are not worried that someone will come and snatch it after developing it”* (Respondent E, 2021). These findings align with claims by Tonkin, (2008, p. 112) and UN Habitat, (2016, p. 10) that secure tenure, in this case through the acquisition of title deeds, ensures a sense of security, dignity and physical investment and avails a safety net, especially in times of income need for residents. According to Monroy, et al., (2020, p. 36), it also assists governments in accomplishing just and affordable housing provision.

## 9.8 Conclusion

This section established an understanding of the role of Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality in realizing the right to adequate housing and facilitating economic development in Bochabela. To

achieve this, various operative policies, ongoing initiatives and implementation challenges in the municipality, as presented by relevant officials, practitioners and academics in the housing and local economic division, were analysed and discussed. The study found that national, provincial and local regulations guide the municipality to implement housing, infrastructure, services and economic development initiatives in Bochabela. It also found that the municipality faces institutional, stakeholder and resource challenges during implementation. Moreover, it shows the importance of multiple-stakeholder collaboration for development in Bochabela and Mangaung in general, with the insight into specific roles for residents, non-profit organizations, academic institutions, and the private and public sectors. Lastly, findings indicate that while financial incentives and access to micro-credit are not easily accessible to low-income earners, together with title deed reform, they are crucial to tenure security and overall housing adequacy in Bochabela. These findings were consistent with insights from other contexts. These last findings chapter led to the recommendations and conclusion chapter.

## CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“Now, a whole is that which has a beginning, middle, and end.” Aristotle

### 10.1 Introduction

This study makes a modest contribution to understanding socio-economic factors that drive housing inadequacy in Bochabela Township, Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM), and the implications these factors have for planning. Based on the research findings, the study makes a case for attempting a more collaborative approach towards township housing revitalisation and economic development. It argues that in the past, housing developments were not adequately linked to economic development; hence the livelihoods of township residents failed to be sustained. This perspective is informed by the continued inhabitancy of inadequate housing due to lack of affordability, as most residents are low-income earners employed in the unskilled-labour sector. Due to the prime location of Bochabela and its cheap housing, it is attractive to migrants and locals that want to be closer to opportunities and amenities. There are benefits for Bochabela residents to pursue strategies for adequate housing, especially since most already utilize their housing for income generation. The study thus modestly demonstrates that collaborative housing revitalisation can potentially promote sustainable local economic development in Bochabela, though negating issues such as gentrification must be prevented.

This chapter concludes the research effort by synthesizing the main points covered by this study and key findings based on the research objectives and questions. It also highlights the value of this study and makes recommendations based on what the study found. Lastly, the chapter evaluates the study's limitations as a gateway to suggesting areas for further research.

### 10.2 Thesis Summary and Main Findings

**Chapter 1** specified the purpose of this study to explore opportunities for sustainable economic development in Bochabela Township through collaborative housing revitalisation. This was accomplished by determining socio-economic drivers of housing adequacy, exploring the nature of housing adequacy, and examining the implications for planning in Bochabela. The chapter identified housing dilapidation as a significant problem in South African townships, leading to deteriorating neighbourhoods and decreased living standards (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007, p. 7; Goldberg, 2003, p. 5). It also stated that local economic development had not been widely linked to housing improvement within South African townships, failing to fully capitalize on the opportunity it presents

for collaborative community initiatives (Marais, et al., 2020; Turok, 2020, p. 42). Moreover, the chapter demonstrated that urbanisation generates an influx of transient urban dwellers to townships, thus rapidly increasing the need for affordable rental housing (Mphambukeli, 2015; Plecher, 2017; Schmidt & du Plessis, 2013). It further stipulated that despite having existing housing stock to meet this need, old South African townships, previously designed to foster '*exclusion by design*', now face '*exclusion by decline*.' This is seen in the dilapidation of their built environment, inadequate basic services delivery, ageing infrastructure, poor local economies and low quality of life (Pernegger & Godehart, 2007). These townships also have space for densification through the development of more housing. However, owners cannot afford to maintain or renovate the existing housing, let alone develop new housing. If left unaddressed, these challenges will lead to an unrealized right to adequate housing, which hinders the realization of cross-cutting liberties such as the right to the city. The chapter then claims that collaborative approaches such as urban renewal can be applied to simultaneously develop the housing and economy of Bochabela to sustain the livelihood of residents.

**Chapter 2** draws on the complexity of housing by highlighting the seven benchmarks of adequate housing: location, accessibility, affordability, infrastructure and services, tenure security, habitability and cultural adequacy (UN-Habitat, 2018, p. 15). It specifies that housing contributes to local economic development through labour markets, infrastructure, business and enterprise and law and policy (Glossop, 2008, p. 6). Housing constriction creates jobs for both skilled and unskilled labour, while housing adequacy determines whether urban areas attract necessary human capital for human growth (Arku, 2006, p. 387; Bah, et al., 2018, p. 8-10; Bond, 2017, p. 68). Efficient infrastructure attracts human capital and investment necessary for strong economies (Hardekar & Chakraborty, et al., 2018, p. 3. 8; Scheba & Turok, 2020, p. 80). Consideration is given here to the innate linkage between housing and tenancy and the adverse impact of tenancy on services and infrastructure. Furthermore, neighbourhoods with a lower housing market are usually characterized by inadequate housing, which repels investment and business activities. Thus, laws and policies should ensure that housing is not developed remotely from economic development, enabling local governments to drive local economic growth through housing supply (Meyer, 2014, p. 630; Kamara, 2017, p. 101).

The chapter also stipulated that though the right to adequate housing is constitutionally binding in South Africa (The Government of South Africa, 1996), various policy efforts have not warranted comprehensive enjoyment of the right to housing and thus that to the city for the urban poor. Moreover, though considerable regulatory effort has been employed for the benefit of housing the urban poor, this achievement has generally failed to sustain livelihoods in low-income neighbourhoods (Marais & Cloete, 2014; Payne, et al., 2014). The chapter further indicated the

responsibility of policymakers, urban planners, civil society and the business sector to speculate and devise new means of realizing the right of access to adequate housing. This becomes especially necessary in this period, where local economies need an extensive boost towards a sustainable trajectory.

**Chapter 3** gave a history of township housing and economic development in South Africa. It indicated that the current legislative and policy agenda responded to colonial systems and apartheid bureaucracy that directed the country's urban planning systems until 1994. With instances drawn from the colonial, apartheid and democratic eras, the chapter provided insight into the evolution of various housing laws that have shaped and guided housing development. It became clear from the discussion that the dearth of adequate housing for black citizens has challenged South Africa for many decades due to the racially discriminatory, legally enforced ideology of colonial and apartheid times, wherein black citizens were perceived as temporary inhabitants of urban areas, only there to provide cheap labour for the white elite. Due to unjust laws, urban settlements for black communities have since been faced with inadequate housing, poor service delivery and high poverty levels (Bilchitz & Du Toit, 2016, p. 19; Marais, 2018, p. 337; Scheepers, 2019, p. 2; The Fuller Center for Housing, 2014, p. 19).

The chapter argues that the dissolution of apartheid did not translate into the demise of complexities faced by the country's urban housing systems. Even after democratic reforms have been implemented to redress the spatial, economic, and social problems that have shadowed the country since apartheid's end, the legacy of apartheid planning persists (Gilbert, 2014; Tissington, 2010, p. 41-42). At the country level, the chapter shows that Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act (SPLUMA) (16 OF 2013) is a crucial tool for urban development currently driving spatial transformation and social integration, while Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality Integrated Development Plan (MMM-IDP 2017-2022) is a SPLUMA directed tool that guides local development including that in Bochabela (MMM-IDP, 2022). The Sustainable Development Goals, the New Urban Agenda and the Africa Agenda 63 were also probed to identify the alignment of South African planning to international and regional requirements. SDG 11 was found to be most relevant as it calls for participatory, integrated and sustainable planning and management towards human settlement development (United Nations, 2017). The NUA appeared crucial in guiding urban finance mobilization for inclusive, and sustainable urban development, especially housing (Satterthwaite, 2016, p. 7; Turok, 2016, p. 22). The Africa Agenda 63 aspirations for African prosperity, peace, security and people driven development (African Union Commission, 2015a) fit within the auspices of this study.

**Chapter 4** discussed the drivers, indicators and implications of urban decay. This chapter was imperative in understanding the occurrence of housing dilapidation and its impact on the social aspects, environment and economy of Bochabela Township. It articulated that urban decay was a natural occurrence due to the growth cycles in urban areas, including rapid urbanisation. It also showed that urban decay could be reflected through dilapidated housing, declining economies and poverty, poor health and increased crime (Fol & Cunningham-Sabot, 2010, p. 375; Martinez-Fernandez, et al., 2012, p. 215; K'Akumu, 2007, p. 22; Pinto & Sablik, 2016, p. 10). Moreover, the chapter reveals that in the face of the dire need to formalize informal settlements, urban renewal in South Africa usually discounts state-driven rehabilitation of old housing in formalized neighbourhoods. As the chapter showed, cities can simultaneously experience decay and renewal; planners need to be constantly aware of this in order to effectively deal with urban changes. (Kgotse & Landman, 2022, p. 408). While there are vast yet undocumented instances of individual home upgrades within old formal townships, there are also unequivocal cases of housing dilapidation and the failure of residents to renovate.

Moreover, poor urban planning, political interference, poverty and immigration are some of the chief drivers of urban decay manifesting in the form of housing dilapidation and economic decline (Marais, 2008, p. 3; Yavuz, 2016, p. 156). This chapter then raised questions about the nature of housing investments in Bochabela, housing decisions made, and the conditions and perceptions that drive them. These questions were therefore included in the household survey.

**Chapter 5** articulated urban renewal as a strategy for addressing the implications of urban decay. Because this study focused on understanding housing dilapidation, its impacts and mitigations, how township economies can be boosted through housing and how communities can collaborate in bettering their housing and economic dilemmas, this chapter highlighted a conceptual understanding of urban renewal and its approaches integral to the study objectives. The approaches were identified as residential revitalisation, economic redevelopment and social restoration. These approaches were found to be intertwined, and while each had distinctive characteristics, the discussion revealed that urban renewal is a catalyst for urban development and a tool for cultural celebration and industrial and technological progress (Hendler & Thompson-Smeddle, 2009, p.8; Usta et al., 2014, pp. 2-3). The chapter contends that, when well planned, implemented and managed, urban renewal can enable the urban transformation conducive to locals and caters for external beneficiaries. However, it is unique to each city and faces challenges, including global recessions, stringent public budgets and extensive red tape, as well as contradictions between planning and functionality (Garcia, 2020, p. 113; Gonzales, 2011, pp. 1408-1409; Lovatt & O'Connor, 2010, p. 139; Sadd, 2010, pp. 266-269). This often leads to

unfulfilled promises to local communities, hence loss of trust and good relations with the relevant authority.

The COVID-19 pandemic and recent war affected renewal initiatives and greatly impacted economic benefits that could have been achieved. It will be interesting to see, post-pandemic and in alignment with the ever-improving technology of the 4th Industrial Revolution, how cities will utilize marketing campaigns to revive their dwindling economies. Thus, the chapter identified a research opportunity to evaluate how housing provision in line with urban regeneration was affected by the pandemic, as reports showed that the restrictions curtailed urban development, increased socio-economic imbalances and escalated housing needs. To be more meaningful and reach a broader socio-economic spectrum, renewal policies must shift from a top-down approach and take a community-driven, participatory viewpoint. They must conserve civic power, align with local identity and create a sense of place to ensure local inclusion and representation.

The chapter concludes that Bochabela is more suited for incumbent upgrading, neighbourhood commercial redevelopment and community development, even though the housing may be too dilapidated for minor renovations. It also highlights the importance of strong neighbourhood organizations and willing residents, together with partnerships between all stakeholders and availability of resources, for Bochabela to benefit from one or combined approaches to urban renewal. Finally, it pleads for any renewal attempt in Bochabela to take the utmost effort at maintaining existing social networks, engaging the locals, and involving all stakeholders, while ensuring an all-inclusive economic, social and environmental redevelopment of the area. Systems must also be established to ensure that gentrification does not affect the township residents.

**Chapter 6** explained and justified how the study employed a ‘transformative-pragmatic’ paradigm by mixing the research methods to conduct vigorous research capitalizing on the advantages of qualitative and quantitative research. It clarifies that a sample of residents living in dilapidated housing was purposely selected to participate in this case study. Data was collected through a household survey, in-depth and key informant interviews, a transect walk and a community meeting. Using NVivo, SPSS, R and GIS software, data were analysed using descriptive statistics, content and thematic analyses and mapping to understand qualitative and quantitative research aspects.

**Chapter 7** highlights that Bochabela is well located in proximity to services and amenities, industrial areas, Bloemfontein CBD, public transport and commercial centres, which is unusual for old townships. This proximity makes Bochabela attractive to transient migrants and low-income locals.

The infrastructure in this township is mostly old, while services are bad, and these conditions are perceived to have not changed in the past ten years. Even so, most residents are satisfied with electricity, water and sewerage, while there is a consensus that garbage disposal is being inefficiently managed, thus posing environmental and health hazards. Moreover, it shows that the socio-economic drivers of housing and economic development in Bochabela include age, education, employment, household income and migration. In this regard, most residents had a high school education, worked as unskilled labourers and earned below ZAR3500.

There were tenants from countries like Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and South African provinces, including Kwazulu Natal, Northern Cape and Limpopo. Who enjoyed the convenience that Bochabela presented by being close to services, amenities and workplaces. Residents who were married and those who had stayed in Bochabela for over twenty years showed a deep sense of place attachment. Lastly, the chapter gives an overview of the heritage of Bochabela Township, highlighting that most housing here is over sixty years old, and thus considered heritage housing. Other heritage resources in the township include historical halls, sports arenas, monuments and streets named after historical leaders and chiefs. There is a need for heritage resources guidelines for rehabilitating and managing heritage sites in Bochabela.

**Chapters 8** indicate that housing in Bochabela contributes to the economy through private rentals and home-based businesses, including spaza shops, fast-food joints, hair salons and taverns. However, various factors are hindering the contribution of housing to stable livelihoods and a sustainable township economy. While residents mostly view their houses as economic assets for income generation, further findings show that houses built during the township's early years are now substantially damaged, thus needing conservation, rehabilitation or redevelopment. Accordingly, some houses can be fixed to maintain the township's character (regeneration), others can be incrementally renovated to fit the new character of Bochabela (renewal), and those that are beyond repair can be demolished and replaced with new ones, or their land repurposed as green spaces or urban farms depending on the local need (revitalisation). However, the study found that residents could not afford necessary housing maintenance and repair due to low incomes and struggling to afford daily basic needs. Bochabela residents felt a strong attachment to their families and the neighbourhood, particularly the elderly, which led them to plan to stay there forever. Those with place attachment were also against the idea that their houses could be demolished because they perceived them to have cultural and historical significance.

