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Socio-economic Perspectives in the Redevelopment of Hostels in South Africa: A Case of Wolhuter Hostel, Jeppestown

Madonsela, Thando Kwenza

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University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

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Socio-economic Perspectives in the Redevelopment of Hostels in South Africa

A Case of Wolhuter Hostel, Jeppestown

Thando Kwenza Madonsela

A Research Report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment of the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg in fulfilment of Master of Built Environment Housing (MBE) Degree

Supervisor: Professor Mfaniseni Sihlongonyane

October 2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare and confirm that this research report entails my own work, all data sources used have been acknowledged and referenced accordingly. The research study is submitted for a Masters in Built Environment (MBE) in Housing Degree to the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This research report has not been submitted to any academic institution for examination.

Signed by Candidate

Thando Kwenza Madonsela



……..

Date: 2020/11/12

ABSTRACT

Hostels in the South Africa context are synonymous with the migrant labour system. The dominant feature of these pre-democratic hostels is that they catered for single-sex employees as opposed to worker families. This contributed to the destruction of the social fabric in terms of culture, traditions, and the destruction of the black families at large. In post-democratic South Africa, Hostel accommodation continues to paint a grim picture within our human settlement's spaces. Socio-economic difficulties manifest themselves in mostly inadequate living conditions or poor housing circumstances that are largely conditioned by the unequal and distorted access to opportunities. To this day, most hostels that are not yet redeveloped or refurbished continue to present images of dirty menacing buildings associated with a public stigma of notoriety. This research study explores socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. The study will consist of an interface between theoretical foundations, and empirical evidence. This research, data collection was sourced both from primary and secondary sources. Qualitative investigative methods were used to get an in-depth understanding of the subject. The research follows a case-study approach, that of Wolhuter Hostel, Jeppestown in Gauteng and undertook interviews of sixteen hostel dwellers plus a fucus group discussion. The study makes recommendations on policy reforms such introducing more responsive programmes in human settlements. It is also aimed at introducing an improved approach to the planning and redevelopment of the hostels by strengthening neighbourhood and precinct planning. The study contributes to the understanding and insight on hostels and their redevelopment and considering socio-economic perspectives in human settlements planning and development.

DEDICATION

This research report is first and foremost dedicated to me. It has been a long journey filled with many obstacles and positive lessons that have transformed my academic and professional outlook on life. Undertaking this research has proven to me that with perseverance and commitment nothing is impossible to achieve. Secondly, it is dedicated to my family, especially my parents, wife and kids who have all encouraged and supported me along this journey. Lastly, this study is dedicated to all hostel dwellers, with the hope that it will contribute to an improved understanding, insights, and knowledge of the problem to improve their living conditions.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS -	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC -	African National Congress
BNG -	Breaking New Ground Policy
CoJ -	City of Johannesburg
CBD -	Central Business District
CRU -	Community Rental Units
DHS -	Department of Human Settlements
HRP -	Hostel Redevelopment Programme
IDP -	Integrated Development Plan
IFP -	Inkatha Freedom Party
RDP -	Redevelopment Reconstruction and Redevelopment Programme
JOSHCO -	Johannesburg Social Housing Company
KZN -	KwaZulu Natal Province
MMC -	Member of the Mayoral Council
PSHRP -	Public Sector Hostels Redevelopment Programme

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CHAPTER 1

OUTLINING THE RESEARCH STUDY

1. Introduction

This research report presents a qualitative research study conducted in exploring the socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa, through a case study of Wolhuter Hostel, Jeppestown in Johannesburg. The study unpacks the underlying and often neglected social perspectives from affected stakeholders within the subject matter who were engaged for this research. This introductory chapter is structured as follows; it begins by giving a contextual background to the study, highlighting the problem statement, followed by the objectives and the justification for this research. Narrowing it down, it provides an overview on the methods used, and finally outlines the overall sequence of this research report.

1.1 Contextual Background to the Study

To the present day, historical single-sex hostel accommodation continues to exist in most South African cities, and towns. This is despite continuous efforts by the post-democratic government to progressively eradicate them. Hostels were historically built to accommodate migrant workers, mainly from rural homelands in urban centres close to work opportunities (Thurman, 1997). Today, the stigma of hostel living often associated with hostility and squalor conditions remains entrenched in most South African cities and towns (Moloto, 2015). Thurman (1997) points out that in the 1990s there was an estimated 604 000 hostel beds countrywide housing migrant labour, and factory workers in urban centres, and former apartheid townships. In 2007, the Department of Human Settlements reported that approximately 29 837 hostel units were redeveloped or refurbished, out of the 181 public sector hostels owned by provincial governments and / or municipalities nationally (DHS, 2016). However, over twenty-four years into democracy, many of these hostels at a national scale remain and are still faced with diverse social ills such as their perceived public stigma, marginalisation, poverty, crime, and violence.

Countrywide, the status quo of hostels that remain undeveloped in South Africa has worsened, with conditions becoming informal and inadequate due to the lack of basic services, and secure tenure. As observed by Banks (2017), migrant workers and their descendants living in Duncan Village Hostels since 1959, are dissatisfied and have become irritable with government failure to improve their living conditions. Several unfulfilled promises made by the current government has resulted in frequent violent protests, leading to some residents being killed in the process. Although some hostels have been converted into family units, accommodating more people than the previous one-storey row of blocks, challenges and complaints still prevail. Banks (2017) argues that dwellers in newly converted family units in Duncan Village Hostels still complain about lack of privacy, free movement, and health risks posed by amplified possibilities of contamination in common living areas.

Fenyane (2016) points out that the Gauteng Province, which is South Africa's most populous province, has the greatest number of hostels in the country. Approximately thirty-four (34) hostels are jointly vested to the City of Johannesburg, and the Provincial Department of Human Settlements in Gauteng. These hostels house well over one (1) million dwellers, largely young males residing in overcrowded conditions (*ibid.*). This is linked to high levels of in-migration experienced in Gauteng Province. StatsSA Community Survey (2016) reports that the City of Johannesburg receives approximately 3 027 migrants each month, even though approximately 37% of the city's people are living in abject poverty

(StatsSA, 2016). At a municipal level, for the purposes of this research, the case study is Wolhuter Hostel, located in Jeppestown, southeast of the City of Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD). The area of Jeppestown encompasses a variety of socio-economic disparities (poverty, unemployment, and inequality), and houses most of the hostels within the Johannesburg area. Most of the hostel dwellers in this area reside in degraded conditions (dilapidated buildings with inadequate infrastructure services).

According to Beavon (2004), nearly 98% of the inhabitants of Jeppestown's hostels are low-income migrants from Kwa-Zulu Natal Province, and mostly young males stay in Wolhuter Men's Hostel in Jeppestown. In her online article Phala, (2016) indicates that approximately ten thousand (10 000) people live in the Wolhuter men's hostel alone, with less than one thousand (1 000) communal toilets and even fewer communal taps. Each dormitory is occupied by at least four men and others to a maximum of eight, with a kitchenette and an open space divided into rooms (Phala, 2016). Many of these dwellers are unemployed, and have inadequate infrastructural services (water, sanitation, and electricity). This is compounded by prevailing physical and social circumstances (derelict infrastructure, and lack of access to amenities), which have a direct effect on the vulnerability of residents (Ndingi, 2008).

Wolhuter men's hostel, as observed by online journalist Phala (2016), is marked by trickles with sewerage water as well as piles of uncollected rubbish at the entrance, even without entering the hostel itself. It is apparent that the hostel is a health hazard to its residents. Without any doubt, this poses serious challenges for the provision of adequate housing and infrastructure development in hostels, and cities. These shortages have a negative impact on the urban poor, since they have no choice but to resort to living in inadequate hostels, or in informal settlements. This study, therefore, seeks to explore these often-neglected socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa, using the Wolhuter Hostel, Jeppestown in Johannesburg as a case study.

1.2 Problem Statement

The problem statement will unpack some of the prevalent challenges or problems identified, which inform this research study. This will be linked to identified concepts that emerged as part of the preliminary literature review of related studies conducted around the subject, as well as drawing inferences to other hostels in different geographical areas.

Generally, hostels remain one of the most persistent human settlement challenges facing all the spheres of the South African government. Vedalankar (1993:14) highlights that hostels have always given rise to challenging "social pathologies" in urban living. To validate evidence associated with the identified problems in the contextual background, some of the main critical socio-economic challenges/problems identified are associated with these concepts / themes: marginalisation, violence, gender disparities, ethnicity, apartheid, and migration, which will be elaborated on further in the next chapter. A brief exploration of marginalisation in relation to hostels by Sampson and Wilson (1995), place emphasis on the fact that contextual elements such as urban inequality and marginalisation (exclusion and isolation) are largely caused by weak or discriminatory national policy deficiencies concerning adequate housing, infrastructure services, and jobs which tend to exacerbate socio-economic problems of the poor. Briefly looking at gender disparities in hostels, Segal (1991) points out that the migrant labour system subsequently entrenched by apartheid laws made it impossible for hostel residents to stay in the hostel with their families, i.e., wives, husbands, partners and children. The consequential result of this is the social destruction of black family structure in rural homelands (Christopher, 1994).

- Migration, and the impacts of apartheid are other concepts emerging as part of the problem from the contextual background. Authors such as Mamphele (1993) and Lalloo (1998) have explored the impacts of labour migration due to apartheid legislation around hostels. Lalloo (1998:439) makes an interesting statement on the subject, namely that "impoverished place types that apartheid generated-namely, the rural homes in the homelands, urban townships, and migrant labour compounds" were created due to this system. The apartheid government drove a migrant labour system, which resulted in an increased need for housing in towns and cities. Oppressive laws that excluded blacks from accessing adequate housing opportunities were enacted, causing critical housing shortages, resulting in only one approved option for black migrant job seekers in urban areas, being hostels, or labour compound accommodation (Maphele, 1993).

- Due to racially enforced "separate development", the black migrant workforce was subjected either to informal housing circumstances, or overcrowded hostels. All socio-economic opportunities were exclusively reserved for their white counterparts who benefited substantially from the racially prejudiced system (Mohlapamaswi and Rachidi, 2014:901). In his research on hostels on the East Rand, Elder (2003:923) points out that "most studies suggest that ethnic nationalism and economic impoverishment colluded to create an isolated and stereotyped community of male hostel-dwellers in the East Rand townships of the early 1990s". He further makes the observation that the emergence of such findings in his research highlights the struggles between hostel residents and township communities only, but fails to demonstrate the deep divisions among hostel communities themselves, which are deeply divided, unstable, and transitory (Elder, 2003).

- Moving on, another identified problem or challenge to be addressed is that of ethnicity, crime and violence. Throughout history, and recent observation, hostels have typically been engulfed in violence associated with politics along ethnic lines. Xeketwane (1995) highlights that in the run-up to the democratic transition period, South African hostels were mostly characterised by violence with elements of criminal activity. Most of this crime and violence is attributed to historical political violence, where hostels and townships were a focal point. It was the strategy of the apartheid government to utilise political destabilisation methods to weaken the anti-apartheid movements to preserve the apartheid system (Xeketwane, 1995). In other geographical areas, on the northern periphery of eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality in KwaZulu- Natal, lies the densely populated KwaMashu Township, considered to be one of the most violent townships in the country.

- Xulu (2014) points out that hostels built during the apartheid period remain a glaring feature connected to casual violence and patriarchal governing systems linked to distribution of illegal firearms, taxi violence and (izinkabi) hitmen. Hostels in KZN were at the focal point of political violence between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC) accounting for numerous deaths within the broader community. Equally, in Gauteng Province ENCA online journalist Nzimande (2015) captures Gauteng police commissioner Lieutenant-General Lesetja Mothiba speaking at the memorial of two policemen killed in Soweto "asking hostel dwellers to tell him if they are criminals or who are criminals within their midst, further claiming that hostels were very peaceful during the '60s and the '70s. To this day, with sluggish progress to transform, upgrade and integrate with surrounding community, hostels remain dangerous for the community and even the police to operate in (SACN, 2017: 39).

- Observing such socio-economic diversities as poverty and unemployment as other identified challenges / problems, which manifest themselves in mostly inadequate living conditions or poor housing circumstances. These are areas that are largely familiar with unequal and distorted access to opportunities. Scheepers (2010) makes the powerful argument that poverty remains entrenched as a part of South African hostel living post the apartheid era. It is also argued that ethnic and cultural intolerance impact negatively on the country's efforts to combat the high levels of abject poverty, largely affecting most hostel dwellers in the country. In a recent field study of the male and female hostels in Alexandra Township conducted in 2017 as part of my course work, I observed that residents at the male-only hostel (Madelakufa) were not willing to relocate to alternative temporary accommodation to make way for the demolition and conversion of the hostel into community residential units, or family units. Among the main reasons highlighted by the residents for their refusal to vacate was the low service fee, and in most cases no rent, coupled by the demand for space and accommodation within a well-located area. One of the residents and informal shop owner, Mr Mngomezulu, indicated that the disruption associated with the relocation and refurbishment of the hostel would personally affect his livelihood. The perpetuation of these diverse issues hinders efforts to reduce poverty and economic exclusion among the poor, and marginalised hostel dwellers.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

A considerable amount of research within the housing or human settlements field has been conducted in South Africa. This includes various studies conducted on hostels, or migrant labour compounds. Most of existing literature on the hostels issue focused primarily on the historical existence of hostels, and their implications for policy implementation. The main purpose of this study, therefore, is to explore and unpack the existing socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. I have observed in my experience that social elements and underlying perspectives are often neglected or overlooked in infrastructure delivery programmes. The focus tends to be on the tangible numbers of units delivered, rather than broadly addressing people's social needs.

1.3.1 Research Question

What are the prominent socio-economic perspectives that hinder hostel redevelopment in Wolhuter Hostel, Jeppestown?

1.3.2 Research Sub Questions

The following are sub questions of the study to assist in answering the main question:

- What are the theoretical perspectives for understanding of hostel redevelopment?
- What are the perspectives of government in respect of hostel redevelopment?
- What are the perspectives of hostel dwellers regarding redevelopment of hostels?
- To what extent do policy and programmes consider the socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa?
- What are the housing interventions that can be used to facilitate the different perspectives?

1.4 Justification of Study

Generally, there is significant research conducted on hostels within the South African context in the human settlement's development discipline where this research study is sitting. In contrast, however, Mdunyelwa (2015) argues that there is limited research, if any, that has been conducted around hostels and their redevelopment. He further contends that there is not enough research to understand specifically the perceptions of beneficiaries of the Hostel Redevelopment Programme (*ibid*.). The significance of this study is, to contribute to the body of knowledge on hostels and their redevelopment through identifying gaps that still prevail, as well as extending on previous literature around the subject matter. More importantly, the contribution aims to extend the understanding and insight from the views of different disciplines of Sociology, Geography, Urban Planning, and Anthropology on hostels in South Africa. In addition, the importance of this study lies in the identified gaps and linkages identified from research covered to date. To some extent, past research reviewed on hostels does not consider the present socio-economic perspectives of the different stakeholders, which, therefore puts great emphasis on the usefulness and justification of this research.

In the context of this research study hostel/s refers to pre1994 single-sex accommodation because of the migrant labour system and the apartheid policies and legislation of segregated development according to race and class (Mothotoana, 2011). The *status quo* of many hostels nationally is somewhat similar in terms of service delivery challenges, and related problems. In-depth understanding of this research and case study will be useful for making comparisons and extending understanding for future research on hostels in South Africa. Additionally, Gauteng Province has the highest number of hostels in the country –approximately thirty-four (34) in total – therefore this study will be equally useful for assessment and evaluation purposes with other hostels in the province, and surrounding regions.

Hostels which fall within the ambit of housing and human settlements development, remain a major service delivery challenge for the government, and affected stakeholders. Thus, the exploration into existing literature in the field of housing is a major factor of significance of this study. This is accomplished by ensuring a contribution seen through a different lens as that of other related disciplines. Hunter (1992) argues that around the 1980s there were changes in the political economy of the mining industry in South Africa. Mining companies were already exploring various alternatives for housing migrant labour close to mining activities. Hunter adds that such migrant labour alternatives and programmes by management of various mining houses, were aimed as options for workers to opt out of hostel accommodation. These options included living out allowances, rental subsidies for those who wanted to rent in townships, as well as mortgage or various forms of bonds for those who were better paid and could afford it (*ibid.*). However, these initiatives did not have any significant impact on the challenge of migrant labour hostels. This study remains relevant in today's hostel redevelopment programme and policy, as the various government subsidy instruments are intended to cater for the different housing needs and various income groups (DHS, 2015).

Within the discipline of urban studies, authors such as Levenson (2017) and Lalloo (1998) have explored urban struggles over the delivery of services and housing in post-apartheid South Africa. As such, the existence of hostels has an indirect link with the discipline of urban studies in the current period, and place. To expand on this point, Levenson (2017: 479) argues that as with most South African cities, the abolition of "controls over population mobility which were in place under apartheid meant the rapid urbanisation of unemployed populations". This is the case with most hostels in Gauteng, where in the main droves of young male residents in Jeppestown hostel are migrants from KwaZulu Natal Province searching for jobs and economic opportunities through formal and informal means (Ngidi, 2011). Lalloo (1998) also contends that although the functions of segregation and

apartheid have varied over time, they generally caused spatial segregation, exclusion, fragmentation, and separation for most of the urban poor currently residing in informal settlements and hostels.

1.5 An Overview of Method of Research

This sub-section will provide a brief overview of the method of research and approach employed in this study. The methods and research design are sufficiently addressed in Chapter 3 of this research report. As indicated, this is a qualitative study; Creswell (2009) describes the qualitative method as one that entails four steps: data collection, analysis, interpretation and, lastly, documentation of findings, with recommendations.

A qualitative study is founded on providing descriptive insights emanating from academic and professional judgment, while it is based on a solid conceptual framework. The methods utilised are specific to my research and enabled me to put procedures in place to acquire the necessary data. In conducting research, it is equally important to outline the limitations of the study. Therefore, all limitations encountered in this research will also be outlined. These are comprised of circumstances, and situations that affected methods applied, as well as analysis and findings of the research study. Price and Murnam (2004) point out that "a limitation of a study design or instrument is the systematic bias the researcher did not or could not control and which could inappropriately affect the results".

1.5.1 Research Design and Approach

As outlined in detail in Chapter 3, the summary of the research design and approach entailed a combination of an interface between theoretical foundations, and empirical evidence. In conducting this research, data collection was sourced from primary, and secondary data sources. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a total of twenty (20) respondents, of which sixteen (16) were hostel dwellers, including one focus group discussion, and three (3) officials from government. This was done with the endeavour to get an in-depth understanding of the research question and sub-questions. It allowed my participants to be guided and have structure and direction for responding to the research objectives. In selecting a study sample, a combination of judgmental and convenience sampling techniques was utilised. For hostel dwellers, the convenience sampling technique was used to enable me to engage with willing and accessible participants. For Government officials, the judgmental sampling technique was used to identify and select participants as informed by their relevant work profiles.

For analysing all the qualitative data collected gathered during the fieldwork, a two-fold approach involving data gathering, and preliminary analysis was applied. De Vos (2005) argues that the qualitative approach in research encompasses an inseparable relationship between the collection and analysis of data. This research applied this approach to allow for a rational integration of the gathering and analysis of data throughout the research study. Ethical considerations during the gathering of primary and secondary data, and getting the necessary consent was considered, and observed in relation to this research study.

1.6 Overview of Conceptual Framework

This research study has identified critical concepts in relation to hostels. This is supplemented by world views from interrelated disciplines. This is unpacked in detail in the subsequent Chapter 2. However, in this introductory chapter they will be briefly outlined to enable the reader to make sense of this research report. The study identifies four main concepts, namely hostels, perspectives, marginalisation, and diversity. However, these cannot be thoroughly interrogated without considering

world views from the disciplines of Urban Planning, Geography, Sociology and Anthropology. Debates from these disciplines are imperative since they contribute to adding valuable perspectives to the existing body of knowledge in a study of this nature. An in-depth understanding of the identified concepts, and supplementary world views is imperative for contributing to a more balanced socio-economic approach to hostel redevelopment in South Africa.

1.7 Research Report Structure

This research report consists of seven chapters with their respective chapter titles, and will be structured as follows:

- **Abstract**

This is a brief synopsis of the research report, outlining key aspects of the study, method, and expected findings.

- **Chapter 1** - **Outlining the Research Study**

The first chapter sets the scene and provides background to the study through the presentation of a contextual argument, supported by statistical facts and figures on the current *status quo* in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. The intention is to update what we know, or the *status quo* of hostels. In addition to this, the chapter provides the problem statement, objectives of the study, synopsis on method of research, and justification for the study.

- **Chapter 2 – Review of Literature and outlining Conceptual Framework**

The second chapter is a review of literature and framing the concepts of the research study. This entails conducting a critical evaluation of available secondary sources in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. Arguments and different views and perspectives from various disciplines were explored in depth to provide insight on what is available on the topic within the existing body of knowledge, will be examined.

- **Chapter 3 – A Profile of Jeppestown (Wolhuter Hostel)**

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive description of the case study area in terms of statistical data in relation to demographic, socio-economic, political, and other issues related to the stability of the study area. A full profile of Wolhuter Hostel located in Jeppestown, Johannesburg is provided in this chapter, in line with the research question/s.

- **Chapter 4 – Method of Research**

The chapter provides a detailed explanation of the research methodology employed in undertaking the research report. This is based on the research design and approach, which will consist of an interface between theoretical foundations and empirical evidence.

- **Chapter 5 - The Unfolding Story of The Living Conditions in Wolhuter Hostel Jeppestown.**

The chapter unpacks and provides a detailed narrative of the empirical data gathered for the research study. A reflection on all accounts and valuable insights from the identified respondents, is presented. Subsequently, the empirical data of all main issues linked to the conceptual framework, will be interrogated for the purpose of the study.

- **Chapter 6 - A Theoretical Analysis of The Findings on Perspectives in Wolhuter Hostel**

The chapter analyses and interprets the qualitative data in relation to some of the concepts, and world views unpacked in the literature review. It presents the empirical evidence of the research methodically linked to the semi-structured interview guideline followed to gather data. This is with

the purpose of pointing out the emerging social relations, and dynamics associated with the research objectives.

- **Chapter 7 – Towards a Socio-Economic Inclusive Approach in the Redevelopment of Hostels in South Africa**

The last chapter will draw together the overall review, aims and objectives of the study, based on the empirical evidence analysed. All key findings, plus the emerging themes of the study will be clearly formulated and presented.

1.8 Conclusion

The introductory chapter provided a synopsis of the overall research study. It begins by providing an update on the contextual background of the status quo of hostels in south Africa. Subsequently, it highlighted the problem statement in relation to identified challenges, as well as justifying the significance of the study by positioning the research within the related and existing body of knowledge. From the preliminary literature review, there already are emerging reflections on the socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. An image and stigma of hostels as an informal, dirty, and dangerous living environment is already drawn. Dwellers in hostels, therefore, remain marginalised from the broader society. Moreover, the historical conditions for the establishment of these single sex migrant labour hostels remain entrenched. Migration trends from underdeveloped rural villages to urban areas in pursuit of economic opportunities, are still happening in this present day. Interestingly, the age dynamics of the current hostel dweller have transformed, becoming much younger within the category of the youth aged 18-35. It is against this backdrop that this study is conducted, to explore perspectives that can contribute to a more social approach to the redevelopment of hostels in the country. The subsequent chapter will review literature, as well as outline the conceptual framework in detail.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF HOSTELS IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In conducting this research study, it was imperative to understand the theoretical and conceptual foundations of hostels in South Africa. The main aim is to provide insight that will enhance understanding on the theory, as well as identified key concepts of the study area. The theoretical review explores four interrelated concepts, namely: hostels, perspectives, marginalisation and diversity in trying to understand the debates, and arguments in literature. To supplement the identified concepts various perspectives and / or world views were drawn from the disciplines of Geography, Urban Planning, Sociology and Anthropology, which all have theoretical significance to the research study. The identified concepts and world views from other disciplines have been simplified in the *Conceptual Framework Diagram* below, (Own diagram) Figure 1.

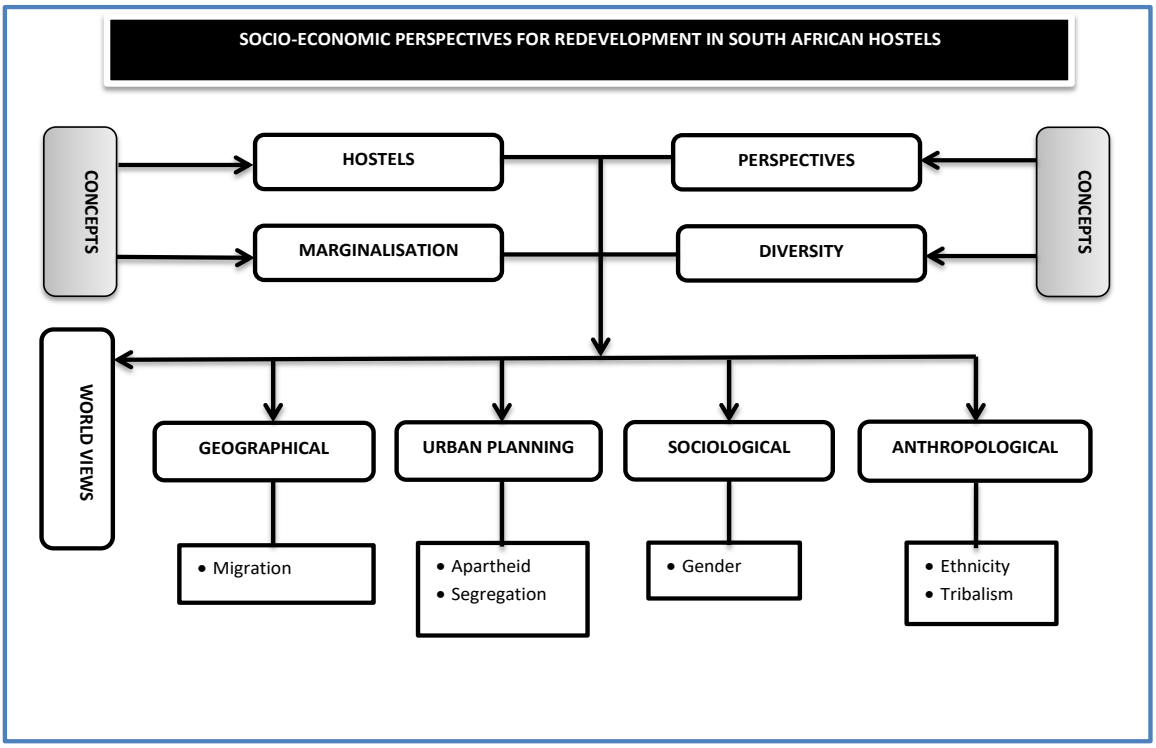


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework Diagram

The main purpose of the conceptual framework is to outline the linkages between the main concepts, and world views from the identified disciplines or fields. This is with the aim to establish the theoretical socio-economic perspectives for the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. The chapter will be structured as follows: firstly, it explores and unpacks the key identified concepts their meanings in context to hostels. Secondly, these concepts will be supplemented through linkages with the identified disciplinary fields. Lastly, the conclusion will begin to frame the identified theoretical perspectives towards understanding the redevelopment of hostels.

2.2. The Concept of Hostels in South Africa: and its meanings

Pieri and Da Silva (1986:173) make a significant statement that since the "15th century the word 'hostel' has been used to describe an inn, or a place of residence for students or some other special class". The authors make an addition that, in the spectrum of shelter within the South African context, migrant labour hostels are categorised as institutionally (state or private sector) organised cheap rental accommodation (Pieri and Da Silva, 1986). On the origins of hostels, Minaar (1993) and Strauch (1996) argue that hostels in South Africa originated from the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886, and subsequent mining activities that triggered a demand for a compound labour system, and accommodation for migrant labour. To support this argument, Vadalankar (1993) adds that the mining industry relied significantly on a wide pool of a cheap migrant labour workforce, mainly from the rural homelands and neighbouring countries in the Southern African region. This resulted in the establishment of single-sex hostels to accommodate mine workers and reduce the costs of reproducing labour requirements for emerging mining companies (Vadalankar, 1993). One can, therefore, argue that the early migrant labour compounds formed the basis through which a model for the development of hostels was conceptualised in South Africa.

Bernart and Dubow (1995) argue that as early as 1913, the Native Land Act was promulgated by the colonial government to reinforce residential segregation based on racial lines. This resulted in the prohibition of black Africans from purchasing land for housing, and farming purposes. However, following "the introduction of the Housing Act of 1920, efforts were made to achieve residential restructuring and make provisions for public housing" (Shibambu 1996:11). This was done with the endeavour of providing not only "separate residential areas for black Africans, but also better houses for poor whites" (Parnell 1987:19). As a result, white communities from slums were the major beneficiaries of the housing initiative, since the housing units provided to white settlers were different to those provided for Africans, signalling that the arrangement meant blacks did not enjoy much of the benefits that came with public housing provision.

In apartheid South Africa, hostels and compounds were single-sex dormitory style labour compounds, designed to accommodate black migrant labour working in the mines and / or factories in urban areas. This was infused through various forms of oppressive legislation in 1948, when the National Party Government adopted legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950. This piece of legislation considered separate development as a solution to the problem facing South Africa (Solomon 1978:51). Considering this, residential segregation contributed to the exclusion of black people from urban cities. The effects of this exclusion were dire for black workers living in the outskirts of the city, with longer and costly travel times to places of employment. The ripple effect of this segregation was that workers were trapped in a cycle of poverty, and inequality. Moreover, this created a housing crisis for the black urban poor towards the end of the apartheid era.

Post 1994, the democratic government of South African faced a major housing challenge because of past colonial and apartheid policies. Not only was the housing backlog high for previously neglected black communities, but the housing challenge was also unique in its nature due to spatial distortions, and disintegration. This clearly required the newly elected democratic government to formulate an inclusive, and comprehensive policy for housing intervention. Historical single-sex hostels by and large formed part of this distorted housing challenge. As a result, post 1994 the Public Sector Hostels Redevelopment Programme (PSHRP) was introduced to replace the HRP. This was aimed at supporting and guiding the redevelopment and upgrading of all public sector hostels, including grey sector hostels (owned by private companies on land owned by provincial government).

2.2.1 Contextualising Hostels in South Africa

South Africa has a history of residential segregation according to race and class, which dates to colonial and subsequent apartheid times. As articulated by Bernart and Dubow (1995), this history of segregation ensured that through different policies the movement of black workers into white populated centres was controlled. Fredrickson (1981:240) points out that it was important to "separate white settlers from natives" because of differences in civilised state, and cultural beliefs. However, despite continued efforts by white minorities to discourage black African movements to urban centres, Africans continued migrating to these areas. For instance, in 1899 "Africans and poor white Afrikaners flocked to urban areas" in the Witwatersrand as a result of the poverty in the reserves and on the farms, as well as responding to the pace of industrialisation in South Africa (Van der Horst and Reid 1981:93). Both Africans and poor-white Afrikaners took "residence in the inner-city slums" (Bonner and Segal 1998:12). This mixed racial interaction in the inner-city slums was regarded by the then Government of the day as a political and economic threat and raised the need for further residential segregation (Shibambu 1996).

The development of hostels in South Africa has some importance in the history of migrant labour housing. Van der Horst and Reid (1981:92) state that such public housing for Africans was provided as an "emergency measure", and thus the term public housing is associated with mass housing, an approach committed to the building of houses to a set of standards laid down by institutional agencies, in most cases the national government. According to Home (1938), this model for enforcing urban housing controls was known as the so-called Durban system in former South Africa and British colonies. This represented an interconnection of labour compounds to which Africans were confined. The origins of the Durban system to accommodate the day-labour system were introduced by Shepstone in 1874, under which labourers paid a registration fee for their own policing and accommodation (Home, 1938) (see Figure 2).

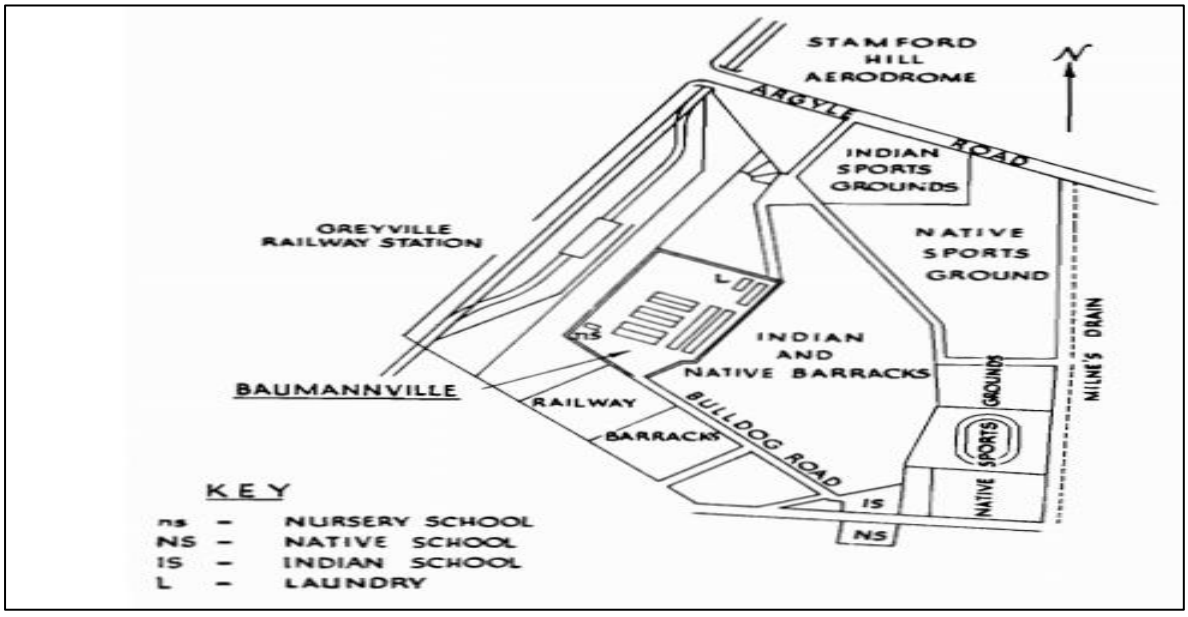


Figure 2: Layout of migrant labour compounds in colonial South Africa. Source: Robert Home (1938)

The Native Revenue Account was kept separate from other finances of the Council, and the absence of a subsidy meant that the African migrant workers paid for their own temporary housing provision from the income raised through beer sales. Despite this, Africans were still denied and excluded from sharing in the rising prosperity of the colonial city (*ibid.*).

According to Hall (1992), in many colonial economic zones, particularly on the sugar estates, early worker housing in the form of hostels, has survived. The commissions of inquiry into hostel conditions of Indian immigrants criticised this state of hostels during the colonial period. It was observed that the hostels were disliked by occupants, and metal roofs were found unsuitable to their habits, from not permitting the escape of smoke. All residents seemed to agree that houses of their own construction were preferable. The commission was particularly critical of the siting, sanitary conditions, and overcrowding (*ibid.*). Ironically, about a century after the establishment of hostel accommodation in South Africa, a large percentage of the black population continue to reside in these areas under precarious conditions. This is despite efforts by the government, through local municipalities, to redevelop hostels. Is it not, therefore, important to understand the hindrance to these progressive efforts from the perspective of hostels dwellers themselves?

