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THE ECONOMIC EVOLUTION OF A FORMER HOMELAND CAPITAL: THE CASE OF SIYABUSWA, KWANDEBELE.

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Research report submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, November 2015. The report is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning, Supervised by Professor Alison Todes.

DECLARATION

I, Jabulile G. Mahlangu, declare that this research is my own, unaided work submitted for the Bachelor of Science (with Honours) in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

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11 November 2015

ABSTRACT

Homelands, also known as Bantustans, played a significant role during apartheid to foster the vision of separate development set out by the apartheid government. As a result homeland small towns have inherited a legacy of spatial inequality in terms of being located far from social and economic opportunities. The study seeks to understand the current status of a former homeland capital, particularly investigating how it has economically evolved and survived over time in spite of its past condition. The study was conducted in Siyabuswa, Mpumalanga Province, a former homeland capital of KwaNdebele. In investigating how the former homeland capital has evolved the study interviewed 21 households that currently live in Siyabuswa, together with the LED manager and property managers of the township. It can be concluded that such places are experiencing declining populations and struggling to diversify their economic base. However the investment by government has significantly contributed to the survival of these places in addition to the social capital that exist in such places hence there are still people who reside there. It is important that homeland small towns are understood in their current context in order to implement appropriate policies that will assist in the development of former homeland towns. Recommendations have been provided indicating alternatives for which how such places can be better assisted in improving their status- quo.

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Contents

CHAPTER ONE: 8
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY 8
1.1 Background to the study 9
1.2 Problem Statement 10
1.3 Rationale 10
1.4 Research question 11
1.5 Key concepts of the study 11
1.6 Research methods 16
1.6.1 Type of research 16
1.7 Ethical considerations 18
1.8 Limitations of the study 18
1.9 Chapter Outline 19
CHAPTER TWO: OVERVIEW OF THELITERATURE ON FORMER HOMELAND SMALL TOWNS 20
2.1 Small towns in former homelands 21
2.2 Homeland small towns: Origins 22
2.3 Homeland small towns: Categories 24
2.4 The origins and debates about displaced settlements, hidden urbanities 28
CHAPTER THREE: 32
SIYABUSWA, THE PAST AND THE PRESENT 32
3.1 Introduction 33
3.2 History of the Ndebele ethnic group 33
3.2.1 Formation of theKwaNdebele homeland 34
3.2.2 Making a living in KwaNdebele 35
3.3 The current state of Siyabuswa 36
3.3.1 LED Policy and plans 41
3.3.1.1 Post-apartheid spatial planning policy frameworks 41
3.3.1.2 National and Provincial government 42
3.3.1.3 Local government 44
3.4 Findings from Statistical Data 45
3.4.1. Population movement trends 46
3.4.2 Population distribution 47

3.4.3 Economic profile 48
3.4.5 Economic growth 50
CHAPTER FOUR: CURRENT PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTS OF SIYABUSWA 54
4.1 Economic opportunities and challenges of residents 55
4.2 In-migration and out-migration in Siyabuswa 56
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND POLICY CONSIDERATIONS 59
5.1 Conclusions: 60
5.2 Recommendations 63
Reference List 65