Moreover, in **Chapter 9**, there are outcomes indicating that the current policy under Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality does not adequately support township economies, as it restricts or illegalizes some business practices based on the existing zoning in Bochabela. Furthermore, the municipality is ineffectively implementing integrated development planning practices, especially public participation, which is only performed to tick off process checklists. In this regard, there were assertions that collaboration between the municipality and other stakeholders, including residents, was not strong. Stakeholders needed platforms to identify and discuss local needs and feasible solutions without judgement or powerplay. There was a perception that the IDP meetings were inadequate for this purpose, as residents did not participate or receive adequate representation, and the municipality did not address issues according to its promises or provide any feedback. It was also found that there was an inconsistent understanding of housing adequacy across government spheres and municipal departments. Hence housing development was generally disjointed from economic development and sustained livelihoods. Table 10.1 illustrates the research findings in relation to the study's objectives and research questions.

**Table 10.5: Summary of Research Findings Against Objectives and Questions**

| RESEARCH OBJECTIVES   | RESEARCH QUESTIONS   | RESEARCH OUTCOMES   |
|---|--|---|
| Determine the socio-economic aspects of housing inadequacy and their implication to planning in Bochabela | Why do some residents of Bochabela reside in dilapidated housing?                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Low household-income restricted housing maintenance and restoration</li> <li>- High incidence of unskilled labour meant most households' income ranges below ZAR1500 – ZAR3500</li> <li>- Most households struggle to meet all their basic needs monthly</li> <li>- Many do not have monthly savings left after spending on essentials</li> <li>- Bochabela's proximity to socio-economic opportunities attracts transient migrants who are willing to reside in cheap, dilapidated housing</li> <li>- Both owners and tenants fail to undertake maintenance of leased houses</li> <li>- Those in cooperative ownership do not fix the houses due to family politics</li> <li>- Some owners inherited the houses and have primary residences elsewhere</li> <li>- The loss of jobs during the pandemic affected the township's economy and hindered various aspects of housing adequacy for residents</li> </ul> |
|   | How is housing used to contribute to the township's economy?                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Housing contributes to the economy through leasing and home-based businesses</li> <li>- Leased houses are co-occupied (owner and tenants), multiple-tenants occupied, single-family occupied or used for business purposes</li> <li>- Home-based businesses include spaza shops, salons, taverns and fast-food joints</li> <li>- Rental income is not used for major housing renovations</li> <li>-Rental income acts as the primary, secondary or only source of income for the owners</li> </ul>   |
|   | What is the MMM mandate for housing and economic development in Bochabela? (Planning implications) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It is difficult to implement the regulations because stakeholders understand housing adequacy differently</li> <li>- Some regulations are not suitable for townships</li> <li>- Public participation needs to be improved and made more inclusive</li> <li>- Institutional, stakeholders and resource challenges</li> <li>- There is social housing development under progress in Bochabela</li> </ul>   |
| Assess the nature of housing adequacy in Bochabela  | How has housing dilapidation manifested in Bochabela?  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Substantial damage on walls, roofing, windows and doors requiring conservation, rehabilitation or demolition of houses</li> <li>- Main reasons for dilapidation: natural lifecycle, lack of funds, and tenant negligence.</li> </ul>   |
|   | What is the condition of infrastructure and services in Bochabela?                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Generally considered bad with no change in the past 10 years</li> <li>- There is a high incidence of infrastructure vandalism</li> <li>- Electricity and water tariffs were considered too expensive</li> </ul>  |

| RESEARCH OBJECTIVES  | RESEARCH QUESTIONS   | RESEARCH OUTCOMES   |
|--|--|---|
|  | What impact do these have on the social-economic aspects of the township?  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Housing damage caused by indoor flooding during storms, collapsing walls, roofing and ceilings, and poor health due to mould and extreme heat or cold during different seasons</li> <li>- Family fragmentation due to reduced number of habitable rooms or fear of safety due to housing dilapidation</li> <li>- Housing damage reduces the rent charged for leased houses</li> <li>- Locals felt that migrants triggered the loss of locally owned businesses, scarcity of jobs and increased crime</li> <li>- Houses were mostly inherited. Some were government provisioned or bought</li> <li>- Tenure of ownership, cooperative, private and public rentals secured by formal title deeds, wills, informal purchase and verbal rental agreements</li> <li>- Inefficient garbage disposal is the least satisfactory service as it has resulted in illegal dumping, environmental pollution and health hazards</li> </ul> |
| Propose a framework for collaborative housing and economic development | What opportunities are there to improve and sustain the economy of Bochabela through collaborative housing revitalisation? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Neighbourhood Revitalisation</li> <li>- Housing conservation, rehabilitation, redevelopment</li> <li>- Housing companies' incubation</li> <li>- Tourism development</li> </ul>   |
|  | How can opportunities be implemented in alignment with existing economic activities and needs?                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Collaborative practices</li> <li>- Institutional performance improvement</li> <li>- Technical support</li> <li>- Capacity building</li> </ul>  |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

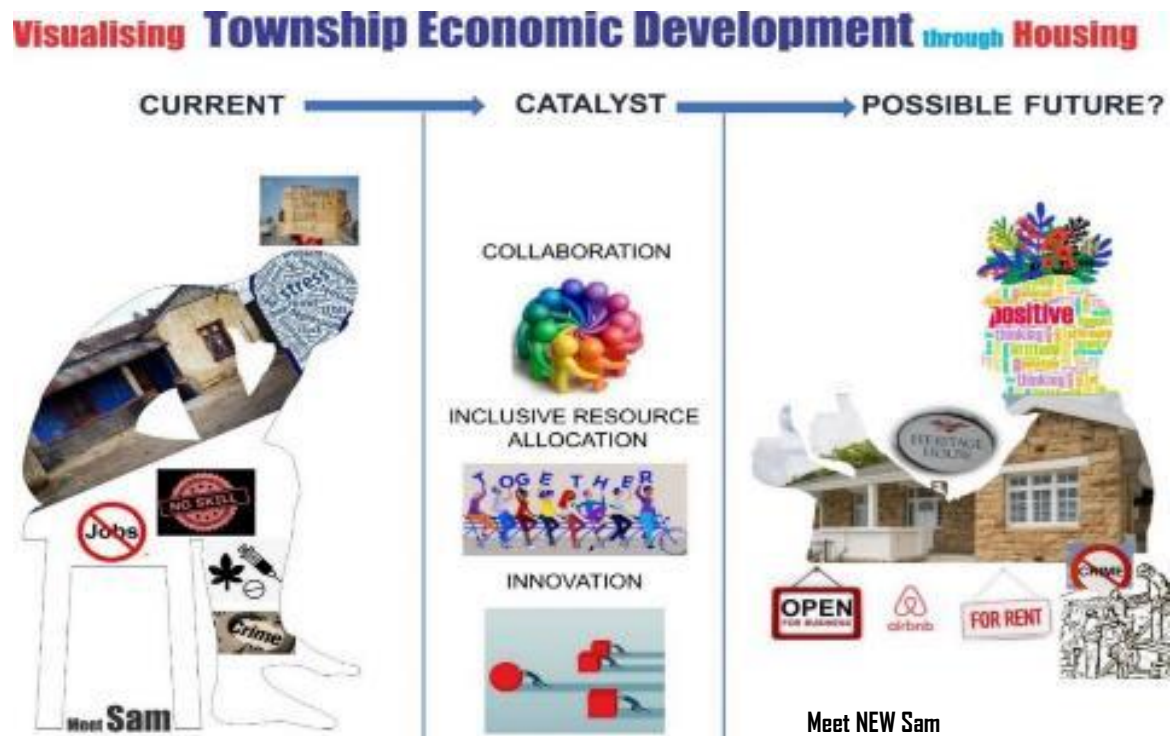
### 10.3 Contributions of the Study

This study seeks to address some gaps, thus making significant theoretical, methodological and practical contributions to the planning discipline. As stipulated in Chapter 1, existing research on housing and economic development in South African townships has primarily focused on informal settlements and not formal colonial-cum-apartheid townships. First, this study encompasses limited research on the understanding of this issue. To the best of the researcher's knowledge and through searching journal databases, no previous study has explored opportunities for linking housing and economic development in Bochabela Township, specifically to create a sustainable livelihood for low-income house owners. Secondly, this study is one of a few which combines pragmatic and transformative worldviews within the South African planning discipline as a guide to developing a framework for township development. In this regard, the study thirdly proposes a framework contributing to the planning practice and shall be further discussed in the following section. Lastly, the study confirms the claim that "collaboration is indispensable for producing effective action in a system where power is fragmented" (van Dijk, 2021, p. 7), as one of the chief reasons for poor development in Bochabela is the assertion that there is currently a weak collaboration between stakeholders. This has led to poor circulation of information, opportunities and decisions that could better align housing and economic development in the township.

The study's ideas and findings were shared on some academic platforms locally and internationally. Locally, the study's concept won the 3-Minute Thesis 2021 (3MT) award at the departmental level (Department of Urban and Regional Planning, University of the Free State). The concept is illustrated in Figure 10.60. Also, its preliminary findings were presented at the IHSP-SA Human Settlements and Housing African Regional Student Conference in October 2021 in East London, South Africa. The title of the presentation was '*The Dilemmas of Heritage Rental Housing in South African Township.*'

Internationally, preliminary findings were presented at the IGU-Heritage Geographies Conference themed on citizen participation in the governance of urban heritage hosted in May 2021 at Salento, Italy. The title of the presentation was '*Robust Citizen Participation in the Management of Heritage Houses as a Tool for Sustainable Human Settlements.*' A co-presentation titled '*From Pandemic to Infodemic: where is urban e-planning in the global South?*' was done in April 2022 at the IJPER 6<sup>th</sup> Urban e-Planning Conference hosted in Lisbon, Portugal. Further content from the study was presented in October 2022 at the 21<sup>st</sup> N-AERUS Conference – Transforming the state's role in addressing inclusive urban development in Bangladesh and Germany. The presentation was titled

'Urban Regeneration through Creative Cities in South Africa. Both conferences were attended online, and I plan on publishing scholarly papers in due course.



**Figure 10.60: The Study's Concept (Presented at UFS 3MT)**

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2021

It is foreseen that at least five publications will come out of this study. Some ideas are listed.

- Development framework for affordable rental housing in dilapidated South African townships
- The townships economy in Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality: Bochabela's case study
- Dwelling disparities: how socio-economic aspects lead to inadequate housing
- Neighbourhood characteristics of lower-income families during the Covid-19 pandemic
- A mixed-methods assessment of tenants' concerns about housing habitability in Bloemfontein

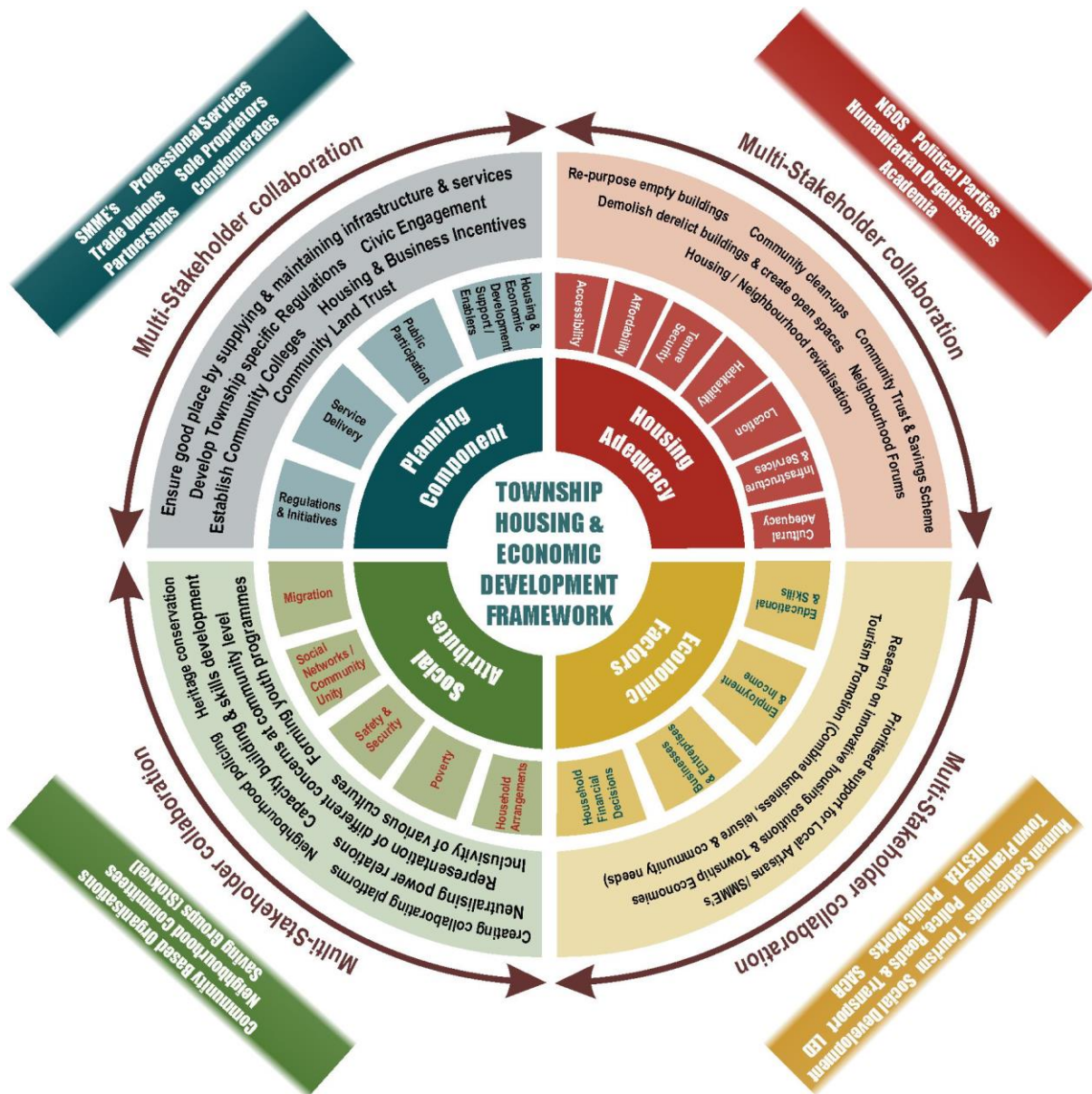


Figure 10.61: The Township Housing and Economic Development Framework

Source: Leboto-Khetsi

This study proposes a township housing and economic development framework as its contribution to the planning practice. This framework aims to guide housing revitalisation aligned with economic development, to enable the parallel realization of the right to adequate housing and sustained livelihoods for township residents. It also serves to identify possible stakeholders and specific actions necessary to achieve this aim. The framework comprises four categories with four layers each: the first inner layer signifies goals, the second indicates specific targets, the third recommends key action areas and the fourth (outermost) layer identifies tentative key players directly aligned to each

category. The framework suggests that identified stakeholders must collaborate across all categories to achieve the recommended goals. This framework is tentative, and no claim is made over its practical feasibility as it has yet to be tested. However, it was drawn based on the research findings and existing tested models that have succeeded in achieving a similar goal elsewhere. Figure 10.61 illustrates the township housing and economic development framework recommended based on the findings of this study. An additional explanation of each framework's category follows in Table 10.2 and Table 10.3.