Rock (2011) highlights an interesting statistic, that while there were approximately 105 000 black Africans in Johannesburg in the year 1919, of those only a few were housed by government, or local authorities. Of the 105 000, almost half were accommodated by mining companies and industry in hostels and compounds, and an estimated 30 000 lived on the premises of their employees, largely as domestic workers. Only about 4 000 lived in locations within the municipal locations, such as Klipspruit, which eventually became Soweto. The rest lived in mixed informal settlements consisting of poor whites, Indians, and Coloureds. This phenomenon of mix race prompted a fear of crime and gave rise to the Native (Urban Areas) Act in 1923 aimed at removing blacks in urban informal settlements, as well as segregating the different racial groups (*ibid.*). This points to the intentions of the central government and municipalities to forcefully remove black communities from urban areas, unless they were residing in hostels or compounds and had work permits.

According to Segal (1991), the origins of South African hostels was characterised primarily by geographical and segregation considerations. Hostels were developed mainly in urban areas and focused exclusively on accommodating or housing single male migrant labour from rural homelands in areas around mines, and industrial factories. Essentially, this type of accommodation was aimed at being temporary accommodation for migrant workers to control the influx of black African workers to urban areas. Moloto (2015:18) highlights that hostels in their historic establishment were largely premised on “fairly uniform ideals, arrangements and gender configurations”. The demographic setting, however, within some hostels across the country have subsequently become more fluid and departed from their former mandatory construct of mainly single-sex accommodation for migrant workers. In what were predominantly male occupied hostels, women and children have since moved in directly, or in informal shacks next to some of hostels across the country (Moloto, 2015).

2.2.2 The Social Fabric of Hostels in South Africa

Drawing on Pienaar and Crofton (2005), public sector hostels accommodated the largest number of hostel dwellers. Generally, the quality of life and the living environment in most hostels was largely very low, especially in public sector hostels, due to administrative and management processes and procedures that were in dire straits. This is because proper records of those residing, entering, and leaving the hostels not being kept properly (Ramphele, 1993). On the contrary, private sector hostels were better managed and maintained. However, the general state of most hostels whether public or privately owned, was largely characterised by poor living conditions, a lack of privacy, overcrowding, and the criminal and violence activity of gangs formed along ethnic lines (Pienaar and Crofton, 2005). In contrast, Ramphele (1993) argues that each hostel has its own distinct uniqueness, wherein elements associated with tribalism, political, cultural customs, and beliefs are not homogeneous across all public, and private sector hostels in South Africa. In describing some of the criminal activity and common social behavioural patterns within hostel life, Scorgie, *et al.* (2017) highlights the

following illicit activities; various substance consumption or abuse, gambling, fighting, and shooting as reportedly being commonplace.

Un-managed urban settlements, mainly housing the poor and marginalised dwellers in informal settlements, as well as overcrowded inner-city and township hostels dwellers, are associated with the highest Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) prevalence (Scorgie, *et al.,* 2017*)*. Although the prohibitions which were originally enforced in hostel living, such as the restriction of women in male only-hostels, things have somehow changed in living arrangements due to lack of stringent control measures. One can argue that this was necessitated by fears of prostitution and associated criminal activity. The restrictions of any activity associated with sexual relationships or prostitution within hostels has resulted in some residents erecting informal structures or settlements near the hostels to engage in forms of sexual activity. Recent research by Scorgie *et al.* (2017) indicates that even with the informal prohibitions, local informants have indicated that women could be raped or assaulted if they were somehow found inside the hostels.

Drawing from the definition of hostels above, it is evident that the establishment of hostel accommodation in South Africa was not only influenced by migrant labour and segregation according to race, and class. This did not only result in distorted settlement patterns, but also a perpetual rural-urban divide in a context where there is a collapse of socio-economic livelihoods at both ends. For example, most of the formal job opportunities are in the urban areas whereas subsistence agricultural production is deteriorating in the rural areas (Xulu, 2012). It equally encompassed sociological factors such as gender configurations, which had a negative impact on the family structure of migrant labour left behind in the former homelands or villages. The sociological factors associated with hostels are quite pertinent in view of the current social fabric of our society. Mavungu (2013) points out that in many black African communities in South Africa, parenting is framed as a predominantly feminine role, with fatherhood restricted to financial provision rather than nurturing, and emotional connectedness with children. However, Richter (2006) indicates that within a global context, there is substantial evidence that suggests that the involvement of fathers in their children's lives can contribute positively in terms of social and health outcomes for the children.

2.3 The Concept of Perspectives: and its meanings

This research is intended to draw on the different perspectives (theoretical and real life) from multiple stakeholders in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. These include, a sample of hostel dwellers, government officials implementing policy in all spheres, and any other affected stakeholders. It is, imperative to define the concept of perspectives for purposes of this study. Ottmann and Pritchard (2010:23) indicate that the dictionary definition of perspectives "incorporates a broader and collective process of investigation than a point of view or standpoint". It is complex to distinguish a perspective from a point of view, the process of investigation is, a more personal and individualistic process. This implies that perspectives are to a large extent influenced by experiences of involvement, beliefs, and values in ways of life (*ibid.*). It is evident from this definition that perspectives are often associated with several misinterpretations, misconceptions, and stereotypes. This will enable me as the researcher to draw on the different experiences and views of all stakeholders associated with this research study.

Mooney *et al*. (2007) define the concept of perspectives as simply a way of observing the world. Equally, Crossman (2018) states that a perspective is a set of assumptions about reality that inform the questions we ask, and the kinds of answers we arrive at as a result. Furthermore, a perspective can be assumed as a lens through which we observe to get in-depth understanding of a subject matter (*ibid.*). It is understood, therefore, that the concept of perspectives provides a structure through which

a researcher can be able to package, classify, and analyse thoughts that can contribute to the body of knowledge. There are many different perspectives within the various fields of social studies. Crossman (2018) highlights three, namely: functionalist, interactionist, and conflict perspectives. The functionalist perspective is concerned with the possibilities of social order, and how society maintains stability. Mooney *et al*. (2007) state that functionalism entails a society that is a system of interrelated parts, that work together in congruence to uphold a level of stability, or state of equilibrium in society. In contrast, the conflict perspective derived from Marxist writing assumes that conflicts ascend when resources, status, and power are unfairly dispersed between the different groups in society (Crossman, 2018).

According to Mooney *et al*. (2007), the conflict perspective illustrates the various traits of our society through observing which groups are at the top of the food chain, with power to control resources in a particular social arrangement. The third perspective is the symbolic interactionist perspective it focuses on the understanding of how meaning is generated through processes of social interaction at a micro level (Crossman, 2018). One can therefore deduce that both the functionalist and the conflict perspectives look at the broader characteristics (macro level) of society, such as institutions and large social groups with their influences on the social world (Mooney *et al*. 2007). While all three perspectives are relevant for my research, for the purposes of this study the interactionist perspective is the most applicable, since it is concerned with the social and emotional dynamics of personalities interacting in small groups or in a particular area, such as my case study of Wolhuter Hostel.

2.3.1 Theoretical Perspectives on Hostels in South Africa

There are many different perspectives from a variety of stakeholders such as (hostel dwellers, municipal officials, and policy makers) regarding hostels in South Africa. Most hostels within Gauteng and the Johannesburg area have become overcrowded. This is because of a high influx of people from townships and other provinces, due to disruptions associated with political violence in the 1990s, and those seeking better socio-economic opportunities (Benit-Gbaffou and Matholo, 2010). Consequently, living conditions and the overall maintenance of the environment has worsened with a dysfunctional hostel management system wherein interventions have not been initiated. Benit-Gbaffou and Matholo (2010) on their part observe that the extent of the problem in most Johannesburg Hostels is that there is no clear empirical evidence of the actual numbers of people living in hostels within the province.

In their case study research of the Redevelopment of City Deep hostel, Benit-Gbaffou and Matholo (2010) identified two main stakeholders in their research, namely hostel residents, and government representatives. Both these identified stakeholders share different complexities and diversities within the space of hostels, and their redevelopment. The authors observe that when it comes to government officials from different departments, agencies, officials, and political representatives, they all share different perspectives on hostels, depending on their different levels of engagement. For example, there are difficulties with communication breakdown, the clarity of roles and responsibilities among government municipalities, and agencies. Whereas when it comes to hostel dwellers, the residents are not only divided into various social and political groups but share different perspectives on their redevelopment prospects based on various individualistic interests (*ibid.*).

According to Hoosen and Mafukidze (2007), post 1994 the nature of hostels in townships like Soweto slowly began to transform and started to accommodate families (women and children). This resulted in hostels becoming overcrowded since they were cheap and sometimes ‘free’ accommodation. These further worsened conditions and living arrangements in these hostels. The Gauteng department noted these concerns in their attempt to improve the living conditions in Soweto hostels. The department

commissioned 'structural integrity surveys' to be undertaken on all hostels in Soweto, including 'socio-economic surveys' of all residents in these hostels. This was necessitated by the increased community pressure to see some action on the ground in relation to hostel redevelopment (*ibid.*).

From the housing authorities' and officials' perspectives, Kitchin (2007:24) states that the hostel redevelopment programme was identified and established as a 2010 heritage legacy project. The main aim was "to stimulate economic and social development in previously neglected areas" and to ensure that the residents of the city "benefit from economic investment. Moreover, it is highlighted that the hostel redevelopment programme should be considered in conjunction with the broader surrounding pieces of land, in order to attain the integration of the hostel with the broader community, and backyard dwellers (*ibid.*). This responds to one of the main thrusts of the Hostel Redevelopment Programme, namely transforming and integrating communities.

From the above perspectives, authors such as Crofton and Pienaar (2000), Mothoho (2010), and Mdunyelwa (2015) have written extensively on resolving some of these socio-economic challenges. The main aim of resolving these socio-economic challenges in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa is to ensure that the living conditions of hostel dwellers are improved. These authors have argued that past socio-economic surveys conducted in some hostels in Gauteng province indicated that a one-dimensional technical approach towards hostel upgrading and redevelopment is not the appropriate solution, and that a more inclusive approach should be adopted, and implemented. The practicality of fostering participation and consultation in hostel redevelopment, is a critical component for promoting the inclusivity of all stakeholders in hostel redevelopment or upgrading initiatives. On the contrary, these scholars agree that even though participation and consultation is a critical process, it does not, however, eliminate the complexities encountered in practice, or implementation. This can be attributed to the socio-political context of each hostel redevelopment initiative. As deduced from the various authors, in participation and consultation processes on these issues is that they are diverse as a result of different and opposing individual interests over and above those of the collective (Crofton and Pienaar 2000, Mathoho 2010 and Mdunyelwa 2015).

2.4 The Concept of Marginalisation and its Meanings

The concept of marginalisation, according to Singh (2003:02), refers to "the temporary state of having been put aside of living in relative isolation at the edge of a system (cultural, social political or economic)". This, in basic terms, describes the social and economic exclusion of certain groups within a broader society, thereby limiting their opportunities for participation in development processes, and the intended socio-economic benefits. To support this definition Mdunyelwa (2015) argues that migrant outflows from rural homelands hampered rural economies, and development. Homelands like the Transkei and Ciskei served as the major labour-sending areas for the mines, resulting in social exclusion and the marginalisation of black workers, and those left behind in homelands and villages. The mining industry did not only absorb workers within the borders of the country, but also recruited all over the Southern Africa region to supplement their labour force (Bank, 2017). This implies that within the South African context, migrant labour hostels were in the main institutionally designed as a mere category for organised and controlled shelter for black African workers in the region to drive profits for business.

Dunne (2005) and Billson (2005) argue that marginalisation is comparable with exclusion, a concept frequently utilised in the field of Urban Studies. The origins of marginalisation as a concept, however, are equally associated with multi-disciplinary fields such as Sociology and Geography, as observed in this review of literature. Bernt and Colini (2013:14) indicate that within the sociological field, the concept of marginalisation was first introduced in 1928 through the work of Robert Park titled "Human

Migration and the Marginal Man", wherein Park described the cross-pressures experienced by immigrants through overlapping involvement in different cultures". Bernt and Colini equally highlight that Geographical debates and discussions about marginalisation have had a quite different or complex trajectory. Scholars in the field of Geography have struggled for some time to reach consensus on a common definition of marginalisation. Central to these debates, are the opposing views that the concept of marginalisation is broad and can cover diverse occurrences at different social and spatial scales (Bernt and Colini, 2013).

Billson (2005) points out that over time the use of marginalisation as a concept has thrived and has been broadened. We can, therefore, deduce that due to its various roots, the concept of marginalisation has developed to include multiple meanings in the different disciplines. To expand on this concept, and its meanings in the context of hostels, Bernt and Colini (2013:15) outline three fundamentally different meanings, namely: "a) underdevelopment, lack of resources, distance, b) relation, oppression, closure and c) lack of cultural integration, lack of adaption to norms (i.e., "culture of poverty", "urban underclass"). One can, thus, contend that these different meanings are to a great extent associated with the social and economic marginalisation of hostel dwellers in the South African context.

2.4.1 Marginalisation and Hostels in South Africa

From the above theoretical observations on marginalisation, it is evident that hostels in South Africa have come about, because of structural inequalities, enforced through oppressive legislation. The enforcement of these racially oppressive laws culminated in several exclusionary factors. To support this observation, Philip (2010) argues that there are amalgamated factors of various forms of structural inequality, which maintains the high levels of marginalisation that trap certain groups within a cycle of poverty. Philip captures this in an interesting framework named "Inequality and Economic Marginalisation; see Figure 3 below:

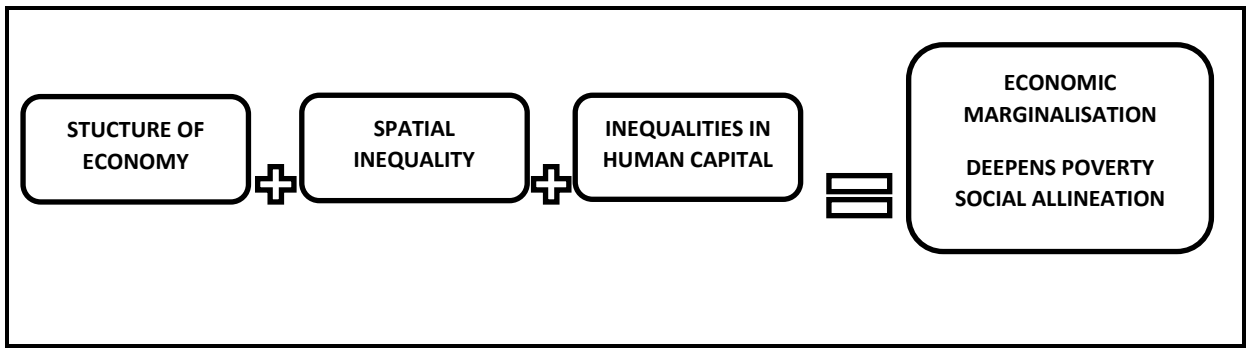


Figure 3: "Inequality and Economic Marginalisation (Source: Kate Phillip 2010)

In trying to make sense of the diagram above, there are three factors identified that are instrumental about economic marginalisation, namely the structure of the economy, spatial inequality, and inequalities in human capital. As a result, these factors contribute to the deepening of poverty and social alienation of the urban poor, like those residing in hostels. This transpires in a consequential manner: firstly, through an imbalanced structure of an economy that was racially divided, and which benefited the minority. Secondly, spatial deficiencies between rural villages or homelands, and urban areas. Lastly, deep imbalances in human development among the different races. Philip (2010). The legacies of separate development have further entrenched spatial and economic inequalities in societies, both at rural and urban levels, further implanting economic marginalisation (*ibid.*).

Looking at inferences on marginalisation with other hostels in different geographical areas to this study, Zulu (1993) makes two compelling arguments in his research on the violent politicisation of hostels in KwaZulu Natal (the case studies of KwaMashu and Umlazi townships. Firstly, he argues that the marginalisation of hostels by the neighbouring societies have alienated hostel dwellers from both townships and informal settlements' residents. Secondly, the political activity in hostels has created a divide between hostel dwellers and township residents according to their political affiliations in the main (IFP and ANC). Hostels were, therefore, seen as a natural base for the conservative IFP political members. This politicisation of urban areas (townships and inner cities) was one of the main contributing factors of the marginalisation of hostels (Zulu, 1993). It is against this backdrop that hostels are marginalised and stigmatised, which has equally resulted in most of them assuming their own distinct identity in society.

According to Sitas (1996:236), in various engagements about "migrants, hostels and violence a few facts have been forgotten: that until 1986 all black people in South Africa outside the so-called homelands were deemed to be migrants". The presence of black South Africans in the urban areas was governed by stringent influx controls, and permanent residence in the townships, hostels and compounds were not a legal right, but an exemption. Zulu (1993) equally argues that hostels were once considered to be a symbol of migrant labour. However, they now constitute a terrain of socio-political ills, and struggles. Based on both arguments of the authors (Zulu 1993 and Sitas, 1996), one can maintain that hostel dwellers remain politically, socially, and economically marginalised in the broader society of South African cities.

There is enough empirical evidence in literature that outlines the socio-economic marginalisation, and exclusion of hostel communities in South Africa (Griffin and Knight, 1990). Theoretical measures advanced by authors such as to Griffin and Knight (1990:219) to respond to some of these issues, contend that the introduction of the Hostel Redevelopment Programme was meant to provide a "process of empowerment of the deprived and the marginalised groups". These efforts were envisaged to empower social groups through development processes that were aimed at improving their own destinies and living conditions. Therefore, the main intention of this process of empowerment was to disseminate power and resources equitably among communities. Although it is important to acknowledge that this requires meaningful engagement in decision-making processes through promoting social cohesion. In addition, post 1994 in a democratic South Africa; community participation has become a key process in policy and legislative frameworks for legitimate governance, making it mandatory for people-driven development to be implemented.

2.5 The Concept of Diversity: and its meaning

The concept of diversity, as indicated by Wellner (2000), represents "a multitude of individual differences and similarities that exist among people", and can include numerous and diverse human characteristics such as race, age, belief, citizenship, ethnicity, and gender. The literature in relation to this study is encompassed by several sociological complexities from various disciplines and theoretical views. However, Landman (2013) points out that the concept of diversity in South Africa is often used in a very broad sense, without common agreement of what it entails. Landman also indicates that other scholars associate diversity with different race or cultural groups. Others tend to link the notion of diversity to a mix of ethnicity, language, or religious groups, as well as educational backgrounds (Landman, 2013).

Many scholars have observed the broad and different understandings of the meaning of diversity in literature. Hostels and housing in general are encompassed by several socio-economic diversities,

which makes it a critical concept to consider in development and planning processes. Diana (2008:27) makes a compelling argument in his analysis of the concept of diversity. He writes:

> *"The term 'diversity' is surrounded by confusion and it entails different meanings. One can speak about diversity in culture and politics. Attached to culture, diversity can be said of making multiculturalism as ideology of including people of diverse cultural and religious backgrounds. When diversity is related to politics, it is viewed as political and social policy of encouraging tolerance for people of different backgrounds. Diversity viewed through cultural, social and political lenses is what constitutes the perspective of approach of planning theory and practice and the one that the research will use" Diana (2008:27)*

Conversely, van Scheepers (2010) contends that ethnicity, cultural diversity, and poverty are an integral part of South African society. The bases of his arguments observe the relations among different ethnic groups, and how they negatively impact on the continuous living conditions of the poor. From this argument there seems to be tensions among the different ethnic groups, and how they fare within the broader society. This is an impediment to entrenches poverty, which in turn affects social cohesion and economic growth of the country, he claims. To an extent I agree with this perspective, because historically hostels were by political design an enclave of the different ethnic groups. This, therefore, might have built up tensions and competition for scarce resources among the ethnic various ethnic groups.

Views of Amato (2019) on diversities in hostels present arguments on its impact on the family structure. The author argues that families are negatively impacted and as a result encounter diverse circumstance since there is no stability. Children grow up with absent fathers, while being taken care of by their grandmothers back in the rural villages. Consequently, the fragmentation of the family structure has an impact on the cultural and social dynamics of an ideal nuclear family, a child growing up with both biological parents. In the bigger scheme of things, such family fragmentations weaken the broader communities since children grow up in the absence of their fathers, the author contends (*ibid*.). My understanding of this is that within the different ethnic groups culturally and traditionally fathers play an important role in the growth of a child. This is supported by another argument presented by Amato (2019) that in various ethnic cultures fathers impart imperative cultural knowledge and enforce discipline.

The literature indicates that hostels are indeed spaces that accommodate different cultural, racial, and religious groups in communal, and often overcrowded spaces (Scheepers, 2010 and Amato, 2019). This often leads to the rise of tension, and intolerance. It can thus, be argued that diversity is critical when planning for such areas, since they present difficult socially diverse challenges due to their multi-cultural, ethnic, and religious differences (Diana 2008).

2.5.1 Diversity and Hostels in South Africa

In the recent past, South Africa has been engulfed with a few violent demonstrations by protesters as result of government's failures or shortcomings in delivering adequate housing opportunities (including hostel redevelopment). This is also coupled with disappointments with the diverse socio-economic aftermaths of a post democratic government, such as: racism, tribalism, ethnicity, gender discrimination, and xenophobia (Pons-Vignon and Anseew, 2009). Crush, *et al.* (2005:72) observe that within a South African context, recent research on the relationship between migration and the spread of infectious diseases focuses more on what they describe as social and "sexual disruption". The authors further expand that such disruptions largely manifest within the societal spaces of single-sex

hostels, where many urban-based males are living apart from their rural wives and families for extensive periods of time (Crush, *et al,* 2005:72). In addition, Smit (1991:10) makes a powerful argument that "hostels signified political, ethnic, or class affiliation and became the source of social fragmentation that outside forces exploited to foment violent conflict".

Xulu-Gama (2017) presents a powerful argument on how hostel formations and their current state have resulted in diverse livelihood strategies. The author attributes this to the decline of both the rural and urban ends as a result of the continued labour migrant movements in pursuit of employment opportunities, in order to provide for their families remaining behind in rural villages (Xulu-Gama, 2017). The triple challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment still forces several men to leave their families behind in rural areas while they pursue their economic aspirations year after year. From this scholarly perspective, one can contend that the urban poor remain isolated in their pursuit for economic emancipation, while their rural families are also subjected to the same diverse complexities.

Looking at more developmental diversities, Maluleke and Pretorius (2016:66) highlight that "the contribution of mining activities to social infrastructure and human development is a complex socio-economic development issue in South Africa". This, therefore, implies that there exists a fundamental relationship between infrastructure development, mining activities, and the impact on the attraction of an area for business activities, and hostel accommodation. See figure 4 below – a diagram depicting the relationship and attractiveness of the area.

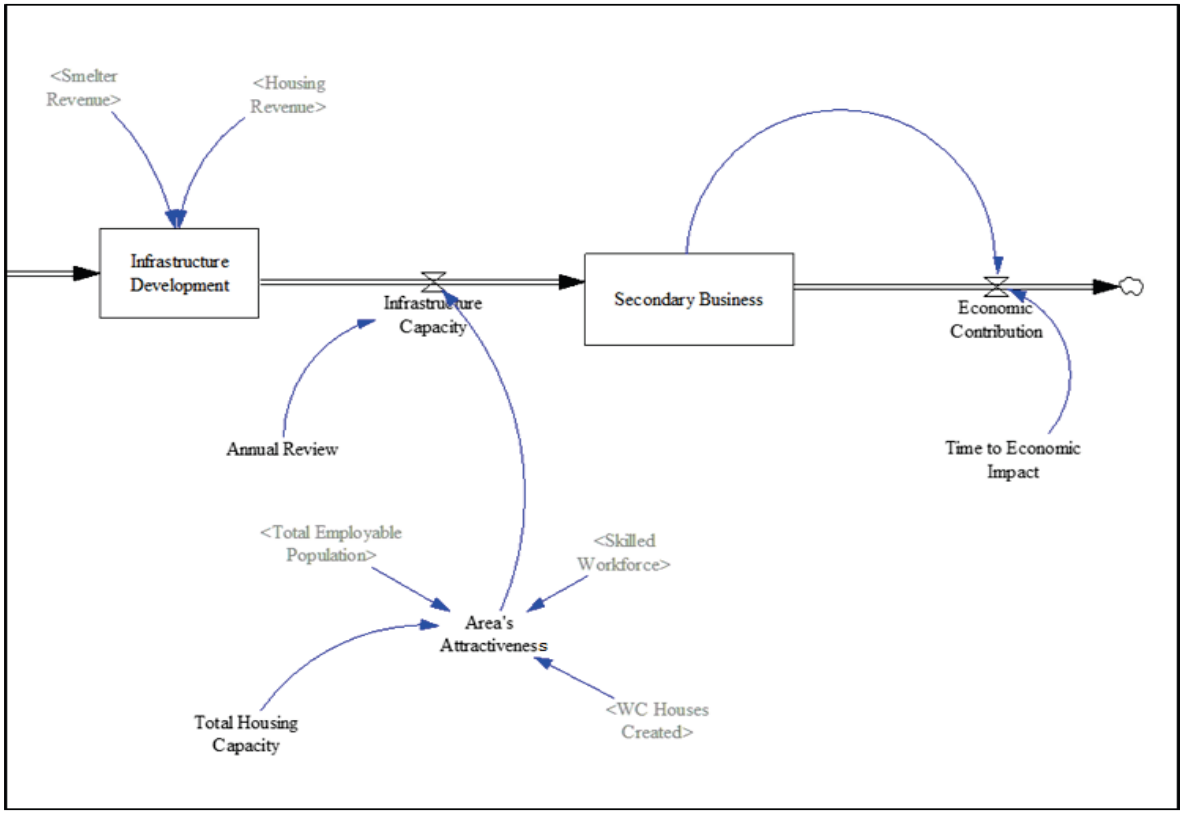


Figure 4: Stock flow logic for infrastructure development (Source: Maluleke and Pretorius, 2016)

We can, thus, draw from this relationship and attractiveness of an area, that the development of hostels and their diversity is because of many other contributory factors, such as infrastructure development and economic growth. Maluleke and Pretorius (2016:74) conclude that this relationship is "not linear with the revenues generated in primary business activities such as mining. Instead, it

requires that other factors such as: land capacity, human skills development, and migration patterns remain viable".

In view of the above theoretical arguments, hostels exist within a highly complex and diverse environment which has an impact not only on communities residing there and behind in the rural homelands, but the appropriate delivery models as well. These diversities encompass several social issues that have an impact on the broader societal issues we face today. Therefore, to navigate through these complex diversities, considering both the socio-cultural as well developmental aspects, is imperative.

2.6 Linkages of World Views from different Disciplines

2.6.1 Urban Planning World Views on Hostels

For purposes of this research, the Urban Planning perspectives will focus on the impacts of apartheid and segregation on hostel accommodation in South Africa. Both Crush (2005) and Landau (2006) highlight that ever since the end of apartheid in South Africa, migration patterns have shifted drastically. It culminated in all movement restrictions being eliminated and the country's national borders opened to neighbouring countries in the region (Crush, 2005 and Landau 2006). As a consequent of high levels of urban growth, urban centres in the inner cities have experienced a huge influx of unemployed migrants. This is comprised of rural migrants from former apartheid homelands, as well as asylum seekers from across the continent, with some of them residing in former single-sex hostels for migrants. Over time, as observed by Benit-Gbaffou and Mathoho (2010), most of these inner city and township hostels have increasingly become unstable, and unsafe because of overcrowding. A contributing factor to overcrowding can be attributed to the closure of mining operations in the 1990s in Johannesburg, coupled with the collapse of hostel management structures (Vearey, 2010).

Marais (2005:01) states that apartheid divided South Africa into "white" and "black" areas legislatively. White South African areas comprised mainly of the urban areas, while black South Africa mainly comprised of rural homelands, or villages. Many Urban scholars such as Marais (2005), Pienaar (2005), and Cloete (2009), argue that the migrant labour system evolved long before the introduction of the apartheid system, even though it later became entrenched as part of the apartheid legislation when the National Party came into power in 1948. Bank (2017) highlights that the South African migrant labour system dates to 150 years ago and was subsequently adopted by apartheid planners to control black movement in urban areas. Drawing from Mackay (1999), apartheid laws did not only dictate where people could live, but also directly or indirectly contributed to a number of people having to reside in unacceptable conditions such as: backyard shacks, informal settlements, and hostels. This was accompanied by increasing poverty, unemployment, and inequality, which have further exacerbated the social ills of the poor (Mackay 1999).

Goodlard (1996) argues that South African cities and towns are of a unique nature, largely attributed to the effects of segregation based on race and class. The author equally observes that the foundations of separate development were well established as early as 1910. British imperialism created the union of South Africa in 1910 and introduced the formulation of many pieces of legislation with the aim of excluding Black Africans from urban areas and restricting them to rural homelands or villages. Among the first of the legislative act is the *Native Land Act* of *1913*, which allocated only 13% of disposable land to Black Africans. This was followed by the *Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923*, to confine the transit of Black Africans between urban and rural areas. This culminated in long commutes between workplaces and their families, plus consequent socio-economic hardship for Black Africans (Goodlard,

1996). Gordon, *et al.* (2007:19) equally argue that "the fundamental elements of segregation and dispossession had already been put in place in South African urban areas during Colonial (pre 1910) and post-Colonial (1910-1948) times through the native reserve system of the early colonial towns". The apartheid government (1948 – 1994) further entrenched spatial segregation by enacting two laws, namely: The *Group Areas Act of 1950* and the *Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951*. Both these acts set about designating every square inch of land for occupation by one of the four racial groups namely, Black, Indian, Colored, and White (Goodlard, 1996). These structural and spatial deficiencies, as highlighted by Del Mistro and Hensher (2009), have significantly contributed to the appalling living conditions of hostel dwellers, without security of tenure.

Despite the minority apartheid government strictly enforcing policies to forcefully remove and relocate deep-rooted black settlements and communities, to disrupt and displace them for their own racial gains, Lalloo (1998) points out that some of these black residents who were removed and displaced in these communities, thrived in creating places where they relished good access to socio-economic resources, plus strengthening their social networks, and livelihoods. Nevertheless, Gardner (2009:25) points out that the Housing White Paper (1994) sets the scene for a racially integrated "housing strategy", intended to encourage various forms of tenure options for different categories of beneficiaries of the housing subsidy system. This confirms that one of the foremost goals of the post-apartheid government was to improve the living conditions of the marginalised, and the previously disadvantaged people living in hostel accommodation (Khan and Thring 2003).

2.6.2 Geographical World Views on Hostels

Geographical perspectives are largely linked to migration patterns, and its consequential restrictions on movement for black migrant labour, subsequently resulting in hostel accommodation. This was done with the assumption that all black workers would return to their homelands, once their work contracts ended. To unpack the history of migration in South Africa, Trimikliniotis, *et al. (2008)* argue that migration is not a new phenomenon to this country. They highlight that scholars may point to the discovery of gold in 1886, or the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1860 as instances when by that time there already was a recognised arrangement of migrant labour. This was comprised of a various pool of black labour (local and migrant) from the region, or "imported indentured labour" (*ibid*: 1324). The authors further expand on the division and utilisation of this pool of black labour across colonial South Africa. It is indicated that "the colonists were using migrant labour in the 1840s from the entire region for multiple purposes". These were comprised of development, farming, and other forms of wealth generation (*ibid. 2008:1325*). This geographical spread between urban and rural areas necessitated the development of compounds, and hostels to accommodate segregated black African workers.

Looking at the new migration patterns in South Africa, Nyamjoh (2006) with Oucho and Crush (2001), highlight that the culmination of apartheid saw a significant rise in in-migration to South Africa, especially nationals from the Southern African region, and further north of the African equator. After the relaxation of confining and exclusionary migrant labour laws, it is estimated that 'between 1994 and December 1996 approximately 5 million illegal immigrants came into South Africa Nyamjoh (2006). These statistics are, however, disputed by other scholars, with claims that they are an exaggeration associated with political expediency, and leverage. Despite the possible misrepresentation of statistics on immigration in South Africa, there is enough evidence from literature that indicates that migration has increased. Interestingly, Crush and McDonald (2000:1326) note that this "migration has been particularly experienced in the mines in what was during apartheid called 'labour reserves' some talk about a tenfold growth in this sector". Ramphele (1993) highlights that the procedures to access a hostel bed are fluid, and largely remain in place theoretically up to the

present time, despite the abolition of past influx control laws. It can be argued that this is attributed to the legacies of the migrant labour system. Crush (1992) observes that through various surveys conducted, migrant workers living in hostel accommodation have indicated their intentions or desires not to abandon their rural homelands and move their families to urban areas or purchase properties. This trend indicates that migrant workers remain committed to their traditional and cultural ways of living, which makes their stay in areas of employment that of transit accommodation.

Brettel and Hollifield (2000) argue that in social sciences the concept of migration is approached from various perspectives, due to its complexity. To unpack some of these complexities associated with migration, Seekings (2010) points out that unemployed black people (men, women and children) were socially and economically excluded from the apartheid cities, resulting in them being constrained to rural poverty in the homelands. Black males, who were employed, were constrained to overcrowded migrant hostels, while shack settlements were largely forbidden in the apartheid cities. As a result, the only form of family accommodation afforded to black employees in the cities was limited to apartheid-planned townships, like Soweto where the only option was a "standardised matchbox" house (Seekings, 2010). The apartheid government, aided by apartheid and influx control legislation, used single-sex hostels to their own advantage, and the benefit of the white minority. This was another way for the state to control and limit the number of black rural migrant workers from accessing permanent residence in former white-only towns and suburbs. These single- sex hostels served as a geographical buffer between black and white areas (Pieri and Da Silva, 1986).

2.6.3 Sociological World Views on Hostels

Madhusudan (2007) presents that sociology focuses on studying human groups, as well as human establishments. The author adds that sociology examines variabilities of social human life through a broad lens compared to other related disciples such as political science which examines power relations within a broader society in a government (*ibid.*) There are several sociological problems in hostels. In this study, sociological world views will help me unpack the cross-cutting social problem associated with hostels. The focus, therefore, will be on gender disparities in hostel accommodation. According to Fildes (1997:4), the significance of gender is that in urban areas social relations plays a pivotal role in "perpetuating structures of inequality". The author equally points out that issues of gender interconnect with those of culture, race, ethnicity, and class. In the process, this exposes the various distinct limitations that are placed upon women and men in urban areas (*ibid.*). Little, *et al.* (1989) makes a powerful argument that the division of labour between men and women caused spatial forms because of economic restructuring.

Minaar (1993) argues that the dominant feature of hostels was that they catered for single-sex employees, as opposed to worker families. This resulted in the exclusion of women and children who were mainly left behind in rural homelands or villages. Drawing from Lalloo (1998), black men in apartheid South Africa were the pre-supposed providers of labour, while women were regarded as reproducers of that labour. Additionally, black women's inferior status in the apartheid system was strengthened by African patriarchal norms (Lalloo, 1998). This contributed to the destruction of the social fabric of the black family structure, with a concomitant increase in poverty in rural homelands. In addition, women were left behind as economic dependants of their husbands working in urban areas. One can, therefore, make a claim that within a continuous class struggle in society, these different perspectives prevail and sometimes result in conflict which perpetuates the status quo of marginalisation, and gender exclusion.

Many authors point out that historical processes and procedures to secure hostel accommodation remain patriarchally entrenched in most South African hostels today. The views indicate that in some

cases hostel beds are held by generations of male families, relatives, and homeland neighbours. These living arrangements in hostels are commonly known as bed-holds, instead of households. This implies that a person's personal space, and to some extent family space, is merely restricted to space adjoining the allocated single bed (Ramphele, 1993). In support of this argument, Vadalankar (1993) equally contends that hostels have different meanings to different people. On one hand, some see hotels as a hostile environment lacking appropriate services and associated with criminal activities. On the other hand, for some hostel dwellers it represents affordable rental and sometimes free accommodation within the city (Vadalankar, 1993).