LIST OF FIGURES

1Population trend in Siyabuswa: 1996-2011

2 Changes in employment and unemployment in Siyabuswa

3 Changes in employment and unemployment in Tshwane

LIST OF TABLES

1 Characteristics of homeland capitals

2 Settlement types of former homelands

3 KwaNdebele 'resettlement areas', 1980

4 Population distribution in Siyabuswa: 1996, 2001, 2011

5 GVA (R millions) per sector of Dr JS Moroka municipality

6 Employment per sector of Dr JS Moroka municipality

LIST OF MAPS

1 Locality of Siyabuswa

2 South African black homelands

3 Dr JS Moroka regional nodes

4 The 5 main sections of Siyabuswa

LIST OF IMAGES

1 University of Mpumalanga Teacher Education Campus

2 University of Mpumalanga Teacher Education Campus

3 CN Mahlangu FET College Campus

4 Siyabuswa Mall

5 Siyabuswa retail complex

6 Siyabuswa retail complex

7 Siyabuswa retail complex

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the study

Bantustans or homelands were areas established by the apartheid government around the mid-twentieth century. They were created under the premise of giving each ethnicity a chance to develop in their own territory in the country. However, it was merely a political strategy by the apartheid government to segregate the black population from the white population and prevent blacks from accessing the economic and social opportunities present in urban areas (Surplus People Project, 1983). The aim was that these areas would be given autonomy to be run as independent states and thus stripping blacks of their citizenship from the Republic of South Africa. In total, ten homelands were created and one of them was KwaNdebelewhere the Southern Ndebele ethnic group was expected to settle. Siyabuswa was the capital of the KwaNdebele Bantustan during the apartheid era from 1981 till 1988 until KwaMhlanga replaced it.

According to Butler et al. (1976) even though the homelands were given independence they were not given any resources to develop their local economies. This changed however after the 1980s whereby government implemented large projects aimed at homeland development to help sustain the areas. According to Chipkin et al. (2014) initiatives to develop these areas have been fostered by the state to make them more economically viable by setting up corporations that will attract 'white South Africa and foreign businesses' to these areas. Chipkin et al. (2014) further state that these initiatives significantly contributed in fostering a black middle class in former homeland areas.

Bantustans ceased to exist in 27 April 1994 and have been now incorporated into the 9 provinces in South Africa. Siyabuswa is now a rural township situated about 120 km north-east of Pretoria, which is the nearest city. It is located in the Mpumalanga Province with a population of 250 000 (CDE Research, 1998) and according to the CDE Research (1998:8) its key features are as follows:

- High unemployment rate, most people with jobs work in Pretoria.
- Residential services are relative good and nearly half (48%) of the residents own their homes and the rest (52%) are renting a site from a resident owner

- The town creates an impression of sunk investment and physical permanence, but of being bizarrely located in respect of economic activity

1.2 Problem Statement

Siyabuswa was a homeland and a capital of the KwaNdebele however that changed in 1980s as KwaMhlanga was given capital status. Current literature has not looked at how these changes impact and shape the economic development of such areas that once had capital status to now being just another former homeland area; as well as how such areas have managed to survive.



Map 1: Locality of Siyabuswa

1.3 Rationale

The issue is that such areas, the so-called 'dumping grounds' played a significant role in accommodating masses of the black population who experienced forced removals during apartheid however since post-apartheid there hasn't been any large emphasis or focus as to what should become of such areas. Despite this, some of the former homeland areas are still surviving and even witnessing increasing populations (Nhlapho, et al, 2011). Some of these

places seem to have adjusted on their own and developed their own kind of life-styles and economies that are working.

This study aims to contribute in terms of analysing what has become of these areas from an economic aspect. Furthermore the research aims to possibly introducing a new narrative; in contrast to the one that currently exist of former homelands as dumping grounds. It is acknowledged that such areas were once dumping grounds however they are now evolving into something else. This might require a change in direction in terms of interventions and policy recommendations to further develop their economies and enable the population to have access to better economic opportunities.

1.4 Research question

How has the area of Siyabuswa evolved economically in the context of its changing conditions?

Sub-questions

1. How did the change from capital and homeland status affect the economy?
2. How have the post-apartheid government policies at the national, provincial and local level improved the economic development of the area?
3. What is the economic status of the locality and what economic activities exist now?
4. What LED strategies/practices are in place?
5. What are the economic factors that are causing people to stay and move into the area?

1.5 Key concepts of the study

The following section focuses on the key concepts of the study that are required to provide context as to how they are being used and understood in the research report. There are three concepts that the report engages with, 'small towns', 'homeland capitals' and 'changing conditions. A brief definition and background will be provided on each of the concepts in relation to the South African context.