**Table 10.6: Tentative Stakeholders for Collaboration**

| <b>Tentative Stakeholders</b>   |
|---|
| <p>Multi-sphere government departments including but not limited to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Human Settlements</li> <li>Social Development</li> <li>Town Planning</li> <li>Local Economic Development</li> <li>Small Business Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs</li> <li>Sport, Arts, Culture and Recreation</li> <li>Roads, Police and Transport</li> </ul> <p>Private Sector Players:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs)</li> <li>Professional Services</li> <li>Sole Proprietors</li> <li>Trade Unions</li> <li>Partnerships</li> <li>Conglomerates</li> </ul> <p>Community level Actors</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community Members (homeowners)</li> <li>Community-Based Organizations</li> <li>Neighbourhood Committees</li> <li>Savings Groups</li> </ul> <p>Parastatals and Not-for-Profit:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Non-Governmental Organizations</li> <li>Political Parties</li> <li>Humanitarian Organizations</li> <li>Academic Institutions</li> </ul> |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

**Table 10.7: Unpacking the Township Housing and Economic Development Framework**

| <b>Goal 1: Enhancing Institutional Capacity for Planning</b>  |   |
|---|---|
| <p>Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality (MMM) was found to be facing institutional, stakeholder and resource challenges. The lack of common understanding of regulations, adequate housing and specific roles hindered effective development and service delivery. This was intensified by bureaucracy, power relations and political interference, as well as top-down governance that resulted in inefficient collaboration practices, lack of communication regarding development decisions and poor management of municipal finances. There were other areas of concern of a lack of trust towards the municipality and little regulatory support for township businesses. The planning component of the framework recommends ways to address t these challenges.</p>   |   |
| <b>Specific Targets</b>   | <b>Key Action Areas</b>   |
| Public Participation  | <p>Promote civic engagement by creating platforms for robust collaboration between government, businesses, civil society</p> <p>Establish e-planning mechanisms to encourage flexible and broader coverage of stakeholders.</p> <p>Mobilize mutual information and resource sharing, decision-making transparency</p>   |
| Regulations and Initiatives   | <p>Develop township-specific regulations that endorse inclusivity, support local businesses, and promote township economies</p> <p>Enhance coherence between policy and local needs</p>   |
| Service Delivery  | <p>Roll out institutional mechanisms for building and strengthening capacity for developing and implementing valuable regulations</p> <p>Conduct monitoring and evaluation of initiatives, ensure cost-effectiveness and eradicate corruption</p> <p>Ensure a good place by supplying and maintaining infrastructure and services, which play a crucial role in housing adequacy and the economic success potential of the place.</p> |
| Housing and Economic Development Support/Enablers   | <p>Conduct research on innovative housing and township economies solutions</p> <p>Mobilize funding for housing and business incentives</p> <p>Create community land trusts</p>  |
| <b>Goal 2: Advancing Social Advantage</b>   |   |
| <p>The study found that Bochabela Township had low-income residents, mostly in unskilled employment and struggling to afford their monthly basic needs. The residents also resided in dilapidated housing that posed safety and security threats. Additionally, there are many migrants due to its proximity to social and economic opportunities. The existence of migrants was believed to increase housing dilapidation, crime and poor community relations. The community of Bochabela must be mobilized to take ownership of their local development. There is a strong need for a community development NGO in the township as existing ones are focused on education, women and youth, yet they lack crucial skills to make their work more impactful. These challenges are considered under the social attributes of the framework.</p> |   |
| <b>Specific Targets</b>   | <b>Key Action Areas</b>   |
| Eradicating Poverty   | <p>Building capacity and developing skills of community members</p> <p>Create high-quality jobs at the local level</p>  |
| Stabilizing Household Arrangements  | <p>Consider local household income during policy development</p>  |

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | Promote affordability of essential services  |
| Improving Safety and Security                   | Create, strengthen and support neighbourhood policing<br>Increase neighbourhood security by ensuring the efficiency of streetlights, securing open spaces<br>Fix broken windows and doors<br>Address empty buildings |
| Considering Migrants                            | Integrate migration concerns into development planning<br>Include various cultures in decision making<br>Facilitate multicultural events and socializing at the community level                                      |
| Enhancing Social Networking and Community Unity | Represent different concerns at the community level<br>Mobilize indigenous knowledge inclusion<br>Neutralize power relations from the community level up to the broader scope  |
| <b>Goal 3: Improving Housing Adequacy</b>       |  |
|   |  |
| <b>Specific Targets</b>                         | <b>Key Action Areas</b>  |
| Accessibility                                   | Use land banks to develop accessible housing<br>Create a database for community housing rentals and ownership<br>Enhance the bureaucracy governing township housing  |
| Affordability                                   | Create community trusts and savings schemes<br>Liaise with the private sector to develop low-income rental housing in partnership with the community   |
| Tenure Security                                 | Facilitate/Fastrack title deed reform<br>Encourage the use of secure rental agreements   |
| Habitability                                    | Housing and neighbourhood revitalisation<br>Facilitate community clean-ups<br>Develop community gardens and safe open spaces<br>Demolish derelict buildings and re-purpose empty ones                                |
| Location  | Mobilize support and knowledge of the benefits of the forthcoming Bus-Rapid Transit system   |
| Cultural Adequacy                               | Establish a substance abuse rehabilitation centre<br>Improve privacy and comfort of housing during the revitalisation<br>Establish systems for community support, e.g., psychological needs                          |

|   |  |
|---|--|
|   | Enhance care and guidance for youth  |
| <b>Goal 4: Promoting Local Economic Development</b>   |  |
| <p>Bochabela was found to have low levels of tertiary education and high levels of unskilled labour. This meant that most households had low monthly incomes and could not contribute significantly to the township economy. Moreover, most local businesses functioned on a 'hand to mouth' basis and needed technical and financial support. These necessitated strategies for improving household financial conditions and the township economy. The support should be from all sides regarding economic development in Bochabela. Fundraising for community initiatives is also necessary, which can only occur with strong leadership and unity. There should also be community workers who facilitate the process of identifying community needs and liaising with relevant stakeholders to accelerate their attainment. These challenges can be addressed as recommended by the economic factors of the framework.</p> |  |
| <b>Specific Targets</b>   | <b>Key Action Areas</b>  |
| Education and Skills  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establish community colleges for housing and business sectors related skills development</li> <li>Conduct short-term training on housing and economic development</li> <li>Facilitate night classes for those working during daytime</li> </ul> |
| Employment and Income   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Empower households financially by creating relevant socioeconomic opportunities</li> <li>Information sharing and training on feasible passive income opportunities</li> </ul>   |
| Business and Enterprise   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prioritize support for local artisans/SMMEs</li> <li>Incubate housing construction and material suppliers</li> <li>Combine business, leisure and community needs</li> <li>Promote tourism</li> </ul>  |
| Household Financial Decisions   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Conduct financial literacy at the community level</li> <li>Share information about affordable investment opportunities</li> </ul>   |

Source: Leboto-Khetsi, 2022

## 10.5 Limitations and Areas for Future Research

This study has potential limitations, as expressed in this section. The household survey sample only contained residents of dilapidated housing because the initial interest of the researcher was why some residents of Bochabela lived in such housing. This may have subjected the results to bias. The valuable input to understand the drivers of dilapidation that could have been granted by residents living in renovated housing was comprehended at a stage where time and financial resources made it impossible to address. Furthermore, the study did not comprehensively explore proof of tenure security in Bochabela due to trust issues with the residents.

In many cases, there was a suspicion that municipal officials wanted to seize the houses. As a result, obtaining tangible proof of tenure to substantiate the word given was difficult.

Furthermore, in the quest to gain an in-depth understanding of housing adequacy, socio-economic drivers and planning implications, the study found that many houses were being rented. However, it did not explore the potential for the Private Sector Affordable Rental model in Bochabela. Tourism emerged as a relevant issue to the research topic, yet it was not part of the study. Lastly, the greatest challenge faced was conducting fieldwork during a pandemic. This hindered the timely collection of data and posed health concerns for the researcher, assistants and participants, which sometimes made all involved uncomfortable. Based on the limitations discussed above and the broader findings of this research, the study has identified the following areas for future research.

- Similar research can be conducted using a sample of residents living in renovated housing in Bochabela to gain insights into what enabled them to address the dilapidation and to compare them to those covered by this study.
- Most respondents claimed to have title deeds as proof of their tenure. This is unusual in South African Townships. Further research is required as the study did not explore it further. Tentative research areas can be what type of documents residents have as proof of tenure, in whose names these are, and how the MMM is facilitating title deed reform.
- Can the Private Sector Affordable Rental model work in Bochabela? Who would be the stakeholders? What would be the requirements? Will it necessitate outsourcing existing players like Bitprop, or can local businesses collaborate for such development? What are the foreseen opportunities and challenges in this regard?
- Housing is a continuous need. Can incubating housing material suppliers and construction businesses be feasible under MMM authority? Would it be possible to avail municipal officials

and private professionals at the incubation centre to offer technical support for business owners and clients?

- Bochabela is a Heritage Township marked as part of a tourism route. The surveyed houses fall under the prescriptions of national heritage property in the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999. The township thus needs urgent assistance for its tourism sector to function effectively. Museums, monuments and hospitality entities can be improved/developed to create meaningful, memorable and educative townships. Some old houses, such as the '2 Rows of 12 houses', could be turned into museums due to their rich history. Other houses, especially those with elderly owners who carry information on the houses and township history, are attractive. How can this opportunity be further explored? Research on how these houses can benefit owners through a tourism function is crucial.
- The private sector should be engaged not only as a supplier but rather as a partner in community development. It should be considered that this sector is for profit, and so collaborations should be mutually beneficial, taking cognizance of various interests. While various companies have corporate social responsibility strategies, their support may not be relevant to community needs. It may not be easy for them to offer the required support if no one approaches them about specific needs. Accordingly, further research should be conducted to identify private sector players to be approached, their role in the collaboration, how they should be approached and who should approach them.
- How did Covid-19 affect the residents of Bochabela Township? What were the Covid-19 implications for fieldwork and research?

## 10.6 Concluding Remarks

During colonial-cum-apartheid, townships like Bochabela were excluded by design. Yet they continue to be excluded, this time by decline. While several strategic national efforts to improve township housing were successful during the democratic era, their failure to adequately link this to economic development ultimately replicated the segregationist urban planning models. Indeed, integrated development planning was rolled out to improve the public input in planning, but this is also proving futile as a collaboration between stakeholders is mostly weak and overshadowed by power relations. As South African planning has entered the post-democratic, post-pandemic and escalated climate-change era, what regulatory reforms are necessary to spearhead township housing, economic resilience, and sustainability?

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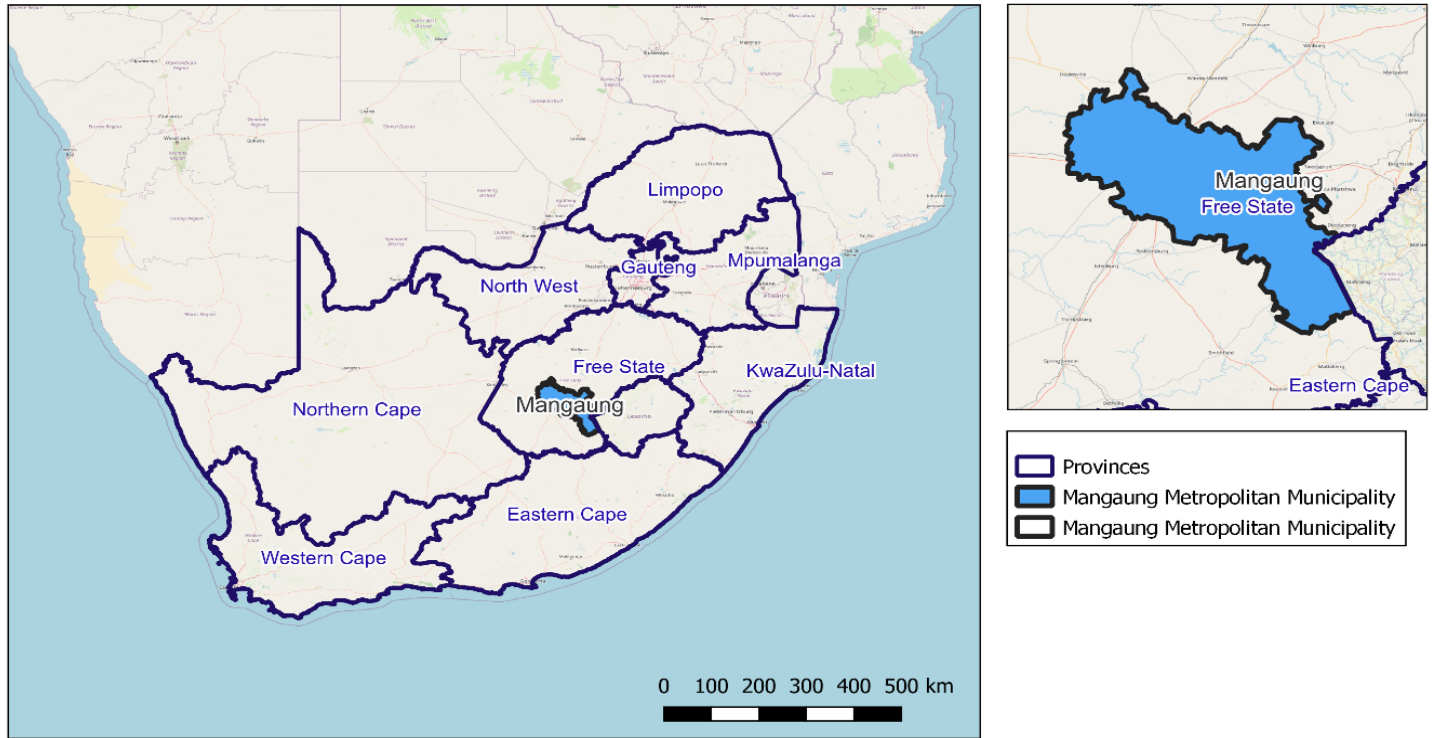
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# APPENDICES