In highlighting the impacts of gender disparities in urban and (hostel) living, Rock (2011) presents an interesting case of the Khaya-Mandi Township in Stellenbosch. The author points out that the desire for the establishment of the township and hostel was mainly to provide temporary accommodation for male labours only, which deemed to be necessary for the growth of Stellenbosch. The authorities nevertheless feared the presence of women in the township and hostel because of their natural abilities to reproduce, which could consequently create a situation of permanent settlement (*ibid.*) Authorities, therefore, instigated the introduction of tighter restrictions, and controls on housing, largely imposed on women and children. This resulted in "increased deportations and removals" of women and children from the township and hostel (*ibid: 44.*). We can, therefore, accept from this case that the marginalisation was not only based on gender, but also bordered on serious racial overtones in preventing blacks from the urban area, as well as the substantial destruction of black families' family structures that came along with it.

It is equally important to note that gender disparities do not only affect women and children. Authors such as Wright and Jackson (2009) have explored the balanced perspective in their observations of gender disparities. These authors highlight that there is evidence pointing towards both men and women steadily assuming the double roles of provider and nurturer. In contrast, however, these authors also point out that among the lower income group's people (living in informal settlements and hostels) there is no substantial "evidence of men's involvement in childcare. This is being influenced by a deep-seated commitment to the notion of gender equality" (Wright and Jackson, 2009:142). The argument put forward in this regard, is that a number of men portrayed their "hegemonic masculinity" to maintain that the caring for their offspring is the responsibility of women, viewing their responsibility as that of providers of basic needs (food and shelter) for their respective families (Barker and Ricardo 2005 and Walker 2005).

Looking at theoretical perspectives around gender configurations in hostel redevelopment, Mapetla (2005) argues that contemporary politics of gender relations in housing and property ownership have become a highly contentious subject. This, therefore, warrants consideration and appraisal in the provision of adequate housing, plus hostel redevelopment initiatives. According to a Human Rights Commission Report (HRC) (Ref No: GP/1213/0412:17), internationally women continue to suffer unequal impact regarding "political, socio-economic and cultural conditions that affect their lives". This phenomenon continues, despite numerous recognised conventions that declare the rights of women as well as associated obligations by the signatory states of these international agreements. In a case of the Helen Joseph Hostel in Alexandra, gender discrimination and access remain a challenge. The HRC report indicates that there have been complaints about the prohibition of males from entering the hostel without prior authorisation. In certain cases, males making deliveries, and even male paramedics, would be prevented from entering the female hostel block.

Ziehl (2001) argues that there has been a significant shift in gender roles, although these roles have to some extent become increasingly vague due to different interpretations. Ziehl further points out that gender housing-related theory in the main argues the vulnerabilities confronted by women in

accessing land, housing and, more importantly, freedom in their living spaces. To substantiate this argument, both Mapetla (2005) and Mosoetsa (2011) highlight that the historical discriminatory laws that prevented equal access for women to resources, have since gained momentous traction in both policy and academic circles for transformation globally, although the cultural and traditional beliefs persist within the South African context. In overcoming some of these gender problems, it is, thus, imperative that housing interventions such as hostel redevelopment are considering gender considerations to be inclusive, representative, and reflective (Mapetla, 2005).

2.6.4 Anthropological perspectives on Hostels

Madhusudan (2007:1) explains that "anthropology is the science of humanity, human biological origins, social and cultural behaviour". In simple terms, the discipline of Anthropology seeks to explore the human meanings in relation to culture, ethnicity, and tribal language in specific areas of habitation (Madhusudan, 2007). Other academic contributions in anthropological studies mainly focus on the interrelated issues of ethnicity, tribalism, traditionalism, and violence. Beginning with ethnicity, Elder (2003:923) points out that many studies suggest that "ethnic nationalism colluded to create an isolated and stereotyped community of male hostels" in conflict with their township counterparts in the 1990s. To support this notion, Thurman (1997:45), equally, observes that hostel residents are largely socially isolated from broader society, and as a result they often retain strong links with their rural roots, while they remain "alienated from the *bona fide* township residents who have tended to view them as rural, traditionalist and dangerous outsiders". In addition, Sitas (1996) highlights that in most hostels intentional relationships along ethnic lines are the main source of strong bonding. This, in most instances, results in gang groupings, which may result in violent factional gang fights. To a large extent this still prevails, with many young male job seekers from rural areas resorting to hostel accommodation through their rural family bonds and ethnic connections.

Sitas (1996) indicates that in the 1980s migrant workers from different tribal groups (Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho) were pivotal in the mobilisation of their social and economic grievances that challenged conditions at work, and hostels. This was done through unionisation or organised labour. However, ten years later in the 1990s, hostels in most parts of South Africa turned into killing fields (Sitas, 1996). It is reported that hostels became 'military camps' for the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters, where attacks on township residents were planned, and executed. During this period 2 271 people died in and around hostels in the Reef, of whom 1 274 were from the adjacent townships (Sitas, 1996). The outcome of this phenomenon was the emergence of violent tribalism in political warfare, which to some extent this still haunts a post-apartheid South Africa to this day (Everett, 1992). Moreover, Zulu (1991) equally notes that intensified political violence in hostels did not only create tensions between hostel dwellers and surrounding communities, but also among hostel dwellers themselves. The author further expands that this was due to hostel leaderships trying to coerce dwellers that were apolitical into the dominant political party in hostels, the IFP.

In his case studies of Durban hostels (KwaMashu and Umlazi), Zulu (1991) argues that traditional leaders play a significant role in relation to conflict, politics, and violence. Their role involved, among other things: the installation of hostel leadership affiliated to the IFP, and mobilising for rallies and marches in hostels in recruitment drives. The author further points out that there are claims that in the 1990s the leadership of traditional authorities met with apartheid town councillors in Ulundi to develop strategies for the mobilisation, and consolidation of Inkatha in the Region of Zululand (*ibid.1991*). Most of these IFP rallies, as observed by many authors, were often preceded by violent clashes between hostel dwellers and the residents of surrounding areas (townships and train commuters). There are further claims, pointed out by the author, of a relationship between hostel leadership and apartheid state security forces. In the case of KwaMashu and Umlazi township

residents claim that police colluded with and supported hostel residents (affiliated to IFP) with firearms and ammunition to attack the opposition political members (mainly belonging to ANC) in townships (*ibid.1991*).

Looking at the case study of hostels in Gauteng (Denver, Jeppe and George Goch) Scorgie *et al.* (2017:80) point out that most men (approximately 94%) residing in these hostels come from KwaZulu Natal and identify themselves as being of Zulu ethnicity. An estimated 76% of women residing in informal areas in and around the hostels are also internal migrants from KwaZulu. The authors observe that generally "hostel traditions that are enforced by gatekeepers – local *indunas* (IsiZulu: 'headman')", remain largely entrenched in hostels. The environment is dominated by cultural and traditionalist males who do not allow women and children within the hostel. This has resulted in slumlords building shacks or informal settlements for letting to women and men who want to reside with their wives and partners *(ibid.*).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the interrelated concepts (hostels, perspectives marginalisation and diversity) that are associated with socio-economic perspectives on hostels. In addition, this has been supplemented by world viewpoints located within the disciplines of Geography, Urban studies, Sociology, and Anthropology. The various arguments articulated by most academic scholars indicate that hostel accommodation remains a complex space with numerous social and developmental challenges. Most of these challenges are associated with overcrowding, inadequate access to basic services, political violence, and crime. Recent research by authors such as Pienaar and Cloete, Scorgie, *et al*., and Benit-Gbaffou and Mathoho, point towards the adoption of a more flexible approach for the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. This is in line with the progressive legislation and policies of government, which are aimed at transforming the historical imbalances of the past and improving the social fabric of previously disadvantaged communities. Despite these post-apartheid progressive measures by the government, there are not many scholars attempting to capture the experiences, and perspectives of communities residing in these hostels.

Hostel accommodation continues to play a vital role in providing affordable and sometimes 'free transit' accommodation for migrant labour, and those seeking access to socio-economic opportunities. However, the persistent poor living conditions in most hostels that have not been addressed continue to reflect negatively on the right to dignity of hostel residents. The stigma associated with hostels is one engulfed by resistance and conflict, which in most cases has hindered the hostel redevelopment programme. Some authors have associated this stigma with gatekeeping by traditionalist hostel leaders ("*indunas*") who persist with the notion that hostel accommodation is a male dominated environment where women and children are not allowed. These are some of the pertinent (softer) issues that are often overlooked in policy and programme implementation. This case study will, therefore, attempt to unpack the underlying issues from the perspectives of hostel dwellers as well as those of officials working with the hostel redevelopment programme. The argument here is not to isolate or react negatively to the strategies of hostel redevelopment already in place. Rather, the point is that if we are to complement efforts of redeveloping hostels, it must be informed by the preferences of beneficiaries. It is through such lenses that redevelopment programmes with long-term and sustainable results can be achieved.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD OF RESEARCH AND DESIGN

3. Introduction

The previous chapter provided the theoretical and conceptual foundations of hostels in South Africa. This was necessary to outline the theory, as well as conceptual framework for this research study. This chapter will begin by outlining the method approach and research design applied in this study to ensure that issues associated with the rationality and credibility of this study are adequately addressed. Additionally, the chapter will reflect on the data analysis process that was adopted. Lastly, limitations and usefulness of the study, plus ethical considerations for conducting this research study, are outlined.

3.1 Research Methods

This research study is a combination of an interface between theoretical foundations and empirical evidence. In conducting this research, data collection was sourced from primary and secondary sources. Qualitative investigative methods were utilised to gain an in-depth understanding of the research question. This is supported by Creswell (2009) who points out that qualitative methods allow the researcher to collect data, analyse, interpret and draw findings. Bouma and Atkinson (1995:206) point out that "research done through qualitative methods produces descriptive data such as people's spoken or written words or observable behaviours". In contrast to other methods, such as the quantitative research method, Philip (1998) states that qualitative research methods are basically a non-numerical approach. The advantages of utilising the qualitative method is that it allows for the application of a variety of methods to obtain primary and secondary data. This include, among others, desktop studies, case studies, and field work. Moreover, qualitative methods allow for the exposition of a variety of experiences and understanding this entails the description and exploration of sociological perspectives from the participant's point of view. This is important for enabling the researcher to understand and interpret the meanings, and experiences of affected groups in the study.

Creswell (2009) describes the qualitative method as one that entails four steps: data collection, analysis, interpretation, and lastly documentation of findings with associated recommendations. This method and approach as described by Creswell is the most applicable in responding to my research question(s), which seeks to draw on perspectives of different stakeholders. This approach will enable me to put procedures in place to acquire the necessary primary, and secondary data. Furthermore, the qualitative method of research through a case study provides insights into the dynamics, and complexities that hinder the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. It is, therefore, my understanding that undertaking this qualitative study is founded on providing descriptive insights emanating from academic and professional judgment, while it is equally based on a solid conceptual or theoretical framework. The next sub-section, 3.2, outlines the population sampling procedures applied in this study.

3.2 Population Sampling Procedures

According to Marshall (1996), there are three broad methods commonly used in selecting a study sample, which are convenience, judgment, and theoretical sampling techniques. Convenience sampling entails engaging the most accessible participants, and is the least time consuming, and affordable. Judgment sampling, also commonly known as purposeful sampling, is highlighted by Marshall (1996) as the most widely used sampling technique. With judgment sampling, the researcher

purposefully and actively selects a sample that would best respond to the research question, and in principle convenience is set aside. The theoretical sampling technique is comprised of a process of selecting a sample that is premised by a theoretical position, the sample is selected to observe or expand on a theory (*ibid*., 1996). For the purposes of this study, I utilised both the judgmental and convenience sampling techniques. The main reason for using a convenience technique, is for hostel residents because hostels are generally inaccessible or no-go areas. The convenience sampling technique will enable me to engage with willing and accessible participants. The judgmental sampling technique will be used to identify the most suitable government stakeholders with the necessary experience and expertise to respond on policy and programme implementation of the hostel redevelopment programme.

The judgmental sampling technique was applied in sourcing the (four government officials interviewed). These were sourced through arranging interviews via email, and telephonically. For the hostel residents the convenience sampling technique was used, accessed to the hostel was gained through the *induna* (Mr Mvelase) where the process and approach of research was explained to gain consent. This was followed by approaching the random identification of individual hostel residents who were requested to participate in the interview. It was assumed that since most hostel dwellers are male residents from other rural provinces (mainly KwaZulu Natal Province) my sample would consist of young males looking for better economic opportunities in the inner city. Generally, there is empirical evidence from the fieldwork that many of many hostel dwellers interviewed (sixteen) plus the focus group, had several similarities in terms of their background and socio-economic conditions. Most of the participants were single and sharing rooms with family or friends, mostly unemployed and looking for jobs, plus, equally, not paying any rental for accommodation.

3.3 Approaches to Research Design

Conducting research design is an important process that describes the methods and techniques used in undertaking this qualitative research study. To adequately deal with a study of this nature, requires the adoption of a multidimensional approach in gathering data. The research design, therefore, assumed a qualitative and exploratory (case study) approach. The collection of qualitative data was supplemented by the review of literature, semi-structured interviews administered to respondents of the case study area, and open-ended interviews held with the relevant government officials. The detailed research design approach applied is expanded upon in the sub-sections below.

3.3.1 Desktop Study

Pienaar and Cloete (2009) points out that the migrant labour system led to the need for the provision of low-cost, transit housing for black migrant workers. The first single-sex hostel, according to Crush (1994), was built in 1885, designed as a system to control and restrict the movement of black migrant workers in former white urban areas. The historical background is, therefore, necessary to contextualise the physical and socio-economic environment of hostels (Pienaar and Cloete 2009). Desktop research, also commonly referred to as secondary research, is used by researchers to describe tracking down useful existing pre-published information that is related to the research question(s). The secondary data collection process involved the utilisation of a variety of data sources, ranging from books, academic journal articles, newspaper articles, and online media platforms. From my observation of literature reviewed, most of it is sourced from mainly published and unpublished online journal articles. These journal articles cut across various disciplines, namely: Housing, Sociology, Geography, Urban Planning, and Anthropology, which seek to explore the human meanings in relation to culture, ethnicity, and tribal language in an area of habitation. The importance of this is to theoretically unpack the different disciplinary views to outline the situational and socio-economic

variations that shape the reality of hostels in South Africa. The main aim for this exercise was to establish academic world views around the history of hostels in South Africa. In addition, recent trends and statistics on hostels in South Africa was sourced from online media articles, as well as official census data from StatsSA.

3.3.2 Legislative and Policy Framework Analysis

In the analysis of the legislative and policy framework, the study drew from grey literature. The aim was to understand the housing needs of hostel dwellers, and low-income earning residents in the South African context. According to Sun *et al.* (2016:106), grey literature is literature produced at "all levels of government, academia, business and industry in print and electronic formats, but not controlled by commercial publishers". A comprehensive analysis of the legislative framework that governs not only the strategies and plans of government departments, municipalities and agencies was, therefore, undertaken for this research study.

There are three categories of grey literature that were utilised for this study, the first category is national housing policy and programmes in relation to hostel redevelopment. This includes, among others: The Comprehensive Plan for Human Settlements 2004, commonly known as Breaking New Ground (BNG), the Housing Code of 2009, and the Community Residential Unit Programme. The second category of information was provincial policies and guidelines in relation to hostel redevelopment, which is comprised of the Provincial Hostel Redevelopment Programme Guidelines on Social and Rental Housing, as well as any memorandums in relation to the provincial hostel redevelopment programme. The last category of information included municipal plans and strategies, which assisted in contextualising and profiling the study area. These comprised of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Strategic Plans, namely: Integrated Development Plan (IDP), and Spatial Development Framework (SDF). The purpose of analysing these strategic planning documents for this study was to provide practical information on the complexities facing the metropolitan municipalities. This was done to establish interventions put in place to address these complexities effectively.

3.3.3 Case Study

The research equally followed a case-study approach, which can be advanced through qualitative methods of research. In the next chapter (Chapter 4), the field study area (Jeppestown – Wolhuter Hostel) is outlined in detail to provide a contextual socio-economic profile of the identified case study area. Conducting case studies is aimed at gathering primary data. As highlighted by Sarantakos (2005:211): "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context". In this research the case study offered a real-life experience for: observation, interrogation, analysis, and interpretation of the findings. Bryman (1989) indicates that the intention of conducting case studies is not to pre-suppose the findings from a sample to population, but rather to establish the theoretical forms of importance. Another advantage of using the case study method, is that it allowed me to focus on the research question(s) of the research. Conversely, in trying to understand and report on how people behave, involves an in-depth analysis, and presentation of reality. This entailed in practice the sharing with an audience a substantial interpretation of what was observed through the area of research, as well as outlining its meaning to contribute to the body of knowledge (Marvasti, 2004).

Mdunyelwa (2015) argues that the distinction between hostels and compounds is not confirmed in any other literature. Xulu (2014:141) indicates an interesting geographical comparison between hostels and compounds. In Johannesburg, for instance "hostels were declared 'Bantu' areas for the housing of single men or women who worked for more than one employer, whilst compounds were

only for workers on the gold mines and in essential services". In Cape Town, most of the communal accommodation occupied by men who worked for a variety of employers and various employment types, were classified as hostels as opposed to compounds. This distinction, therefore, suggests that there is no credence to the diverse variation of hostels in the different geographical areas of South Africa (Xulu, 2014). The chosen case study for this research is Wolhuter Hostel, which is one of the hostels located in Jeppestown, a few kilometres south east of Johannesburg's Central Business District (CBD). Recent news articles on service delivery protests influenced me to choose this case study. The first reason was its accessibility, and the current status quo in terms of service delivery as demonstrated by communities in recent years (Phala, 2016). Secondly, Jeppe hostels have been associated with several social ills such as violent crime, and xenophobic attacks in the recent past. It is on this basis that this case study will offer the requisite characteristics to respond to the research question(s).

Generally, a significant amount research has been conducted on housing and hostels in South Africa. However, the common challenges of overcrowding, and squalid living conditions in hostels across the country still prevail in hostels across the country. This research is aimed at gaining an understanding of the underlying perspectives in terms of; politics of neglect, this is in light of arguments presented in the new urban agenda, the right to the city and managing the rapid rate of urbanisation (Turok and Scheba, 2018). Basically, the arguments presented by rights to the city are aimed at advancing human rights through measures that can reduce poverty, and stimulate sustainable development in urban areas (*ibid*.) In addition, inputs to the existing body of knowledge are made through arguments around governance, and management of service delivery. Reddy (2016) makes the powerful argument that service delivery in the South Africa is to a large extent affected by political influence, and infighting. At a more practical level of this study, this will give us insight into the politicisation of service delivery in the different spheres of government.

3.3.4 Field Work

- **Semi-structured Interviews**

Conducting in-depth face to face interviews, is a method that was utilised to gather primary data for this research. It is important to conduct interviews to obtain first-hand knowledge from the identified informants. According to Kvale (1996), a qualitative research interview seeks to cover both factual and meaning levels. In line with the ethical considerations outlined in sub-section 3.6, the interview process was conducted in the following manner: firstly, I introduced myself, outlined the research objectives, and requested voluntary consent from the identified respondents. Secondly, the interview was conducted through a series of semi-structured questions. The questions included factual questions for background information, as well as open-ended questions to allow for elaboration on the identified key issues (Phillips 1988). This was all outlined in the general interview guide, intended to ensure that the all the necessary areas of required data are collected from all the participants. According to McNamara (1999), this approach provides for more focus than the conversational approach, but equally it allows for some degree of freedom and adaptability in getting the information from the participants.

Interviews are mainly useful for attaining the story behind a participant's experiences. As the researcher, I was in a position pursue in-depth information around the research question(s). There are two segments of participants that were identified to form part of the interviews. The first segment consisted of hostel dwellers; a sample size of sixteen (x16) male hostel dwellers was randomly selected for the interview process. The age range of the random participants will be from 18 to 60 years. The reason for selecting a sample size of sixteen (x16) participants is because hostels are often known as

volatile, or no-go areas due to issues associated with crime and violence. Questions to be asked ranged from personal background information, hostel living environment, and perspectives regarding the redevelopment of hostels. Such questions assisted me with an in-depth understanding of the socio-economic challenges facing hostel dwellers in their daily struggles of hostel life.

The second segment of participants consisted of government organisations directly and indirectly responsible for the implementation of the hostel redevelopment policy, and programmes. Bearing in mind the type of information required from this segment of stakeholders, the intention was not to select and interview people in high level positions of power and authority, but rather officials with technical skills, and the know-how in terms of the implementation of the programme. The participants were comprised of the following:

Participant	**Section**	**Organisation**
Deputy Director	National Housing Policy Development	National Department of Human Settlements
Chief Director	Hostels and CRU Programme	Gauteng Department of Human Settlements
Project Manager	Project Manager: Housing Division	City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality

South Africa is a constitutional democracy, with a bill of rights. One of these rights enshrined in the constitution obligates the government to provide subsidised housing opportunities, within its available resources to needy citizens. As such, the three spheres of government, namely, national, provincial, and local, each have a role to play to realise this right. It is on this basis that one official from each of the three independent, but interrelated spheres of government were selected to be interviewed for this study.

As per the table above, firstly, the national department official (Deputy Director: Policy Development) was selected in order to give a perspective in terms of the national housing policy, since national government is responsible to manage the process of policy development, norms and standards pertinent to the implementation of the various housing programmes, including the Hostel Redevelopment Programme, now commonly as the Community Residential Programme (CRU). Secondly, the provincial official (Programme Director: Hostel Programme) was selected to share perspectives on the lead role the province plays in the implementation of hostel redevelopment, or CRU programme. Lastly, the metropolitan municipality official was selected to share their specific role in the space in hostel redevelopment in relation to the national, and provincial spheres of government.

The type of questions asked to officials from the government organisation was in relation to their different roles in hostel redevelopment, as well as policy and programme performance. Questions posed to the officials included, among others, the following:

- Status of hostel redevelopment (nationally, provincially, and locally).
- Challenges in hostel redevelopment (nationally, provincially, and locally); and
- Perspectives on socio-economic factors that hinder hostel redevelopment.

These questions were aimed at gaining in-depth understanding of government policy and programme implementation in relation to hostel redevelopment from a South African government perspective.

3.3.5 Participant Observation

In addition to conducting interviews, participant observation was another important research method utilised. This involved site visits to the field study area in order to acquire a more in-depth understanding, and the experience of hostel residents. Kawulich (2005) points out that participant observation has been used in a variety of disciplines as a tool for collecting data about people, processes, and cultures in qualitative research. Through the observation method, photography by consent was used to substantiate research evidence, and data analysis. Moreover, the participant observation method sought to strengthen the relationship and trust between myself as the researcher, and the participants. This participant observation method was conducted with consideration of all the necessary ethical requirements for research discussed later in this chapter.

According to Schmuck (1997), the participant observation method provides a multiplicity of ways for observing the non-verbal expressions of feelings, interactions, and behaviour of participants within a study area. In undertaking site visits, and using photography with consent, it allowed me as a researcher to observe, and capture events or evidence that informants may be unwilling, or unable to share. During the field-work exercise, and supplementary to participant observation, several other hostel residents took keen interest in the interview process with the identified participants. As a result, permission was granted by a group to have a broader discussion, to take photographs and notes. This provided a platform for the focus group participants to express their perspectives openly around challenges and prospects of improved service delivery interventions in the hostel.

3.4 Data Analysis

For analysing all the qualitative data collected, a two-fold approach involving data gathering, and preliminary analysis was applied. De Vos (2005:335) argues that the qualitative approach in research encompasses an inseparable relationship between the collection, and analysis of data. This research applied this approach to allow for a rational integration of the gathering, and analysis of data throughout the research study. The qualitative method was applied to analyse the empirical data collected through field work conducted (interviews and observation). Babbie (2005) points out that analysing qualitative data enables the researcher to determine and establish underlying issues, meanings, and trends. Moreover, conducting empirical research requires a close combination of theory (conceptual framework) with the collection, and analysis of data. This is informed by the way my semi structured interview guide was framed, and developed, which follows the basis of the conceptual framework of this research. Undertaking this process, therefore, allowed for the analysis to be more interpretative of the responses, and observations.

In analysing semi-structured interviews, Leedy and Ormrod (2005) highlight the importance of drawing common issues from the findings. This assisted me in making a clear distinction between critical and non-critical information gathered from the participants. The design and structure of the semi-structured interview guide was formulated according to the research question, and sub-questions. All critical responses and observations supplemented by a focus group discussion were, thus, packaged separately into conceptual categories. The subsequent phase entailed the documentation of different and converging perspectives from the participants in response to the research question, and sub-questions. These converging perspectives will be unpacked in detail in the subsequent chapter, addressing key themes, and findings.

3.5 Limitations and Usefulness of Study

In conducting qualitative research, it is imperative to outline both the limitations, and usefulness of the study. Limitations may consist of circumstances, and situations that may affect, or restrict methods applied as well as analysis and findings of the research study such at timing, scale or narrowness. However, certain useful aspects such as inferences and comparisons may be drawn from the study to contribute to the theoretical foundations of hostels in general. Price and Murnam (2004) point out that "a limitation of a study design or instrument is the systematic bias the researcher did not or could not control, and which could inappropriately affect the results". This study is particularly designed to determine the socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa, using the case of Wolhuter Hostel – Jeppestown. The design of this study has a clearly defined geographical region, plus certain attributes, such as migration, ethnicity, and gender, that would limit generalisation, and heighten the applicability of the findings of this study in other regions.

The theoretical foundations of South African hostels reveal that there are different geographical aspects regarding hostels in different regions. The usefulness of this study may, therefore, be narrow and limited to hostels in Gauteng and the Johannesburg metropolitan area due to the scale, and margins of my study. This is attributed to my sample size, and the timeline available to enable me to complete my research report. However, there are inferences and comparisons that may be drawn from this study as a contribution to future research on hostels in South Africa, even though this may be limited to a neighborhood, or regional scale. The nature of hostels in Gauteng province was heavily influenced by migrant labour as result of mining activities, and industrialisation. This will limit generalisation around migration issues in hostels of other geographical areas outside Gauteng. Looking at ethnic and tribal issues in hostels, historically South Africa has a very complex mix of ethnic, cultural identities, languages, and ethnic bonds. Gauteng province is the most diverse in terms of the concentration of different tribes and ethnic groups, the extent for comparison with other hostels in different provinces may be limited in this regard due to different diversities.

In trying to find comparisons in terms of the depth of research, timing of case study, and other different aspects of this research, authors such as Mothotoana (2011) and Fenyane (2016) explored both the positive contributions, and failures of implementing the hostel redevelopment programme respectively. Mothotoana (2011) argues that the implementation of the redevelopment programme is contributing positively to address the challenges of the housing backlog, and transformation of hostels; whereas Fenyane (2016) observes that there are failures in cases where upgraded hostel units have not been allocated, or are not occupied by intended beneficiaries of hostel residents. He attributes some of these failures to a breakdown in communication between hostel communities, and local communities in need of rental accommodation (Fenyane, 2016). This study will, therefore, be useful to some extent in addressing some gaps in literature, especially the socio-economic perspectives of residents, and government stakeholders responsible for the hostel redevelopment programme.

3.6 Ethics of the Study

Ethical considerations are important when undertaking qualitative research, which, among other things, involves undertaking: (1) desktop study, (2) case study, and (3) field work (conducting semi-structured interviews, participant's observation, and photography). It was, therefore, imperative to get the necessary approval in terms of ethical considerations. This ensured that acceptable levels of preserving confidentiality, and transparency were observed throughout the research study. Ethical considerations are important to protect both myself as the researcher, and more importantly, the

participants. Ethics equally ensured that transparency, honesty, and mutual trust was upheld throughout the research process.

To obtain the necessary consent from all the identified stakeholders or respondents, there need to be prior approval of ethics before the data collection processes can commence. Consent agreement, as pointed out by Burns and Grove (1993), is the prospective subject's agreement to participate on a voluntary basis in a study, which is reached after declaration of vital information about the study. The approach ensured that all respondents were made cognisant of their full rights to voluntarily consent, or decline to participate in interviews, and focus group discussions. In addition, the participants were informed about the objectives of the study, the measures used for the collection of data, and were given the assurance that there will be no potential risks, or costs involved in undertaking the research.

3.6.1 Process undertaken to obtain informed consent

Ethical considerations for the gathering of secondary data were considered in relation to the desktop study. Hakim (1982:1) describes the analysis of secondary data as a process of analysing any "existing data sets that presents interpretations, conclusion of knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report" Academic journals, online articles, and grey literature was utilised for this research. As such, whether the information is archived or not, concerns about data confidentiality, and security was always observed. This ensured that any possible damage to individual subjects, and any issue of return for additional consent were adequately addressed (Hakim, 1982). It was explained to all participants that ethical considerations are important in undertaking qualitative research, including conducting interviews, the observation of participants, and photography. Therefore, all the necessary consent and permission was rightfully obtained from all the participants before they could participate in the interview, and focus group discussions.

Once approval was granted by the Witwatersrand University – Ethics Committee, fieldwork, and the process to select participants was undertaken in the following manner:

3.6.2 Hostel dwellers

I visited the hostel which I am familiar with to request verbal permission from the Hostel Leadership (*Induna*) to undertake the research. This was preceded by politely communicating my research intentions. Consent was granted, and the Hostel *Induna* Baba Mvelase (who was the first to be interviewed) allocated his assistant for ease of access inside the hostel. Volunteers were then identified and requested to participate on a voluntary basis.

3.6.2 Government Employees

In accessing municipal and government officials, consent was sought through means of telephone, emails, and pre-arranged office visits where possible, to conduct interviews. It was equally explained to all participants that the significance of this study is not to solve any of the problems, but rather to attain the following; contribute to the body of knowledge, identifying gaps that still prevail, as well as to extend on literature around the subject matter, and lastly to contribute to a more qualitative, and nuanced approach in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. All primary data collected was stored in a password-protected computer, and the protection of participant identities was guaranteed to ensure that acceptable levels of preserving confidentiality, and transparency were observed.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the method of research together with research design was delineated as part of the study. The methods chosen are detailed, and justified in order to allow for the analysis, interpretation as well as the generation of research findings. The chapter equally outlined the limitations, and usefulness of the study in terms of the scale, and narrowness of the research. Lastly, it addressed processes, and approaches followed to ensure ethical considerations, and other deliberations for obtaining consent. The rigorous application of the above-mentioned research methods assisted me as a researcher with my fieldwork. It was quite interesting to observe that my participants were at ease, and comfortable with the interview process. Being fluent in the main language of communication (Zulu) made the hostel residents share first-hand insights, and experiences with ease. I was, therefore, able to use the advantage of familiarity with the culture and language of hostel dwellers, to extract more nuanced information from the respondents. Moreover, the participant observation method allowed me to gain more insight through observing the living conditions of hostel dwellers personally. I was, thus, able to draw certain findings through observation without making my respondents uncomfortable by asking my respondents sensitive questions. The next chapter will provide a comprehensive profile of the case study area, Jeppestown (Wolhuter hostel) Johannesburg.

CHAPTER 4

A PROFILE OF JEPPESTOWN (WOLHUTER HOSTEL) JOHANNESBURG

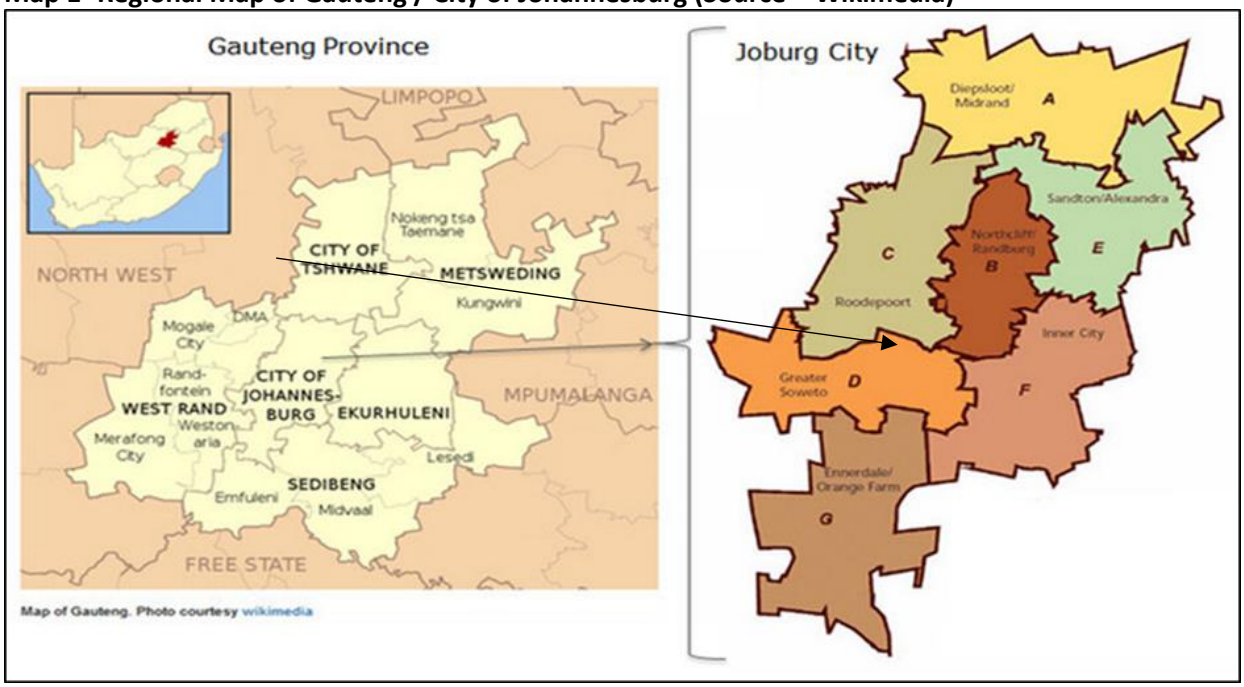
4. Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive depiction of the case study area in terms of statistical data in relation to demographic, socio-economic, political, and other issues related to the stability of the study area. This will provide any user of this research report with a contextual overview, as well orientation of the case study area. This chapter will, thus, outline a full profile of Wolhuter Hostel within the context of Jeppestown, City Johannesburg in the Gauteng Province. The approach will not be limited to Wolhuter Hostel, but will also explore related statistics of surrounding hostels, informal settlements, and neighbouring suburbs within the neighbourhood. The section will begin by outlining the contextual overview at a provincial / regional level, followed by a contextual overview at a metropolitan level, then finally zoom in on Jeppestown (Wolhuter Hostel) at a neighbourhood scale. This approach, or outlook, will assist in ensuring that other critical factors which have a direct and / or indirect impact on the study are not neglected, especially since dealing with infrastructure backlogs and adequate housing provision in this context is not only a municipal issue (at a neighbourhood scale) but requires the efforts of all spheres of government.

4.1 Regional Context Overview

Gauteng is in the central north-east of the country (See Map 1 - *insert of National Map*). The province is the smallest of the nine provinces in the country, constituting only 1.5% of the total land area. Gauteng province is mainly made up of three metropolitan municipalities, namely: The City of Johannesburg (CoJ), considered to be the economic hub of South Africa, and provincial capital; Tshwane (CoT), the country's administrative capital, and Ekurhuleni (EMM), the provincial industrial powerhouse. The province equally encompasses various small-medium municipalities in two districts, the Sedibeng, and West Rand district municipalities. These district municipalities both spread out across the province, creating a continuous urban agglomeration with some agricultural zones (Gauteng Provincial Government 20-year Review (1994 – 2014)).