<u>Small towns</u>

According to Wessels (2012) the definition of the concept of a small town is not clear cut. This is because there is an acknowledgement that towns, just like cities, are constantly changing thus the concept of what a small town is subject to change. The Centre for Development and Enterprise Research (1996) state that areas with populations less than 50 000 are considered to be small towns however this is not absolute and thus there are exceptions. Furthermore it is difficult to generalize on the geographical and economic trends of South Africa's small towns due to the diversity of the type of small towns that exist and also because of the limited research that has been done on them (The Centre for Development and Enterprise Research, 1996)

According to CDE Research (1996) small towns are not prioritised for development by government because they are neither rural nor urban and thus considered to have no role to play in South Africa's space economy. This is considered to be a narrow view of small towns because the CDE Research (1996) continues to state that small towns have a significant role to play in the context of South Africa because of the following reasons:

- Small towns are located in areas with the greatest need, economically and socially, in the country.
- Small towns can play a significant role in promoting and assisting rural development.
- Small towns are already equipped with vital infrastructure and facilities which can be fully utilized.
- Development of small towns can be seen as an alternative place to reside in for people who want to move out of the city.

What is important to note is that in South Africa's context of segregated spatial planning various categories of small towns have emerged. Different small towns have experienced different development trajectories hence there are small towns that are thriving while others are going through a decline.

Homeland capitals

As will be discussed further on in the next chapter homeland capitals are a category of small towns in the context of South Africa. According to Goldman and Reynolds (2008) old homeland capitals can be defined according to the characteristics formulated in table 1. While this characterisation can be useful as a generic guide, it is also arbitrary and should not be considered as a 'blue print' for all former homeland capitals. Since different homeland capitals have followed different development trajectories so it is difficult to generalize.

Settlement type	**Scale and settlement characteristics**	**Economic Base**	**Institutional Context**
homeland capitals	• Limited formal suburban stock • formalised townships now extended with RDP housing and informal settlements	• A few are booming, but many are severe decline • A relatively small, but crucial elite population, in most cases employed in the public sector • Offers limited rates base. • Majority impoverished without land or urban economic livelihoods.	• Municipal capacity is stretched, institutional systems are often non-existent. • The urban councils are poorly equipped to deal with the complex urban-rural interface of districts.

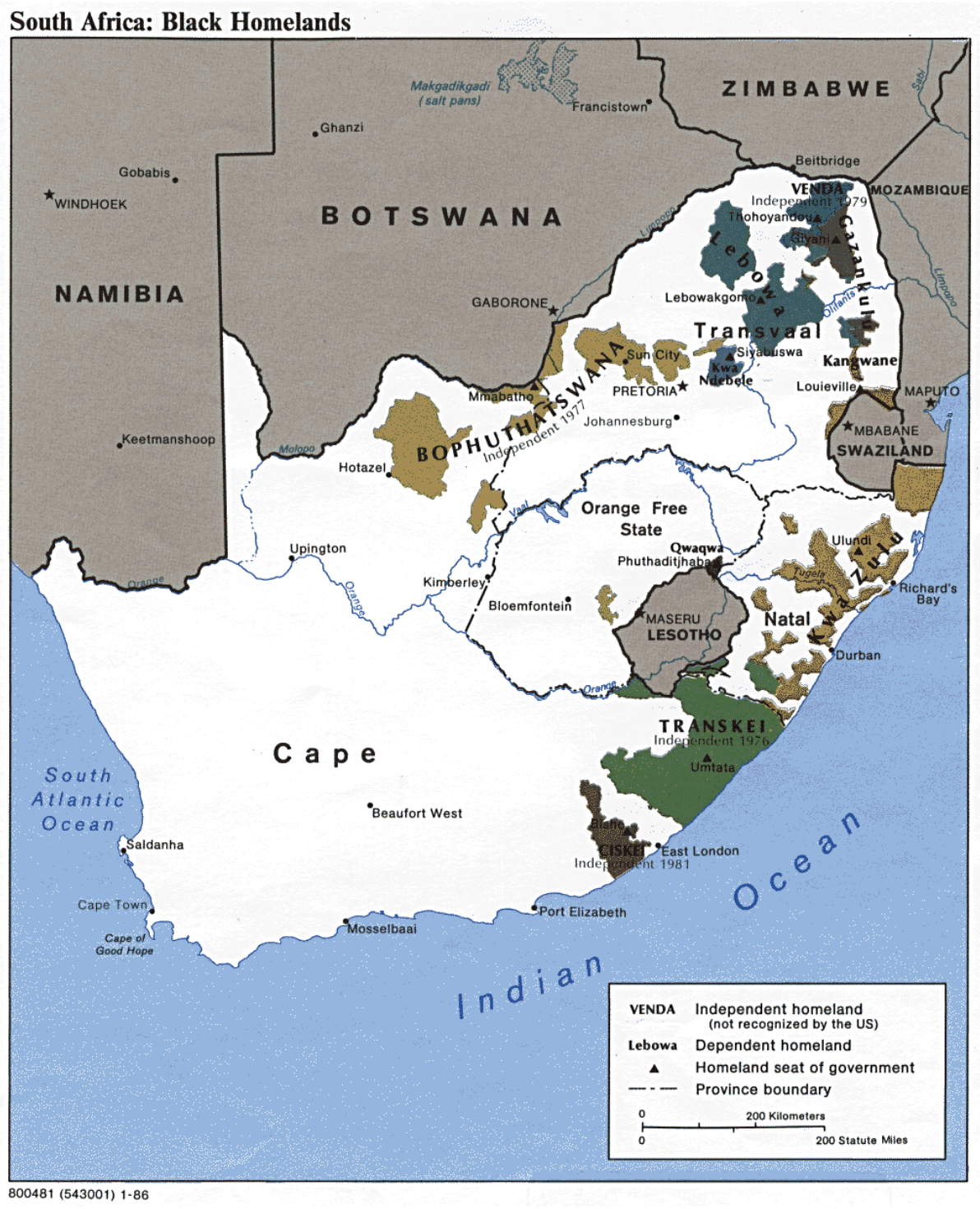
Table 1: Characteristics of homeland capitals (after Goldman and Reynolds, 2008)