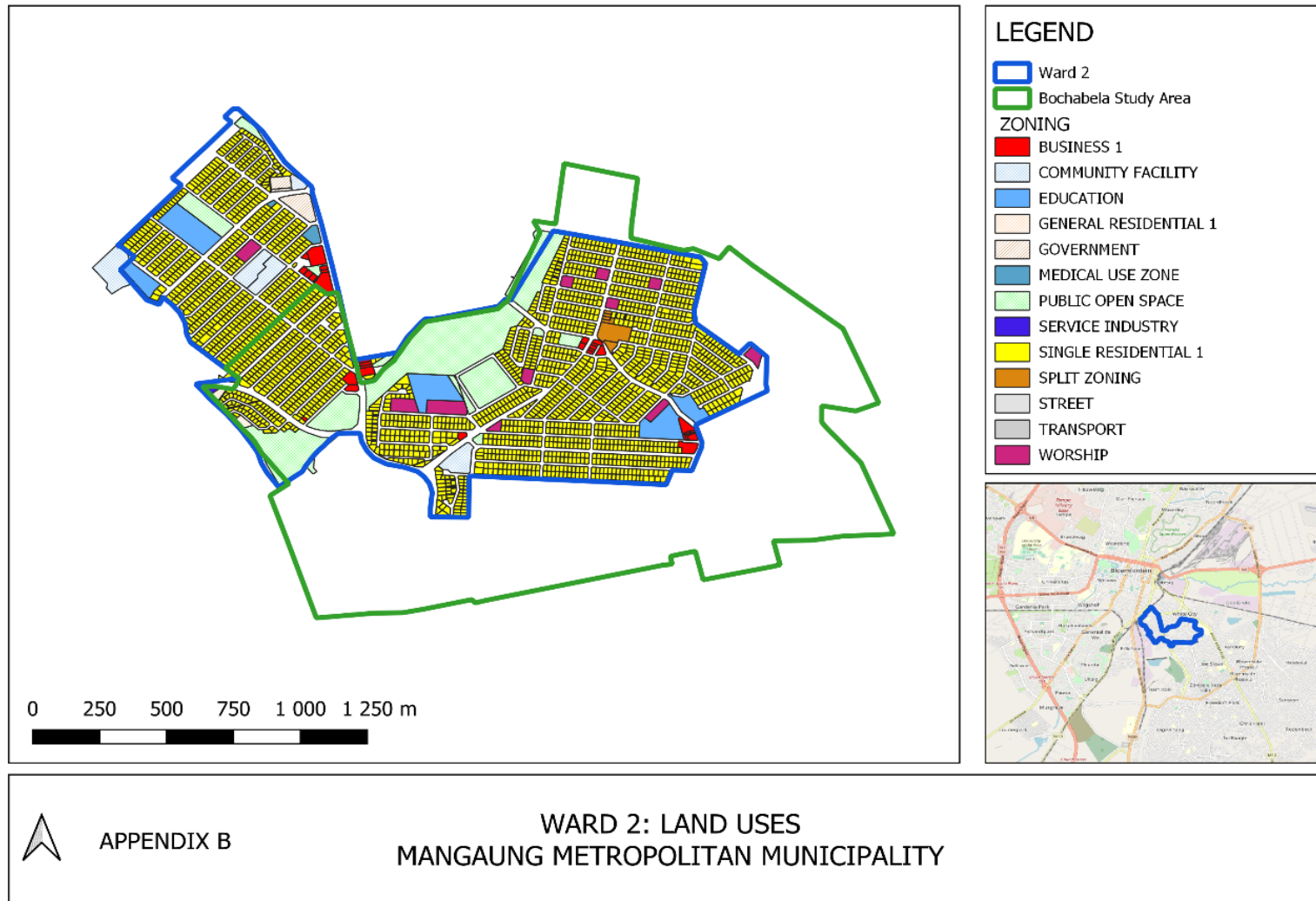
## APPENDIX A: Location of MMM in South Africa



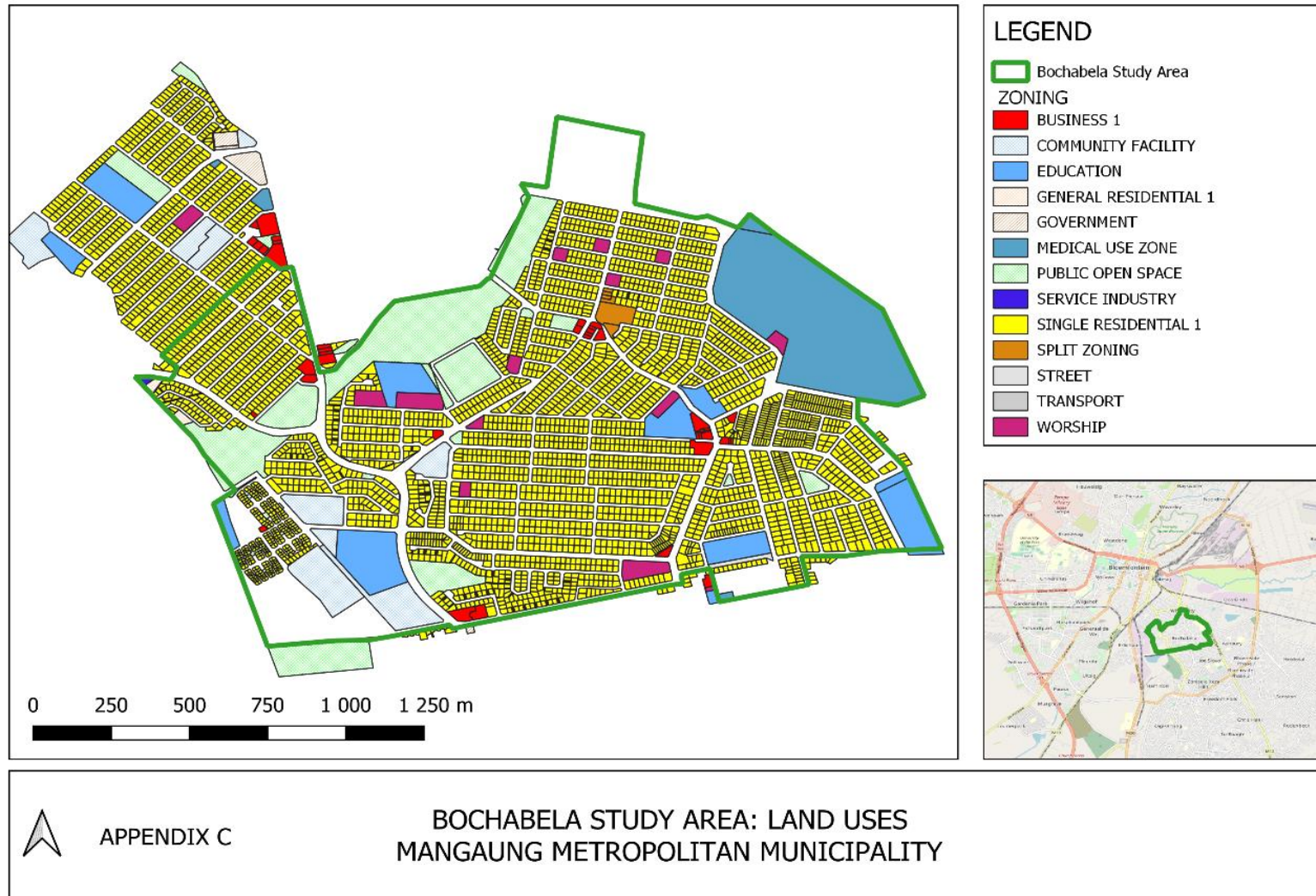
 APPENDIX A

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA  
MANGAUNG METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY

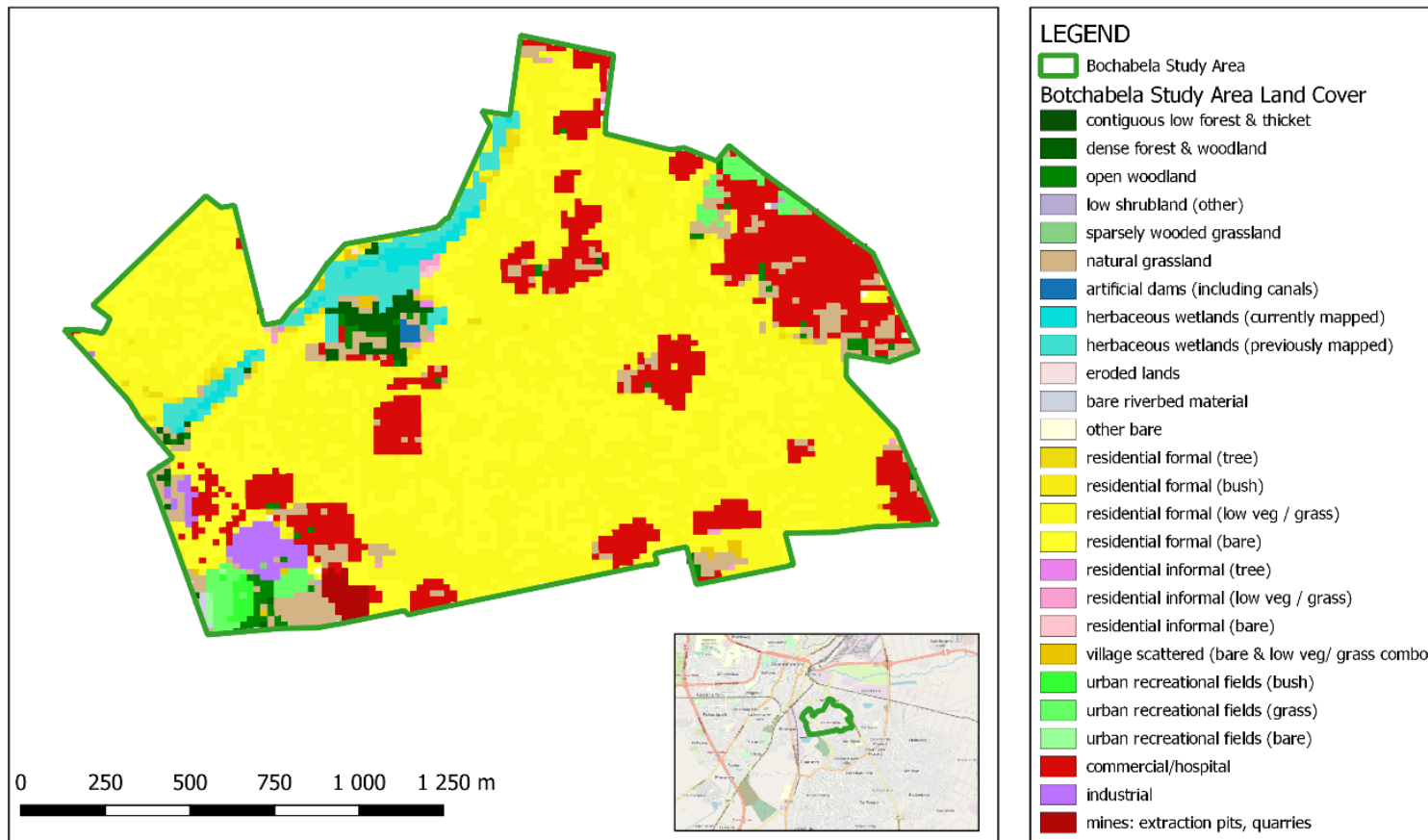
APPENDIX B: Ward 2 Land Uses



APPENDIX C: Bochabela Land Uses



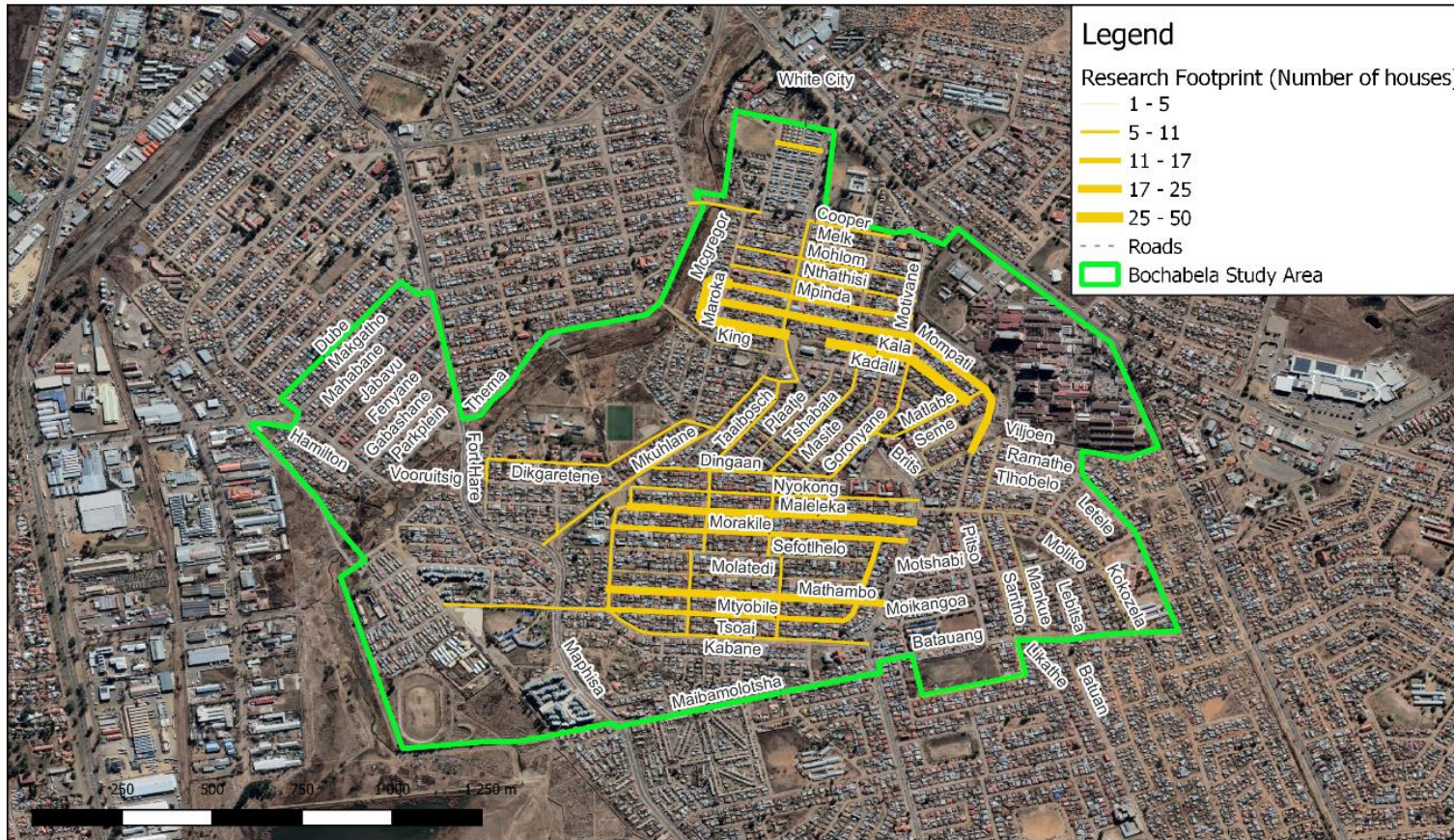
APPENDIX D: Bochabela Land Cover



Appendix D

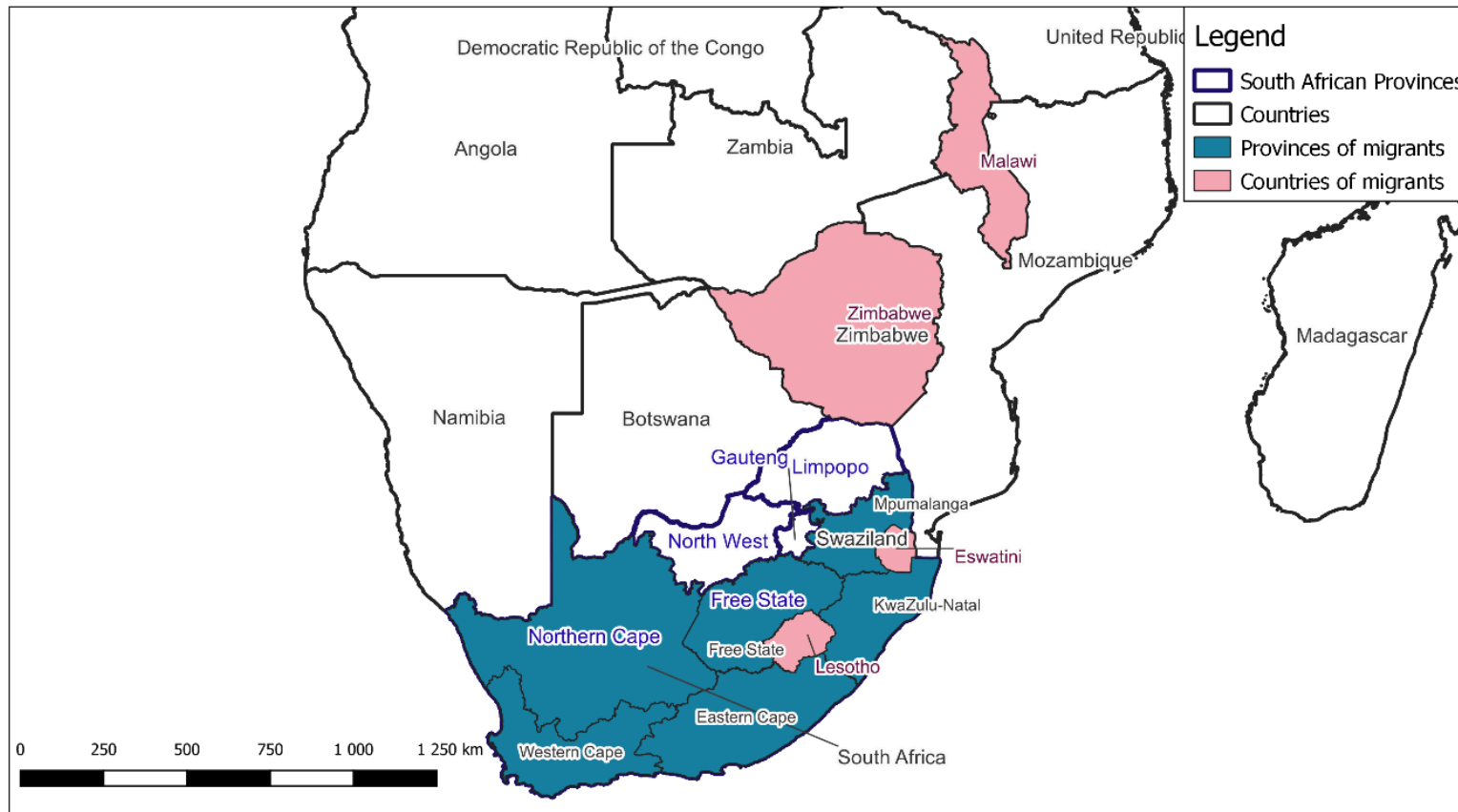
**BOCHABELA STUDY AREA LAND COVER  
MANGAUNG METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY**

APPENDIX E: Research Footprint



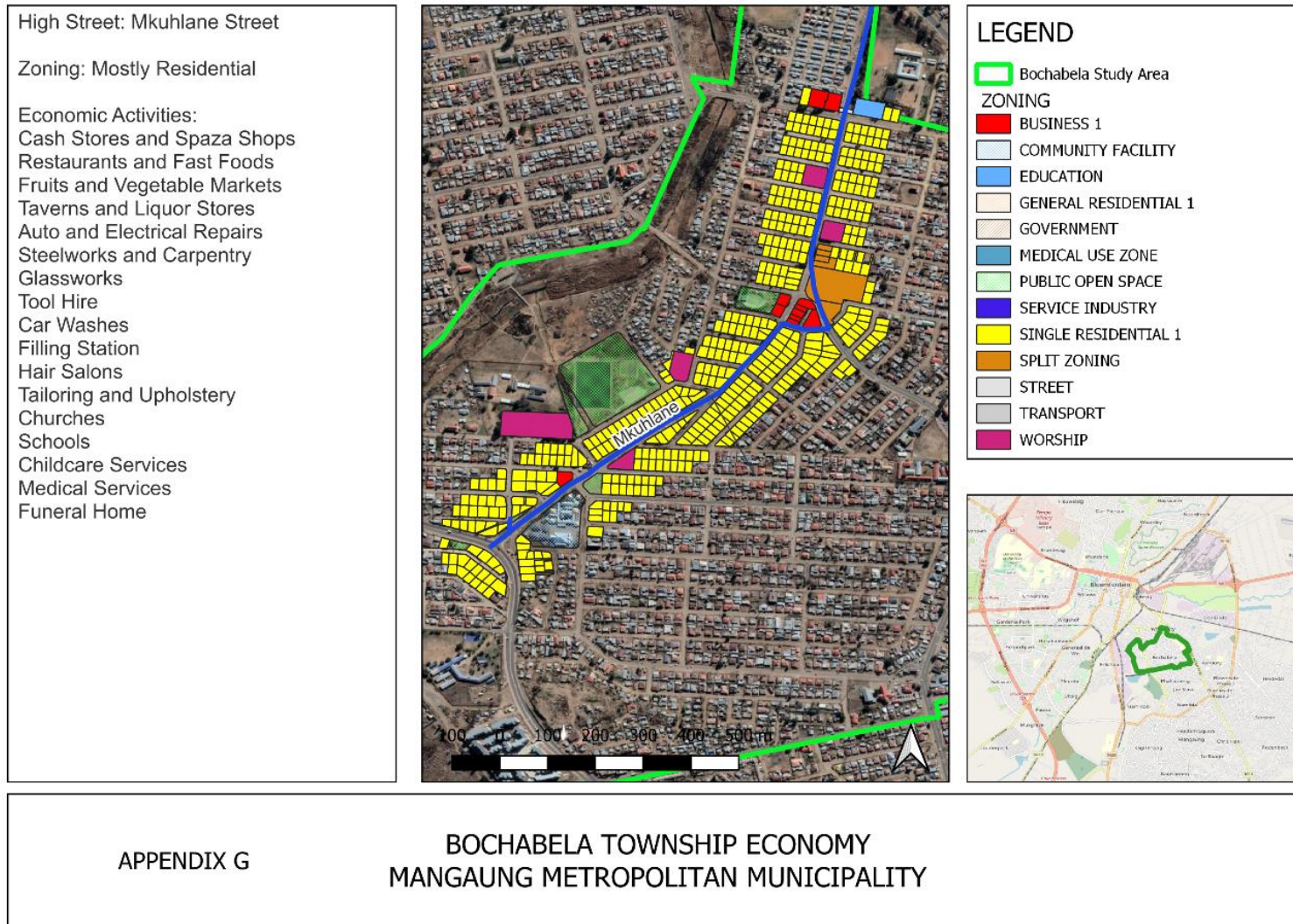

**APPENDIX E**
**RESEARCH FOOTPRINT**  
**MANGAUNG METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY**

APPENDIX F: Countries and Provinces of Migrants

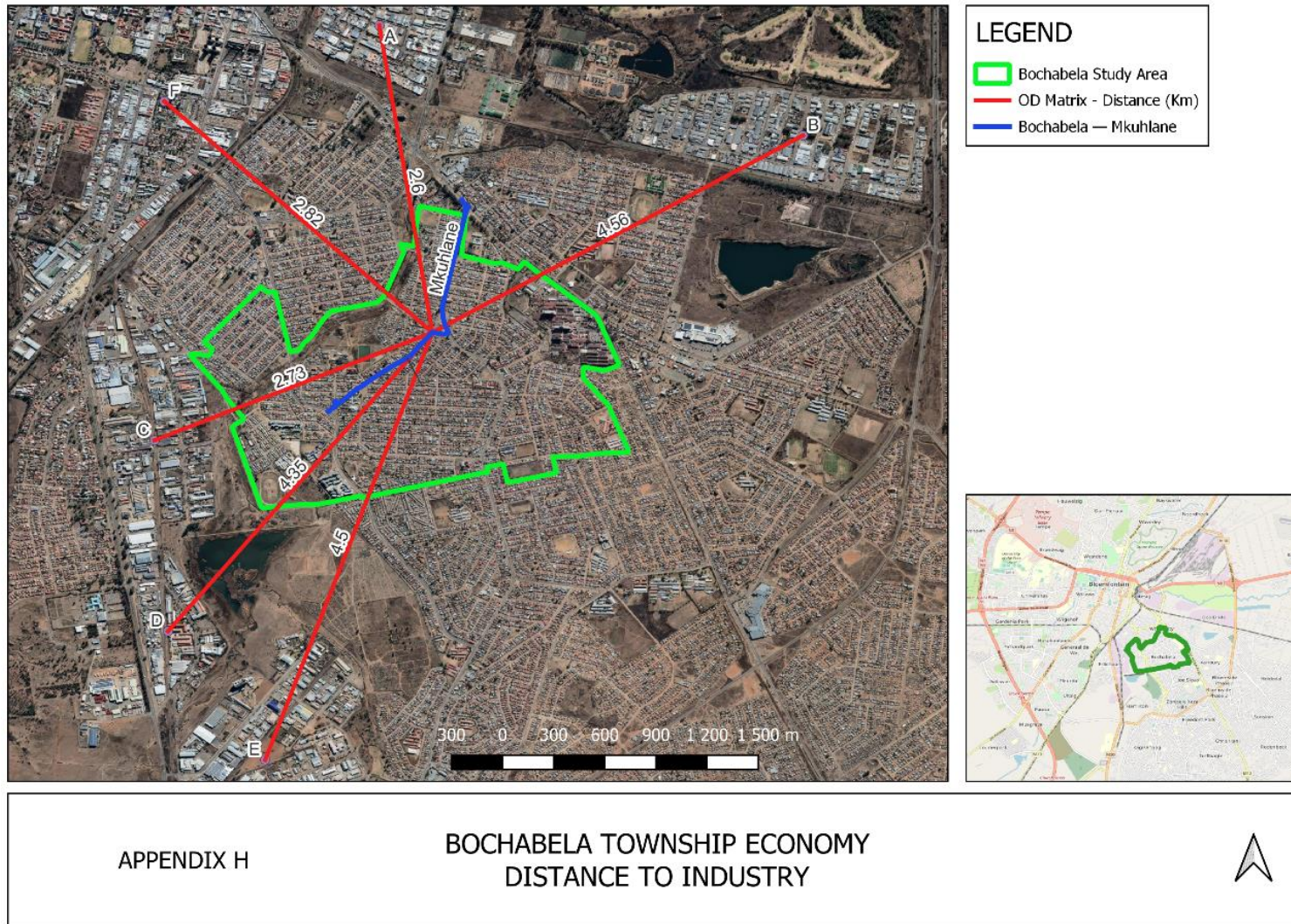



**APPENDIX F**
**COUNTRIES AND PROVINCES OF MIGRANTS**

APPENDIX G: Bochabela Township Economy



APPENDIX H: Distance to Industry



## APPENDIX I: Ethical Clearance



### GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

03-Oct-2019

Dear Ms Leboto, Lucia L

#### Application Approved

Research Project Title:

**The Cause of Townships Dilapidation in the Midst of Integrated Development Planning in South Africa - The Case of Bochabela Mangaung**

Ethical Clearance number:

**UFS-HSD2019/1293**

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. Furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Digitally signed  
by Derek  
Litthauer  
Date: 2019.10.03  
22:46:00 +02'00'

**Prof Derek Litthauer**

**Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee**

205 Nelson Mandela  
Drive  
Park West  
Bloemfontein 9301  
South Africa

P.O. Box 339  
Bloemfontein 9300  
Tel: 051 401 9398 /  
7619 / 3682  
[RIMS@UFS.ac.za](mailto:RIMS@UFS.ac.za)  
[www.ufs.ac.za](http://www.ufs.ac.za)



## APPENDIX J

Urban and Regional Planning Department  
Tel: +2751 401 2499  
[nelvi@ufs.ac.za](mailto:nelvi@ufs.ac.za)  
25 November 2021

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Sir/Madam

#### LUCIA LEBOTO-KHETSI

Ms Leboto-Khetsi is currently a PhD student under my supervision, researching the multiple and complex causes of the dilapidation of housing in Bochabelo, Mangaung. Your expertise will greatly contribute to her study, and thus, your participation in this study will be appreciated.

Please note that the General Human Research Ethics Committee has approved the study (Ethical Clearance no IISD2019/1293).

Please feel free to contact me should you require additional information.

Kind regards.