Map 1- Regional Map of Gauteng / City of Johannesburg (Source – Wikimedia)



Gauteng is the most populous province in the country. According to the Gauteng Provincial Government 20-year Review (1994 – 2014), Gauteng province has experienced considerable population growth. In 1996, 18.8% of South Africa's population resided in the in the province, in 2001 this increased to 20.9%, and by 2011 this had increased to 23.7%. The review further indicates that the province's population increased by almost 2.9 million people over the ten-year period between 2001 and 2011. Between 1996 and 2001 the average annual growth rate was 4.3%. This high growth rate can be attributed to the abolishment of influx control and relaxation of the country's borders. However, between 2001 and 2011 there was a decrease in the growth rate, down to 2,7%, although this is almost double the average annual growth of South Africa as a whole (*ibid.*).

The 20-year Gauteng Review further states that the demographic profile of the province has transformed and is now demonstrating features of shifting towards that of more developed countries, with declining fertility rates, and a stable population growth. A future growth rate of over 2% is forecasted to be sustained into the future, due to rapid urbanisation, and in-migration. Generally, there has been substantial political and socio-economic transformation post-apartheid in many service delivery aspects in the province, aimed at redressing and reversing apartheid's legacy. The 20-year period has realised a massive expansion in the scale of public service delivery to ensure access to basic services and social amenities to previously disadvantaged communities. There are, however, challenges regarding slower transformation in other areas where there is less direct government control in relation to the economy and employment. For example, the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequality continue to persist among the African youth and women, and other vulnerable groups are affected the worst (*ibid.*).

4.2 Contextual Overview of the City of Johannesburg

According to the City of Johannesburg IDP 2018/19 (COJ-IDP 2018/19), Johannesburg contributes an estimated 5.05 million people to the total population of the province. This makes the COJ South Africa's largest metropolitan municipality in terms of population, size, and the diversity of its economy (contributing around 15% to the National Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2016), as well as the

number of jobs its economy provides (2.04 million employed people which is 41.64% of the total employment in Gauteng). It is evident from these statistics that the majority of people are attracted to the city by the prospect of job opportunities it offers, plus better access to basic services and socio-economic amenities. This has, however, placed severe strain on infrastructure delivery, as well as the ability of the City to deliver on its developmental goals (*ibid.*). Map1 on the previous page depicts the location of the City of Johannesburg in relation to Gauteng Province.

Stats SA (2017) reports that in 2016, there were 2.06 million people in living in abject poverty within Johannesburg, this is 46.36% higher than the 1.41 million in 2006. The majority of these poor people reside in the city's most improvished areas (innercity and townships) which face poverty to various extents. This includes, among other things: poor access to basic infrastructure services (water and sanitation), inadequate housing (hostels and informal settlements), poor healthcare, unemployment, disempowerment, and social exclusion. Consequently, the results of this deprivation have increased the levels of inequality in the City. As a result, Johannesburg is currently rated amongst the most unequal cities in the world (COJ-IDP 2018/19).

4.2.1 Spatial Configuration and Social Fabric

In terms of the spatial configuration of the City, the COJ-IDP recognises that the city's urban formation is a consequence of its history, and is attributed to apartheid planning. The adverse result was segregation and urban sprawl, which was race-based. This meant that townships accomodating black Africans, Coloureds and Indians were purposely established on the periphery of the city, far away from socio-economic opportunities. Poor people were, therefore, forced to commute long distances from their homes to their work places. Moreover, the city's IDP notes the "historical north-south divide" which subsequently contributed considerably to increased travel times and costs, given the reality that a large number of people live in the south western townships (Soweto) of the city, commuting to jobs that are located predominantly in the northern parts of Johannesburg (COJ-IDP, 2018/19:17).

Looking at the broader social fabric of the city in terms of social ills related to crime and vulnerability, the IDP notes that Johannesburg also faces high levels of insecurity, exarcerbated by factors such as "historical geographical, social and economic engineering and inequities". This is coupled with common daily stress and poor economic opportunities that are experienced by the poor, and vulnerable communities (COJ-IDP, 2018/19:18). Johannesburg is notorious for its high levels of crime. However, the IHS Markit (2017) indicates that there is imperical evidence suggesting that overall crime levels in Johannesburg dropped at an average yearly rate of 4.9% during the period 2005/06 to 2015/16. The IDP however, indicates that the City of Johannesburg's role in crime prevention is limited, but that the City interprets its mandate to include investment in public safety through community development, urban design, and land management. More importantly, the City advocates for the following key imperatives: the protection of vulnerable groups (hostel and informal settlements dwellers), infrastructure improvements, timely response to disasters, as well as compliance, and the enforcement of by-laws (COJ-IDP, 2018/19).

4.2.2 Basic Infrastructure Services, Housing Backlogs and Key Challenges

The Johannesburg IDP acknowlegdes that it is the city's constitutional obligation to realise the rights of its citizens by ensuring that all households have access to basic infrastructure services, and adequate housing. This implies that the City within its available resources must provide these services, especially to the most vulnerable and destitute groups (informal settlements and hostel dwellers). The IDP contends that the provision of basic services to the communities of Johannesburg is relatively high, with approximately 95% of households (both formal and informal) enjoying access to piped water,

flush toilets, and electricity. Yet, in spite of this telling statistic, shortages continue to persist, especially in informal settlements and hostels, where it is claimed that almost less than half of the households in those impoverished areas have access to basic sanitation. One of the main contributing factors to this challenge is the rapid and constistent in-migration of large populations to the city of people from rural areas, and sub Saharan Africa. These are people seeking better opportunities and access to an improved quality of life. This challenge will continue to persist, since the number of households in the city has continued to grow by an average annual rate of 3%, in the period from 2006 to 2016 (*ibid.*). With the number of households continuing to increase it exerts extra pressure on the existing infrastructure. It is, therefore, without any doubt so that, in the short to long term, prospects for the delivery of services and reducing the growing backlogs will become even more demanding for the city.

According to the StatsSA General Household Survey (2016) there are approximately 1.6 million households in the city. Table 1 below gives an indication of the spread in terms of service delivery backlogs in the city.

Table - Indication of Infrastructure Services

Service	**Serviced %**	**Backlog** **Approx. numbers**	**Backlog %**
Housing	78.5%	344000	21.5 %
Water	99.1%	14400	0.9%
Sanitation	95.5%	72000	4.5%
Electricity	89.80%	163200	10.20%
Refuse removal	95.9%	65600	4.1%

Source: StatsSA General Household Survey (2016)

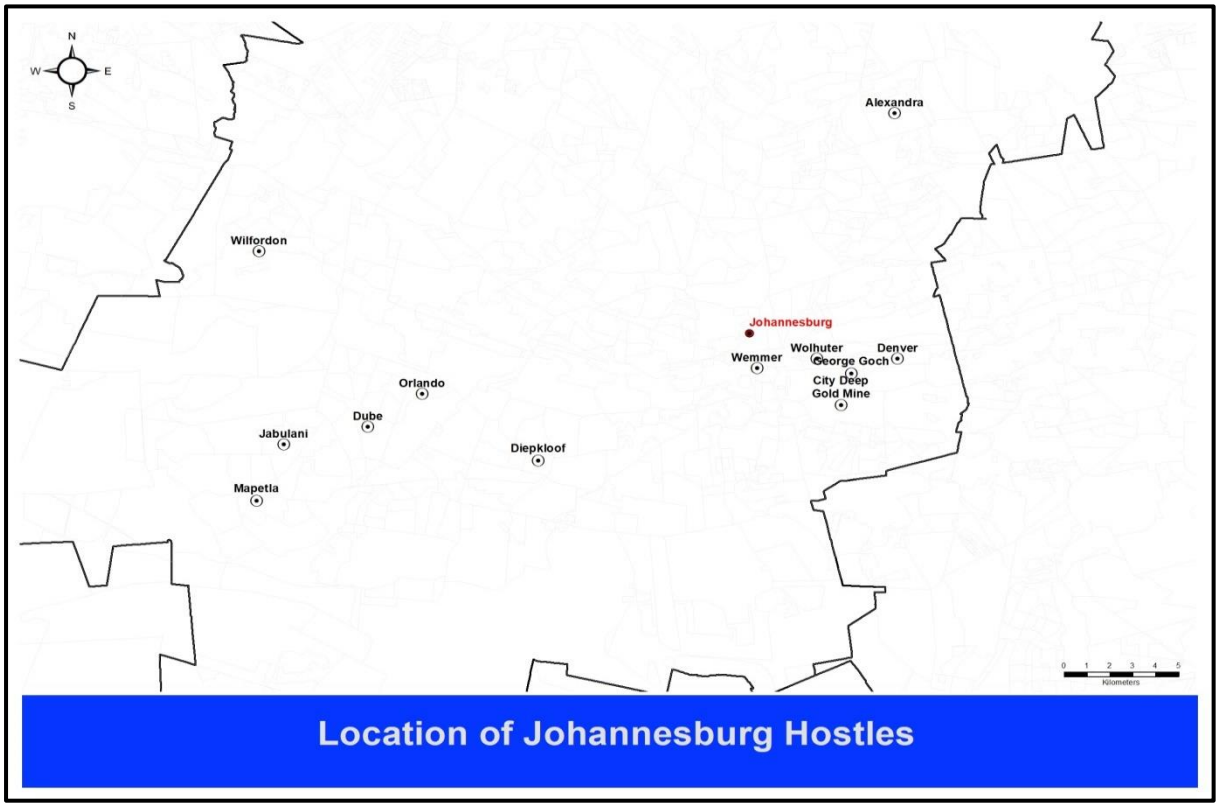
Gauteng is a largely urbanised province when compared to other provinces in the country, therefore, it goes without saying that the majority of its housing backlog is in informal settlements, hostels, and backyards since the province is considered to be the gateway to Africa in numerous national planning frameworks. According to the StatsSA's 2016 Community Survey, almost 78.5% of all households in the city live in formal dwellings, while 21.5% of households live in informal dwelling units (informal settlements, backyards and hostels). To be explicit, on the housing backlog the IDP states that the greater part of the backlog is made up by informal settlements, overcrowding in the public hostels, non-regulated backyard rental, inner city overcrowding, the housing waiting list, and homeless people in general.

The IDP, however, concedes that while there has been progress, much still needs to be done to eradicate these backlogs. Moreover, the city states that there are ongoing attempts to upgrade, and refurbish ageing infrastructure, and, in some cases, replace old infrastructure with new, where necessary, with higher capacity infrastructure. Thus, it remains important for the city to find more effective methods for providing this infrastructure, especially to the neediest residents (poor and vulnerable). It is equally encouraging that the city has put measures in place to up-scale their housing delivery programme. As highlighted in their housing delivery strategy of the IDP, the City intends taking a pragmatic approach through partnering with the private sector, and equally pursuing meaningful engagement with all affected impoverished communities. They have also embarked on a series of strategic initiatives. This includes, among others: the upgrading of informal settlements through super-blocking, which entails re-blocking (the re-alignment of shacks in an orderly fashion to

make way for service provision, and installation of basic services), the provision of gap housing opportunities, and, more importantly, the construction of social housing and low rental accommodation within the inner city (community residential units), as well as the provision of temporary accommodation to certain evictees and hostels that need to be refurbished, or redeveloped.

4.3 Profiling of Jeppestown (Wolhuter Hostel)

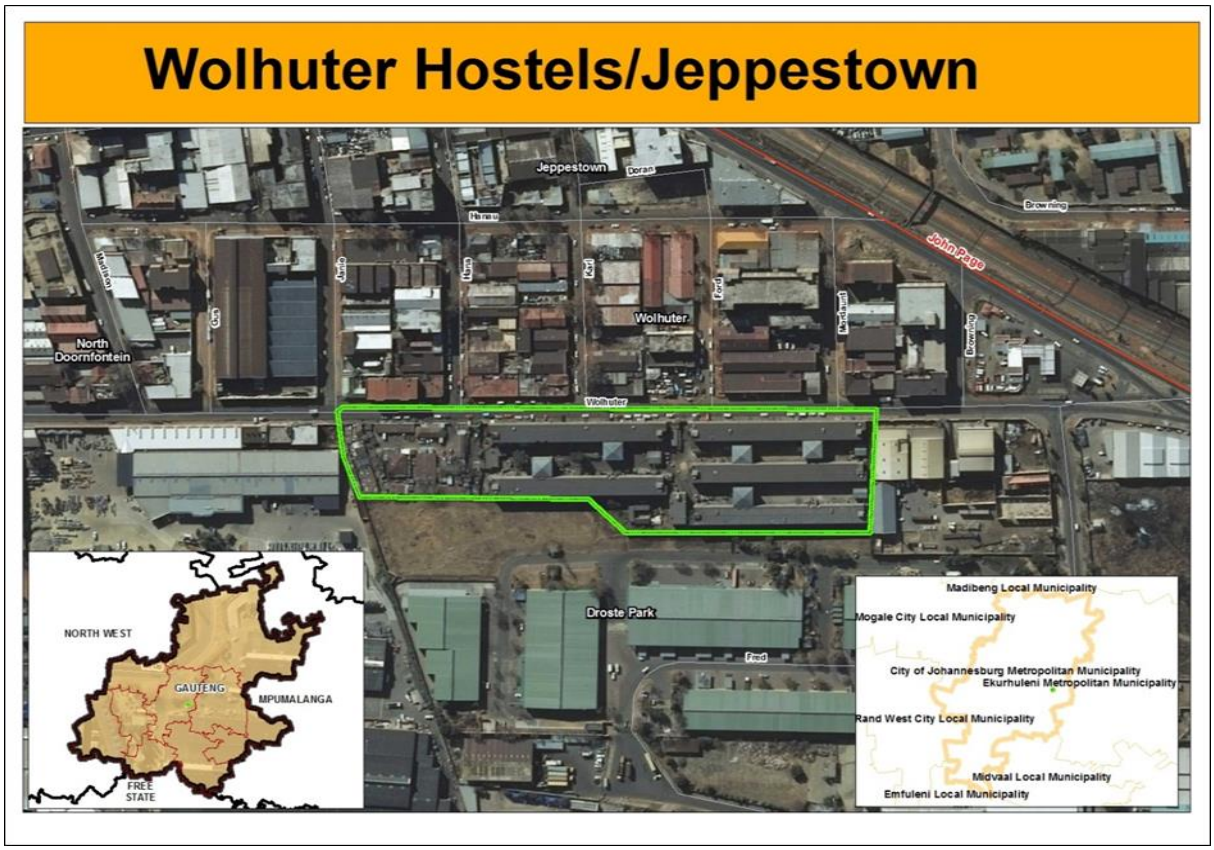
The field study area (Wolhuter Hostel) is located in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (CJMM) within the Gauteng Province, which has the biggest number of hostels in the country. The City of Johannesburg has a number of hostels within the inner city and its surrounds, and these are: Wolhuter, Denver, George Goch, KwaMai-Mai, and City Deep. They all exist within a 4 kilometre radius located in the south-eastern part of the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality in the Gauteng Province. **Figure 2** below gives a municipal overview of all hostels within the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. The inner city is centrally located, closer to economic activity in the north, with demand for housing steadily increasing, and now outpacing supply.



Map 2. Location of Johannesburg hostels – Own Map

Map 2, a map of all the hostels within the City of Johannesburg, gives a clear spatial indication of how hostels were located in Johannesburg in context of the Central Business District (CBD) and surrounding industrial areas in the region. Within the region the hostels in Jeppestown are the closest to the CBD and closed mine dumps, hence my choice of Wolhuter hostel to assist me to ascertain the socio-economic perspectives of hostel dwellers, and prospects for redevelopment. Map 3 gives an aerial overview of Wolhuter hostel within the context of Jeppestown. The main arterial routes connecting Jeppetown are: Francois Oberholzer Freeway, commonly known as the M2, linking the east and west,

Commissioner Street leading to the CBD, as well as a train railway with stations at Jeppe and George Goch respectively for train commuters.



Map 3- Aerial Overview of Wolhuter Hostel (Source: Google Maps)

4.3.1 Historical Foundations of Jeppestown

Jeppestown is a suburb in Johannesburg, Gauteng Province, South Africa. It is located in Region F in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality. Jeppestown was established in or after 1886 by C.E.G. Julius Jeppe, who formed the Ford and Jeppe Estate Company with his son, who was also called Julius Jeppe, and L.P. Ford (Neil, 2010). According to Alfred (2015), the historic Jeppestown is established as one of Johannesburg's first suburbs on land leased from FJ Bezuidenhout, and managed by Julius Jeppe the elder. To begin with, it was a residential suburb for the man with a limited purse, but it became more up-market as it extended east of Belgravia, Johannesburg's first booming suburb. In 1894, Jeppestown was described as consisting of "421 buildings, two churches, a Masonic temple, St Mary's Collegiate for Girls and a library". In 1896, the suburb had 5 647 inhabitants. St Michael's School for Boys, which has since been renamed Jeppe High School for Boys, was established in 1890, and the piece of open land called Julius Jeppe Oval was converted to a park in approximately the same year (Neil, 2010). The eastern part of Jeppestown came to be known as Belgravia. Fairview nearby, was situated in the far eastern suburbs. Its prominent tower, now a city monument, was once the highest building in Johannesburg (Alfred, 2015).

Wolhuter mens hostel was erected in the late 1960s, to accommodate migrant labourers who were prevented by influx control and racial laws from bringing their families closer to their areas of work. Jeppestown was developed as a light industrial area, and today many of the former factory buildings house black migrants from Southern Africa, and further afield. The Portuguese Church facing the Oval was originally one of Johannesburg's early synagogues serving the large local Jewish population.

Jeppestown and Belgravia were served by a horse-drawn tram service, started in 1894. Johannesburg's oldest standing building, the Anglican Church, St Mary's the Less, built in 1889, stands in Park Street, and remains well attended on Sundays (Alfred, 2015).

4.3.2 A synopis of Wolhuter Hostel - Jeppestown (Status Quo)

According to Thomas (2003), pre 1994 Jeppestown was an industrial area, and the Wolhuter Men's hostel (see Picture 1) was one of the few places of residence for black people at that time. Subsequently, the majority of the factories where residents of hostels use to work, have closed down. Most of the abandoned buildings have been illegally occupied, or converted into informal housing. These illegally occupied informal living areas are not visible from the outside, as they are situated inside the abandoned factory buildings. Moreover, most of the people living in those informal settlements are unemployed and have no regular income, and those that do still fall below the poverty line, with low levels of nutrition and disempowerment (*ibid.*).



Picture 1: Image of Wolhuter Hostel (Source: Mujahid Safodien – Online Getty Images)

Drawing from Scorgie *et al.* (2017), Denver, Jeppe and George Goch Hostels each had between 3200 and 3700 registered residents. However, these estimated numbers are said to be very conservative, and that they are housing approximately three times as many men. This phenomenom is perpetuated by the demand for low–income (rental) housing in Jeppestown, and to such an extent that abandoned buildings and warehouses located nearby, or adjacent to the hostels, have been illegally occupied by slum-lords. These buildings or former factory plots next to the hostel have been subdivided for sub-letting. In most instances, women and children who are prohibited from residing in a hostel occupy the informal settlements surrounding the hostel (see Pictures 2,3,4 and 5).



Picture 2 : Women in an informal settlement next to hostel (Source own photos)



Picture 3: Wolhuter Hostel next to hostel to informal settlement (Source own photos)



Picture 4: Family residing in informal settlement,



Picture 5: Kids and a male resident of the informal settlement next to Wolhuter Hostel (Source own photos)

In a recent survey undertaken by Scorgie *et al,* (2017), they point out that life in Wolhuter Hostel is mainly defined by overcrowded living conditions. Approximately 70% of residents surveyed indicated that they share a room with at least five other men, while an estimated 44% share a single room with at least ten or more other men (see Picture 6). What makes the situation worse, is the fact that the capacity and supply of basic infrastructure services (water and sanitation) is inadequate. It is further reported from the survey that toilets are unusable, at least once a month (*ibid.*). Moreover, the informal settlements that surround the hostels are equally overcrowded, and also lack adequate basic infrastructure services, and electricity. The lack of electricity has resulted in the need for the informal settlement dwellers to use alternative cooking fuels such as parafin and fire wood, which poses a threat as potential fire hazards / disaster.



Picture 6 – Image of overcrowded men in Wolhuter Hostel during a raid (Source: Online Media News24)

Interestingly, Scorgie *et al.* (2017) highlights that on average women had not lived in the surrounding informal settlements for a long period. On average, it is indicated that only a third of the women have lived in the settlements for a period longer than four years. Based on the Annual Report on the City of Johannesburg (2002/2003), the triple challenges associated with poverty, unemployment, and inequality in the area have resulted in poor social, and physical conditions (such as inadequate access to basic infrastructure services, and housing). These inadequacies unfortunately have a direct impact on the vulnerability of the communities in residing in Jeppestown (Wolhuter hostel). The risks associated with the current living conditions, and the vulnerability of women in informal settlements surrounding the hostel, make it very prone to the spread of epidemic diseases, and infections such as (Tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and other Sexually Transmitted Infections -STIs).

Ndingi (2008) indicates that the living arrangements in informal settlements surrounding the hostel is comprised of high levels of co-habitation, where "men as young as 20 years live together with women as young as 16 years" old. This is alarming in legal terms, as it raises the issue of statutory rape. Based on the Sexual Offences Guideline (1998), the official age of consent for sexual intercourse in South Africa is 16 years. This means that an adult is someone 18 years and older may not engage in any form of sexual activity with persons considered to be minors, falling under the age of 16 years. Moreover, this alarming situation is further exacerbated by the spread of sexually transmitted diseases in the neighbourhood of Jeppestown, and surrounds. Ngidi (2011) further adds that the majority young men in the area often have multiple sexual partners, which perpetuate the scourge of sexually transmitted diseases, and increases HIV/AIDS infections. This is supported by other authors such as Green (1994), Schneider (1998), and Skhosana (2001), who all argue that the historical migrant labour system is the main contributing factor to the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Migrant labour, as they further argue, has equally given rise to prostitution with sex workers, and their clients becoming the main carriers, and transmitters of the pandemic. In view of the fact that most women who reside in Jeppestown are unable to find formal and fixed term employment opportunities, they tend to resort to prostitution to support themselves for survival (Ndingi, 2008).

4.3.3 Socio-Economic Profile and Statistics of Jeppestown (Wolhuter)

According to Beavon (2004), over 90% of residents of Jeppestown are low-income in-migrants from rural Kwa-Zulu Natal. These are largely males staying in Wolhuter men's Hostels situated within Jeppestown. The area is full of social and economic contrasts. As a former light-industrial area, Jeppestown features a myriad of small factories, car workshops and hostels. Hostel dwelling has been the mainstay in this area since the days of the gold rush, with the network of narrow streets offering close contact, and integration for the once multi-racial neighbourhood. However, now these small streets have transformed radically and are alive with informal trading. More interestingly though, as highlighted by Mashiri (2017:60), residents of Jeppestown "are under the constant threat of eviction as the Maboneng precinct keeps expanding its territorial boundaries further into Jeppestown". In view of the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, this phenomenon points towards the detrimental effects of urban marginality, and the gentrification of the urban poor in the neighbourhood of Jeppestown.

Table 1 - Total Population

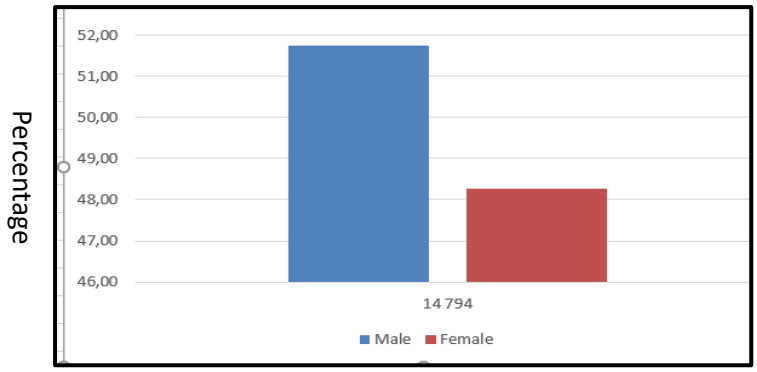
Population	**14 795 (8083.90 per km²)**
Households	5 467 (2987.14 per km²)

Source: Census: (2011)

The official statistics of the last census, as per the population graph below, indicate that the official population in Jeppestown is estimated to be 14 795 comprising of 5 467 households. However, in her recent online publications, Phala makes a telling statement that approximately 10 000 people live in the Wolhuter men's hostel alone. This statistic gives a clear indication of the overcrowding conditions experienced at present by the hostel, and its surrounding informal settlements. Census 2011 further indicates that approximately 80% of the population in Jeppestown are South African citizens, mainly rural migrants from KwaZulu Natal, with the 20% balance made up of foreign nationals, largely from the SADC Region, and the rest from Sub-Sahara Africa.

Drawing from Adjai and Lazaridis (2013:192), post 1994 South Africa turned into a desirable destination for many African migrants "lured by the attractiveness of a dynamic economy and human rights protection where principles of tolerance, equality and the respect of human rights" as enshrined in the country's Constitution. However, this came with its own pitfalls of discrimination, and xenophobia towards foreign nationals by some South African citizens. The World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WACAR) (2001:192), defined Xenophobia as "attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity". In recent events, Jeppestown has been in the spotlight for xenophobic attacks against these foreign nationals in the Gauteng region. Wolhuter men's hostel was at the centre stage of these violent attacks, and most formal and informal businesses of foreign nationals in the area were vandalised, and looted, allegedly by the hostel dwellers who felt the migrants are taking away their jobs.

Graph 1 - Gender Divide



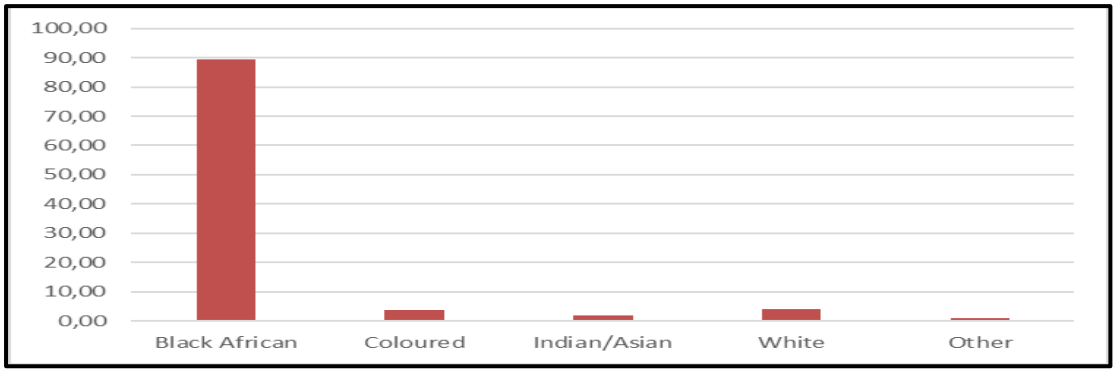
Gender	People	Percentage
Male	7655	51.74%
Female	7140	48.26%

Source: Census (2011)

The gender divide graph depicts an interesting gender divide between males and females in Jeppestown. The statistics indicate that most of the population is males. This confirms the gender imbalances from literature about South African hostels, which were originally designed to accommodate single-sex occupants, in this case males. However, recent developments in Jeppestown indicate that a significant number of females have moved into the area surrounding the hostel as result of the abolishment of apartheid migration legislation as indicated by authors such as (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013). Most of these women, however, are still not staying inside the hostel, but are residing in informal settlements and abandoned building adjacent to the hostel. Evidence again through observation shows that some of these women have moved into the surrounding area to join their husbands and partners, while other young women are in search of formal and informal employment.

Recent events from literature, nonetheless, paint a grim picture regarding the well-being of women in the area. There is significant empirical evidence indicating a high prevalence of prostitution, and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases among female-dominated informal settlements surrounding the hostel.

Graph 2 - Racial Grouping



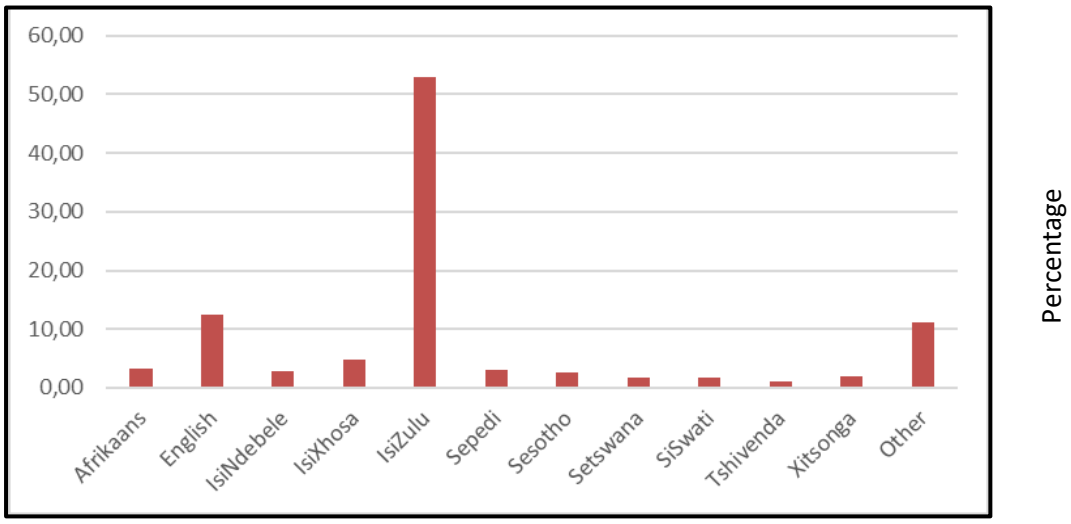
Source: Census (2011)

According to Census 2011, the dominant racial group within Jeppestown is Black African. Recent literature indicates that post 1994 with the closure of many factories (light industries), coupled with the illegal occupation of abandoned buildings, most whites, and other racial groups such as Indians

and Coloureds have moved away from the area. This transpired in many inner-city areas and former whites only suburbs around the city, despite the abolishment of oppressive legislation, and barriers previously imposed on Africans. The transition came with a lot of benefits for previously disadvantaged groups (Africans), such as freedom of access, movement, and socio-economic. For the first time, the different racial groups (black and white) started to integrate with black people moving into areas formerly designated for whites only. However, Vincent (2008) argues that blacks moving into former white areas did not necessarily result in cohesive racial integration. White people moved to more affluent areas or suburbs and abandoned factory buildings, and residential houses which have since dilapidated and are currently illegally occupied by the urban poor in the area with overcrowded hostels.

While it is acknowledged that Jeppestown has degenerated as neighbourhood, there are implications for South Africa in general. The country needs to strive harder to accomplish racial and social cohesion among the different racial and income groups. The emergence of adjacent precincts like Maboneng, presents an opportunity for urban renewal and regeneration strategies for the broader Jeppestown neighbourhood. Such strategies encourage the middle-class and even younger racial groups to socialise and integrate once the area has been rehabilitated and improved. On the contrary, several scholars such as Winkler (2009), and Melhuish (2015) argue that urban regeneration strategies tend to result in the unintended consequences of gentrification. Simply translated, gentrification is the displacement of and the marginalising of the urban poor.

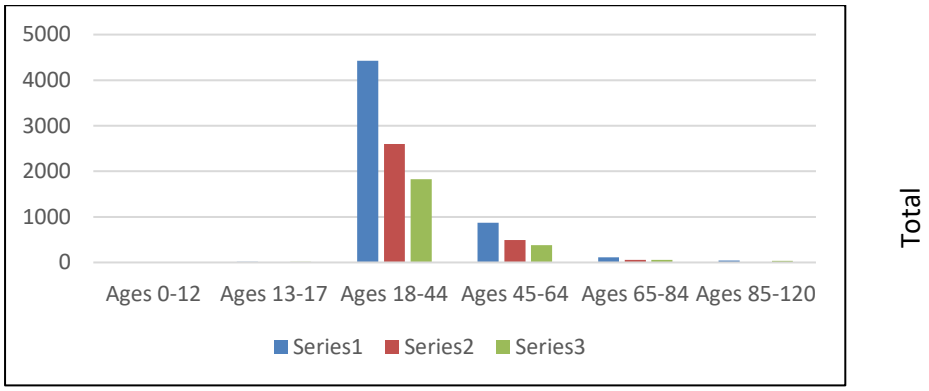
Graph 3 - Language



Source: Census (2011)

Looking at language statistics which are largely supported by many scholars who have conducted research in Jeppestown, indicate that most residents (approximately 80%) originate from KwaZulu Natal, and are of Zulu ethnicity. Generally, the area is notorious for its ethnic relations where cultural differences and diversities interplay, and this often results in violent conflict. In addition, there are numerous perceptions and stereotypes labelled against residents of Jeppestown. The hostel dwellers are deemed to be uneducated, aggressive, and violent. Historically, ethnicity and cultural diversity have been entrenched among the different groups in South Africa because of the homelands and migrant labour system. To this day, the levels of ethnic and cultural intolerance in the country remain high (Scheepers, 2010).

Graph 4 - Age Grouping

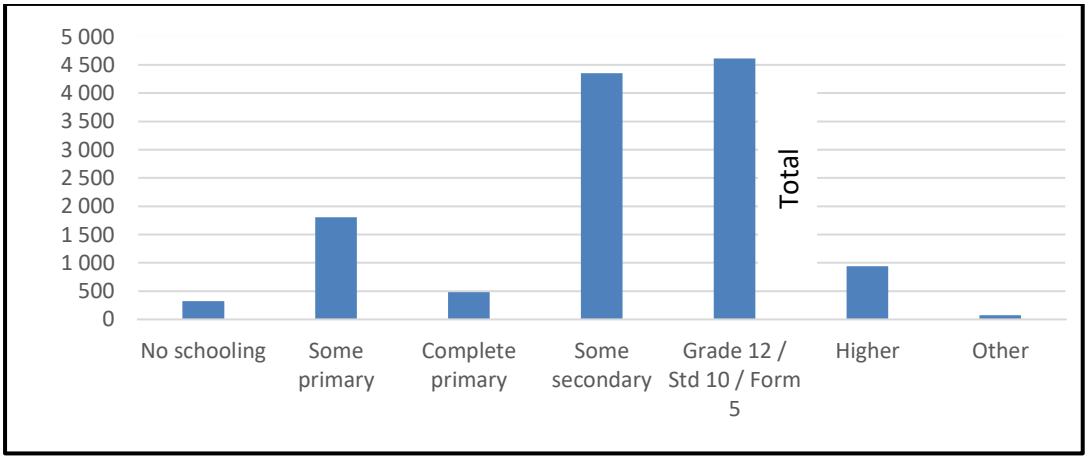


Source: Census (2011)

As supported by recent research in area, the age graph demonstrates that the biggest age group in Jeppestown falls within economically active (eligible for work workforce 18 – 64 years) group of approximately 83%. A significant number of the older generation between the ages of 45 – 65 has decreased, which can be attributed to the closure of mines, factories, and migrant labour returning to their rural areas of origin. These statistics gives an indication that Jeppestown is a youthful neighbourhood, supported by the evidence that the area is a gateway to Johannesburg for new entrants seeking employment opportunities.

According to Statistics South Africa 2011, South Africa is considered to have an intermediary population, with the median age ranking between 22 and 25 years. This gives us an indication that, generally, South Africa is a youthful country, which has implications for the government as to creating employment opportunities. Another key observation from the population dynamics report, is that the economically active population aged between 15–64 has increased steadily from 1996–2011. In contrast however, the child population (0– 14) has shown a decreasing trend across the same number of years. Several factors can be attributed to this, as noted from the report, for instance, a decline in fertility, and adult mortality, with the HIV/AIDS pandemic being the biggest contributor in recent years (StatsSA 2011).