Changing conditions

According to Rogerson (1995) the creation of former homeland/bantustans (Map 2) was part of the Verwoerdian project of forced removals. The map depicts the different homelands/Bantustans that were created in the apartheid era. It is interesting to note that none of the homelands were located the country's diamond-and-gold-producing areas (Bos, 2015) ensuring that the homelands could not thrive. This was to group populations according to their ethnicity in different parts of the country during apartheid (Beinart, 2012). Rogerson (1995) refers to these areas as "capitals in the veld" because they were artificially created and essentially became dumping grounds of the victims of forced removals. Rogerson (1995) further elaborates that to legitimize these areas the apartheid government attempted to provide homelands with an industrial base through programs of decentralization and growth planning to assist them in developing.

According to Beinart (2012) during the 1980s criticisms and the shortcomings of the decentralized strategy started to emerge. Main arguments were centred on the fact that these industries were not sustainable because of the failure to realize local linkages; the fact that majority of the job opportunities were low skilled and low waged jobs which lead to situations of "poverty in employment" (Rogerson, 1995: 116).

According to Nhlapho et al. (2011: 7) since 1995 former homeland towns have experience a "decline in services, infrastructure and economic activity" however the populations have steadily increased. Beinart (2015: 21) attributes this to the "interesting social, political and cultural continuities" that keep the people there. What Beinart (2015) is referring to here is the social capital that exist for residents living in former homeland areas, which is often not touched on in literature.



Map 2: South African black homelands (Bos, 2015).

1.6 Research methods

1.6.1 Type of research

This study will be using a case study as an empirical analysis to assist me in unpacking my research questions. Case studies "are qualitative in nature and aim to provide an in-depth description of a small number (less than 50) of cases" (Yin, 1994: 14). In terms of design classification case studies are empirical; make use of primary and existing data; the type of data ranges from numeric and textual and the researcher has low control in terms of the outcomes of the analysis.

Case studies address exploratory and descriptive research questions. Yin (1994) further elaborates that case studies are more likely to favour answering the "how" and "why" questions hence it was chosen as the appropriate strategy to unpack the research question. Furthermore quantitative data will be required to substantiate the qualitative data. Essentially, the report will take on a mixed method research approach which Creswell (2004) defines as the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches.