**Professor Verna Nel**

Pr.Pln A187/1985

### Interview Schedule for Government Officials and Practitioners

|                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <b>Participant's Role</b> |  |
| <b>Organization</b>       |  |
| <b>Date</b>               |  |
| <b>Contact Details</b>    |  |

**Questions:**

- 1) What are the key legislation and policies operative in Bochabela Township?
- 2) Which public investment and economic development plans and initiatives have been implemented for Bochabela Township?
- 3) Why have these plans and initiatives been deemed necessary or prioritized?
- 4) What have been the outcomes so far?
- 5) What have been the major challenges of implementation?
- 6) Have there been any initiatives specifically targeted to improve housing situation in Bochabela?" If so, could you tell me about these in more detail;
  - a. **Aims**
  - b. **Outcomes**
  - c. **Implementation challenges**
- 7) How can the following stakeholders collaborate to improve the housing conditions and economy of Bochabela township?
  - a. **Bochabela residents**
  - b. **The private sector**
  - c. **The public sector**
  - d. **Any other stakeholders**
- 8) What is the role of the following factors in achieving this?
  - a. **Financial incentives/subsidies**
  - b. **Access to finance (micro-credit, incremental loans etc.)**
  - c. **Title deed reform**
  - d. **Multi-stakeholder collaboration**
- 9) Do you have any other thoughts on what is needed to improve both the housing conditions and economy of Bochabela township?

*Thank you for your time*

## RESEARCH BRIEF AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

**Title of Research:** Exploring Housing Revitalization as an Opportunity for Sustainable Local Economic Development in Old South African Townships  
**Principal Investigator:** Lucia Leboto Khetsi  
**Institutional Contact:** University of the Free State, Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, PO Box 339, Bloemfontein 9300

**Description of the research:** The researcher, Mrs Lucia Leboto-Khetsi, is conducting a comprehensive study on housing dilapidation and regeneration in Bochabela Township to fulfil her PhD requirements with the University of the Free State. She is responsible for collecting demographic and socio-economic data of inhabitants of Bochabela, evaluating the nature of residential buildings and investments, while also analysing the government's mandate within this scope. This interview schedule is therefore designed to capture the required information. The final report from this study may be used to inform formulation of future strategies for designing and developing human settlements in South Africa, to the benefit of policy makers, scholars, research institutes, communities, CSOs/NGOs, human rights practitioners and others.

**Subject Participation:** An estimated 450 participants who reside in colonial and apartheid houses will be interviewed for this study. Additional 30 key informant interviews will be conducted with relevant government officials, housing and economy practitioners and academics. Participants must be able to communicate verbally or in writing, and willing to take part in the study. Participation will involve one visit of approximately 40 minutes in length for Bochabela residents, and media interaction with the professionals.

**Confidentiality:** All the information you provide will be treated as **STRICTLY ANONYMOUS AND CONFIDENTIAL**. There will be no explicit mention of individual names, identities or providers of information when reporting as information will be coded and all data kept in a secured place even after full analysis.

**Potential Risks and Discomforts:** There are no foreseen risks in partaking in this study. However, it may be uncomfortable for some individuals to give certain information, of which emphasis is made on the confidential nature of this study.

**Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal of Authorization:** Your decision to participate in this study is completely voluntary and **NOT** subject to any payment. If you decide to not participate, it will not affect the care, services, or benefits to which you are entitled, and you may withdraw from your participation at any time without penalty.

With full understanding of the information provided above; (signing is also voluntary)

I \_\_\_\_\_ voluntarily agree to participate in this research.

**Signature:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Place:** \_\_\_\_\_

Urban and Regional Planning Department  
Tel: +2751 401 2499  
[nelvj@ufs.ac.za](mailto:nelvj@ufs.ac.za)  
25 November 2021

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

Sir/Madam

**LUCIA LEBOTO-KHETSI**

Ms Leboto-Khetsi is currently a PhD student under my supervision, researching the multiple and complex causes of the dilapidation of housing in Bochabelo, Mangaung. Your expertise will greatly contribute to her study, and thus, your participation in this study will be appreciated.

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Please feel free to contact me should you require additional information.

Kind regards.



**Professor Verna Nel**  
Pr.Pln A187/1985



## APPENDIX J: Department Request Letter



Urban and Regional Planning Department  
Tel: +2751 401 2499  
[nelvj@ufs.ac.za](mailto:nelvj@ufs.ac.za)  
25 November 2021

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Sir/Madam

### LUCIA LEBOTO-KHETSI

Ms Leboto-Khetsi is currently a PhD student under my supervision, researching the multiple and complex causes of the dilapidation of housing in Bochabelo, Mangaung. Your expertise will greatly contribute to her study, and thus, your participation in this study will be appreciated.

Please note that the General Human Research Ethics Committee has approved the study (Ethical Clearance no IISD2019/1293).

Please feel free to contact me should you require additional information.

Kind regards.

Professor Verna Nel  
Pr.Pln A187/1985



APPENDIX K: Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality Consent

**Pitso Magashule**

---

**From:** Lucia Leboto <lucialeboto@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Monday, 17 January 2022 12:06 PM  
**To:** Pitso Magashule  
**Subject:** Fwd: Request for Permission to Conduct Research  
**Attachments:** Letter Lucia research letter.pdf; RESEARCH BRIEF AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM.docx; Interview Schedule for Government Officials and Practitioners.docx

Greetings and well wishes Ntate Magashule

Following our telephonic conversation, I make reference to the forwarded email below. I trust you find it in order.

Sincerely  
Lucia Khetsi

----- Forwarded message -----

**From:** Lucia Leboto <lucialeboto@gmail.com>  
**Date:** Mon, Dec 6, 2021 at 2:58 PM  
**Subject:** Request for Permission to Conduct Research  
**To:** <se.ile.more@mangaung.co.za>  
**Cc:** Nepo N. Masithela <Nepo.Masithela@mangaung.co.za>


The City Manager;

Greeting and well wishes

My name is Lucia Leboto-Khetsi, a PhD candidate at the University of the Free State, Department of Urban and Regional planning. I am writing to kindly request your permission to conduct part of my research under several departments in Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality. These departments are ideally responsible for social development, town planning, local economic development and housing provisioning. I have attached the relevant documents for your perusal.

Should you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact me on this email or the number listed below. I trust my request meets your favourable response.

Best regards  
Lucia  
0730560418

Permission Granted  
  
Sello  
Actg  
Mony  
City  
Manager



**INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <p><b>Title of Research:</b><br/>Exploring Opportunities for Local Economic Development in Historical South African Townships through Collaborative Housing Revitalization</p> | <p><b>Principal Investigator:</b><br/>Lucia Leboto Khetsi<br/>Student No. 2013058843<br/>Tel: 073 056 0418</p> | <p><b>Institutional Contact:</b><br/>University of the Free State<br/>Faculty of Natural and Agricultural Sciences<br/>Department of Urban and Regional Planning<br/>PO Box 339, Bloemfontein 9300<br/>Tel: 051 401 3210</p> |
|--|--|--|

**Description of the research:** The researcher, Mrs Lucia Leboto-Khetsi, is conducting a comprehensive study on housing dilapidation and regeneration in Bochabela Township to fulfil her PhD requirements with the University of the Free State. She is responsible for collecting demographic and socio-economic data of inhabitants of Bochabela, evaluating the nature of residential buildings and investments, while also analysing the government’s mandate within this scope. This questionnaire is therefore designed to capture the required information. The final report from this study may be used to inform formulation of future strategies for designing and developing human settlements in South Africa and beyond, to the benefit of policy makers, scholars, research institutes, communities, CSOs/NGOs, human rights practitioners and other interested parties.

**Subject Participation:** An estimated 450 participants who reside in dilapidated houses will be interviewed for this study. Participants must be able to verbally communicate and willing to take part in the study. Participation will involve one visit of approximately 40 minutes in length.

**Confidentiality:** All the information you provide will be treated as **STRICTLY ANONYMOUS AND CONFIDENTIAL**. There will be no explicit mention of individual names, identities or providers of information when reporting as information will be coded and all data kept in a secured place. Once data and recordings have been fully analysed, they will be kept in a locked cabinet.

**Potential Risks and Discomforts:** There are no foreseen risks in partaking in this study. However, it may be uncomfortable giving some information, of which emphasis is made on the voluntary and confidential nature of this study.

**Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal of Authorization:** Your decision to participate in this study is completely voluntary and **NOT** subject to any payment. If you decide to not participate, it will not affect the care, services, or benefits to which you are entitled, and you may withdraw from your participation at any time without penalty.

With full understanding of the information provided above,

I \_\_\_\_\_ voluntarily agree to participate in this research.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Place: \_\_\_\_\_

## HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

**Exploring Housing Revitalization as an Opportunity for  
Sustainable Township Economies in South Africa:  
The Case of Bochabela**

|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Interviewer:                  |  |
| Date:                         |  |
| Time:                         |  |
| Questionnaire<br>Number:      |  |
| House Number:                 |  |
| Street Name:                  |  |
| Location/ GPS<br>Coordinates: |  |
| Participant Code:             |  |

**OBJECTIVE: ESTABLISHING DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF BOCHABELA****A. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE: Mark all the applicable with an X**

|   |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
|---|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| <b>1. Population Group</b>                                    |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| African   | <input type="checkbox"/> | White                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | Coloured   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (specify) _____   |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>2. Ethnic Group</b>  |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>3. Citizenship</b>   |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| South African   | <input type="checkbox"/> | Zimbabwean                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | Mosotho  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Nigerian  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Ethiopian                        | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other _____  |                          |
| <b>4. Date of Birth</b>                                       |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>5. Gender</b>  |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| Male  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Female                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (Specify) _____                              |                          |
| <b>6. Marital status</b>                                      |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| Single  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Divorced                         | <input type="checkbox"/> | Staying Together                                   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Married   | <input type="checkbox"/> | Widowed                          | <input type="checkbox"/> | Civil Partnership                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (Specify) _____   |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>7. Who is the household head?</b>                          |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>8. What is your role in the household?</b>                 |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| Household Head  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Parent                           | <input type="checkbox"/> | Child  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Relative  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Grandparent                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | House Help   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other (specify) _____   |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>9. Number of dependents</b>                                |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| 0   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1-2                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3-5  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6-9   | <input type="checkbox"/> | Over 10 <input type="checkbox"/> |                          |  |                          |
| <b>10. Place of Birth</b>                                     |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>11. Reasons for coming to Bloemfontein</b>                 |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| Birthplace  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Employment                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | Education  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Health  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Political Challenges             | <input type="checkbox"/> | Closer to Family/Friends <input type="checkbox"/>  |                          |
| Other (Specify) _____   |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>12. Reason for choosing to live in Bochabela</b>           |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| Close to work/education                                       | <input type="checkbox"/> | Availability of services         | <input type="checkbox"/> | Closer to Family/ Friends <input type="checkbox"/> |                          |
| Own property here   | <input type="checkbox"/> | Affordable lodging               | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other reasons (Specify) _____                      |                          |
| <b>13. Years of residence in Bochabela</b>                    |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| Since birth   | <input type="checkbox"/> | Less than 5                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6-15   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16-30   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 31-45                            | <input type="checkbox"/> | 45+  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <b>14. Highest educational level attained</b>                 |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| None  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Primary                          | <input type="checkbox"/> | High School  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Tertiary  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (Specify) _____            |                          |  |                          |
| Currently studying (Elaborate) <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| <b>15. Qualifications obtained out of formal school</b>       |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| None  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Certificate                      | <input type="checkbox"/> | Diploma  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Degree  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other _____                      |                          |  |                          |
| <b>16. Employment Status?</b>                                 |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| Formal employment   | <input type="checkbox"/> | Informal employment              | <input type="checkbox"/> | Retired <input type="checkbox"/>                   |                          |
| Looking for job   | <input type="checkbox"/> | Self-employed                    | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other (specify) _____                              |                          |
| <b>17. Years of overall employment experience</b>             |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |
| None  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1-5                              | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6-10   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11-15   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 15+ <input type="checkbox"/>     |                          |  |                          |
| <b>18. Occupation</b>   |                          |                                  |                          |  |                          |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>19. Place of work</b>  |  |
| Government <input type="checkbox"/>   | Formal Business <input type="checkbox"/> Informal Business <input type="checkbox"/> Household Based <input type="checkbox"/>                                 |
| <b>20. Distance to work place in minutes taken</b>  |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/>  | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>                                 |
| <b>21. Mode of transport</b> Public <input type="checkbox"/> Private <input type="checkbox"/> Walk <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ |  |
| <b>22. Means of Income</b>  |  |
| Job <input type="checkbox"/> Remittances <input type="checkbox"/> Pension <input type="checkbox"/> Government <input type="checkbox"/>            | Non-government organisations <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) _____  |
| <b>23. Thinking about money in the past 12 months, would you say your household</b>   |  |
| <i>Sentiment/Experience</i>   |  |
|   | <i>Tick</i>  |
| a) Is doing very well with steady savings in all or most months   | <input type="checkbox"/>   |
| b) Is doing OK with some savings some months  | <input type="checkbox"/>   |
| c) Receives just enough money to pay for food, bills and other essential expenses   | <input type="checkbox"/>   |
| d) Is occasionally short of money for life essentials including paying for food and bills   | <input type="checkbox"/>   |
| e) Is struggling to feed everyone most of time  | <input type="checkbox"/>   |
| f) I do not know  | <input type="checkbox"/>   |
| <b>24. On average, how much money does the household save per month?</b>  |  |
| <b>25. Do you have any investments/insurance/society membership?</b> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>                     |  |
| <b>26. a)If yes, please specify. b)If no, elaborate why</b> _____   |  |
| <b>27. Total monthly household income</b>   |  |
| Below R1,500 <input type="checkbox"/>   | R1,600–R3,500 <input type="checkbox"/> R3,600–R6 500 <input type="checkbox"/> R6,600–R13,000 <input type="checkbox"/> Above R13,000 <input type="checkbox"/> |