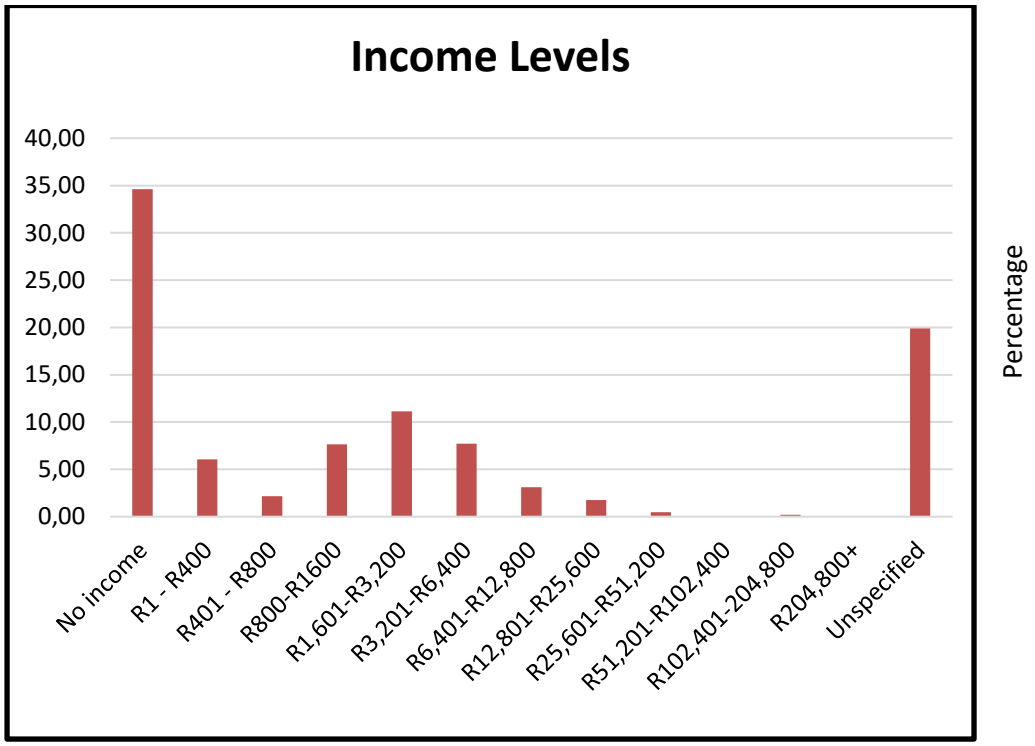
Graph 5 - Education Levels



Source: Census (2011)

Census 2011 indicates that approximately 36% of the population has attended secondary school, while 44 % of the population within the Jeppestown area has completed matric. There is very low number of 4% of the population with higher education qualifications, which is relatively low when compared to the overall Gauteng provincial statistics estimated to be around 11% (StatsSA 2011). It is argued that formal education provides an advantage for accessing the formal employment market. The low education levels in the area point towards residents occupying the informal job market. Online news journalist Morris (2018) argues that one of the main obstacles to socio-economic emancipation is the country's deficient education system. He further points out that this argument emanates from a report published by the Centre for Risk Analysis (CRA) at the Institute of Race Relations (IRR). The report highlights that the deficiencies in the education system replicate, instead of reversing the triple challenges of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. As a result, the unintended consequences effectively deny most young people the chance of better life in society (Morris, 2018).

Graph 6 - Monthly Income Levels



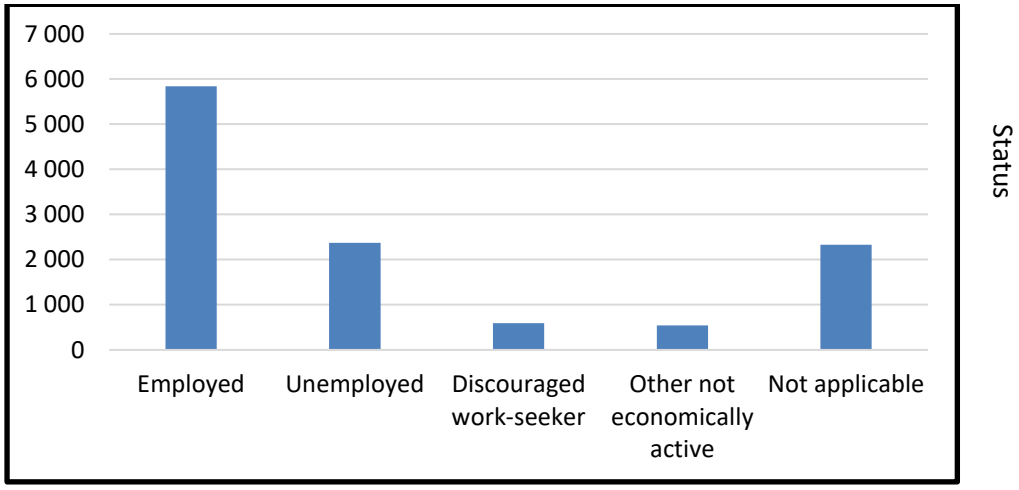
Source: Census (2011)

According to the income level statistics per individual, approximately 35% of the population of Jeppestown are recorded as having no income per person. In addition, an estimated 58% fall below the minimum monthly living wage category of R 3500. These are concerning statistics, as they point towards the high levels of poverty, unemployment, and inequality within the neighbourhood where most residents fall within the minimum age for working in South Africa. The Provincial 20-year Review (2004/2014) states that almost a fifth of Gauteng's population live below the food poverty line of R305 per month. Fin24 online journalist Ormajee (2019) states that South Africa first-ever national minimum wage came into effect in January 2019. Legislation requires that all employees be compensated a national minimum rate of R20 per hour, or R3 500 per month, depending on the number of hours worked. This is after it became law subsequent to an intense stakeholder

engagement process involving government, labour and business who signed the agreement through the National Economic Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) (*ibid.*).

In their quest to respond to the socio-economic challenges facing most South African workers, since 1994 organised labour have finally succeeded in getting government and business to agree and pass legislation for a national minimum wage. Ormajee (2019) further highlights that labour unions claim that this national minimum wage is expected to benefit over six million workers currently earning less than the prescribed level. Recently, the President of Cosatu: Ms Zingiswa Losi, was quoted as claiming that almost half of the nation would directly benefit from the minimum wage in order to boost the majority of those who earn a low income.

Graph 7 - Employment

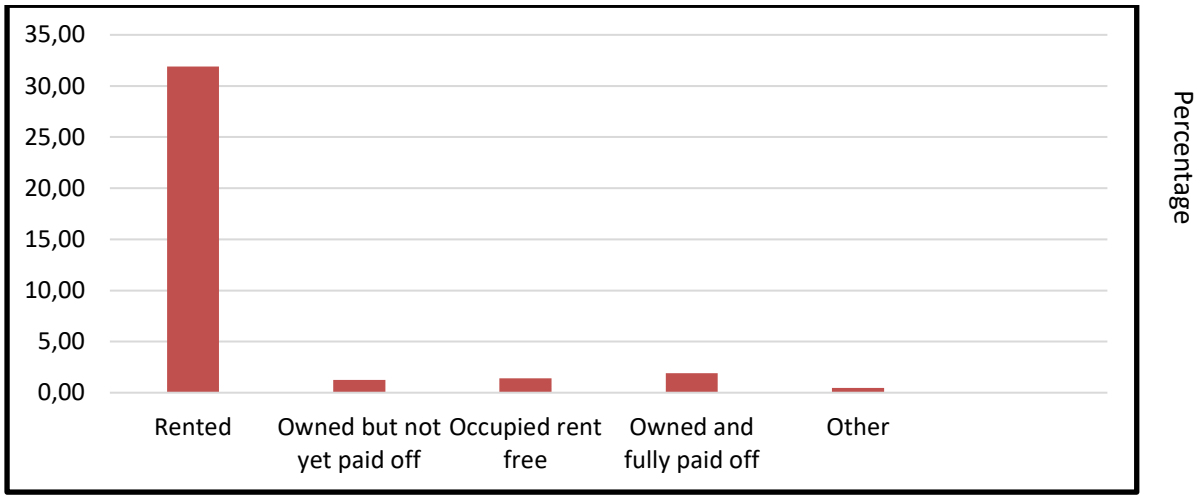


Source: Census (2011)

Statistics indicate that there is fair number of people in Jeppestown town that are employed; approximately 5900 as compared to over 2500 who are either: unemployed or discouraged. However, evidence indicates that the majority of those employed fall within the informal employment segment (shop keeping, cleaning, washing taxis etc.). Although the opportunities presented by the rising informal employment sector provides some subsistence relief for employees, the informal sector often does not pay a minimum living wage, or provide stability, and social security. Looking at recent developments, Mushongera *et al.* (2018) argue that formal sector employment has been on the decline in recent years, while the informal employment sector has been on the rise. Implications presented by this decline are critical for the welfare of workers, and for combating the triple challenges of poverty, unemployment, and inequality.

One can, therefore, deduce that amidst an economy that is evolving in favour of high-skilled tertiary industries, and wherein political pressure and policy are being used to drive up the cost of unskilled labour, this therefore, means that the majority of the unemployed population is unlikely find decent formal employment. This reinforces the need for government to change its policy direction and approach. The promoting and creation of decent jobs remains imperative, and government should equally strive to strengthen and support the informal employment sector.

Graph 8 - Tenure



Source. Census (2011)

Based on the tenure graph approximately 32% of the residents are renting in the area. However, this number may be based on the recently refurbished flats in the adjacent Maboneng precinct. Supposedly, these statistics do not consider the current informal tenure arrangements within the hostel, abandoned buildings, and surrounding informal settlements next to the hostel. Rental accommodation (formal and informal) is the dominant feature in the area as compared to ownership, which is less than 5%. Many authors, as highlighted in previous sub sub-sections, acknowledge that Jeppestown is a gateway for new entrants or poor migrants seeking cheap, and sometimes free informal accommodation in Johannesburg. This is due to its proximity to the city centre, which offers informal and some formal job and socio-economic opportunities.

Researchers, such as Leila-Patel (2008), argue that since the olden days until present the property trends in Jeppestown have not changed fundamentally. Even with a thriving light industry and factories in olden days, the property market remained low, which subsequently resulted in the out-migration of the middle- and upper-class residents into more attractive northern suburbs of Johannesburg over the recent years. This supports the argument that Jeppestown has historically maintained its status as an entry point for poor job seekers in Johannesburg.

4.3.4 Wolhuter Hostel an its Inclusivity to Surrounding Amenities in Jeppestown

In the context of Jeppestown, Wolhuter Hostel is surrounded by several socio-economic amenities which also make it attractive for those seeking an affordable and livable area. Apart from being close to the CBD, which offers job opportunities, they are near other amenities such as: the Maboneng Precinct, Jeppe Police Station, Jeppe Clinic, and Ellis Park Stadium amongst others (see pictures 7 and 8). Considering social services constitutionally provided by the state, no citizen can be excluded from receiving those services. However, many authors who have researched hostels, raise arguments around the marginalisation, and social exclusion of hostel dwellers from the surrounding areas within the neighbourhood.





Picture 07 – Photo of Police Station Jeppestown Picture 08 – photo of Clinic (Source: Google Images)

Even with a fully-fledged police station, the Johannesburg inner city and its surrounding suburbs such as Jeppestown, have struggled with high levels crime over the years. The area is notorious for being a no-go area at night. Online news journalist Venema (2015), however, notes that in recent years there has been transformation in the area because of influences such as precincts like Maboneng. Regeneration initiatives like Maboneng have provided more street lighting, and introduced 24-hour private security patrol, resulting in the younger multicultural generation socialising in the area (see pictures 11 and 12). Jeppestown has access to a health care clinic. In terms of health care issues in the area, a News24 online article highlights that based on a University of Johannesburg study released in 2008: chronic illnesses, mental health issues, and the HIV/Aids epidemic deeply affects the lives of Johannesburg's urban poor. In addition, there are factors such as lack of income, and skills, job losses, a lack of social support, and access to rudimentary services. The Johannesburg Urban Poverty and Livelihoods Study (2007) conducted a survey in the poorest areas in the city, including Jeppestown. It found that most households were affected by high levels of chronic illnesses such as high blood pressure, diabetes, and tuberculosis.





Pictures 11 and 12: Photo of Maboneng Precinct / social lifestyle (Source: Google images / alamy)

In his recent research on the impacts of urban regeneration in Johannesburg's inner city, and looking at the case of the Maboneng Precinct in relation to Jeppestown, Mashiri (2017) argues that the barriers imposed on the urban poor in Jeppestown as a result of gentrification have resulted in several

forced evictions, and removals. This is, however, not the case with Wolhuter Hostel residents and informal settlements adjacent to the hostel. Literature indicates that this is due to the hostel being a no-go area even for police and, at certain times, also municipal officials. So, it can be argued that certain parts of the broader area such as Maboneng are undergoing urban regeneration initiatives; it has its own exclusionary impacts on the urban poor who cannot afford the rental income of upgraded accommodation. The stigma of living conditions in Wolhuter hostel remains largely entrenched in Jeppestown.

4.4 Conclusion

The profile undertaken in this chapter, explored the physical structure and socio-economic aspects of Wolhuter hostel in context to Jeppestown, and the broader Region and Province. It is evident from this overview that historical factors have influenced the socio-economic dynamics in terms of (housing, poverty, and unemployment) in the area. The area, as argued by many researchers who have conducted case studies, encompasses characteristics of "*inner city syndrome".* These characteristics, as highlighted by Aldous (1988) include: inadequate housing, lack of infrastructure, basic services, vandalism, high unemployment, and crime. These have also been confirmed as some of the emerging themes or trends in Chapter 5 outlining the findings of the fieldwork. As for the broader neighbourhood of Jeppestown, there are still elements of urban decay and gentrification, two concepts that also emerged from this chapter. This is despite initiatives, and programmes implemented by the city to regenerate the area. Both the Provincial 20-year Review and the City's IDP documents focus on key human settlements delivery programmes, namely: mixed-use housing developments; the upgrading of informal settlements; alternative tenure (hostels and rental flats), and urban renewal programmes. These programmes are aimed at restoring the dignity of its people (poor residents) of Gauteng and Johannesburg. The next chapter will present and / or discuss in detail the findings of the field work in terms of the case study for this research.

CHAPTER 5

THE UNFOLDING STORY OF THE LIVING CONDITIONS IN WOLHUTER HOSTEL JEPPESTOWN.

5. Introduction

This chapter gives a description of qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews of the study. The main thrust is to present a clear understanding of the different socio-economic perspectives that hinder hostel redevelopment. As such, the data unpacked explores, and describes the living conditions of dwellers in Wolhuter hostel. In addition, perspectives of government officials responsible for the oversight and implementation of policy and programmes to improve living conditions are also given. The presentation of qualitative data draws linkages with the concepts and theories outlined in the conceptual framework, as well as considering similar or related findings of previous literature. Inferences will be drawn regarding significances, contrasts, and comparisons with hostels in other geographical areas. This is important in giving context through which perspectives and emerging complexities in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa can be understood.

Data collection methods utilised were clearly outlined in Chapter 3. The sample size of hostel dwellers interviewed was sixteen (16), plus one (1) focus group discussion a subgroup group of ten (10) hostel residents including five (5) of the interviewees. In addition, three (3) government officials were also interviewed. All these interviews were completed and coded. The field-work coding is attached hereto as an annexure, entailing the collation of similar themes, as well as unique direct quotations with all the respondents. The overall participation was 100% of the selected sample size, although this represents a small percentage of the population size of hostel dwellers. It was, however, established from the interviews and subsequent coding process that most of the responses were similar. This is in terms of overall challenges and perceptions on the hostel living environment in general.

The semi-structured interview schedule attached hereto as an annexure, was categorised into two segments, the first segment for the hostel dwellers, and the second for government officials. The first part for hostel dwellers as well as the focus group discussion is comprised of the following sections, with specific sub-questions for hostel dwellers: Firstly, personal background questions (age, ethnicity, education and employment status); secondly, hostel living environment questions (duration of stay, place of origin, reasons for residing in hostel, and socialisation, etc.); lastly, prospects for hostel redevelopment perspectives (awareness of government programmes, consideration of alternative living arrangements, improvements that can be implemented to living conditions).

The second segment for government officials contained the following sections and sub-questions:

- Background on organisation, and its role in hostel redevelopment.
- Knowledge on general status of hostels in Gauteng, and South Africa.
- Perspectives on factors that hinder hostel redevelopment in South Africa.

The main aim of the above-mentioned questions was to enable hostel dwellers, and government officials to share their factual responses on knowledge, experiences, perceptions, and awareness of residing in Wolhuter hostel. In this study, a total of twenty (20) interviews were conducted and an overwhelming nineteen (19) were males, and only one national official was female. Interestingly, all respondents were of African descent. This is an interesting finding which will be unpacked further, in terms of some of the key emerging themes for this study.

5.1 Wolhuter Hostel Dwellers Profile and Perspectives

As you enter Wolhuter hostel, you are immediately confronted with overcrowding, squalor, and a resemblance of the apartheid government's labour dormitories. In comparison to other hostels that have not been redeveloped in Gauteng province, and other major cities outside the province, one can immediately draw similarities, such as single-sex only residence, congestion, and dirtiness. Wolhuter hostel was initially designed to provide cheap rental accommodation for single male workers to control the labour force, and control movements of Africans in of the urban areas. The main intention of this was to maintain the temporary nature of African residence in urban areas. As observed in existing literature, authors such as Lalloo (1998) as well as Marais and Cloete (2018) have written extensively on labour migration patterns, and its impact on segregation along ethnic lines. It is understood that this was done with the main aim of restricting and controlling black labour within urban areas.

Wolhuter hostel is a male dominated environment with 100% of all interviewed participants confirming that only males, largely from KwaZulu-Natal, reside inside the hostel. One can thus, deduce that this results from the historical concept of Bantustans (Homelands), where the apartheid government grouped hostel dwellers according to racial lines as a divide-and-rule tactic. This was also influenced by tribal fighting and by political differences, and association. One of the respondents had this to say about ethnicity, and language spoken within the hostel:

> "*Most of us residing in this hostel are of Zulu decent. Based on my knowledge, I only know of less than 5 people that are not of Zulu decent in this hostel. The only two individuals I have come across is one Shangaan (Tsonga) and Pedi (Sepedi) guys, but they have also learned to speak Zulu" (Interview with respondent 4, 2019).*

Another respondent had an interesting account of the reason why Zulus tend to be dominant not only in Wolhuter hostel, but most hostels in Johannesburg and surrounding townships within Gauteng. This is what he had to say:

> *"Our Mkhulu's (grandfathers) and oBaba bethu (our fathers) who use to stay here were mainly Zulus working in factories and industries. We were separated from other tribal groups because of cultural differences and political affiliations which resulted in fatal battles. After three generations we Zulus are still dominant in most hostels around Johannesburg. Even though if you go to places like Tembisa in Ekurhuleni you find hostels that are dominated by Basotho people like Sethokga Hostel. Which means that the same practice of division along ethnic lines was applied there". (Interview with respondent 6, 2019).*

Gender disparities within Wolhuter hostel are quite interesting; to this day the hostel remains completely a male dominated environment. Women and children are not allowed to stay inside the hostel, and resort to staying in surrounding informal settlements next to the main hostel precinct. Asked about this situation, one participant went on to elaborate that:

> *"Women are not allowed inside this Hostel, if you want to socialise with them you, must do it outside the Hostel. There are strict rules to prevent them from entering the Hostel Blocks. It is impossible to even sneak them inside our rooms because we stay with elders and the rooms are crowded anyway – so we socialise with them outside or follow them to their places'' (Interview with Participant 10, 2019).*

Age dynamics within Wolhuter hostel give us an indication that most residents fall within the category of youth. The South African Youth Commission Act, 1996 defines youth as those falling between the ages of 14 - 35 years. The Commission equally notes that like many developing countries, South Africa has a youthful population. Approximately, ten (10) of the sixteen (16) respondents interviewed from Wolhuter hostel were between the ages of 18 – 35 years, with the remaining six (6) respondents falling above the age of 35 years. From the participants interviewed it is clear the older generation have retired and are returning to their homeland KwaZulu-Natal. There is also evidence that in a post-democratic South Africa, scores of young people still migrate from rural KwaZulu-Natal in search of economic opportunities in big cities like Johannesburg. Therefore, hostels by and large remain the gateway for migrant young men from KwaZulu-Natal to access socio-economic opportunities. It is through their family and ethnic connections from their rural villages that they establish this trend. This confirms the past and present stigmas, as well as the dominant perceptions that hostels in and around Johannesburg are generally strongholds of the Zulu ethnic group. To emphasise this stigma and / or perception, one of the participants said the following:

> *"Most of us residing in this hostel if not all of us are Zulu's from KwaZulu-Natal" (interview with participant 10, 2019)*

This trend points out that the generation currently residing in Wolhuter hostel is getting younger, comprising of what is classified as the economically active group. However, when it comes to employment opportunities, nine (9) of sixteen (16) participants interviewed have no formal employment and are looking for formal work. An estimated five (5) of sixteen (16) participants reported that they survive through informal job opportunities in and around Wolhuter hostel. These include taxi drivers, shopkeepers, food stalls selling braaied meat, car washing, and temporary labours in surrounding factories, and construction sites. This is what some of the respondents said about their employment status:

> *"Most of us who are here in this hostel came here looking for jobs. All we want are jobs, and that is the main reason we are residing here. We all want stable jobs, and this government is not doing enough to create these jobs". (Interview with participant 15, 2019).*

He went on to add that:

> *"Some of us here survive through piece jobs at City Deep where we get paid between R100 – R120 per day to offload containers. That is how I support my four children back home in the village" (Interview with participant 15, 2019).*

Regarding education and literacy levels, nine (9) of sixteen (16) the participants interviewed indicated that their highest level of education is High School, with only four (4) of sixteen (16) participants having completed matric. Only two (2) reported that they have either primary school education, or no education at all. To confirm this emerging trend, one participant attested to the following:

> *"I completed Matric in 1999 and came to this hostel to look for job opportunities so I can be able to support my family back home in KZN. After matric I did minor courses such as call centre and logistics distribution courses but did not finish because, I found a job as a security guard" (Interview with Participant 8)*

This implies that only two (2) of sixteen (16) the participants interviewed are formally employed while five (5) of the sixteen rely on informal opportunities to survive.

Another participant indicated that:

''I wash taxis and cars (ukuziphilisa) to survive'' (Interview with participant 12, 2019).

In as much as most of the men interviewed are looking for jobs, it was also clear from the engagements that jobs are not close to come by. Jeppe hostel is surrounded by light industries and few people indicated that sometimes they do piece jobs in these industries.

The pictures below show some of the informal jobs that some of the hostel dwellers are engaged in to survive:



Picture 13: hostel residents washing cars



Picture 14: photo showing one of many spaza shops (Source: own)

Picture 13 shows some of the Jeppe hostel dwellers washing cars near the hostel while picture 14 depicts a fruit and vegetable stall erected inside the hostel (passage) and owned by one of the residents. An important observation from these pictures is that most residents within this hostel have no formal employment. They try to make ends meet through undertaking different activities to sustain themselves.



Picture 15: Hostel food stall selling braaied meat and phuthu (pap) (Source: Own)

Picture 15 shows one of many food stalls owned by a resident selling (braai meat, prepared while you wait) as well as firewood at Jeppe Hostel. Most hostel residents and people from outside purchase their ready-to-eat food from such stalls. It is another indication of how some residents from the hostel survive.

5.2 Living conditions in Jeppestown Hostel

Most of the participants interviewed, seven (7) of the sixteen (16) participants have been staying in the hostel for between 5 to 10 years, while six (6) of the sixteen (16) have been living in the hostel for 1 to 5 years. The older generation of participants, including the Hostel *Induna*, who also is a traditional healer, has been residing in the hostel for over 20 years. All the people interviewed in this research indicated that they left their different homes to come and look for employment in Johannesburg, and that is why they have ended up staying at Jeppe hostel. One respondent narrated that:

> *"Our grandfathers, fathers and uncles were working (lana eGoli) here in Johannesburg so when we finished matric and couldn't find work in emakhaya (KwaZulu-Natal) or other smaller towns in KZN, we joined them in Johannesburg, and to assist us to look for formal work opportunities" (Interview with Participant 2, 2019).*

Another key perspective that emerged from the interviews with most of the respondents is that residents of Wolhuter Hostel do not pay rent or for basic services such as water and electricity.

However, this has not always been the case as highlighted by one participant who has stayed at the hostel for over ten years:

> *"In the olden days when the hostel administrators and officers were still around, we used to pay and the hostel was well managed and orderly – but when they left the culture of paying also disappeared, it started to be overcrowded and uncontrollable" (Interview with Participant 7, 2019).*

Around 12 people of the 16 residents interviewed were happy that they are not paying any rent or for water and electricity. For them, the fact that most are unemployed means that they can't afford to pay, hence they are staying for free. They further felt no obligation to pay for rent and services because according to their understanding the government has an obligation through its services and housing programmes to cater for those in destitute circumstances. Some even went as far as mentioning and quoting the Freedom charter and the South African Constitution, especially sections that talk to the provision of housing, water and electricity by the government to its citizens as these are basic human rights that should be upheld by the state. However, through a focus group, a few participants were against the idea of staying at the hostel for free. One of them said that:

> *"We don't mind paying for all these utilities (rent, water and electricity). However, we can only do so if the conditions in the hostel are improved" (Focus Group Discussion 2019).*



Picture 16: resident walking me to his room block (Source: Own)



Picture 17: passage / hallway of a single

Pictures 16 and 17 shows two pictures of contrasting passages, or block corridors within different blocks of the hostel. Picture 16 shows the passage is very dark, even though it was during the day. What is worrying here is that drunk residents are sometimes mugged in these passages by fellow roommates at night. In some cases, residents dump their waste materials in the passage, when nobody can spot them in the darkness. However, the other passage where the *Induna* and some of the older residents stay, shows the ability of residents the keep the passage clean. The older generation argued that within their block they still try to maintain cleanliness and order, unlike the blocks where the majority is younger males.

There is a total of six (6) blocks in Wolhuter men's hostel, and almost all residents interviewed complained about the uncontrollable overcrowding. The hostel was initially designed to accommodate not more than 3 people per room. However, over 75% of the rooms are occupied by at least 6 to 8 individuals, with 25% of the rooms having 8 plus individuals residing in in one room. This

equates to more than double the number that was permissible per room, which has made the living conditions very difficult for residents. One respondent could not shy away from the precarious living conditions in the hostel, as he stated that:

> *"These rooms were originally designed to accommodate 3 people however the situation has gotten out of hand and with most rooms occupied by at least 6 – 8 individuals sometimes even 10 which is not ideal at all (Simpintshene lana) – we are cramped like sardines" (Interview with respondent participant 11, 2019).*

In contrast, another respondent added his own view in relation to living condition in the hostel:

> *"The living arrangements in our room are fine, we all know each other and respect each other's small space. The six of us don't pay rent and (sihlanganisa amaCent) combine the little cents we have for food which cook on the same pot and share" (Interview with respondent 13, 2019).*

Again, the above sentiments were contradicted by another fellow resident who argued that:

> *"There is no control here in our room sometimes you do not know the people staying in the same room as you – people come and go sometimes you 6 the next day you are 8 and the following day even 12" (Interview with respondent 11, 2019).*



Picture 18: one of the rooms block 1 Wolhuter hostel Wolhuter



Picture 19: another room in block 2 hostel (Source: Own)

Pictures 18 and 19 show some of the shared rooms in two different blocks at the hostel. Picture 17 on the left depicts a room with about six (6) and above grown men sharing and sleeping in the same room. The room has two double bunker beds which are shared and for those without a bed they find space on the floor to sleep on a sponge / small mattress. This means that there is not enough space to walk in the room. Due to lack of space, room-mates resort to hanging their belonging on the wall, and they do not encourage each other to acquire more personal belongings, due to the restricted space. Picture 19 shows a similar crowded room, including a freezer and TV set, which is shared by all roommates.

Although the living conditions in Wolhuter hostel appear to be deplorable, some residents are quite comfortable to stay in such conditions, because of no better alternatives being available. One respondent who was interviewed for this study, could not shy away from how he feels about staying in this hostel:

> *''For me its fine even though it looks like a neglected dirty dump to you'' Interview with respondent Participant, 2019).*

However, not everyone who was interviewed felt the same way. Another respondent indicated that:

> *"We are living in dump and neglected. We are just too overcrowded but what can we do. (Sizama impilo) we trying to survive (Siyabekezela) we persevere'' (Interview with respondent 7, 2019).*

This was echoed by another respondent who added that:

> *"There are 6 blocks in total in this Hostel they are different here in our block and floor we have two communal bathrooms at the end of each block accessed by an entire floor. We then have a shared kitchen per room with four separate bedrooms accessing it – it means all ±24 of us share this kitchen'' (Interview with respondent 1, 2019).*



Picture 20: An image showing one of the communal kitchens in Block 1 (Source: Own).

Picture 20 above shows an image of a communal kitchen in one of the blocks at Wolhuter men's Hostel. This communal kitchen is shared by more than twenty (24) men who share four (4) different rooms. This communal kitchen is operated on a first come first serve basis, meaning they alternate in using this kitchen to cook their meals, boil water, and wash their cooking utensils.

Residents also indicated that on top of queueing to use the kitchen, they are also restricted by the fact that some of the stoves are not working. This has, however, invoked some sense of rationality and agency among the residents in trying to overcome the challenges they are faced with, the non-working of the stoves. One respondent narrated that:

> *''In this block we have shared kitchens per floor each equipped with big stoves some are working and some not – although others prefer to have their own two plate stoves in their own rooms, so they don't have to watch over their pots while cooking" Interview with respondent 2, 2019)*

Even though some residents have adjusted to the living conditions at the hostel under these different conditions, for some, the conditions are unbearable. There are complaints that apart from the conditions inside the hostel being precarious, the hostel has equally witnessed an escalation in the cases of violent and rude behaviour. One respondent expressed his views on this subject.

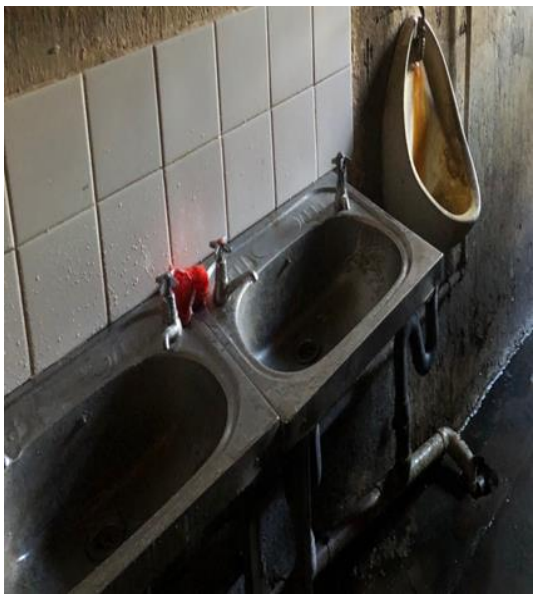
> *"These days there is too much drinking, almost all floors have people selling alcohol. It's just too easily available which results in crime, fights and fatal incidents sometimes" (Interview with Participant 3, 2019).*

Furthermore, during the focus group discussion, cases such as people being robbed at gunpoint in in and around the hostel were reported. Some respondents attempted to justify this kind of criminal elements, blaming it on the lack of employment opportunities, particularly for the residents who are mainly young men. There is also a feeling of hopelessness among some residents about their predicament of staying in the hostel under what they perceive to be harsh conditions. This is what one of them had to say:

> *''Life is generally tough here (senziwa ukuxakeka) its circumstances beyond our control that make us stay here. There is no freedom, you always have to be considerate for the next person – you can't play your own radio – watch what you like when you like" Interview with participant 13, 2019).*



Picture 21: Image showing showers
Source: own



Picture 22: Image showing basis and a urinal

Pictures 21 and 22 shows the inside of one of the communal bathrooms at Wolhuter Men's Hostel. Water and urine are always dripping on the floor and most residents indicated that they resort to bathing while standing on top of bricks. Due to overcrowding, residents sometimes do dishes in these bathroom basins.

Residents lament that even though they try and are keen on ensuring that sanity prevails at the hostel in terms of cleanliness, they struggle to enforce it. Those that were interviewed revealed that men are always difficult to control as far as hygiene is concerned. They further mentioned that there used to be a time in the hostel (different blocks) where they had a duty roster for cleaning, but it was difficult to follow this as people could move out anytime once they get formal employment. There were also instances where residents would resist and fail to comply with keeping to the duty roster.

As was raised earlier, water and electricity are currently provided at the hostel for free. Almost all participants acknowledged the availability of water and electricity. However, the reliability of these critical services seemed to be a major problem, with constant blockages, water cuts, and tripping electricity. This is largely due to capacity challenges because of overcrowding. Respondents equally reported that the hostel also has a logbook where complaints about breakages, leakages, and power outages are logged. This logbook is administered and used by municipal officials who are expected to respond to complaints from residents by sending their maintenance team. However, officials have not been responsive in this matter. A leader from the hostel had this to say about repairs within the hostel.

> *"As the Hostel Induna, I have tried to set up some committees to assist me with complaints, maintenance and cleaning issues. So, if certain things are broken and the government takes long to come and fix the different blocks collect money and we get it fixed ourselves'' (Interview with respondent 1, 2019).*

Apart from the hostel committee that are sometimes set up by the *induna* to do repairs, there are cases where residents fix broken items such as communal stoves or leaking water pipes within their own communal spaces. They do this without escalating the matter to the hostel leadership. Residents

also invoke some sense of agency when faced with different circumstances that affect their access to services within the hostel. For instance, picture 22 shows residents in some blocks that have resorted to illegally connecting electricity. The connection is done through the main lines to bypass tripping of electricity due to high usage or demand. They still do this even though they are aware of the danger it may cause because of possible electric shock.



Picture 23: Image of a block with illegal electricity connections (Source Own)

In as much as most complaints are attended to by either the resident's themselves or through the established committee, there are equally cases where complaints such as frequent water leakages are not attended to at all. In this case, water is left to run for days or even weeks without any action being taken. This has forced residents of several hostel blocks to resort to bathing in buckets inside their own rooms to avoid gushing water in the common bathroom.



Picture 24: An image of water gushing out in one of the bathrooms at Jeppe hostel. (Source: Own)

Many residents complained about the lack of or slow response by the responsible government organisations to attend to their daily service delivery challenges. However, some of those interviewed still appreciate that they at least have basic services, despite the capacity constraints. Consequently, certain blocks have initiated proactive measures to attend to their service disruptions by contributing money for the maintenance of any blockages, and electricity faults.

5.3 Emerging Socio-economic Issues for Interrogation

5.3.1 Control and Maintaining order in Wolhuter Hostel

Wolhuter men's hostel is marked by ineffective systems of administration, and this was seen in the resultant appalling, and distasteful living conditions. However, there are informal arrangements to control and manage daily living in the hostel. This was done by the appointment of a headman (*Induna*) by hostel residents. The headman plays the vital role of overseeing and managing daily activities that happen in the hostel. The headman also shares a room in one of the blocks residing the older generation. In main, he acts as a liaison between government officials and hostel dwellers and is responsible for organising community meetings as and when required. Some of his responsibilities in relation to managing the hostel include attending to complaints, or settling disputes between dwellers, allocating rooms and administering the list of who gets in and gets out of the hostel, although, he mentions that he does not have total control over this. He also has the power and authority to sanction or expel dwellers from the hostel if they are found guilty of breaking rules agreed to. These include, among others, bringing women inside, and committing certain crimes such as stealing. Asked about the *Induna*'s role within the hostel, one respondent said that:

"The Induna (headman) is the most respected person here my friend. He might look simple and harmless, but he commands a lot of authority and can decide your fate in as far as your stay in this hostel is concerned. He is very strict about us disregarding visitors' rules such as bringing women inside the hostels (Interview with respondent 9, 2019).