<u>Kind of information needed</u>

- Statistical information
- Maps
- Semi-structured interviews
- Documentary sources
- Archival records
- Electronic data

<u>Data needed</u>

- Population patterns
- GDP and GVA
- Demographics

- Employment data
    - How many people are employed
    - Income levels
    - Types of economic activity
- Government documents/policies

Data collection methods

- Census and Quantec data
- Municipality archives
- Interviews
    - Semi-structured interviews were conducted with relevant individuals from the local municipality, LED Manager and Senior Building Inspector to assist in getting a better understanding on the general economic status of the area.
    - A semi-structured interview was conducted with the ward councillor of the case study , to assist in acquiring information with regards to the reasons why people are moving into the area
    - Semi-structured personal interviews were conducted with household members living in the area, to assist in acquiring information with regards to, what are their economic activities and what are the economic factors that are causing them to stay in Siyabuswa.
        - I interviewed twenty households, I asked them how what how they feel about the area of Siyabuswa and the economic opportunities that it provides them.
        - The initial interviewees were selected based on social networks. These were individuals that I personally knew considering that I am from Siyabuswa. Interviewees were selected based on how well they know all activities of each household member. The interviewees were from

different age groups, but were all older than eighteen years of age, and had lived in Siyabuswa for longer than 5 years.

1.7 Ethical considerations

The research was conducted in accordance with the university code of ethics and standards through following the correct procedures when conducting research on human subjects. The research was conducted in a fair and unbiased manner; anonymity of interviewees was enforced for those who did not want their identities to be shared and no children, disabled people or people with confidential health issues were interviewed.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The research has a specific focus on the former homeland capital, Siyabuswa in KwaNdebele. There researcher acknowledges that there are a number of other former homeland capitals that could have been looked at however this study was limited to Siyabuswa. Thus the findings of this study should not be recognised as general for all former homeland capitals (further research can be done for other former homeland capitals); rather it is a finding on Siyabuswa.

Another limitation of the study pertains to the statistical data that is presented in the research. Data regarding the economics of Siyabuswa on its own was unavailable; consequently the research had to use data for the municipality as a whole to get an idea of what was happening in the area. Thus while the data assists in giving an indication of what is happening it is not entirely accurate. It would have been more beneficial to get statistical data only pertaining to Siyabuswa and not the municipality it is situated in to get more accurate data.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter One serves as an introduction to the study, motivating what is behind the study and its purpose. The chapter pays particular attention to the problems at hand. This is the part where the reader is introduced to the research question and sub-questions. A brief outline of the concepts of the study was done with the methodology to rationalise the use of the different data sources as well as to outline the ethical considerations.

Chapter Two provides a review of the literature. It will introduce the main debates, arguments and ideas on the subject matter. It will also highlight the research that has been done to date as well as the research and what its findings were. There will be an analysis and criticism of this literature in order to set up how my work is positioned in relation to the existing literature.

Chapter Three will provide more of an in-depth understanding of the case study. The geographical location and its history, demographics, population patterns, government policies (national, provincial and local level) will be discussed.

Chapter Four will discuss the findings obtained from the fieldwork as well as other material gathered. This information will be analysed and interpreted in relation to the research questions.

Chapter Five will sum up the essence of the research and provide some recommendations. It will also highlight what additional research can be done to further understand the topic of this study.

CHAPTER TWO: OVERVIEW OF THELITERATURE ON FORMER HOMELAND SMALL TOWNS

2.1 Small towns in former homelands

According to the CDE (1996) there are 500 small towns which accommodate about one tenth of the country's population yet national debates have kept silent in terms of the futures of these places. While the literature on small towns in South Africa is limited, literature on small towns in former homelands is even more limited. Small towns and former homelands are not all relocation settlements, some of them have been there already as centres of administration under earlier colonialism, e.g. Umtata, under the British colonial system, every magistrate district had a town and they ran those districts.

Homeland capitals are a category of small towns that are unique to South Africa subsequent to the apartheid spatial planning policies that were implemented in the 1950s. Many of these small towns have taken different development trajectories over time. The history of homeland capitals is complex and rarely documented. However the aim of this chapter is to present, an historical overview of the developments in research of the subject matter. The chapter covers the literature that exists on small towns in South Africa and small towns in former homelands in general.