**OBJECTIVE: EVALUATING THE ADEQUACY OF HOUSE STRUCTURES**

**B. DWELLER PERCEPTION (Mark all the applicable with an X)**

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>28. What are your understood characteristics of a 'good place' and what is needed to attain it?</b>   |  |
| <b>29. In which year was this house constructed?</b>   |  |
| <b>30. Nature of your tenure?</b> Ownership <input type="checkbox"/> Private Rental <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) _____<br>Cooperative <input type="checkbox"/> Public Rental <input type="checkbox"/>  |  |
| <b>31. Type of arrangement</b> Formal title deed <input type="checkbox"/> Written rent agreement <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) _____<br>Informal purchase agreement <input type="checkbox"/> Verbal rent agreement <input type="checkbox"/>   |  |
| <b>32. If owner, how was house obtained?</b><br>Government house (pre-1994) <input type="checkbox"/> Private Sector <input type="checkbox"/> Self-built with Government subsidy <input type="checkbox"/><br>Self-built with NGO support <input type="checkbox"/> Self-built <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Specify) _____ |  |
| <b>33. Type of dwelling</b> Single dwelling <input type="checkbox"/> Hostel unit <input type="checkbox"/> Flat <input type="checkbox"/>  |  |

|  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
|--|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--|
| <b>34. Is this your</b> Only residence <input type="checkbox"/> Primary residence <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary residence <input type="checkbox"/>  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>35. Where is your other residence?</b>  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>36. Number of all rooms in this house (including kitchen and living area)</b>   |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>37. Does your house feel overcrowded?</b>   |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>38. What is your perception of your house?</b><br>Place to Live <input type="checkbox"/> Business <input type="checkbox"/> Financial Asset <input type="checkbox"/> Sentimental Value <input type="checkbox"/> Historical Significance <input type="checkbox"/> |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>39. How safe do you feel in your house? Why?</b><br>Very Secure <input type="checkbox"/> Secure <input type="checkbox"/> Unsecure <input type="checkbox"/> Very unsecure <input type="checkbox"/>   |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>40. Describe the condition of your house (tick appropriate box)</b><br>Very good <input type="checkbox"/> Good <input type="checkbox"/> Bad <input type="checkbox"/> Very bad <input type="checkbox"/>  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>41. Describe the changing condition of your house in the past 10 years</b><br>Positive (Improving) <input type="checkbox"/> Neutral (No change) <input type="checkbox"/> Negative (Dilapitating) <input type="checkbox"/>                                       |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>42. House Profile (Structural stability and durability) (Highlight applicable)</b>  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>Quality of Structural Elements</b>  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>House Structure</b>   | Intact      | About to collapse | Some parts collapsed                |                 |                 | Entire house collapsed   |
| <b>Windows</b>   | Intact      | Cracked           | Gaping hole                         |                 |                 | Plastic/box or other material cover                                      |
| <b>Doors</b>   | Intact      | Broken            | Door lock missing                   |                 |                 | Wide gap between door and frame  |
| <b>Roofing</b>   | Intact      | Corrugated Iron   | Tiled                               | Leaking         | Partly missing  | Plastic/other cover on top of main roof                                  |
| <b>Window Frames</b>   | Intact      | Broken            | Mouldy                              |                 | Missing         | Wide gap between frame and wall  |
| <b>Walls</b>   | Intact      | Painted           | Plastered                           |                 | Cracked         | Covered with material to conceal aging e.g. paper, cloth, plastic, boxes |
|  |             | Peeling           | Bare                                |                 | Separating      |  |
| <b>Ceiling</b>   | Intact      | No ceiling        | Old, tattered and and partly fallen |                 |                 | Makeshift ceiling e.g. boxes   |
| <b>Quality of household services</b>   |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| <b>Services</b>  | <b>Good</b> | <b>Very Good</b>  | <b>Bad</b>                          | <b>Very Bad</b> | <b>Comments</b> |  |
| Running water  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| Electricity  |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |
| Flush toilet   |             |                   |                                     |                 |                 |  |

|                     |  |  |  |  |  |
|---------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| Sewerage system     |  |  |  |  |  |
| Garbage disposal    |  |  |  |  |  |
| Internet connection |  |  |  |  |  |

**43. What problems do you face in your dwelling unit?** \_\_\_\_\_

**44. Are there home construction and maintenance businesses in the area?** Yes  No

**45. Have you spent any money on fixing this problem above? If not, why? What makes you not invest in your property?**

**46. If yes, how satisfied were you with the quality of the work and the price?**  
 Satisfied  Very Satisfied  Neutral  Dissatisfied  Immensely Dissatisfied

**Comments:**.....  
 .  
 |

**47. Do you undertake any maintenance of your house to uphold its value?** Yes  No

a) If YES, please describe \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

b) If NO, please explain the reason \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

**48. What kind of investments have you made into this house? How much money did you spent?**

| Investment Type  | Material used and size | Estimated cost |
|------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| House Extension  |                        |                |
| Backyard Units   |                        |                |
| Fencing/security |                        |                |

| 49. Which labour/service did you use? | Characteristic | Tick | Characteristic        | Tick | Characteristic              | Tick |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------------|------|
| Type of labour/service                | Own labour     |      | Someone else          |      |                             |      |
| Nature of labour/service              | Informal       |      | Formal                |      |                             |      |
| Location of labour/service            | Bochabela      |      | Other township (name) |      | Other parts of Bloem (name) |      |

**50. Where did you get the money to fix/maintain the house from?**  
 Savings  Bank Loan  Loan from People  NGOs  Government  Other:

|   |   |                                      |
|---|---|--------------------------------------|
| 51. Have you invested in other assets/properties besides this one and why?<br>_____   |   |                                      |
| 52. What factors influence where you spent your savings on?<br>_____  |   |                                      |
| 53. What are the economic and financial uses of your house?   |   |                                      |
| <b>Economic Uses</b>  | <b>Tick Applicable</b>                        |                                      |
| <b>Homebased enterprises</b>  |   |                                      |
| - for household members   |   |                                      |
| - for others  |   |                                      |
| <b>Rental space</b>   |   |                                      |
| - for family  |   |                                      |
| - for friends   |   |                                      |
| - for tenants   |   |                                      |
| <b>Financial Uses</b>   | <b>Tick Applicable</b>                        |                                      |
| - Mortgages   |   |                                      |
| - Investments   |   |                                      |
| 54. How much rent is paid per month? R _____  |   |                                      |
| 55. Do you re-invest any of the rental income into the property? If so, what percentage?<br>Yes <input type="checkbox"/> Percentage _____ No <input type="checkbox"/> |   |                                      |
| 56. Why do you rent out your property? _____  |   |                                      |
| 57. Have you ever considered to sell your property? Why (not)?<br>_____   |   |                                      |
| 58. What are your long term plans for this house?   |   |                                      |
| Stay here forever<br><input type="checkbox"/>   | Give it to family<br><input type="checkbox"/> | Sell it<br><input type="checkbox"/>  |
| Lease it<br><input type="checkbox"/>  | Demolish<br><input type="checkbox"/>          | Renovate<br><input type="checkbox"/> |
| Why?<br>_____<br>_____<br>_____   |   |                                      |

**OBJECTIVE: EXPLORING SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS PERTAINING TO  
THE NATURE OF HOUSING  
C. SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS OF BOCHABELA**

**59. What are your thoughts on the condition and change over time of these social facilities?**

| Facilities                                  | Condition |      |     |          | Change over last 10 years |           |           | Any further comment (especially if condition is perceived as bad/very bad) |
|---|-----------|------|-----|----------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|--|
|   | Very good | Good | Bad | Very bad | Got better                | No change | Got worse |  |
| Crechés                                     |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Primary schools                             |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| High schools                                |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Tertiary Institutes                         |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Health centres                              |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Recreational facilities e.g. parks          |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Police station                              |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Administrative facilities e.g. municipality |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Community halls                             |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Sports facilities                           |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Commercial centres                          |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Communication facilities                    |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |
| Transport                                   |           |      |     |          |                           |           |           |  |

**Any further comments:**

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| 60. Please rank the conditions of the following services in your neighbourhood (Mark with an X) |                                     |      |     |          |  |           |           |          |
|---|-------------------------------------|------|-----|----------|--|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Services  | Conditions and/or state of services |      |     |          | Change of condition in the past 10 years |           |           |          |
|   | Very good                           | Good | Bad | Very bad | Got better                               | No change | Got worse | Comments |
| Roads   |                                     |      |     |          |  |           |           |          |
| Electricity   |                                     |      |     |          |  |           |           |          |
| Water   |                                     |      |     |          |  |           |           |          |
| Sewerage  |                                     |      |     |          |  |           |           |          |
| Drainage  |                                     |      |     |          |  |           |           |          |
| Garbage disposal  |                                     |      |     |          |  |           |           |          |

**61. Please say your thoughts about the following socio-economic aspects of your neighbourhood**

a) **What are existing security (crime) and safety (disasters) in Bochabela?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

b) **Do all members of your family reside in the same dwelling? Elaborate.**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

c) **What cultural changes have occurred in Bochabela since you first moved there? Is there a variety of ethnic groups?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

d) **Do residents of Bochabela act together to solve their neighbourhood issues? Give examples.**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

e) **What are your thoughts on business and employment opportunities available to residents of Bochabela?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

| <b>62. How important have the following individuals and organizations been in improving this neighbourhood during the last two years?</b> |           |               |  |            |
|---|-----------|---------------|--|------------|
| Individual/Organization   | Important | Not important | No such organization/<br>unaware if exists | Don't know |
| <b>a</b> Local government – officials and staff   |           |               |  |            |
| <b>b</b> Local political leaders, elected politicians and councillors   |           |               |  |            |
| <b>c</b> Neighbourhood residents' committee or association  |           |               |  |            |
| <b>d</b> Property owners' association   |           |               |  |            |
| <b>e</b> Estate or property management company  |           |               |  |            |
| <b>f</b> NGOs   |           |               |  |            |
| <b>g</b> Priests/Church ministers/Religious leaders   |           |               |  |            |
| <b>h</b> Traditional leaders or healers   |           |               |  |            |
| <b>i</b> Individuals acting on their own initiative   |           |               |  |            |

**63. What have you done as an individual to address existing problems in Bochabela?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**64. What do you think people of Bochabela should do together to improve houses and the neighbourhood in general?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**65. How can government and private sector support them?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**66. How did COVID-19 pandemic affect you and your family? (Particularly in relation to your house)**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**67. Any last thoughts?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND CO-OPERATION.

### **Interview Schedule for Government Officials, Practitioners and Academics**

- 1) What are the key legislation and policies operative in Bochabela Township?
- 2) Which public investment and economic development plans and initiatives have been implemented for Bochabela Township?
- 3) Why have these plans and initiatives been deemed necessary or prioritized?
- 4) What have been the outcomes so far?
- 5) What have been the major challenges of implementation?
- 6) Have there been any initiatives specifically targeted to improve housing situation in Bochabela?" If so, could you tell me about these in more detail;
  - a. Aims:
  - b. Outcomes:
  - c. Implementation challenges:
- 7) How can the following stakeholders collaborate to improve the housing conditions and economy of Bochabela township?
  - a. Bochabela residents
  - b. The private sector
  - c. The public sector
  - d. Any other stakeholders
- 8) What is the role of the following factors in achieving this?
  - a. Financial incentives/subsidies
  - b. Access to finance (micro-credit, incremental loans etc.)
  - c. Title deed reform
  - d. Multi-stakeholder collaboration
- 9) Do you have any other thoughts on what is needed to improve both the housing conditions and economy of Bochabela township?

### **Interview Schedule for Local Authorities (e.g. religious leaders, school leaders, traditional leaders, CBOs, street committee leaders, associations, individuals acting on their own initiative etc.)**

- 1) What is your take on the premise that majority of residents in Bochabela do not invest (*repair and maintain*) in their houses?
- 2) Why do you think so?
- 3) What would you say are the key reasons for people (not) to invest in their houses?
- 4) How does non-investment in the houses affect the neighbourhood and economy of Bochabela?
- 5) What have your organisation done to improve the neighbourhood?
- 6) What have been the challenges in doing so?
- 7) How could they be addressed?

## APPENDIX N: Data Codes

```
library(knitr)
Lucia = read.csv(file.choose(), header = TRUE, sep=",")

names(Lucia)

## [1] "Questionnaire.No."
## [2] "House.Number"
## [3] "Street.Name"
## [4] "Street.Name.Codes"
## [5] "Population.Group"
## [6] "Ethnic.Group"
## [7] "Ethnic.Group.Codes"
## [8] "Citizenship"
## [9] "Citizenship.Codes"
## [10] "Birth.Date"
## [11] "Birth.Date.Codes"
## [12] "Gender"
## [13] "Gender.Codes"
## [14] "Marital.Status"
## [15] "Marital.Status.Codes"
## [16] "Household.Head"
## [17] "Household.Head.Codes"
## [18] "Household.Role"
## [19] "Household.Role.Codes"
## [20] "Number.of.Dependents"
## [21] "Number.of.Dependents.Role"
## [22] "Place.of.Birth..Province."
## [23] "Place.of.Birth..Province.Codes."
## [24] "Birth.Place"
## [25] "Birth.Place.Codes"
## [26] "Reasons.for.coming.to.Bloemfontein"
## [27] "Reason.for.coming.to.Bloemfontein.Codes"
## [28] "Reason.for.Living.in.Bochabela"
## [29] "Reason.for.Living.in.Bochabela.Codes"
## [30] "Years.of.residence.in.Bochabela"
## [31] "Years.of.Residence.in.Bochabela.Codes"
## [32] "Highest.Educational.Level"
## [33] "Highest.Educational.Level.Codes"
## [34] "Qualifications"
## [35] "Qualifications.Codes"
## [36] "Employment.Status"
## [37] "Employment.Status.Codes"
## [38] "Years.of.Overall.Employment"
## [39] "Years.of.Overall.Employment.Codes"
## [40] "Occupation"
## [41] "Occupation.Category"
## [42] "Occupation.Category.Codes"
## [43] "Place.of.work"
## [44] "Place.of.Work.Codes"
## [45] "Distance.to.Work..CBD.in.minutes.taken"
## [46] "Distance.to.Work.CBD.Codes"
```

```

## [47] "Mode.of.Transport"
## [48] "Mode.of.Transport.Codes"
## [49] "Means.of.Income"
## [50] "Means.of.Income.Codes"
## [51] "Additional.Income"
## [52] "Additional.Income.Codes"
## [53] "Household.Financial.Situation"
## [54] "Household.Financial.Situation.Codes"
## [55] "Monthly.Household.Savings"
## [56] "Monthly.Household.Savings.Codes"
## [57] "Any.Investments."
## [58] "Any.Investments.Codes"
## [59] "Society.Membership"
## [60] "Society.Membership.Codes"
## [61] "Funeral.Policy"
## [62] "Funeral.Policy.Codes"
## [63] "Insurance"
## [64] "Insurance.Codes"
## [65] "If.no..elaborate.why"
## [66] "If.no..Elaborate.why.Codes"
## [67] "Total.monthly.household.income."
## [68] "Total.Monthly.Income.Codes"
## [69] "Perception.of.Good.Place"
## [70] "Perception.of.a.Good.Place.Codes"
## [71] "Year.of.House.Construction"
## [72] "Year.of.House.Construction.Codes"
## [73] "Tenure"
## [74] "Tenure.Codes"
## [75] "Arrangement.Type"
## [76] "Arrangement.Type.Codes"
## [77] "How.House.was.Obtained"
## [78] "How.House.was.Obtained.Codes"
## [79] "Dwelling.Type"
## [80] "Dwelling.Type.Codes"
## [81] "House.Uses"
## [82] "House.Uses.Codes"
## [83] "Is.this.your"
## [84] "Is.this.Your.Codes"
## [85] "Place.of.Other.Residence"
## [86] "Place.of.Other.Residence.Codes"
## [87] "Number.of.Rooms"
## [88] "Number.of.Rooms.Codes"
## [89] "Feelings.of.Overcrowding"
## [90] "Feelings.of.Overcrowding.Codes"
## [91] "Explain"
## [92] "Codes"
## [93] "House.Perceptions"
## [94] "House.Perceptions.Codes"
## [95] "House.Security.Perceptions"
## [96] "House.Security.Perceptions.Codes"
## [97] "House.Condition.Perceptions"
## [98] "House.Condition.Perceptions.Codes"
## [99] "X10.Years.House.Change"