Over and above this, the headman has his own compound near the entrance to the hostel where he performs his daily duties as a traditional healer, selling all kinds of traditional medicine. Not only does he practice traditional healing, but he also offers some form of guidance, and counselling to dwellers both young and old. In this case, the traditional leader is considered as experienced in social issues due to his age, and spiritual standing. Some residents consult him in respect of marital advice, since most men have left their wives back home in KwaZulu-Natal.

5.3.2 Culture and Socialisation in Wolhuter hostel

As mentioned earlier, the historical development of hostels was to ensure that the overall movement of black African migrant workers in the urban areas was controlled. As such, residents in most of these hostels devised different cultural and social activities to keep themselves occupied and entertained when they were not working. In relation to this research, 25 years post democracy, residents in the hostel still engage in some of the historical activities, although some of them have been transformed in line with the current times and social trends. Regarding some of the main activities that residents participate in, one respondent highlighted that:

"(Uyabona lana izinsizwa zishaya ingoma) you see here lots of man are involved in cultural *singing and dancing as well as stick fighting over the weekends even though the culture is slowly dying" (Interview with Participant 5, 2019).*

Interestingly, most respondents pointed out that, in most instances people socialise according to their different places of origin in KwaZulu Natal. Even with the cultural singing, dancing and other entertainment, men from the same area or village group themselves to compete in hostel competitions over the weekends. In relation to this emerging issue one respondent explained that:

"We socialise in groups. I stick with those from my area or village back home just to be safe" (Interview with participant 4, 2019).

In addition, another participant supplemented this trend by adding that:

''Drinking in groups is the new norm here people from different geographical areas in KZN drink together Unongama one side Nkandla the other side – KZN is big and those from the same geographical area socialise together" Interview with Participant 3, 2018).

Unfortunately, this socialisation does not only end with the cultural dancing and singing, even when men drink, they drink according their geographical background groups which in some instances leads to battles or fights erupting.

5.3.4 Crime and Violence in Wolhuter Hostel and Surrounds

Respondents interviewed in this research indicated that crime and violence is rife in the hostel and surrounding areas. While these respondents were not keen to shed more light on the topic because of fear of victimisation, they partly indicated that there have been numerous robberies and heists that have been carried out within and outside the hostel by men who resided at the hostel over the years.

This was also supported by different stories that have been published in different media outlets. This include the BBC on 15 May 2015, and News 24 on 12 May 2015. Additionally, the recent violence, looting and targeting of foreigners, has also been linked to hostel residents around Jeppestown. So much so, in fact, that it led to a point where the minister of Police, Bheki Cele, visited Wolhuter Hostel to calm the residents during 2019.

During interviews for this study, residents highlighted that apart from bigger criminal activities, interpersonal violence is part of daily life in the hostel. In such instances, newcomers and young men are the most affected. The main causes of this interpersonal violence include overcrowding, which in most cases result in men fighting; perhaps for turns to cook in the kitchen or use of the laundry line. While such incidents might appear petty, they are at the centre of much interpersonal violence within the hostel. One participant even revealed that:

> *"You see here, people can even fight for a chance to use the bathroom or even the toilet. When you do your laundry, you also need to stand out there until they are dry because someone can snatch them aware even if they are still wet" (Interview with respondent, 15, 2019).*

Theft within the hostel is not only limited to stealing people's laundry on the line, but also includes the stealing of other people's food, money, phones, or even personal property such as television sets, among other things. However, when a thief is caught, the residents administer mob justice before taking the offender to the *Induna* and calling the police. The physical conditions within the hostel was also raised as a contributing factor to crime and violence. Externally, the outside open spaces between the hostel and the adjacent informal settlement (dark during the night), coupled with poor outside lighting systems, are other contributing factors. Internal distances from rooms to communal toilets in each block, lack of lighting in passages and inside some toilets were all mentioned as conditions that increase the chances of being robbed or being assaulted. One responded added his contribution in relation to this situation:

> *"We have heard many cases of muggings in the evening just outside the hostel, there by the informal settlements. I believe that young men who reside inside the hostels are responsible for this criminal behaviour because they want money to buy alcohol. They prey on drunk people who will be coming back from having a drinking spree" (Interview with Respondent 4, 2019).*

One of the older hostel residents provided an insightful comment on the culture of crime, and violence in the hostel from a historical perspective.

> *"Look, apart from all the documented political violence, hostels have always been synonymous with (izimpi zegodi) battles and fights from that started back home (emakhaya) in different villages. In some instances, these group fights started from different villages and are continued in this hostel, resulting in some fatalities. You will be surprised how easily some of these quarrels start. From what I know some fights started by fighting over a girlfriend or even suspicion of (ukuthakatha) witchcraft" (Interview with respondent 2, 2019).*

Another respondent noted that the major cause of violence within the hostel was the high levels of alcohol consumption. He had this to say:

> *"A week does not go by without having heard or seen people fighting after drinking alcohol. People fight a lot here and sometimes their fight escalate to a point where they even hurt each other badly. If you look at what would have triggered the first, you will find out that it's just a matter of drunkenness and nothing important" (Interview with respondent 10, 2019).*

There is also a shocking fact that respondents revealed in relation to crime and violence in the hostel. They noted that sometimes the violence that is witnessed and experienced does not start there, but elsewhere. For instance, there may be gang violence that may erupt in a mining town, and those involved will seek refuge, and hide in the hostel. Once the rival group of individuals manages to catch a rival, gun violence erupts in the hostel. Other respondents added that hostels are still associated with taxi violence, since many taxi drivers reside there. These instances are not ethnic fights with different ethnic groups, but inter-tribal fights among the same ethnic group (Zulu) from the same geographical area of origin. Drawing from the above, the stigma of fighting and violence associated with hostels historically, persists post democracy.

5.3.5 Hostel Dwellers' Prospects on Hostel Redevelopment

Residents who were interviewed in this study, revealed that apart from staying in the hostel for the purposes of looking for employment in the nearby factories, they also did so because they don't have any other place to stay for free. Other reasons also included that hostels are used as transit areas, and once someone gets formally employed, they are expected to move out, and create space for newcomers. These reasons have also informed their different perspectives in relation to the notion of hostel redevelopment. For instance, about 40% of respondents indicated that given the current conditions inside the hostel, if an opportunity of employment arises, they would quickly move away from the hostel.

Even though government has made a commitment to improve living conditions in hostels through its various programmes, such as the Hostel Redevelopment Programme and Community Residential Units (CRU), most residents interviewed indicated that they did not experience the impact of these programmes. One respondent could not hide his emotions when asked about this:

> *''Government does not care about us, we feel neglected, (silahliwe lana)' we are dumped here'' (interview with respondent 2, 2019).*

This sentiment was also echoed by another participant who vehemently maintained that:

> *"In as much as I support plans to redevelop this hostel, I am not aware of any government initiatives to try and improve living conditions in this hostel'' (Interview with respondent 9, 2019).*

This is the perception, even though it was explained to respondents that the government launched awareness programmes aimed at improving living conditions in hostels. These include refurbishing the hostels through de-densification, improving the provision of services, and ensuring that maintenance is undertaken in these hostels by insisting that dwellers pay for rent and infrastructure services.

Interestingly, other respondents indicated knowledge of some details of the various government initiatives, which contradicts the previous perspective. One participant noted that:

> *"I know government is trying but it's difficult because others here won't agree to pay. The only challenge we have with officials is that even when we lodge complaints, they take time to respond'' (Interview with respondent 4, 2019).*

In as much as some residents acknowledge government efforts, some among them also recognise that the government is not winning the battle of redeveloping their hostel. One had this to say:

"This government is trying but failing with dismal colours" (Interview with respondent 6, 2019).

Another relevant sentiment that dwellers seem to share about hostel redevelopment, pertains to the relaxation of some strict rules that prevent them from bringing their families to the hostels. Many men indicated that if the conditions in the hostel are improved, there would be need for the government to repeal some harsh conditions imposed by the Apartheid regime. This for them will not only improve family bonds but will also play a huge role in reducing prostitution, which is rampant in the informal settlement next to the hostel. This is what one respondent had to say:

> *'' (Kugcwele oMahosha lana ngemumva) the informal settlement at the back of the hostel is full of prostitutes, I guess hostel redevelopment might help in reducing the high levels of prostitution around the hostel" (Interview with respondent, 11, 2009).*

According to respondents who participated in this research, there are also contrasting views on whether dwellers should be paying for rent and infrastructure services for the redevelopment and maintenance of Wolhuter men's hostel. One of them argued that:

> *''People here have competing views; others are willing to pay for improvements and others are not. So, that on its own hinders redevelopment initiatives by our government'' (Interview with respondent 9, 2019).*

Other do not even see any reason why residents should play a leading role in the redevelopment of hostels. While those that acknowledged that for service delivery to improve, the user pays principle must be adopted, others still insist that the obligation lies with the government. These dwellers are disappointed that all that the government is good at, is making promises without doing much to improve the conditions within the hostels. One participant in the study had this to say:

> *"This government is full of empty promises – they are just busy politicking with our lives. If we had proper jobs we would not be here" (Interview with respondent 13, 2018).*

Another interesting perspective coming from residents is that they feel the blocks at the hostel have outlived their lifespan, and hence they need to be demolished and pave the way for the construction of new structures. For them, this is the one way by which everything, including conditions within the hostel, can be improved. Demolishing the old blocks will also pave the way for the excess population to be moved to other sites, thereby reducing overcrowding within the hostels. One respondent argued that:

> *''They must just renew everything here, starting from buildings, geysers, stoves (konke) everything – (baqale pansi) start over'' (Interview with respondent 15, 2019).*

The above profile of hostel dwellers attempted to capture the picture of experiences of residents, physical conditions, and social relations within Wolhuter hostel. This can help inform and understand different perspectives to hostel redevelopment from the perspective of hostel dwellers living in those conditions. Moreover, there is evidence that more should be done by government to make the hostel redevelopment programme an empowerment process in order to enable hostel dwellers to play a more influential role with regard to the development prospects, considering current government awareness programmes.

5.4 Administrative Perspectives by Government Officials

This sub-section unpacks the administrative perspectives gathered from government officials involved with hostel redevelopment in the three spheres of government. Firstly, the aim is to outline the different roles played by the various organisations involved in the redevelopment of hostels in Gauteng. Secondly, it highlights the main challenges, as well as factors hindering hostel redevelopment. Lastly, measures that the different organisations have put in place to deal with the challenges identified both by the dwellers and the government, are pointed out.

5.4.1 National Department of Human Settlements (NDHS) Perspectives

Overall, the Department of Human Settlement is responsible for policy formulation in relation to human settlements, and the funding of different human settlement programmes (Housing Code, 2009). In terms of roles and responsibilities of national government, the Deputy Director: National Human Settlements Policy who participated in this research, indicated that the department is responsible for setting overall national policy as well as continuous monitoring, and evaluation of policy implementation. She further highlights that:

> *"Apart from policy formulation, monitoring and evaluation, our department also plays a critical role in interpreting policy so that our stakeholders understand what we are trying to achieve. We normally undertake consultations with our key stakeholders before drafting these policies with the aim of addressing pertinent issues in the broad sector of human settlements." (Interview with Deputy Director, National Department of Human Settlements, 2019).*

However, drawing from the functions of the different spheres of government, the National Department of Human Settlement is not directly responsible for the implementation of human settlement programmes. The functions of programme implementation are delegated by the relevant Minister to his/her Provincial and Local government counterparts. In relation to the main duties of the national government, the Deputy Director had this to say:

> *"Our main role is to disburse funding for programme implementation to the relevant provinces, and municipalities. However, the current CRU Programme has its many challenges. It has been reported that the funding and / costing of refurbishing these hostels is too high, and the rental collection too low, hence the slow progress in the refurbishing and redevelopment of these historical hostels." (Interview with a Deputy Director of the National Department of Human Settlement, 2019).*

This suggest that while there is willingness by the national government to refurbish or redevelop historical hostels, the national department has a strong perception that efforts are hindered by the occupiers of the hostel themselves, as they do not pay rental. These sentiments suggest that in cases where a service is provided by the government, residents or recipients should pay for that service to ensure that it is well maintained.

To realise an understand of the status of old hostels in South Africa, the National Department of Human Settlements indicated that it has made numerous oversight visits to these hostels. Through these visits, they have identified that several challenges and conditions exist, which include overcrowding, cleanliness, access to services, social stress, and vulnerability. It is such realities that have informed the department's main intention of ensuring that they respond to the challenges of hostel dwellers nationally, by putting in place policies and programmes that focus on de-densification and converting hostels into adequate family residential units. However, apart from the non-payment

of rental by tenants, efforts to redevelop hostel by the government are also hindered by institutional instabilities at both local and provincial government levels. The official added that:

> *Among others, some of the main challenges are institutional instability, and political interference at provincial and local levels (Interview with Human Settlement Officials, 2019).*

With regard to political interference, what the officials highlighted was that there are instances where political parties of leaders attempt to claim glory for the success of hostel redevelopment, and to such a point that they use it to mobilise voters. There are also those cases where politicians use hostels as a political weapon, by encouraging their supporters to occupy hostels, or to refuse to pay rental.

As a proposed measure to some of the identified challenges, the official from the National Department pointed out this critical mitigation:

> *"From our side as National Government we need to ensure the we roll out of more structured programmes for implementation support that should be provided to provinces and municipalities in order to improve and upscale hostel redevelopment programmes at a national scale" (Interview with Deputy Director from the National Department of Human Settlement, 2019).*

From a national point of view, it is crucial that hostel dwellers' perspectives are considered in future policy reviews. While some may argue that national policy is clear in terms of its intent and objectives, challenges are only recognised during implementation. It is essential to address these challenges during the policy review process.

5.4.2 Gauteng Provincial Department of Human Settlements Perspectives

The provincial department is one of the leading role players in the implementation of the Community Residential Units and / or Hostel Redevelopment Programmes and projects for provincial stock falling under its management, like the Wolhuter hostel. Their functions include, among others, undertaking the following tasks: the overall coordination and management of the CRU, or Hostel Redevelopment Programme, as well as the financing of the programme, stakeholder engagement, project feasibility, project management, and the monitoring and evaluation of projects during capital construction.

The provincial department is very aware of the situation in hostels that have not been redeveloped, which in this case includes Wolhuter Hostel. This was confirmed by the Programme Director of the Gauteng Department of Human Settlements. In terms of challenges, he had the following to add:

> *"Hostels that have not been redeveloped or refurbished, face several challenges. This applies mainly to the hostels in the city of Johannesburg, especially within the Jeppestown area, which are highly congested, causing significant infrastructure challenges. This result in frequent services disruptions due to significant pressure caused by the uncontrolled and continuous congestion" (Interview with Programme Director, Gauteng Department of Human Settlements, 2019).*

He further expanded on the challenges by indicating that:

> *In most cases, you find different groups in these hostels with different interests based on their different needs at the time. As a result, it becomes difficult to deal with beneficiaries. This challenge is also coupled with misaligned planning processes between us and the metropolitan*

municipality for the provision of services (Interview with Provincial Director, Gauteng Provincial Department of Human Settlement, 2019).

The Gauteng Provincial Department of Human Settlement conceded that they are still overwhelmed by the challenges inherent in refurbishing the hostel, in spite of the measures they have put in place, suggesting that a lot still needs to be done. This is what the official had to add with respect to hostel challenges in general.

> *"Before refurbishment or redevelopment initiatives, hostel dwellers live in the decrepit buildings without paying any rent. When the place is refurbished, or redeveloped rental would be expected, and that has caused a lot of problems as tenants refuse to pay; in some cases, this has resulted in some units being left unoccupied, and subsequently vandalised. This has negatively impacted the process of Hostel Redevelopment" (Interview with Provincial Director of the Gauteng Provincial Department of Human Settlements, 2019).*

In respect to factors that hinder the redevelopment of hostels such as Wolhuter Hostel, the provincial department noted that this lies mainly at the implementation level. These factors include challenges in stakeholder engagement, and ineffective communication channels in dealing with gatekeepers who, in effect, disturb progress. This makes it difficult to reach consensus on a common development path. The official highlighted that:

> *"Coordinated planning for infrastructure provision and maintenance with the Johannesburg metro remains an ongoing improvement aspect. However, from our side we have appointed service providers who are responsible for cleaning and maintaining the overstretched infrastructure, while we are planning for the long-term redevelopment of Wolhuter hostel" (Interview with the Gauteng Programme Deputy Director of Human Settlements, 2019).*

In terms of proposed mitigation measures for some of the challenges highlighted, the provincial director indicated:

> *"We have significantly improved our communication and engagement processes, more so at the inception phase, and throughout the project life span. This has been done by conducting tenant audits, and socio-economic surveys. This gives us an indication of the socio-economic demographics for planning purposes to enable us to provide the correct housing solutions for different beneficiary circumstances. To deal with gatekeepers, we have established recognised structures of engagement through hostel indunas who are responsible for coordinating all communication with hostel residents" (Interview with Provincial Deputy Director, 2019).*

Communication and stakeholder engagement emerged as one the major stumbling blocks for the province in transforming hostels to community residential units (CRU). There appears to be a disconnect between hostel dwellers and provincial government officials regarding hostel redevelopment initiatives. It is, therefore, imperative for the provincial government to strengthen stakeholder engagement with hostel dwellers by ensuring that those who are not aware of development initiatives, are empowered to consumer education on the overall programme objectives.

5.4.3 City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality Perspectives

The Housing Department in the City of Johannesburg (COJ) has the administrative responsibility of managing, and maintaining public stock, including some hostels that they own and manage. However, their responsibility equally extends to providing infrastructure services to hostels that are owned by Gauteng Province within their municipal jurisdiction. As such, the COJ is committed to undertaking the

redevelopment of historic hostels to alleviate the overcrowding conditions through the provision of adequate rental units. A Project Manager from the COJ: Housing Department was interviewed for this research, and he had the following to say:

> *"As the City, we are mainly responsible for the assessment, planning and the provision of infrastructure to hostels within our area of jurisdiction. In cases where we own and manage the hostel, we are responsible for the implementation and management of rental stock once refurbished or converted into rental units through CRU subsidies granted by province. The Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) is our entity that was established by the city to assist the metro to fulfil this mandate" (Interview with Project Manager, COJ, 2019).*

Most of the historical hostels that COJ is responsible for are in Soweto Township. It is noted that it was only after democracy that these hostels started to experience high levels of in-migration. The situation resulted in overcrowding, as droves of migrants, largely from KwaZulu-Natal, sought cheap accommodation by cramping with relatives, or connections from their respective villages back home. The official of the City of Joburg noted similar challenges as those stated by the National and Provincial officials in respect of the experiences in hostels that have not been refurbished. He also added:

> *"We are responsible for the City Deep hostels, and for most in Soweto Township. I will talk to challenges we faced at City Deep, which was refurbished recently, as well as the Soweto Hostels. The first major challenge is on the selection of beneficiaries. There is a long list, since the hostel was overpopulated before the refurbishment. Residents complain about rentals, claiming that its high and that they cannot afford it. This impacts on collections for the management and maintenance of the hostel" (Interview with a project manager, CoJ, 2019).*

He went on to add this about challenges experienced in Soweto Hostels:

> *"The main challenge once hostels have been redeveloped is the persistent culture of non-payment, most hostel dwellers indicate that they cannot afford to pay rent which meant for undertaking maintenance and upkeep of the improved living area. If the place is not maintained it most probably will revert to its original state" (Interview with a project manager, CoJ, 2019).*

However, in this regard, it appears that recipients of refurbished hostels struggle to pay because they do not have money, or they cannot be paying for a service that is given for free to others, such as the case of RDP free housing. This challenge is further exacerbated by political pressure, which is rife at the local level. At the time of local government elections, many promises to transform challenging issues in townships are made by politicians, and when there is no change communities take matters into their own hands by invading, and vandalising projects meant for their benefit (interview with a project manager, CoJ, 2019).

Towards the end of the interview, the COJ official made it clear that while the programme of hostel redevelopment has good intentions, it was not sustainable in the long term because of lack of proper management, and maintenance. He had this to say:

> *"I think most of the hostels under our administration are operating at a loss, and the subsidy amount from province is not adequate to alleviate most of these factors that hinder hostel redevelopment" (Interview with a project manager, CoJ, 2019).*

The CoJ is facing serious challenges in trying to redevelop historic hostels, and these challenges are both institutional and operational in nature. Such challenges impact on the success and sustainability of the overall hostel redevelopment programme. However, the establishment of the Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO), and assuming the critical implementation agent role on behalf of the CoJ will improve the mammoth task of managing, and maintaining these converted single gender hostel compounds into affordable family rental units.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter unveiled empirical data on the socio-economic perspectives that prevail among hostel dwellers as well as government officials who are responsible for the redevelopment of hostels. From the evidence, similarities, contrasts, and nuances demonstrating the complexities associated with the redevelopment of hostels were identified. To summarise this chapter, I will reflect on some of the complexities that have emerged over and above the findings of this study:

5.4.1 A male-dominated and dirty living environment

There is enough evidence about the challenging living conditions of hostel dwellers from the findings. However, in present day South Africa, a male only and dirty living environment presents a social and cultural condition which requires further exploration. These socio-cultural conditions entail the thoughts, experiences, and feelings of those affected by such conditions. Black African man have strong socio-cultural backgrounds especially with their rural homeland connections. The hostel living environment is dirty and cramped, representing a serious contrast to the rural environment most male residents are accustomed too. Their social standing is quite different in hostels in comparison to that of a family orientated status in their rural homelands.

5.4.2 Politics of neglect

It was evident from the findings that hostel residents feel like outcasts within the broader urban area, even though they have constitutional rights to be there. Emerging reflections on the politics of neglect deal with rapid urbanisation, and the integration of the urban poor within cities. The current challenges of the lack of affordable or low-income rental opportunities in urban areas results in the continued overcapacity of hostels. Residents are left with no other choice but to be cramped up in hostels through their connections, while in search of socio-economic opportunities. Slow developmental responses to this challenge has created a lot of dissatisfaction, coupled with mass demonstrations by hostel residents. This is because they feel neglected, or socially excluded by authorities mandated to realise their constitutional rights and aspirations to access basic services, and adequate housing.

5.4.3 Overall governance and management of hostels.

In the South Africa context, service delivery at local level is affected by several issues, which, among others, include political instability and influence. This has a negative impact on the social dynamics of the different stakeholders involved in hostel redevelopment, resulting in institutional dysfunctionalities. Post democracy, the current governance and management systems of historical hostels in the country has effectively collapsed as compared to pre democracy. While it is expected that with the new dispensation things should be different, it is, however, not the case. Political interference through unfulfilled promises has negatively affected service delivery. This has reached a point where hostel dwellers as well as public officials have little faith in the current service delivery model, or system.

From these findings we have established a better understanding of the underlying socio-economic experiences, and emerging complexities of key stakeholders affected directly or indirectly by the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa.

CHAPTER 6

A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS ON PERSPECTIVES IN WOLHUTER HOSTEL

6. Introduction

Drawing from the findings of the previous chapter, prominent perspectives, and complexities have emerged. This chapter, therefore, seeks to analyse and interpret this qualitative data in relation to some of the concepts and world views unpacked in the literature review chapter. The presentation of the empirical evidence of this research will be methodically linked to the semi-structured interview guideline followed to gather data. This is with the main purpose of pointing out the emerging social relations and dynamics associated with the research objectives. Single-sex hostel accommodation with its identified social ills remains one of the human settlement challenges that persists in a post democratic South Africa. These identified social relations and complexities will be robustly interrogated to recommend ways that can contribute to the existing body of knowledge. All of this is done with the intention of responding to the complex and diverse needs and transforming living conditions of hostel dwellers in South Africa.

6.1 Prevalent concepts applicable to hostel living conditions in South Africa

Various scholars such as Wellner (2000), Dunne (2005) and Billson (2005) have argued based on different perspectives on hostels in South Africa. They argue that within these hostels there are prevalent conditions of diversity, marginalisation, and exclusion, which they claim are caused by weak national policy deficiencies. These concerns are for the provision of adequate housing, infrastructure services, and the lack of job opportunities. The ripple effect associated with these concepts is that they tend to exacerbate the socio-economic problems of the urban poor. Other scholars, such as Sampson and Wilson (1995), observed that contextual elements such as urban inequality, and marginalisation (exclusion and isolation) are largely responsible for the precarious living conditions that residents like those residing in Wolhuter hostel endure.

6.1.1 Making sense of the living conditions in Wolhuter Hostel

Scholars such as Pieri and Da Silva (1986), Minaar (1993) and Strauch (1996) have all made academic contributions on the historical development of hostels in South Africa. They argue that hostels are a result of migrant labour housing. Furthermore, they highlight the emergence of mining activities as the trigger to a demand for accommodation of a cheap migrant labour workforce. This migrant labour was mainly from the rural homelands, and neighbouring countries in the Southern African region Vadalankar (1993). As a result, migrant labour working in these mines was accommodated in hostels. To this day, single-sex hostels still exist, although current living conditions have worsened, like those of Wolhuter hostel as highlighted in the findings. Confirming this, a participant had this to say:

“There are about ten (10) of us living in this tiny room, it’s tough, but most of us were forced by circumstances to improve our own economic status and that of our families we provide for back (emakhaya) rural homelands’’ (Interview with participant 13, 2019).

It is clear from the theory and evidence that the main aim for the development of hostel accommodation was to provide temporary accommodation for migrant workers. This was done to control the influx of black African workers in urban areas, although in current terms the process of accessing hostel accommodation has changed from the past migrant system imposed by apartheid laws. Most of the younger respondents indicated that they came to reside in the hostel by joining family, relatives, and friends from their rural villages.

In broad terms, engagements with Wolhuter hostel dwellers confirmed that the status of same-sex hostels in Johannesburg that remain undeveloped, has worsened. Living conditions have become more inadequate over time due to the lack of basic services, and secure tenure. Increasingly, hostel dwellers are dissatisfied, and have become irritable with government's inability to improve their living conditions, which is the case in Wolhuter hostel. Demonstrating their dissatisfaction, Wolhuter hostel residents have on numerous occasions embarked on service delivery protests, and this even resulted in fatalities in some cases. Recently, and as widely reported on different on-line media platforms, some of these protests have at some point escalated to the targeting of foreign nationals. This has been widely reported by Simelane and Haffajee in the Daily Maverick (2019) as being xenophobic, especially around the broader Jeppestown area. On different occasions, residents in and around the broader Jeppestown area put the blame squarely on the failures of the national government's Department of Home Affairs to implement stringent immigration laws. Residents have a strong view that if government enforces immigration laws properly, it will protect job opportunities meant for South Africans. However, on response to some of these protests, politicians continue to make yet more promises that are difficult to fulfil, thereby wearing down the patience of hostel residents. To justify this, one participant had this had this to say:

> *"(Mfowethi sikhethele ilabantu ababuyele lapho beqhamuka khona) my brother we are sick and tired of these foreigners they must just go back to where they come from. As you can see, we are unemployed because they are taking our jobs while this government that we voted for is doing nothing to protect us as citizens of this country'' (Interview with participant 15, 2019).*

To support this view, through a media interview by Bheki Simelane and Ferial Haffajee, dated 2 September 2019, a respondent emphasised:

> *"(Mabahambe, sesikhathele!) – They must leave, we have had enough".*

As further reported in the online article, the above statement was made by the respondent during a "war cry from hundreds of men wielding huge sticks, pangas, knives, stones and other weapons as they combed the city of Johannesburg, looting shops, and damaging cars as they made their way from Jeppestown to Bree Street on Monday" (Simelane and Haffajee, 2019).

The above realities shared by residents of Wolhuter hostel in Jeppestown give us an indication of the dire and worsening living conditions currently experienced. These realities further entrench the stigma linked to hostel living in South Africa. The escalation of poverty, unemployment, and inequality levels among residents present critical socio-economic and cultural issues that need to be explored further to foster social cohesion among residents, authorities, and foreign nationals.

6.1.2 Unfolding Perspectives in Wolhuter Hostel

Ottmann and Pritchard (2010), and Mooney *et al*. (2007) have all made scholarly contributions to the concept of perspectives in general. These authors contend that perspectives are simply the way in which the world is observed through a set of assumptions that people make, or question about reality. The various perspectives on hostel redevelopment will be discussed briefly in line with what was gathered through the interview process in this study. Just like any other single-sex hostel in South Africa, gender disparities are at the forefront, coupled by the non-existence of the actual numbers of men living in these hostels (Benit-Gbaffou, and Matholo (2010)). All participants confirmed that Wolhuter hostel was an overpopulated living environment with an unaccounted number of males residing there. One participant had this striking comment to make:

"(Uyabona lana mfana kithi esemuzini wezinsizwa, angazi nokuthi sibangaki sonke sesiphele esihlala lana) – you see my brother this a male-only living environment. Its packed, I cannot even tell you how many of us in total reside here as men'' (Focus Group discussion,2019).

To support this perspective, another participant had this powerful statement to make:

"(Kona kuyihlazo ukuhlala endaweni enjena) you see my brother it is embarrassing to stay in dirty environment like this. It's even worse that there are no women to help us with the cleaning as you know men in general don't like cleaning" (Focus Group discussion,2019).

Clearly, the living conditions are difficult, and have worsened over time. Almost all respondents interviewed in Wolhuter hostel have expressed their displeasure with a dysfunctional hostel management system where the overall administrative order, and maintenance has totally collapsed. Other respondents went as far as to claim that their worsening living conditions are a result of the government's attempt to discourage people from residing in former single-sex hostels. One responded had this to say about the overall management of the hostel:

"(Uhulumeni usilahlile sihlala njengezingulube) we have been abandoned by the government authorities; I feel like they have deserted us. Before there use to be order, and hostels were properly managed. Today it is a different story, there is no order and people do as they please" (Interview with participant 15, 2019).

However, the views of government authorities are in contrast with those of the hostel dwellers. The provincial official had this to say about the status, and management of hostels in Gauteng:

"While there are notable challenges in these hostels, from our side we have appointed service providers responsible for cleaning and maintaining the overstretched infrastructure while we are planning for the long-term redevelopment Jeppestown hostel'' (Interview with Provincial Deputy Director, 2019).

One reasonable explanation for these contrasting views between hostel residents and government authorities, is that it is consistent with the findings of this study, namely that it borders on the politics of neglect, since hostel dwellers feel neglected by government authorities.

6.1.3 Socio-economic perspectives in Wolhuter Hostel

As observed from the research findings, the precarious living and housing conditions at Wolhuter men's hostel can be associated with socio-economic diversities such as poverty, and unemployment. This is largely the result of unequal, and distorted access to economic opportunities. All sixteen (16) participants of this study pointed out that the reason why they came to reside in Wolhuter hostel was to look for employment to improve their economic status. This is in line with arguments made by Scheepers (2010:161) who points out that, "ethnicity, and poverty" remain entrenched as a part of South African hostel living post the apartheid era. There is no doubt that ethnic and cultural intolerance impact negatively on the country's efforts to combat the high levels of abject poverty which by and large affect most hostel dwellers in the country.

In this study, there is also a correlation between migration patterns, and access to socio-econmic opportunities. This is important, since participants were asked to share their histories about how they came to reside in Wolhuter hostel. Many scholars have made contributions regarding the perpetual rural-urban divide, and its negative impact on South Africa. These arguments are made in the context

of collapsed socio-economic livelihoods at both rural, and urban ends. Most of the unemployed respondents in Wolhuter hostel indicated their struggles to gain formal employment in Johannesburg. One respondent had this to say:

> *"I came here to Gauteng to look for a job since there are not enough jobs back home in the rural homelands. I need to support my struggling family back home and that is why you see me residing in this hostel'' (Interview with participant 9, 2019).*

Other respondents in the focus group discussion also pointed out to the deterioration of subsistence agricultural production in the rural areas they had left behind in their rural homelands. This included farming, and herding cattle as a way of life. However, some respondents in the focus group indicated that this was also in decline, and they had to find new means of survival. So, as people migrate to unfamiliar living environments due to circumstances, they leave behind their old ways of life. These findings suggest that hostel dwellers from rural areas have had to adjust considerably to their new way of life in the hostel as compared to their previous rural lifestyle. In support of this perspective, one respondent had this to say:

> *"I was born and bred in Kwa-Nongoma, KZN were fairly ok at home when growing up, however, the situation changed drastically when my grandfather passed away. He had livestock and agricultural land, all of that disappeared when he passed on. I had to find new ways to provide for myself and kids. That's why I decided to come here and join relative to look for a job". (Interview with participant 12, 2019).*

Another responded had this to add to the topic:

> *"As things stand, I am stilling looking for a formal job, but nothing has come through yet. I have not lost hope yet. To keep myself busy I do odd jobs such as shop keeping in one of the spaza shops in this hostel just to survive. (Interview with participant 12, 2019).*

Perhaps these key emerging trends can account for the reason why most people who find themselves in desperate circumstances of poverty, like most hostel dwellers, feel that they have no other choice. Hence, they are forced to resort to unsatisfactory living conditions in pursuit of access to better opportunities. However, regardless of the undesirable living conditions in many single-sex hostels like Wolhuter, some hostel dwellers still resist moving from there to allow incremental redevelopment. In this study, a couple of respondents reasoned vehemently that they are not willing to relocate to alternative temporary accommodation to make way for the demolition and conversion of the hostel into community residential units, or family units. One of the respondents had this to say:

> *"(Ngizoyaphi vele ngoba lana angikhokhi) I have nowhere else to go, at least here in this hostel I don't have to pay any rent while I am looking for a formal job'' (Interview with participant 11).*

However, government authorities view this culture of non-payment as one of the contributing factors which prohibit the redevelopment of hostels. The national government official had the following to say on the subject:

"The government needs to strengthen consumer education to ensure that beneficiaries understand that rental payment needs to be paid and low-income earners will be charged less as they can't afford to pay a lot of money. There is a need to rework the costing of the unit as it is very high now and does

not yield to a better unit" (Interview with Deputy Director, National Department of Human Settlements, 2019).

The finding on the culture of non-payment for services rendered is another important emerging trend for further exploration. Hostel residents are not willing to pay for services but complain about poor service delivery in the hostel. Among the main reasons highlighted by the residents for their refusal to vacate, was the low service fee and in most cases no rent, coupled with the demand for space, and accommodation within a well-located area. The perpetuation of these diverse issues hinders efforts to reduce poverty, and economic exclusion among the poor, and marginalised hostel dwellers.

6.1.4 Perspectives on Diversities in Wolhuter Hostel

Wellner (2000) highlights that diversity represents a variety of individual variances, and resemblances that exist among individuals. These can include several and diverse human characteristics such as race, age, belief, citizenship, ethnicity, and gender, among others. It must be acknowledged that the concept of diversity is interrelated with characteristics that fall within the discipline of Sociology. Some of these characteristics, such as gender, will be unpacked from the sociological world views further on in this chapter. However, in this study the findings which are supported by existing literature indicate that most former single-sex hostels that have not been redeveloped at a national scale still face similar diversities, as outlined in the findings chapter.

In post-democratic South Africa, the race composition of hostel dwellers has not changed, and remains dominated by black Africans. However, the age dynamics have changed from what it used to be in the past; resident age in Wolhuter hostel has become much younger, falling within the youth category as defined by Statistics SA. This was derived from interviews conducted with most of the younger respondents who indicated they came to the hostels through their grandfathers, fathers and uncles who use to work in the surrounding factories in Johannesburg. Moreover, the ethnicity and citizenship have equally not changed; all respondents from Wolhuter hostel are from the Zulu ethnic group and are South African citizens. This is an interesting trend in terms of socio-cultural relations among different tribes. Looking at South Africa's history, tribalism remains a thorny issue in the process of reconciliation. To support this view, one respondent had this to say:

> *"Most of us residing in this hostel are of Zulu decent. Based on my knowledge, I only know of less than 5 people that are not of Zulu decent in this hostel. The only two individuals I have come across is one Shangaan (Tsonga) and Pedi (Sepedi) guys, but they have also learned to speak Zulu" (Interview with respondent 4, 2019).*

This emerging trend has serious implication in terms of dealing with tribalism, and its unintended consequences such as tensions, and stigma among different tribes in South Africa. To support this argument, William Gumede through his online article dated 09 May 2012, cautions of a new wave of "tribalism threatening to unravel South Africa's infant democracy". He further argues that this phenomenon threatens and destroys all socio-economic development advances that have been gained as a country. If this tribalism is not stopped decisively in its tracks, it will result in the eruption destructive ethnic violence as had happened in the past with black on black violence.

In the findings of this study, gender dynamics were clearly exposed, and emerged as one of the prominent trends that require further exploration. The South African constitution recognises and is explicit on gender equality in this country. Statistically, there are more women than men in in this country (Stats SA, 2017). It is, therefore, quite striking that we still have single-sex hostels today that

exclude certain genders. This is the case in Wolhuter hostel. To support this statement, one respondent had this to say:

> *"Women are not allowed inside this Hostel, if you want to socialise with them you, must do it outside the Hostel. There are strict rules to prevent them from entering the Hostel Blocks. It is impossible to even sneak them inside our rooms because we stay with elders, and the rooms are crowded anyway – so we socialise with them outside or follow them to their places'' (Interview with Participant 10, 2019).*

However, it is important to note that this exclusion does not apply to the female gender only. There are other interesting cases of women-only hostels, where males are excluded. A relevant example is the Helen Joseph Women's hostel in Alexandra Township, Gauteng. Several strides have been made by government to ensure gender equality and equal representation in most sectors of government, although this remains a challenge in single-sex hostels, and in access to housing. This holds especially for rural women who in some respects still struggle to attain security of tenure (Stats SA, 2017).

This study further confirmed an observation made by Ngidi (2011), that there are health risks associated with the migrant labour system of residing in hostels. Residents living in such circumstances encounter dreaded diseases, including, among others, diarrhoea, tuberculosis, HIV and AIDS. Since women are not allowed to socialise inside the hostel, men socialise with their partners or girlfriends outside in the surrounding informal settlements. As a result, seven (7) participants complained about the surrounding informal settlement next to the hostel precinct where younger women and children reside. Men socialise with women who are not allowed inside the hostel premises in these informal settlements. Residents indicated that the main problem is that prostitution is rife in this environment, and consequently it results in some of these epidemic diseases. While none of the participants interviewed in this research were asked any sensitive question on their health status, these diversities signify the stigma associated with such a hostile living environment, and which put women and children's health at risk.

Some participants could recall vividly that some of their roommates had been diagnosed with sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), diarrhoea, and TB in their lifetime. This is attributed to many factors, such as limited awareness, and inadequate health care facilities around the hostel. To support this, the Wits Reproductive Health and HIV Institute (2005) highlights that there are apparent high rates of HIV infection among migrant men in local single-sex hostels. They further add that generally, limited interventions had been initiated for this marginalised population, since single-sex hostels have long been considered no-go areas (Scorgie *et al*., 2017).

6.1.5 Marginalisation in Wolhuter Hostel

The concept of marginalisation is prominent in relation to the living conditions of Wolhuter hostel residents. Hence, it is imperative to engage with this concept at greater length in order to discuss the different perspectives of hostel redevelopment in South Africa. Scholars such as Singh (2003:02) maintain that marginalisation entails "the temporary state of having been put aside of living in relative isolation at the edge of a system (cultural, social political or economic)". While the development of Hostels in South Africa might have captured this argument on marginalisation, there is no denying that many black South Africans continue to reside in such living conditions even after twenty-six (26) years of democracy. The current and persistent reality questions the idea of temporality in marginalisation, as advanced by authors like Singh (2003). In supporting this argument, one respondent indicated the following:

"We are living in dump and neglected. We are just too overcrowded but what can we do. (Sizama impilo) we trying to survive (Siyabekezela) we persevere'' (Interview with respondent 7, 2019).

The idea of temporality can then be argued, based on the above respondent's perspective. It basically highlights that even though hostel residents feel marginalised, they do not have any other better choice. They are forced by circumstances to reside in the hostel while they wait for an opportunity to improve their economic status and improve their living conditions.

In contrast to the concept of diversity discussed in the sub-section above, marginalisation is a concept that cannot only be useful in understand the living conditions endured by those that reside in single-sex hostels like Wolhuter. It can also help us understand the complex dynamics that exist in the persistent migration patterns of young male South Africans. On one hand, hostels were originally designed for migrant male workers, and to drive profits of the emerging industries through exploitation of the work force. Then on the other hand, labour sending areas or homelands had to endure socio-economic hardships since those that were meant to provide for their families through working the land or subsistence farming, were forced to migrate to urban areas to work for survival. This argument is supported by scholars such as Mdunyelwa (2015), who highlights that migrant out-flows from rural homelands hampered rural economies, and their socio-economic development. For instance, KwaZulu-Natal is likely to have a weaker rural economy, since all sixteen (16) hostel dwellers interviewed for this study hail from that province and have left behind their families that they still largely provide for.

Scholars such as Bernt and Colini (2013) further argued that marginalisation holistically captures the situation and dynamics associated with single sex hostels in South Africa. These scholars outline three fundamentally different meanings, namely: underdevelopment, controlled oppression, and the lack of social cohesion. As such, one can understand that these different meanings are to a great extent associated with the socio-economic marginalisation of hostel dwellers in the South African context. This means, basically, that certain disadvantaged groups are excluded from socio-economic opportunities, and cannot participate in or benefit from development processes.

Moreover, some respondents attribute some of these marginalisation challenges to the government's slow response to improve their socio-economic conditions through creating enough sustainable jobs. To support this claim, one participant had this to say:

"Most of us who are here in this hostel came here looking for jobs. All we want are jobs and that is the main reason we are residing here. We all want stable jobs, and this government is not doing enough to create these jobs". (Interview with participant 15, 2019).

These claims by hostel dwellers resonate with what a journalist reported in 2016. Journalist Phala interviewed Mr Mngomezulu, a resident of Wolhuter Hostel, who stated vehemently that the regular suspension of basic services at the hostel was an attempt by government to shut down the hostel for good. Mr Mngomezulu believed that the government was doing this because their hostel was perceived to be a breeding ground of criminal activity for young migrant males hailing from the rural homelands. This statement is also supported by a participant, who said:

"We have heard many cases of muggings in the evening just outside the hostel, there by the informal settlements. I believe that young men who reside inside the hostels are responsible for this criminal behaviour because they want money to buy alcohol. They prey on drunk people who will be coming back from having a drinking spree" (Interview with Respondent 4, 2019).

As highlighted in the previous chapter, government officials responsible for the implementation, and oversight of the hostel redevelopment programmes, acknowledge the existence of harsh living conditions. However, they do point out progressive policies, and programmes put in place by government to gradually respond to the prevalent challenges. Despite these efforts by the South African government, progress to redevelop and transform single-sex hostels has been slow. This is after the Department of Human Settlements (2016) reported that approximately 29 837 hostel units had been redeveloped or refurbished in 2007.

6.2 Unravelling World Views from Different Disciplines on Hostels

The stigma of being a hostel resident is often associated with a hostile living environment and remains deep-rooted in most South African urban centres with historical hostels. Most of these hostels at a national scale still face many challenges associated with various social ills such as squalor, gender disparities, crime, and violence. There are various scholarly perspectives on hostel redevelopment from different disciplines in South Africa, such as: Urban Planning, Geography, Sociology and Anthropology. These will be discussed linking what was presented in the literature review chapter, with data gathered through the interview processes of this research.

6.2.1 Urban Planning Views on Hostels in South Africa

From an urban planning point of view, many scholars such as Marais (2005), and Mackay (1999), mainly focus on the impacts of apartheid and segregation regarding hostel accommodation in South Africa. Marais (2005) argues that apartheid legislation divided South Africa according to race and class. Looking at the current status of many hostels in South Africa, one can make a strong case that most, if not all, hostels in urban areas are predominantly occupied by black low-income Africans, whereas White and Indian races continue to reside in affluent suburbs. This confirms how apartheid legislation entrenched segregation according to race and class in urban areas, and rural homelands. To support this argument, Mackay (1999) makes an important contribution to this discussion as he further argues that apartheid laws did not only dictate where people could live, but also directly or indirectly contributed to a number of people having to reside in unacceptable conditions such as backyard shacks, informal settlements, and hostels. This contributed to the vicious cycle of poverty and inequality, which have further exacerbated the social ills of the poor.

The colonial migrant labour system, further entrenched by apartheid's planning laws, made it impossible for hostel residents to stay in hostels with their families, i.e., wives, husbands, partners, and children. These oppressive laws, which were not only meant to restrict and control the movements of black labour, resulted in several structural, and spatial deficiencies. These, unfortunately, remain deeply rooted in most South African cities. This observation is supported by authors such as Del Mistro and Hensher (2009), and Goodlard (1996). Despite persistent segregation according to race and class, most unemployed respondents from Wolhuter hostel are keen to transform their circumstances that were brought about by apartheid laws. Some of those without formal jobs who were interviewed have engaged in various informal activities, ranging from washing taxis to selling food and alcohol while waiting for a formal job solution. This is done with the intention of getting themselves out of the vicious cycle of poverty. It points to a need for radical reforms to transform these structural and spatial challenges that continue to persist despite progressive planning laws that seek to redress the imbalances of the past. Even though several strides have been made to transform these past spatial imbalances by the government post a democratic South Africa, most Wolhuter dwellers indicated that they had not experienced or noticed them. One participant had this to say:

"In as much as I support plans to redevelop this hostel, I am not aware of any government initiatives to try and improve living conditions in this hostel'' (Interview with respondent 9, 2019).

The above theoretical views highlight some interesting trends that still prevail today in relation to Wolhuter hostel dwellers. It is clear from the presented evidence that spatial disparities between the types of employment and housing inherited from apartheid, are still in existence. Firstly, the perpetual deprivation of socio-economic, and developmental opportunities in rural areas continues to force labour migrants to urban areas for them to pursue economic opportunities. Secondly, the spatial configuration of urban and rural areas still perpetuates segregation through divided settlements, according to race and class. Lastly, patterns of rapid urbanisation, and its negative impact on the urban poor persist. These are influenced by the perpetual political planning history that has not been completely undone. Urbanisation is a very critical factor within the context of this research study. Major cities, especially Johannesburg, are currently experiencing huge in-migration, attracting not only domestic economic migrants from rural parts of the country, but international migrants as well. In addition, there also is population growth that they must contend with, and all of this has spatial planning implications for human settlements development. It is, therefore, important to consider these urban planning trends in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa, since they encompass a variety of dynamic factors in the social, economic, and political spheres, that need to be accommodated in future urban planning trajectories

6.2.2 Geographical Views on Hostels in South Africa

The discipline of Urban Planning discussed in the sub-section above, and that of Geography are interrelated, since to a large extent they both deal with the spatial organisation of living spaces.. In this research, the key issue of migration pertaining to historical planning legislation, current trends, and its impact have been discussed at great length. The views from the geographical discipline on hostels in South Africa largely focus on migration and movement patterns of cheap migrant labour across the Southern African region. Therefore, the main aim here is to highlight emerging geographical trends, and their implications from the findings, which will then be linked again to the literature.

Authors such as Nyamjoh (2006), as well as Oucho and Crush (2001), have all made contributions to this discipline by looking at the impact of migration patterns, focusing on the geographical spread between urban and rural areas which necessitated the development of compounds, and hostels to accommodate secluded black African workers. To support this argument, all sixteen (16) respondents interviewed indicated that they originate from rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal and are in Gauteng province looking for employment. In relation to this, one participant stated the following:

"I completed Matric in 1999 and came to this hostel to look for job opportunities so I can be able to support my family back home in KZN. After matric I did minor courses such as call centre and logistics distribution courses but did not finish because, I found a job as a security guard" (Interview with Participant 8)

Other scholars such as Brettel and Hollifield (2000) who made contributions on migration, present a different argument: that migration is approached from various perspectives due to its complexity, and impacts on the structure of the black African family. Some of the fundamental elements of the negative impacts involve segregation, and dispossession of land. This involved forceful removal of black Africans from their ancestral land, forcing them to become migrant labour. The consequences

of this practice were dire, by confining and controlling the movement of the black African migrant work force between the predominantly white areas, and rural homelands.

Although restrictive measures such as influx laws, to control the movement of blacks from the homelands to urban areas during apartheid have been abolished, authors such as Ramphele (1993) observe that the procedures and processes to access a hostel bed remain in place up to today. This can be connected to the legacies of the migrant labour system, which represents geographical views on hostels in South Africa. In relation to this study, it was very interesting to observe that most of the respondents demonstrated their desire to continue maintaining ties with their rural villages of origin, hence they have even opted to leave their families behind in order to provide for them, and visit them on major calendar holidays. For example, most residents indicated that during Easter and Christmas holidays the hostel largely runs empty, since most residents go back home to their respective villages. The long-distance commuting between workplaces and homelands persist till this day. Hence, all sixteen (16) residents of Wolhuter hostel indicated that they still commute between Johannesburg and their places of origin in KwaZulu- Natal.

From these theoretical perspectives, a few trends in terms of current implications for hostel dwellers can be identified. It is important to note that people migrate due to economic, social, political, cultural, and environmental circumstances. Such circumstances or factors relate to what is commonly known as 'push or pull' factors. These are the influencers, or reasons that make people migrate to a different geographical area (Stats SA, 2018). Gauteng has remained the economic hub of South Africa since the discovery of gold, and mining activity more than a century ago. Today, the province has gradually diversified into various sectors that continue to contribute to the economy. To support this argument, all sixteen (16) respondents in this research indicated their struggles, which forced them to migrate to Gauteng. This is happening despite Gauteng having recently recorded a decline in the manufacturing industry, and the emergence of a services sector that includes professional businesses, or services such as banks, the construction industry, and other consumer services. The province remains, however, an attractive destination for many economic migrants from rural South Africa, and even Sub-Saharan Africa. A respondent supported this by stating:

> *"Our grandfathers, fathers and uncles were working (lana eGoli) here in Johannesburg so when we finished matric and couldn't find work in (emakhaya) back home in KwaZulu-Natal, we resorted to joining them in Johannesburg. So, they can assist us to look for formal work opportunities" (Interview with Participant 2, 2019).*

Based on the evidence, we can infer that hostels by and large remain the gateway for work for poor economic migrants. In the context of this study, Wolhuter hostel is the main entry point into the city through ethnic family connections from their rural villages. Firstly, the evidence confirms that hostels and surrounding places within the precinct remain transit places, by providing much needed temporary accommodation. This is supported by most of the hostel dwellers indicating that they ended up in hostels without any other alternative accommodation. Moreover, an overwhelming number of residents indicated they do not pay any rental in Wolhuter hostel, which is to their advantage since most are unemployed. Secondly, the current living conditions in Wolhuter hostel are associated with informality; a concept widely used to describe unplanned and / or unmanaged settlements with characteristics of social ills, as described in the findings chapter. Moreover, the surrounding spaces within the hostel precinct have been informally invaded. To support this point, most residents indicated that the informal settlement next to the hostel houses young women and children who are not allowed to stay inside the hostel. It is important, therefore, to understand, and consider all these critical trends when undertaking hostel redevelopment.

6.2.3 Sociological Views on hostels in South Africa

Views from the discipline of Sociology are important for this research to understand the of nature of hostels in South Africa if the prevalent social problems within hostels are to be unpacked. As previously indicated in subsection 6.1 addressing conceptual perspectives of this research, concepts and world views from the different disciplines are interrelated. Sociology is a vast discipline, covering a wide range of social issues such as age, culture, and gender, among others. All these social issues were addressed in the section on perspectives. Guided by the conceptual framework in the literature review, this sub-section will focus more attention on gender disparities as a cross-cutting theme in this research, and, lastly, highlight other emerging themes from the findings

As observed from literature, the historical foundations of hostels in South Africa were largely meant to accommodate single-sex migrant labour, as opposed to worker families. There is enough compelling evidence in literature that this had its own sociological implications for the family structure of black migrant labours, and the families left behind in homelands, who were largely women and children. All sixteen (16) respondents from Wolhuter hostel confirmed that women and children are not allowed to live in the hostel. Consequently, women and children have resorted to residing in informal settlements next to the hostel precinct. To confirm this, some respondents had this to say:

> *"Women are not allowed inside this Hostel, if you want to socialise with them you, must do it outside the Hostel. There are strict rules to prevent them from entering the Hostel Blocks. It is impossible to even sneak them inside our rooms because we stay with elders and the rooms are crowded anyway – so we socialise with them outside or follow them to their places'' (Interview with Participant 10, 2019).*

Another respondent added this striking statement:

> *"I am a grown man who has all kinds of needs, some of those cannot be fulfilled in this hostel since women are not allowed inside. This compels me to go outside to socialise with my women and see my kids" (Interview with Participant 14, 2019).*

These striking findings reveal the emerging trend of gender politics at play within Wolhuter hostel, which perpetuates gender-based discrimination and further entrenches gender inequality. It is surprising that even today there are still no-go areas for certain genders, like in this case where women are still not allowed to reside in the hostel. While the hostel dwellers tried to explain this by indicating factors of maintaining control and order amongst residents it is still concerning that after all apartheid laws in relation to single-sex hostels have been abolished, this phenomenon is still practiced. By this, I mean that both genders are prevented from exercising their personal freedoms because of past apartheid laws that still are enforced remotely. Interestingly, perspectives from government officials pointed towards progressive policies, and programmes aimed at addressing these gender disparities. This can be realised through the CRU programme, which aims to convert or redevelop these historical same-sex hostels into community residential units. Although some hostel dwellers are eager for change and reuniting with their families, point out that government programmes are too slow to respond to their socio-economic needs. One respondent had this to say:

> *"This government is full of empty promises – they are just busy politicking with our lives If we had proper jobs we would not be here" (Interview with respondent 13, 2018).*

These gender disparities are further elaborated on in depth by authors such as Segal (1991), Fildes (1997), and Lalloo (1998). Arguments advanced by these authors support the theory of structural

deficiencies caused by the segregation of gender in South African hostels, and / or employment compounds. In practical terms, these deficiencies made it impossible for hostel residents to stay with their families, i.e., wives, husbands, partners, and children. They had to leave their families behind, resulting in continued structural inequalities for the black African families. They further highlight that gender within the context of urban areas plays a significance role in terms of social relations. Nine (9) of the respondents indicated that they left their families, a wife or girlfriend and children at their place of origin in KwaZulu-Natal. Basically, this means that women and children continue to be left behind as economic dependants of their husbands working or seeking employment in the urban areas. This emphasises the historical view that black men in apartheid South Africa were the pre-supposed providers of labour, while women were regarded as reproducers of that labour (Lalloo, 1998).

The emerging themes of gender discrimination, and inequality paint a grim picture in terms of hostels that have not been transformed. These have a very negative affect on some important sociological issues, such as the concept of family. The evidence indicates that post a democratic South Africa gender inequality continues to aggravate the historical legacy of the destruction of the social fabric of the black family structure, since women and children continue to be left behind as economic dependents of their husbands working in urban areas. This, again, links back to social issues highlighted earlier. One of the prominent issues that come to mind is the increased poverty levels among women and children left behind in rural homelands as economic dependents of husbands and fathers working in urban areas and residing in same-sex hostels. This was confirmed by many respondents who indicated the following:

> *"(Ngilana ngizozama ukusebenzela umndeni wami nezingane zami) The reason I am here is to try and find means to support and / provide my family back home in the villages" (Interview with Participant 13, 2019)*

Thus, one can, make a claim that within a continuous societal class struggle, these different perspectives prevail, and sometimes result in conflict, which perpetuates the status quo of gender marginalisation, and gender exclusion.

6.2.4 Anthropological views on hostels in South Africa

As pointed out in the literature review, anthropological perspectives seek to explore human meanings in relation to culture, ethnicity, and tribal language in an area of habitation. Although there is an interrelation between sociology and anthropology in terms of social problems that are broad in nature, in the findings chapter, several interrelated social problems such as ethnicity, culture, tribalism and violence were identified, and discussed. In line with the conceptual framework for this research, the analysis will zoom onto ethnicity, and tribalism as critical emerging trends in Wolhuter hostel. This will be supplemented by other prominent themes that have emerged.

Thurman (1997) and Elder (2003) have written extensively on ethnic nationalism within South African hostels. The arguments they present in literature indicate that hostels in general have remained isolated from the broader society. This phenomenon entrenched the stigma that hostel dwellers are often in conflict with surrounding communities, or townships, mainly because hostels in general are associated with tribalism, and violence. Hostel dwellers retain strong links with their rural roots to preserve their rural bonds back home. This trend still prevails in the case study of Wolhuter hostel, where most young male job seekers are Zulus who resorted to hostel accommodation through their rural family bonds, and ethnic connections. To substantiate this statement one respondent had this to say:

"I am Zulu, coming from Umsinga in KwaZulu-Natal province, I came to reside in this hostel through my cousin. I am currently working as a security guard for a small security company" (Interview with Participant 5, 2019)

Undoubtedly, patriarchy and tradition has had an impact on social relations in the hostel living environment. This was observed in the case of Wolhuter hostel, where black women's inferior status in the hostel remains reinforced by African patriarchal and traditional norms that are observed to this day. To demonstrate this, all respondents in this research confirmed that they remain committed to their traditional, and cultural ways of living. They further indicated that they still uphold the old traditional rules of prohibiting women, and children inside the hostel. These findings present a very interesting anthropological perspective, which entrenches societal knowledge and beliefs, or way of life. Therefore, one can draw a conclusion that Africanist views are still dominant in Wolhuter hostel. Women and children are still subjected to old traditional patriarchal ways as subordinates to men, who are considered as head of the household.

Anthropological ways of living are still firmly entrenched by the declining number of the older generation in Wolhuter hostel, even though the younger generation still submit, and uphold the rules in respect of the older leadership group. An interesting comment was made by one younger resident in respect to this trend; he had this to say:

"The Induna (headman) is the most respected person here, my friend. He might look simple and harmless, but he commands a lot of authority and can decide your fate in as far as your stay in this hostel is concerned. He is very strict about disregarding visitors' rules, such as bringing women inside the hostels (Interview with respondent 9, 2019).

It was interesting to observe from the case study that most of the current occupants are no longer a group that occupied the hostels just towards the end of the apartheid era in the late 1980s, and early 1990s. Two older respondents reported that most of those that used to reside in the hostel during that era have since returned to their rural villages, while others outgrew the hostel and sought to reside elsewhere, although, the patriarchal and traditional practices remain firmly entrenched. Nonetheless, there seems to be some change with the younger group of males. Most of the younger respondents indicated their desire to acquire properties in the urban areas, and move their families from rural areas, while they maintain the linkages they have with their extended families or parents who still reside in the rural villages.

In terms of culture and socialisation, most respondents indicated very strongly that they still observe their traditional practices, and rituals. Even on weekends, they engage in traditional singing, and dancing as a way of socialising amongst themselves. Moreover, the hostel leader or headman (*induna*) also serves as a traditional, and spiritual healer to hostel dwellers. As argued by Madhusudan (2007), the interrelated disciplines of both Sociology and Anthropology help us understand the important aspects of human behaviour, and relationships in social life. On the negative side, most respondents (young and old) in this study complained about the high levels of alcohol abuse in Wolhuter hostel. As a result of readily available alcohol sold in almost every hostel passage, this has contributed to the escalation of rude behaviour, criminality, and violence. One respondent had this to say:

"These days there is too much drinking, almost all floors have people selling alcohol. It's just too easily available, which results in crime, fights and fatal incidents sometimes" (Interview with Participant 3, 2019).

Although some respondents attempted to justify this behaviour by claiming lack of employment opportunities, and residents passing free time, in my view, it is still not an excuse to violate the rights of others, based on your circumstances. Worldviews from the discipline of Anthropology on hostels has uncovered some critical ethnic, traditional, and even Africanist perspectives that often are not understood, or considered when pursuing human settlement, or undertaking development initiatives. It is critical for researchers to develop a critical awareness and understanding of the diverse circumstances that different people find themselves in a complex living environment like Wolhuter hostel.

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided an analysis, and interpretation of the qualitative data collected by the fieldwork. Primarily, the focus was to bring scholarly perspectives to bear on conversations with residents and government officials and the different conditions, and experiences encountered in hostel living, and redevelopment prospects, respectively. It was important to revisit different scholarly perspectives on hostels with the aim of revealing the different dynamics, and challenges experienced in single sex hostels in South Africa. The findings, and analysis have given us a better understanding of the diverse perspectives relating to individual experiences of living in hostel. At the heart of this analysis lies prominent trends that have equally emerged from the findings. These are briefly summarised below:

6.3.1 Negative image of hostels in the public's mind

The analysis recognises the existence of a negative image, or perception of hostels in the minds of the public at large. These perceptions cannot be denied and need to be confronted based on recent events that have transpired and reported. Xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals linked to elements of crime, and violence widely reported nationally were linked to hostel dwellers in the Jeppestown area. Interestingly, this is not the first time that hostels in Jeppestown have been called out or blamed for attacks associated with violence and looting. To make matters worse, Wolhuter hostel residents who participated in this research indicated their involvement, and their desire for foreign nationals to leave the country. Hence, the stigma of hostels as no-go areas filled with crime, and violence is further entrenched with the public.

6.3.2 Hostels serve as a social network resource

While the perception of hostels in the public eye draws an image of squalor living conditions associated with disorder, crime and violence, and empirical evidence has shown that for most hostel dwellers they serve as an important social network to access a variety of opportunities through a social support system, informed by relative connections. The collapse or non-existence of resources for survival in former tribal homelands has driven droves of young males to hostels via this family and connections support system.

6.3.3 Hostels as sanctuaries for transit dwellers

The interpretation of urban planning and geographical perspectives unveiled the migration patterns, and urbanisation complexities together with their impacts in a post democratic South Africa. Persistent socio-economic disparities between rural (push), and urban (pull) areas, sees droves of unemployed economic migrants opting for more affluent provinces like Gauteng to improve their economic status. Hostels, therefore, serve as sanctuaries for transit accommodation of these migrants. Modern cities need to consider implications for growth, and low-income rental accommodation when dealing with broader human settlement challenges.

6.3.4 South Africanist perspective on hostels

Interrelated concepts of Sociology and Anthropology such as ethnicity, culture, and tradition were all unpacked in this analysis. Interestingly, an Africanist perspective which is also related to these was uncovered. There is evidence from the findings that Wolhuter hostel dwellers continue to observe their African traditions, and ways of life, justifying the preservation and enforcement of cultural, and traditional norms. Some of these norms are deemed to be unconstitutional, since they unfairly treat, or exclude certain groups. As a researcher, I was able to understand the issues of patriarchy, and gender inequality that are still prevalent in South African hostels. In this case, it is the exclusion and marginalisation of a certain gender and group, in this case women and children, who are still perceived as subordinates of males culturally, and traditionally. This thought-provoking trend in context of constitutional prescripts still requires further exploration.

This analysis chapter has stressed the importance of improving living conditions in South African hostels. This can be achieved not only by focusing on the redevelopment processes, but equally through exploring approaches that broadly seek to redress the socio-economic challenges of hostel dwellers in general. It is against this backdrop that the last chapter will conclude this body of research by giving a summary of the research study, highlighting the key findings, and making recommendations for this research.

CHAPTER 7

TOWARDS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND INCLUSIVE APPROACH IN THE REDEVELOPMENT OF HOSTELS IN SOUTH AFRICA

7.1 Introduction

With the unfolding complex and diverse perspectives on the living conditions in hostels in South Africa, this study has revealed deep insights on several emerging issues for the planning, and redevelopment of hostels in general. It is without a doubt that the redevelopment and / or conversion of historical single-sex hostels into family residential units remains one of the major challenges facing the government, and its interrelated but independent spheres of government. An effective response to this challenge, therefore, requires a different approach, considering the underlying perspectives that are often neglected in the conventional mode of housing development. With the objectives of this study in mind, this chapter will begin by outlining the key findings by infusing the contending debates, and contributions, highlight limitations, and constraints, and then conclude by outlining recommendations for future research.

7.2 Summary of findings in relation to emerging themes

The main problem addressed in this study through several interrelated concepts, and world views from other disciplines are the socio-economic perspectives that hinder hostel redevelopment. In the previous chapter key themes emerged from the analysis, and interpretation of findings were outlined. This will give more insight in terms of the importance of these findings by linking it back to the research question, and sub-questions. The purpose of this is to contribute to the redevelopment of hostels within the future trajectory. Below, I highlight some major conclusions that have emerged from the analysis:

7.2.1 What are the prominent socio-economic perspectives that hinder hostel redevelopment?

From the basis of secondary data, similarities and comparisons were drawn from the various scholars on the subject but more important were the emerging additional concepts, and themes from the primary data that was gathered through the fieldwork. At the forefront, the empirical data on the socio-economic perspectives presents a key finding of the overall governance, and management of hostels by all affected stakeholders. This has raised a few additional concepts to get a deeper meaning, these are highlighted briefly below:

- **Governmentality**

  Hostels by virtue of their nature have their own way of life, encompassed by complex power relations, as observed in the findings. These range from the relationship dwellers have with a democratic government constitutionally obliged to address their needs but, more importantly, how they as dwellers govern themselves in those spaces. Firstly, the concept of governmentality gives us more insight in these power relations. Drawing from Rose *et al.* (2009), the term governmentality was initially introduced by Michel Foucault in 1970s during his exploration of power relations in society. The authors argue that in a broad sense governmentality is understood to mean to get meaning to make sense and manage human behaviour. Considering the power relations that exist in the management of hostels, this concept becomes important for understanding the different meanings of behaviour of affected stakeholders in terms of their roles, and responsibilities.

The hostel *induna* and his leadership committee have a role of power, and authority in the overall management of hostels. Not only are they responsible for determining who gains access to the hostel, they also maintain order. They are the link between government and the hostel dwellers in terms of their improvement of better living conditions. However, from the findings it was clear that they have no control over these power relations, since they have limited control over the actual numbers of people who enter and exit the hostel. This links back to the arguments presented by the concept of governmentality as it borders on subjectivity, and the autonomy of individuals within a democratic state.

- **Integration of marginal spaces**

The politics of neglect was another critical theme that emerged and was highlighted in the findings. In main, it bordered the critical issues of rapid urbanisation, and the integration of the urban poor within cities. Policy makers and implementers often view these informal marginal spaces as spaces that should be eradicated. However, in modern planning it is important to consider what these marginal spaces have to offer within the broader challenges of inequality, poverty, and unemployment, although hostels offer a place of sanctuary or transit accommodation in the midst of collapsing resources, planners and policy makers, therefore, need to consider the informal markets offered by these marginalised spaces, in order to leverage the relief it offers to the urban poor. As such, integrated development should be orientated towards improving sustainable livelihoods *within* the social functions that exist in these hostels.

7.2.2 What are the theoretical perspectives for understanding hostel redevelopment?

To answer this sub-question on the theoretical perspectives for the understanding of hostel redevelopment, several academic perspectives were presented by various scholars which were analysed and interpreted in the previous chapter. Some of the main theoretical findings were the following:

- **Empowerment of Social Groups**

As observed from this review of the literature, various authors such as Mothotoana (2011), and Mdunyelwa (2015), highlight the importance of a community-driven approach in hostel redevelopment. These include the hostel leaders and residents of the hostels, and even the broader neighbouring communities. As observed in literature, supplemented by the findings, the image of hostels in public opinion is a dirty male living environment. This is further compounded by views about the surrounding communities next to hostels, that regard the living environment view as a refuge or hiding place for criminals. Clearly, nothing much has been done to strengthen the cohesion among these communities. This, therefore, highlights a critical concept of empowerment, which in this context basically entails providing critical knowledge to the broader communities to foster social cohesion. In support of this concept of empowerment, Rust and Rubenstein (1996) emphasise 'development orientation' and its importance for achieving the objectives of the hostel redevelopment programme.

In comparison with other geographical areas of this study, Mdunyelwa (2015) observed the implementation of the hostel redevelopment programme in Cape Town. The author points to the effectiveness of establishing local structures. These local structures, he expands, were meant to foster the empowerment of social groups. The main responsibility is to ensure inclusive participation in the planning, and design of hostels for redevelopment. The composition of these structures included the province, municipality, hostel residents, neighbouring communities, and other interest groups, formerly known as "Local Negotiating Groups" (Mdunyelwa, 2015:54).

Rahman (1993) equally highlights the importance of mobilisation through social interaction. The positive spin-off of this type of mobilisation is that participants gain a sense of ownership, and self-reliance in community development processes. In other words, when social groups oversee their own development initiatives, it makes it easier for them to own the intended outcomes. We can, therefore, deduce that adopting such strategies does not only improve meaningful participation, but ensures that affected social groups are empowered in development processes.

- **Gender Relations**

Both the empirical and scholarly evidence has revealed that there are deep gender disparities associated with hostel living. These are also associated with the anthropological and traditional ways of living, as outlined in the findings. Despite advancements to improve gender relations, especially those towards women, things have not changed within the hostel environment. Women and children are still seen as subordinate to their male counterparts. They are regarded as being lower in the hierarchy of power relations.

7.2.3 What are the perspectives of government in respect of hostel redevelopment?

Although the concept of governmentality has been addressed above, its meaning is acknowledged as being broad, and will not be repeated in answering this question. The findings from the analysis of government perspectives drawn from the different respondents of the various spheres highlight the emerging theme of institutionalisation, and its effectiveness in driving an effective hostel redevelopment programme:

- **Operationalisation of Institutional and Participatory Framework**

From the findings, all government respondents agreed that, in general, hostels exist within a highly complex and diverse environment which has an impact not only on communities residing there, but on government as well. While the roles and responsibilities of the different spheres of government are clearly defined, the institutionalisation of the implementation is often muddy. The national government's responsibility is to set the policy framework, whereas the implementation happens in the provincial and local spheres, where the complexities, and diversities are often experienced. Municipalities are at the forefront of communities, and, thus, bear the brunt of service delivery protests, and revolts as presented in the findings. Scholars such as Marais and Mokoena (2007), highlight that municipalities have raised several intergovernmental challenges in relation to the administration, and implementation of hostel redevelopment programmes. They argue that these are often allocated on an *ad hoc* basis, which consequentially limits them in delivering on their operational plans. Therefore, in order to navigate through these complexities and diversities it requires for the effective operationalisation of existing institutional, and participatory frameworks.

Conversely, Pienaar and Cloete (2005:61) argue that government should "adopt a more flexible approach towards redeveloping hostels". They point out that this approach should integrate different housing subsidy instruments in a participatory manner. The current institutional processes between the different stakeholders (province, municipality, and communities) are marked by several challenges, such as lack of transparency, and ineffective joint multi-year development planning (Marais and Mokoena, 2007). One proposal that can be pursued for adopting a flexible strategy, is through the development of an operational mechanism incorporating all stakeholders (province, municipality, and communities) for the purposes of subsidy, and allocations management. Lastly, the depositions of Marais and Mokoena (2007) highlight the importance of involving all stakeholders in the negotiations and allocations process

of subsidies to eliminate confusion, and to provide transparency. Such an approach is envisaged to result in more transparent processes, joint planning among stakeholders, and more importantly, negotiated outcomes.