```

```

## [100] "X10.Years.House.Change.Codes"
## [101] "House.Structure.Condition"
## [102] "House.Structure.Codes"
## [103] "Windows.Condition"
## [104] "Windows.Codes"
## [105] "Doors.Condition"
## [106] "Doors.Codes"
## [107] "Roofing.Condition"
## [108] "Roofing.Codes"
## [109] "Window.Frames.Condition"
## [110] "Window.Frames.Codes"
## [111] "Walls.Condition"
## [112] "Walls.Codes"
## [113] "Ceiling.Condition"
## [114] "Ceiling.Codes"
## [115] "House.Problems.Faced"
## [116] "House.Problems.Codes"
## [117] "Home.Construction.and.Maintenance.Businesses"
## [118] "Home.Construction.and.Maintenance.Businesses.Codes"
## [119] "Money.Spent.on.Fixing.House"
## [120] "Money.Spent.on.Fixing.House.Codes"
## [121] "Satisfaction.Levels.After.Fixing.House"
## [122] "Satisfaction.Levels.After.Fixing.House.Codes"
## [123] "Undertaking.House.Maintenance"
## [124] "Undertaking.House.Maintenance.Codes"
## [125] "House.Extension"
## [126] "House.Extension.Codes"
## [127] "Materials.Used"
## [128] "Estimated.Cost"
## [129] "Backyard.Units"
## [130] "Backyard.Units.Codes"
## [131] "Materials.Used.1"
## [132] "Estimated.Cost.1"
## [133] "Fencing.Security"
## [134] "Fencing.Security.Codes"
## [135] "Materials.Used.2"
## [136] "Estimated.Cost.2"
## [137] "Total.Cost"
## [138] "Type.of.labour"
## [139] "Type.of.labour.Codes"
## [140] "Nature.of.service"
## [141] "Nature.of.service.Coding"
## [142] "Location.of.Service"
## [143] "Location.of.Service.Coding"
## [144] "Source.of.Housing.Maintenance.Funds"
## [145] "Source.of.Housing.Maintenance.Funds.Codes"
## [146] "Investments.in.Other.Assets.Property"
## [147] "Investments.in.Other.Assets.Property.Codes"
## [148] "Areas.of.Monthly.Spending"
## [149] "Areas.of.Monthly.Spending.Codes"
## [150] "Economic.House.Uses"
## [151] "Economic.House.Uses.Codes"
## [152] "Financial.House.Uses"

```

```

## [153] "Financial.House.Uses.Codes"
## [154] "Montly.Rent"
## [155] "Montly.Rent.Codes"
## [156] "Rental.Income.Re.invested.into.Propety"
## [157] "Rental.Income.Re.invested.into.Propety.Codes"
## [158] "Reasons.for.Leasing.Houses"
## [159] "Reasons.for.Leasing.Houses.Codes"
## [160] "Considering.Selling.Property"
## [161] "Considering.Selling.Property.Codes"
## [162] "Long.Term.House.Plans"
## [163] "Long.Term.House.Plans.Code"
## [164] "Why."
## [165] "Why.Codes"
## [166] "Roads"
## [167] "Roads.Codes"
## [168] "Electricity"
## [169] "Electricity.Codes"
## [170] "Water"
## [171] "Water.Codes"
## [172] "Flush.Toilet"
## [173] "Flush.Toilets.Codes"
## [174] "Sewerage"
## [175] "Sewerage.Codes"
## [176] "Drainage"
## [177] "Drainage.Codes"
## [178] "Garbage.Disposal"
## [179] "Garbage.Disposal.Codes"
## [180] "Roads.1"
## [181] "Roads.Codes.1"
## [182] "Electricity.1"
## [183] "Electricity.Codes.1"
## [184] "Water.1"
## [185] "Water.Codes.1"
## [186] "Sewerage.1"
## [187] "Sewerage.Codes.1"
## [188] "Drainage.1"
## [189] "Drainage.Codes.1"
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## [193] "Crechés.Codes"
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## [195] "Primary.Schools.Codes"
## [196] "High.Schools"
## [197] "High.Schools.Codes"
## [198] "Tertiary.Institutes"
## [199] "Tertiary.Institutes.Codes"
## [200] "Health.Centres"
## [201] "Health.Centres.Codes"
## [202] "Comments"
## [203] "Recreational.Facilities"
## [204] "Recreational.Facilities.Codes"
## [205] "Comments.1"

```

```

## [206] "Police.Station"
## [207] "Police.Station.Codes"
## [208] "Administrative.Facilities"
## [209] "Administrative.Facilities.Codes"
## [210] "Community.Hall"
## [211] "Community.Hall.Codes"
## [212] "Sports.Facilities"
## [213] "Sports.Facilities.Codes"
## [214] "Commercial.Shopping.Centres"
## [215] "Commercial.Shopping.Centres.Codes"
## [216] "Communication.Facilities"
## [217] "Communication.Facilities.Codes"
## [218] "Transport"
## [219] "Transport.Codes"
## [220] "Creché"
## [221] "Creché.Codes"
## [222] "Primary.School"
## [223] "Primary.School.Codes"
## [224] "High.School"
## [225] "High.School.Codes"
## [226] "Tertiary.Institutes.1"
## [227] "Tertiary.Institutes.Codes.1"
## [228] "Health.Centres.1"
## [229] "Health.Centres.Codes.1"
## [230] "Recreational.Facilities.1"
## [231] "Recreational.Facilities.Codes.1"
## [232] "Police.Station.1"
## [233] "Police.Station.Codes.1"
## [234] "Administrative.Facilities.1"
## [235] "X"
## [236] "Community.Halls"
## [237] "Community.Halls.Codes"
## [238] "Sports.Facilities.1"
## [239] "Sports.Facilities.Codes.1"
## [240] "Commercial.Shopping.Centres.1"
## [241] "Commercial.Shopping.Centres.Codes.1"
## [242] "Communication.Facilities.1"
## [243] "Communication.Facilities.Codes.1"
## [244] "Transport.1"
## [245] "Transport.Codes.1"
## [246] "Safety.and.Security.Issues"
## [247] "Safety.and.Security.Issues.Codes"
## [248] "Family.Fragmentation"
## [249] "Family.Fragmentation.Codes"
## [250] "Any.Cultural.Changes"
## [251] "Any.Cultural.Changes.Codes"
## [252] "Specific.Cultural.Changes"
## [253] "Specific.Cultural.Changes.Codes"
## [254] "Community.Unity"
## [255] "Community.Unity.Codes"
## [256] "Perceptions.on.Business.Employment.Opportunities"
## [257] "Perceptions.on.Business.Employment.Opportunities.Codes"
## [258] "Local.government...officials.and.staff"

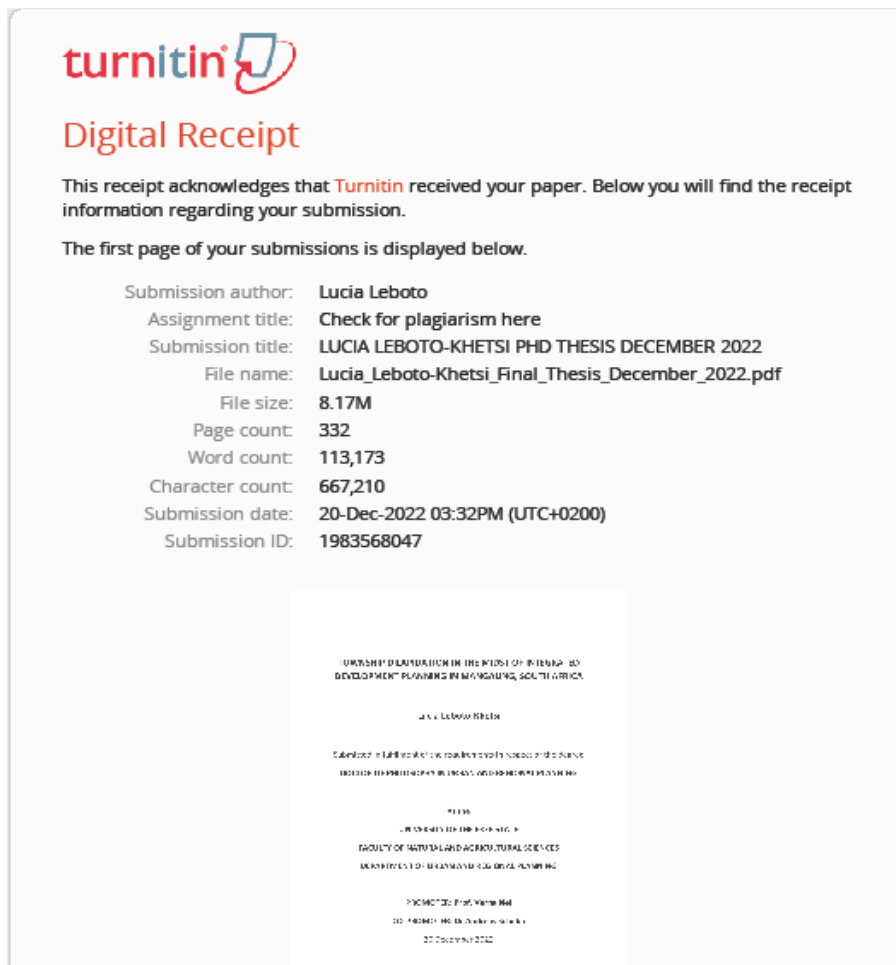
```

```

## [259] "Local.government...officials.and.staff.Codes"
## [260] "Local.political.leaders..elected.politicians.and.councillors"
## [261] "Local.political.leaders..elected.politicians.and.councillors.Cod
es"
## [262] "Neighbourhood.residents..committee.or.association"
## [263] "Neighbourhood.residents..committee.or.association.Code"
## [264] "Property.owners..association"
## [265] "Property.owners..association.codes"
## [266] "Estate.or.property.management.company"
## [267] "Estate.or.property.management.company.codes"
## [268] "Non.Governmental.Organizations"
## [269] "Non.Governmental.Organizations.Codes"
## [270] "Priests.Church.ministers.Religious.leaders"
## [271] "Priests.Church.ministers.Religious.leaders.Codes"
## [272] "Traditional.leaders.or.healers"
## [273] "Traditional.leaders.or.healers.codes"
## [274] "Individuals.acting.on.their.own.initiative"
## [275] "Individuals.acting.on.their.own.initiative.codes"
## [276] "Individual.Assistance"
## [277] "Individual.Assistance.Codes"
## [278] "Specific.Individual.Assistance"
## [279] "Categories.for.Necessary.Neighbourhood.Collaboration"
## [280] "Thoughts.on.Collective.Neighbourhod.Revitalization"
## [281] "Categories.of.Public.Private.Sector.Support"
## [282] "Thoughts.on.Public.Private.Sector.Support"
## [283] "More.Comments"
## [284] "COVID.19.Pandemic.Impact"
## [285] "Direct.COVID.19..Impacts"
## [286] "Any.last.thoughts."

```

## APPENDIX O: Turnitin Report



**turnitin**

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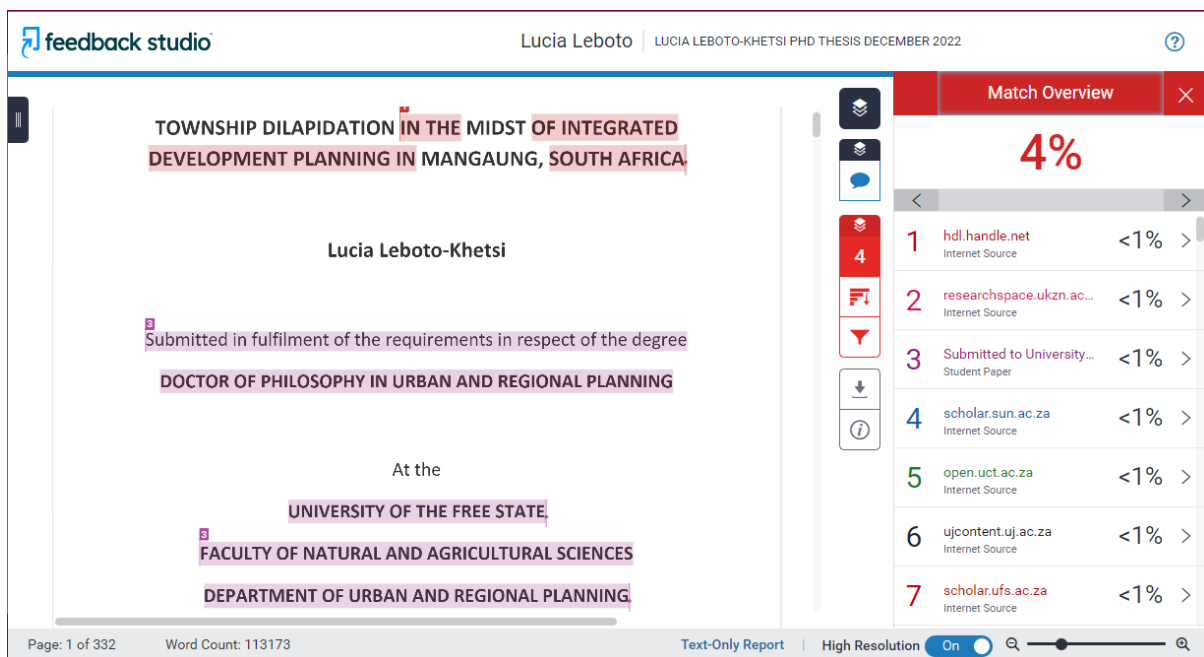
TOWNSHIP DILAPIDATION IN THE MIDST OF INTEGRATED  
DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN MANGAUNG, SOUTH AFRICA

by Lucia Leboto

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the degree  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

At the  
UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE  
FACULTY OF NATURAL AND AGRICULTURAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

Submitted: 20-Dec-2022 03:32PM (UTC+0200)



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19 December 2022  
Pretoria, South Africa

To whom it may concern,

I hereby confirm that I undertook the language editing for the DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
IN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING thesis:

**EXPLORING OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUSTAINABLE LOCAL ECONOMIC  
DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH COLLABORATIVE HOUSING  
REVITALIZATION**

by Lucia Leboto

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'C. Swart'.

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pjcswart@transkaroo.net