7.2.4 What are the perspectives of hostel dwellers about the redevelopment of hostels?

The results of this study have unpacked these perspectives sufficiently in analysis, and interpretation. A few questions remain, though, from one of the prominent emerging themes of social infrastructure linked to social networks, and that of obscurity:

- **Understanding the importance of social infrastructure**

While most of the complex and diverse social issues were revealed, it is important to explore some of the underlying elements of social infrastructure as the main reasons for people residing in hostels. Social infrastructure can be broadly understood to be a variable of social facilities or amenities provided to a certain community. In this context, the meaning encompasses the softer human issues that often are neglected, as exposed in the Sociological and Anthropological world views in the analysis. To support this argument, Graser and Leanage (2017) define social infrastructure as an understanding of social attitudes, and beliefs. As observed in the analysis, there is enough evidence of what I will loosely term people infrastructure. This is done about all the social connections that exist and serve to bring people to live in hostels. Humanity is another concept that comes to mind when observing social infrastructure. In my understanding humanity, or *Ubuntu*, entails consideration and kindness shared among human beings. This was deeply exposed in the findings, and my own observation as another emerging theme of social infrastructure that exists in the hostel environment.

- **A sense of obscurity**

It is important to consider the underlying reasons over and above the common reasons highlighted by hostel dwellers themselves. Obscurity is another term that has emerged in this study. In dictionary terms obscurity defined as he a state of being unknown, unnoticeable, or considered unimportant. As observed from the finding's hostels are generally isolated from the broader society. South Africa is a developing country is confronted by several challenges such as poverty, inequality, and employment. While most of the respondents migrated to reside in hostels due to these challenges, it was interesting to observe that for some staying in the hostel ensured peace of mind and a place of refuge. The respondents who expanded in their interviews gave me more insight on the some of the underlying reasons that make them to reside in hostels. One respondent who expanded said the following:

> *"Look back home in the villages there are no jobs and I have kids, it's very hard for a man not to be able to provide for their kids even when you want to but cannot due to unavailability of resources. Yes, I came here to look for a job, but you know staying at this hostel equally offers me peace of mind, I am away from all the troubles I cannot manage back home (ukucelwa ngisho imali yesinkwa ungenayo) being asked for bread money when you don't even have it.*

The quotation above gives us an indication of the obscure nature of the lifestyle that hostel dwellers are confronted with. Hostels are, therefore, more than transit places of young men looking for jobs, but a place of refuge to others with deeper personal issues.

7.2.5 To what extent do policy and programmes consider the socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa?

From the past socio-economic imbalances of colonialism and apartheid highlighted in literature, and to some extent the findings of the study, housing policy and programme foundations in post-apartheid South Africa were meant to "create an enabling environment in which the state supports and facilitates delivery of housing by the private sector" (Charlton and Kihato, 2006:225). The assumption was that the delivery model would encompass both a market and people-driven model. However, in my experience this has not been the case; much of the responsibility for low cost housing or subsidised housing still lies with government. There is minimal participation from the private sector. The responses from government officials indicate that government is continuously trying to improve policy development, and programmes to be responsive to inclusive housing needs. The following key issue have emerged from the results:

- **Impacts or Influences of policy and programmes**

Towards the advent of democracy, the Hostel Redevelopment Programme (HRP) was first established in 1991, after the introduction the National Housing Programme. Moloto (2015) argues that while its aim was to provide a subsidy allocation for hostel residents through conversion of bed-holds, the affected individuals had limited input in the implementation, and management of the subsidy by municipalities. Over time this was deemed to be unreasonable, as it also did not adequately address the broader issue of housing provision within the context of all hostels. Moloto further argues that the programme initially catered for municipal hostels (owned by local or public authorities), and did not consider the improvement of other hostels, including grey sector hostels. It was, therefore, seen as a municipal hostel subsidy that was not inclusive to all hostels in general *(ibid.*).

Although the fundamental policy and development principles introduced by the Housing White Paper (1994) remain relevant and guide all developments in respect of housing policy and implementation, a comprehensive review of the outcomes of government's housing programmes from 1994 to 2004 resulted in the introduction of the Comprehensive Plan for the Development of Sustainable Human Settlements (2004), a broad policy framework paving the way for significant policy, and strategy shifts. The Comprehensive Plan, also known as 'Breaking New Ground' (BNG), represents a policy adjustment that emphasised a shift away from the earlier narrow focus on the quantity of housing units provided, to transforming the delivery housing as a channel for achieving a set of wider socio-economic goals.

Through the commitment of creating human settlements, the delivery of housing is expected to improve the quality of life of the residential environment, promote integrated development, and reduce the high levels of poverty. The new policy framework was also intended to stimulate the residential property market with a premium on upgrading informal settlements by redirecting investment to poor communities. Nevertheless, despite these policy shifts the impact on the ground has been minimal. As highlighted in the findings, there is still resistance from hostel dwellers, and government officials continue to encounter such barriers. The hybrid to maintain sustainable livelihoods and provide adequate accommodation has not been achieved in the redevelopment processes. It is important to consider informal markets that people rely on to survive when redevelopment initiatives are undertaken.

7.2.6 What are the housing interventions that can be used to facilitate the different perspectives?

What also emerged from the findings, is that there is a constant under supply of adequate low-income rental accommodation, or opportunities. Most of the young men who migrate to big cities end up living in precarious conditions in hostels, or informal settlements. Those who have settled for longer periods in those sanctuaries or transit spaces have indicated their desire not to be moved from hostels to make way for redevelopment. This was attributed to a few factors such as, non-payment of rent, and disturbance of an informal livelihood.

- **Increase rental accommodation initiatives**

It has been widely reported that South Africa has good policies and programmes in place. However, the country lacks effective implementation and delivery of programmes. Drawing from to the Housing Code of 2009, the CRU programme provides a coherent framework that facilitates the provision of secure, stable rental tenure for lower income persons, or households. The main area of focus is different forms of existing public sector residential accommodation (hostels). Unlike the previous hostel programmes introduced earlier, the CRU programme grant funding is inclusive, and covers the following:

- *Public hostels that are owned by provincial departments and municipalities.*
- *Hostels that have both public and private ownership components due to historical reasons.*
- *Public housing stock that forms part of the "Enhanced Extended Discount Benefit Scheme" but which cannot be transferred to individual ownership, and has to be managed as rental accommodation by the public owner.*
- *Publicly owned rental stock developed after 1994; and*
- *Existing dysfunctional, abandoned, and/or distressed buildings in inner cities or township areas that have been taken over by a municipality, and funded through housing funds (National Housing Code, 2009)*

In addition to the above, the grant framework also accommodates capital funding for the development of new public rental housing stock, provided there is feasible and viable prospects to develop such new stock. Likewise, the CRU can be applied through or in conjunction with other housing programmes, such as the consolidation phase (people who have previously received a subsidy) of the Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme. A case in point is where there is a need to accommodate low income rental opportunities within an informal settlement upgrading project to accommodate those that do not qualify for ownership and seek to rent.

- **Strengthening and enhancing existing rental programmes in place**

Noting the progressive policies and programmes in place, it is important to acknowledge that they have not delivered at scale if the challenges highlighted above are considered. There are implementation challenges, and contestations from the different role players, necessitating the need for review and enhancement to improve. Moloto (2015) highlights that some of the challenges experienced in the implementation of the CRU programme range from the contested positions of individuals who prefer to own family units, as opposed to renting as well as future long-term capital maintenance costs. The success of low-income rental housing is largely dependent on the cooperation between tenant and landlord; the tenant must pay to occupy and maintain the overall community residential unit. The culture of non-payment remains a major obstacle. As seen in the findings, most hostel dwellers stay in hostels because they cannot afford or are unwilling to pay. This is supported by literature where evidence indicates that most beneficiaries of CRU fail to pay, or resist paying the rental income required for maintenance, and management of the units. Behrens *et al*. (1998), argue that to deal with the overall complexities

of managing and maintaining hostels post upgrading or redevelopment requires improved property management systems, and principles to enable government authorities (municipalities and provinces) to effectively and efficiently manage public stock.

The improvement of the property management system is a progressive suggestion. However, for it to work effectively it needs total buy-in from affected hostel dwellers, who are currently resisting it. Measures must be taken to ensure that social dynamic aspects are considered when improving policies, and programmes for the effective implementation of low- income rental opportunities. These must consider the social functions that exist. Most hostel dwellers rely on the social infrastructure as a resource to improve their economic status. Therefore, it requires that policy development encompasses these social aspects to improve implementation.

7.3 Limitations and Constraints to the Study

In conducting research, there are bound to be constraints, and limitations. As such, this was a qualitative study designed to investigate the socio-economic perspective in the redevelopment of hostels in South Africa. This was conducted through a case study of Wolhuter hostel, Jeppestown in Gauteng. In this study, there are areas that could have been improved upon in the research design stage. From the data gathered, analysis and interpreted there is one perspective missing. Firstly, gender relations came out prominently in the findings, and perhaps it would have been useful to get perspectives of women residing in the surrounding informal settlements next to the hostel. Most men indicated that they have relations with those women, who are not allowed to reside in the hostel. Women participants from the surrounding informal settlements would have developed another dimension and understanding of these perspectives.

Secondly, migration and its impact on both the rural and urban ends also turned out to be a prominent factor. Due to the narrowness of the study, perspectives on the impacts of migration were only gathered from the hostel dwellers, and none from the women remaining behind in rural homelands. Again, perspectives from those left behind would have provided a different dimension to the impacts, and effects of migration on both sides. Lastly, in terms of the applicability of the study to other geographical areas, while most hostels are in Gauteng, there may be limitations in the application of this study to rural provinces with hostels. This is mainly because migration dynamics in rural provinces are likely to differ from Gauteng, which has the highest numbers of in-migrants in the country.

7.4 Recommendations and Areas for Future Research

The above findings outline the effectiveness of this study. Previous studies on hostels have focused on the historical political violence, and more recently the impacts of the redevelopment programme post democracy. Exploring the underlying socio-economic perspectives in the redevelopment of hostels makes this study distinctive and contributes to the existing body of knowledge. While current policy and programmes emphasise community participation, in practice, they barely consider the importance of social networks as a resource for those in desperate situations. This study, therefore, contributes by providing the following recommendations:

- Planning legislation, housing policies and programmes should consider the incorporation of socio-economic approaches, with the focus on social resources, and networks, especially at the implementation stage.
- It proposes the introduction and strengthening of property management systems in low income rental programmes to improve and build the culture of paying for services rendered.

- The consideration of a hybrid model to maintain sustainable livelihoods (informal markets), while providing adequate low-income rental accommodation.
- The empowerment of social groups, and improving gender relations in hostels are advocated, with the intention of improving the conditions of vulnerable groups.
- Reforms of the policies and programme through adopting an approach for the inclusive socio-economic redevelopment of hostels in South Africa.

The study contributes to debates on issues that are identified as areas for future research. The sample size for this research was not representative of the broader population, especially neighbouring communities, and informal settlements surrounding the hostel precinct. Firstly, the high levels of in-migration to Gauteng have an impact on several variables outlined in the findings for human settlements planning, and the provision of adequate housing. Secondly, debates around isolation and marginalised spaces such as hostels also need to be explored further to ensure the principles of social integration. Thirdly, the impacts of urban decay, and gentrification as highlighted in Chapter 4 the profile of Wolhuter hostel, Jeppestown, should be investigated. Lastly, the debates around governmentality, and the power relations that exist between beneficiaries and the state can be explored further. These power relations are coupled with the internal power dynamics, and authority that exists in informal settlements and hostels.

There are several additional concepts and perspectives from various disciplines that have emerged from this research study. These necessitate a need for further research to broaden the debates, and contributions to the existing body of knowledge towards adopting a socially inclusive approach to redevelopment. The following are identified as areas for future research:

7.4.1 What are the negative impacts of urban decay and gentrification on the urban poor (hostel dwellers)?

In Chapter 4: the profile of Wolhuter hostel in Jeppestown the literature highlighted the negative impacts of urban decay, and gentrification on the urban poor, including residents of Wolhuter Hostel. In line with the government's urban regeneration strategies, the impact that these strategies may have is important for understanding in context the plight of hostel dwellers who cannot afford adequate low-income rentals while they search for employment. This can also be linked to some of the emerging themes from the urban planning discipline, such as rapid urbanisation and informality.

7.4.2 What does governmentality and its impacts entail for the urban poor?

The power relations that exist among the urban poor (hostel dwellers), coupled with their relationship with government officials, equally requires further investigation. To improve cooperation among the dwellers themselves, and their relationships with government, it can also be linked to one of the emerging trends from the study, that of the culture of non-payment for services, resulting in hindering redevelopment initiatives. Promises have been made to the voting public in general. This requires a new set of negotiations to reach compromises for service delivery to be conducted through effective institutional, and participatory frameworks for implementation.

7.4.3 What are the impacts of migration on women left behind in rural villages by their men in search of economic opportunities?

Migration patterns and its impacts on hostel dwellers were thoroughly unpacked in this study. However, a more representative sample that includes women left behind in rural villages, is needed. Moreover, this can be supplemented by those who chose to join their male partners, or husbands,

and reside in the surrounding informal settlements next to the hostel precinct, since they cannot reside inside the hostel. Linked to this question will be the nature of gender relations, as well the prevailing anthropological factors encompassing culture, tradition, and customs.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

This research study has revealed several theoretical and empirical issues on the living conditions in marginalised, and deprived housing areas such as hostels in South Africa. Complexities around the implementation challenges for the redevelopment of these areas were also explored resulting in the emergence of additional concepts, and views from various disciplines explored with an endeavour to make recommendations and identify critical areas for future research. In my opinion, this research study has implications stretching far beyond Gauteng province. Hostels and informal living areas continue to remain spaces of complex and diverse daily struggles. There is a perpetual disjuncture between the progressive policies that are in place, and their implementation on the ground. This study, therefore, has contributed to the debates and can be used as point of reference for further research on this subject, especially within the planning, and housing disciplines since programme implementation and reforms that seek to promote socio-economic and integration within our rural, and urban spaces are urgently required. Without a doubt, these proposed programme implementation reforms will require capable institutions that will partner with the affected communities to manage these complex issues.

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SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SCHEDULE / GUIDE

KEY COMPONENTS OF INTERVIEW	PARTICIPANTS / SAMPLE SIZE	QUESTIONS
1. INTRODUCTION / BACKGROUND - Greetings - Outline Research Objectives - Request for Signature of consent **2. QUESTIONS** - Start with direct (factual) questions - Not too many open ended questions - Probe where needed / necessary 3. **CLOSURE** - Additional comments - Inform of next steps - Thank participant	**SEGMENT 1 (Hostel Residents)** x16 Hostel Dwellers Age Range 18 – 65 Date and Time to be Confirmed	**1. Personal Background Question** 1.1 Please tell me about yourself, age, ethnicity 1.2 Where do you originally come from and family background / marital status / Children 1.3 What is your highest educational qualification? 1.4 Are you employed at the moment if so, what do you do and where? - If not working what are your means to survive? **2. Hostel Living Environment Questions** 2.1 For how long have you lived in this hostel? 2.2 How did you come to live in this hostel? 2.3 Have you lived in any other hostel before? If so which one? 2.4 Do you pay any rent to stay here? 2.5 How many of you are staying in the room? 2.6 How do you find living at this hostel? 2.7 Are there different ethnic groups staying at this hostel? If so which ones do you know of? 2.8 Is tradition and culture observed in living at this hostel? 2.9 How do you socialise at your spare time at this hostel? 2.10 Is there socialisation with different gender (women) at this hostel? 2.11 Are women and children allowed to stay in this hostel, if so what are the arrangements? 2.12 What are the levels of services at the hostel? 2.13 What would you say are the main challenges in living at this hostel? 2.14 Is there crime and violence in this hostel? 2.15 What is your general opinion of staying at this hostel?

KEY COMPONENTS OF INTERVIEW	PARTICIPANTS / SAMPLE SIZE	QUESTIONS
		3. Prospects for Hostel Redevelopment 3.1 Do you consider where you are currently living as an adequate living environment? 3.2 Are you aware of government programmes aimed at the redevelopment and refurbishment of hostels in South Africa 3.3 Have you considered other alternative living accommodation as opposed to this hostel? 3.4 Have you applied for any government housing subsidy before? If so where? 3.5 What do you think can be done to improve your current living environment? 3.6 Do you think government is responding appropriately to your needs as a hostel dweller? 3.7 What do you think are some of the factors that hinder the redevelopment / refurbishment of this hostel? 3.8 Generally what do you think can be done differently for hostel redevelopment?
	Segment 2 (Government Organisations) x1 Municipal Official x1 JOSHCO Official x1 Provincial Government x1 National Government	**1. Your organisation and its role in hostel redevelopment** 1.1 What is the role of your organisation in the redevelopment of hostels within your (*relevant org*) 1.2 What in your view are policy and programmatic issues with hostel redevelopment? 1.3 What are your perspectives on relationship dynamics between your organisation and hostel dwellers? **2. Status of Hostels** 2.1 What do you think are the main challenges facing hostels that have not been redeveloped or refurbished in Johannesburg / South Africa? 2.2 What measures has your organisation put in place to address some of these identified challenges?

KEY COMPONENTS OF INTERVIEW	PARTICIPANTS / SAMPLE SIZE	QUESTIONS
		2.3 What do you think your organisation can do differently to address challenges in hostels? **3. Views on factors that hinder hostel redevelopment** 3.1 What do you think are some of the factors that hinder the redevelopment / refurbishment of Hostels 3.2 Are there any further comments to any of the questions we have discussed?

QUALITATIVE DATA CODING (Segment 1: Hostel Dwellers) 16 Participants + Focus Group

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
Personal Background				
1. Sex	Male	16	Participant 10: "Women are not allowed inside this Hostel if you want to socialise with them you must do it outside the Hostel. There are strict rules to prevent them from entering the Hostel Blocks - It is impossible to even sneak them inside our rooms because stay with elders and the rooms are crowded anyway – so we socialise with them outside or follow them to their places''	**Gender Disparities** Jeepestown hostel like most other hostels in Gauteng province and City of Johannesburg is predominantly a male dominated environment – with women and children staying in surrounding informal settlements next to the hostel
	Female	0		
2. Age	18 – 35 yrs	10		**Age dynamics** 63% of the respondents interviewed were between the ages of 18 – 35 years falling within the category of youth
	35 – 50 yrs	4		
	50 + yrs	2		
3. Ethnicity	All 16 Participants who were interviewed individually and a focus group of 8 were Zulu	24	Participant 4: ''The majority of us staying in this Hostel are Zulus – based on my knowledge I think I only know of less than 10 people that are NOT of Zulu decent, the only two individuals I have come across is one Shangaan (Tsonga) and Pedi (Sepedi) guys but they speak Zulu"	The dominant perceptions about Hostels in and Johannesburg is that they are Zulu strongholds. Like the concept of Bantustans (Homelands), the apartheid government grouped hostel dwellers according to racial lines as a divide and rule tactic. This was also influenced by fighting influenced by political differences.

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			Participant 6: "Our Mkhulu's (grandfathers) and oBaba (fathers) who use to stay here were largely Zulus working in factories. We were separated from the other tribal groups because of political fighting and cultural differences" After three generations we Zulus are still dominant in most hostels around Johannesburg. Even though if you go to places like Thembisa you find hostels that are dominated by Basotho people like Sethokga"	
4. Place of Origin	KZN	16	''Most od us residing if not all of are Zulus from KwaZulu Natal"	**Migration and Hostels** As observed in literature various scholars point out that hostels are synonymous with the historical migrant labour system. However, even post a democratic south Africa scores of young people still migrate from rural KZN in search of economic opportunities in big cities like Johannesburg. Hostels through family and ethnic connections remain the gateway for these economic migrants.
	Other Provinces	0		
5. Level of Education	No Education	2	Participant 8 "I completed Matric in 1999 and came to the hostel	**Literacy and Education**
	High	9		

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
	Matric	4	to look for a job so I can be able to support my family back home in KZN. After matric I did minor courses – call centre and distribution but did not finish because I found a job as a security guard"	60% of the participants highest level of education is High School, with only 25% having completed matric.
	College / University	1		
6. Employment	Unemployed	9	Participant 15 "most of us who are here in this hostel came looking for jobs all we want are jobs and that is the main reason we are residing here – we all want stable jobs and this government is not doing enough to create these jobs" Participant 15 "Some of that are not survive through piece jobs at city deep – where we get paid 100 – 120 per day to offload containers – that is how I support my 4 children back home in the village" Participant 12 ''I wash taxis and cars (*ukuziphilisa)* in order to survive''	**''We are unemployed''** 56% of the participants interviewed have no formal employment and are looking for work. 31.3% have informal opportunities which are very unstable in and around the hostel – taxi drivers, shopkeepers, selling braaied meat and others as temporary labours in surrounding factories and construction sites.
	Formal Employment	2		
	Informal Employment	5		
Hostel Living Environment				
7. No of Years Residing in Hostel	0 - 5 Years	6		Most of the participants interviewed 44% have stayed in the hostel for 5 to 10 years
	5 – 10 Years	7		

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
	20 years +	3		whilst the 38% have been living in the hostel for 1 to 5 years. The older generation of participants including the Hostel Induna who's also a traditional healer has been residing in the hostel for over 20 years
8. Reason for coming to stay at hostel	Looking for employment	16	Participant 2"Our grandfathers, fathers and uncles were working (*lana eGoli)* here in Johannesburg so when we finish matric and can't find work in (*eThekwini)* Durban or other smaller towns in KZN we join them in Johannesburg, and they assist us to look for work" Participant 12, 2019 "I was born and bred in Kwa-Nongoma, KZN were fairly ok at home when growing up, however, the situation changed drastically when my grandfather passed away. He had livestock and agricultural land, all of that disappeared when he passed on. I had to find new ways to provide for myself and kids. That's why I decided to come here and join relative to look for a job".	**"We are all looking for jobs''** 100% of participants interviewed all indicated the main reason of coming to live in the hostel was to look for work / employment opportunities. Generations and generations have been joining family members in the hostel whilst in quest for employment opportunities.
	Other	0		

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			Participant 5 "I am Zulu, coming from Umsinga in KwaZulu Natal province, I came to reside in this hostel through my cousin. I am currently working as a security guard for a small security company" Participant 12 "As things stand, I am stilling looking for a formal job, but nothing has come through yet. I have not lost hope yet. To keep myself busy I do odd jobs such as shop keeping in one of the spaza shops in this hostel just to survive.	
9. Rent (payment)	Paying	0	Participant 7 "In the olden days when the Hostel administrators and officers were still around, we use to pay and the hostel was well managed and orderly – but when they left the culture of paying also disappeared, it started to be overcrowded and uncontrollable" Participant 11 "(Ngizoyaphi vele ngoba lana angikhokhi) I have nowhere else to go, at least here in this hostel I don't have to pay	**Culture of non-payment** Most participants were happy with the fact that they don't have to pay any rent at the hostel since they are unemployed although others as part of the focus group indicated they would not mind paying if the living conditions can be improved.
	Not Paying	16		

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			any rent while I am looking for a formal job''	
10. No of people staying in a room	4 - 5	1	Participant 11 ''These rooms were originally meant to accommodate 3 people however the situation has gotten out of hand and with most rooms occupied by at least 6 – 8 individuals sometimes even 10 which is not ideal at all'' Participant 11 ''There is no control here in this our room sometimes you do not know the people staying in the same room as you – people come and go sometimes you 6 the next day you are 8 and the following day even 12" Participant 13 "The living arrangements in our room are fine we all know each other and respect each other's small space – the six of us don't pay rent and	***(Simpintshene)* – we are cramped like sardines** In its current state the hostel is overcrowded with almost 70% of the rooms occupied by 6 to 8 individuals with 25% of the rooms having 8 plus individuals residing in in one room.
	6 – 8	11		
	8+	4		

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			combine the little cents we have for food and share the same pot" Participant 13 "There are about ten (10) of us living in this tiny room, it's tough but most of us were forced by circumstances to improve our own economic status and that of our families we provide for back (emakhaya) rural homelands''	
11. Experience of living in Hostel			Participant 9 ''For me its fine even though it looks like a neglected dirty dumb to you'' Participant 3 "These days there is too much drinking almost all floors have people selling alcohol – it's just too easily available which results in fights sometimes and fatal incidences" Participant 7 ''We are living in dump and neglected'' Participant 13 ''Life is generally hard here *senziwa ukuxakeka* its circumstances beyond our control that make us stay here"	**''We are just too overcrowded but what can we do *sizama impilo* we trying to survive''** ***Siyabekezela* – we persevere**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			Participant 13 ''There is no freedom here you always have to be considerate for the next person – you can't play your own radio – watch what you like when you like'' "(Uyabona lana mfana kithi esemuzini wezinsizwa, angazi nokuthi sibangaki sonke sesiphele esihlala lana) – you see my brother this a male only living environment. Its packed, I can't even tell you how many of us in total reside here as men'' (Focus Group discussion,2019) "(Kona kuyihlazo ukuhlala endaweni enjena) you see my brother it is embarrassing to stay in dirty environment like this. It's even worse that there are no women to help us with the cleaning as you know man don't like cleaning in general" (Focus Group discussion,2019)	
12. Level of services			Participant 15 "(Mfowethi sikhethele ilabantu ababuyele lapho beqhamuka khona) my brother we are sick and tired of	**"We have water and electricity but it's not reliable all the time"**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			these foreigners they must just go back to where they come from. As you can see, we are unemployed because they are taking our jobs while this government that we voted for is doing nothing to protect us as citizens of this country''	Almost all participants acknowledged the availability of water and electricity, however the reliability seemed to be a major problem with constant blockages, water cuts and tripping electricity due to capacity challenges as a result of overcrowding.
13. Socialisation in Hostel			Participant 5''There is cultural singing and dancing (*izinsizwa zishaya ingoma*) as well as stick fighting over the weekends even though the culture is slowly dying" Participant 3 ''Drinking in groups is the new norm here people from different geographical areas in KZN drink together Unongama one side Inkandla the other side – KZN is big and those from the same geographical area socialise together" Participant 14 "I am a grown man who has all kinds of needs, some of those cannot be fulfilled in this hostel since women are not allowed inside. This compels me to go outside in order to socialise	**We socialise in groups – I stick with those from my area or village just to be safe** Hostels have always been synonymous with ''*izimpi zegodi*'' battles and fights from neighbouring villages and extend to living in the hostel – to some extent these started by fighting over a girlfriends or even suspicion of ''*ukuthakatha*'' witchcraft…..

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			with my women and see my kids". Participant 13 "(Ngilana ngizozama ukusebenzela umndeni wami nezingane zami) The reason I am here is to try and find means to support and / provide my family back home in the villages"	
14. Crime and Violence			Focus Group Discussion ''Crime is rife here" ''It's even difficult to hang your clothes you must watch them otherwise they disappear'' ''even the area is dangerous and is well known that's its violent" ''People shoot each other here when they have quarrelled and sometimes its linked to taxi violence and izinkabi'' Participant 12 ''four years ago there use to be many police raids – to an extent that the main gate was closed because there were lots of stolen cars that were stripped here – there would be	**''What do you expect if most young people here do not work – there is bound to be criminal activity''**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			helicopters flying over the hostel looking for these cars -The gate was closed and opened some year ago there was a raid last week for stolen cars – I think they going to close it again'' Participant 13 ''One day I was sleeping and the police came un-announced in our room looking for guns – they just shook me soflty and asked where is the gun – unaware under my blanket tricked by police thinking its my friend and room mate I answered inside the mattress – *Hayi ngafa induku* Yoh they really dealt with me that day''	
15. Challenges of living in hostel			Focus Group Discussion 'sigcwele kakhulu lana'' Overcrowding ''kungcolile" it's a pigsty ''Unreliable services'' ''Crime and violence'' ''Imisebenzi abantu abasebenzi'' Jobs people are not working ''Utswala abantu baphuza kahkulu'' alcohol abuse	**Its just a situation of overcrowding unsafe and dirty living environment**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			''kugcwele oMahosha in these surrounding shacks'' prostitution is rife in surrounding shacks	
Prospects for Hostel Redevelopment				
16. Awareness of Government programmed aimed at improving living conditions Government responsive in improving living conditions			Participant 1 ''Government does not care about us, we feel neglected'' Participant 4 ''I know Government is trying but it's difficult because others here won't agree to pay'' Participant 9 ''I am not aware of any government initiatives to try and improve living conditions in this hostel'' Participant 1 ''*silahliwe lana''* we are dumped here Participant 4 ''Even when we lodge complains they will respond (*makuthanda bona*) in their own time	**This government is trying but failing with dismal colours**
17. What are some of the main hinderances for redevelopment?			Participant 9 ''People here have competing views others are willing to pay for improvements others are not so that on its own	**This government is full of empty promises – they are just busy politicking with our lives**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
Measure that can improve living conditions in hostel			hinders redevelopment initiatives by our government'' Participant 5''*Ayikho intuthuko* – there is just no progress here'' Participant 15 ''They must just renew everything here gysers, stoves (*konke*) – (*baqale pansi*) – start over''	**If we had proper jobs we would not be here**
Segment 2: Government Organisations				
1. Your organisation and its role in hostel redevelopment	National Department of Human Settlements Official	x1 (Female-Deputy Director)	• Policy formulation, maintenance and interpretation; • Funding of the CRU programme; • Continuous monitoring and evaluation of policy	
1.1 What in your view are policy and programmatic issues with hostel redevelopment?			• The funding and / costing of refurbishing these hostels is too high; • Misinterpretation in the implementation of policy	**The funding for redevelopment and refurbishment remains a concern**
1.2 What are your perspectives on relationship dynamics between your organisation and hostel dwellers?			• At national government we do not necessarily dealing with the day to day implementation of the programme. However, in our engagements with our provincial and municipal	**The culture of non-payment for services and improvements made to shelter**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			counterparts during policy review processes, they overwhelmingly give the same reasons. That most hostel dwellers live in these units (especially abandoned) without rental payment, as the units are refurbished - rental is expected and that has caused a lot of problems as tenants refuse to pay, in some cases this has resulted in evictions. • Generally, if a service is provided by government usually recipients of that service struggle to pay because they do not have money, or they can't be paying for a service that is given for free to others. But in some projects the relationship is good.	
2. Status of Hostels 2.1 What do you think are the main challenges facing hostels that have not been redeveloped or refurbished in			• From my own observations when undertaking oversight visits I have noted the following: overcrowding, cleanliness, access to services (water, electricity	**Lack of services** **Overcrowding**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
Johannesburg / South Africa?			proper sanitation), social stress and vulnerability.	
2.2 What measures has your organisation put in place to address some of these identified challenges?			• The main intention of the policies and programmes we have put in place is to ensure that we respond to the challenges of hostel dwellers nationally, through ensuring that they are de-densified and converted into adequate family residential units	
2.3 What do you think your organisation can do differently to address challenges in hostels?			• From our side as National Government we need to ensure the roll out of more structured programme implementation support should be provided to provinces and municipalities to improve and upscale hostel redevelopment programmes	
3. Views on factors that hinder hostel redevelopment				
3.1 What do you think are some of the factors that hinder the redevelopment / refurbishment of Hostels			• From my own observations I think that there is a lot of institutional instabilities both at local and provincial government levels. There	**Institutional instabilities** **Political interference**

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			seems to be political interference; fear of evictions if tenants is unable to pay rental when the unit is refurbished; fear of how the community will react to the proposed changes by the government;	
3.2 Are there any further comments to any of the questions we have discussed?			• The government needs to strengthen consumer education to ensure that beneficiaries understand that rental payment needs to paid and low-income earners will be charged less as they can't afford to pay a lot of money. There is a need to rework the costing of the unit as it is very high now and does not yield to a better unit.	
Provincial Participant				
1. Your organisation and its role in hostel redevelopment	Gauteng Provincial Department of Human Settlements Official	x1 Male – Deputy Director	• As a provincial department we one of the lead role players in the implementation of the Community Residential Units and / or Hostel redevelopment projects	

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			• This includes amongst others the following tasks: - overall coordination and management of the cru/ hostel programme programme - financing of programme - stakeholder engagement - projects management of project feasibility; and the monitoring and evaluation of - projects during capital construction and when falling under provincial (stock) management like Jeppe's-town Hostels.	
2. Status of Hostels				
2.1 What do you think are the main challenges facing hostels that have not been redeveloped or refurbished in Johannesburg / South Africa?			• Hostels that have not been redeveloped or refurbished face several challenges - The hostels in the city of Johannesburg especially Jeppestown area are highly congested causing a significant infrastructure challenge - Services are disrupted frequently due to	

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			insignificant pressure cause by the continuous congestion	
2.2 What measures has your organisation put in place to address some of these identified challenges?			• We have significantly improved our communication and engagement processes more so at the inception phase and throughout the project life span. This has been done through conducting tenant audits and socio-economic surveys. This gives us an indication of socio-economic demographics for planning purposes to enable us to provide the correct housing solutions for different beneficiary circumstances. • To deal with gatekeepers we have established recognised structures of engagement through hostel indunas who are responsibly for coordinating all communication with hostel residents.	

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
2.3 What do you think your organisation can do differently to address challenges in hostels?			• Coordinated planning for infrastructure provision and maintenance with the metro remains an ongoing improvement aspect. However, from our side we have appointed service providers responsible for cleaning and maintaining the overstretched infrastructure while we are planning for the long-term redevelopment Jeppestown hostel.	
3. Views on factors that hinder hostel redevelopment				
3.1 What do you think are some of the factors that hinder the redevelopment / refurbishment of Hostels			Whew! There are many at an implementation level I will highlight the ones that I think are major: • Stakeholder engagement and effective communication channels • Dealing with gate keepers who in effect affect the progress. Making it difficult in reaching consensus on a common development path. More often you find different groups in these hostels with different interests based on	

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			their different needs at the time. As a result, it becomes difficult dealing with beneficiaries. • Misaligned planning processes between ourselves and the metropolitan municipality for provision of services.	
3.2 Are there any further comments to any of the questions we have discussed?			I think I have covered most of what I needed to say in the previous questions.	
Municipal Participant				
1. Your organisation and its role in hostel redevelopment	City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality	X1 Male – Project Manager	I work for City of Johannesburg dealing with public stock which includes some hostels that we own and manage but our responsibility extends to hostels that are owned by Gauteng Province within our area of jurisdiction. As the City we are in the main responsible for the assessment, planning and the provision of infrastructure to hostels within our areas of jurisdiction.	

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			In cases where we own and manage the hostel, we are responsible for the implementation and management of rental stock once refurbished or converted into rental units through CRU subsidies granted by province. The Johannesburg Social Housing Company (Joshco) is our entity that assists in fulfilling this mandate.	
2. Status of Hostels				
2.1 What do you think are the main challenges facing hostels that have not been redeveloped or refurbished in Johannesburg / South Africa?			We are responsible for the City Deep hostels and some in Soweto. I will talk to challenges of City Deep Hostel which was refurbished some few years ago: - The fist major challenge the selection of beneficiaries there is a long list since the hostel was overpopulated before the refurbishment. - Rentals (residents complain on rentals claiming that its high and they cannot afford)	

QUESTIONS	PARTICIPANT	TALLY OF RESPONSES	DIRECT QUOTATIONS	EMERGING THEMES
			this impacts on collections for the management and maintenance of the hostel.	
3. Views on factors that hinder hostel redevelopment				
3.1 What do you think are some of the factors that hinder the redevelopment / refurbishment of Hostels			Whilst substantial work has been done in the hostels that fall under our jurisdiction and ownership has been undertaken, however, persistent challenges such as: overcrowding, poor maintenance, low rental collections remain. These make it difficult for council to achieve its objectives in terms of the hostel redevelopment programme.	
3.2 Are there any further comments to any of the questions we have discussed?			"I think most of the hostels under our administration are operating at a loss and the subsidy amount from province is not adequate to alleviate most of these factors that hinder hostel redevelopment''. '	'This makes the programme with good intentions unsustainable"