There is not a lot of research done on the topic. The early 90s saw some research that challenged the narrative of former homelands. Paula Meth (2000) examined a rural area Bilanyoni located in KwaZulu Natal, which was established as a resettlement area during the 1960s and early 1970s in apartheid South Africa. The research explores the "contradictory reasons for relocation and movement" into the area that current literature on resettlement areas created under apartheid has not paid much attention to. In addition the Centre for Development and Enterprise in a report entitled *South Africa's 'discarded people' (1998): survival, adaptation and current challenges* conducted a detailed research on displaced urban settlements. The research investigates the policy issues raised by displaced urbanisation. These issues concern public investment and spatial planning in South Africa and whether such places are worthy of long-term public investment and to what extent.

The argument here is that there are gaps in the literature on former homeland towns in South Africa. The narrative that has developed about these areas is that of 'dumping grounds' or labour reserves for urban areas created by the apartheid government to prevent the black population from accessing better economic and social opportunities. Apart for the recent

study by the South African Cities Network, very little has been written or documented about former homeland towns, looking at how the narrative of such places changed or did not change post-apartheid. However what is clear from the studies is that each of these towns has taken a different development trajectory, and has its own unique characteristics that have contributed to their survival .

My focus will be centred around how a former homeland area, despite the lack of natural attractions or specific economic function has managed to survive and develop amidst its changing conditions. In addition to that, it will look at how such areas are being addressed in terms of national, provincial and local policy.

This is a unique case research, thus the aim is not to produce a general understanding of similar cases but focusing on this case and analysing it from an economic perspective will, add to the literature on these areas. The next section of the chapter will discuss the main theories, ideas, arguments and debates on the topic and how it has been understood over time.

2.2 Homeland small towns: Origins

According to Beinart (2012) the homeland system was practiced for 40 years during the apartheid period. Most homelands comprised a mixture of white-owned farming areas and small towns; while some even consisted of the peri-urban zones of the nearby urban centres. The general premise of homeland policy was to prevent African[1] urbanisation into the large urban centres and re-channel them behind homeland boundaries. The apartheid government wanted the African population to live outside the urban centres but still be able to use the labour force of the population. This large feat was attempted mainly through influx control laws and forced removals.

Considering that the locations of homelands were in the least economically viable spaces of the country, the apartheid government made provisions to make these places viable to live in. The most significant of these provisions were the commuter buses, subsides by government to lower costs, so that people can travel to and from the homeland and urban area.

[1]Black inhabitants of South Africa and Namibia (known then as South West Africa)

According to Kok and Geldeblom (1994) by the time homeland spatial policy had taken full effect South Africa's economy was going through a structural transformation. Prior to the 1970s 63% of the economically active population was employed in agriculture however that changed after the 1970s. Jobs in the agricultural sector fell to 33% and jobs in the secondary and service sector experienced an increase. South Africa was going through a structural transformation i.e. the move from being based in agriculture to more emphasis in services and secondary sector. This translated in more job opportunities being concentrated in towns and cities because that is where the economic base of the country was being located. Simultaneously accompanying the structural transformation was the forced removals of Africans from the 'white' towns, rural areas and white commercial farms due to capital intensification on the farms. These populations were forced to live in the homelands where the economic base was limited or non-existent. As a result inhabitants of homelands had no choice but to commute to the towns and cities for work.

One of the early works done on former homeland towns was by Centre of Development and Enterprise (1996) in a report documenting the developmental challenges and current understanding in literature of small towns locally and internationally. The study was a comprehensive one, and a question that was investigated was whether former homeland towns are merely welfare distribution centres. It used two case studies namely, Tugela Ferry located in KwaZulu-Natal and Keiskammahoek (Eastern Cape).

The reports came to the conclusion that homeland towns are located in the poorest parts of the country and thus are home to the most marginalized populations of South Africa. They are burdened by high unemployment and poverty levels. There is very little private investments because of the lack of comparative advantage thus the majority of them rely on support from the government and NGOs for employment and sustaining their livelihoods. According to the report the towns owe their survival to being centres of welfare distribution and any hope of turning them into anything else will yield futile results

According to Beinart (2012) while acknowledging the injustices caused by the establishment of homelands, the range of experiences in the former homelands is wide and not limited to the single narrative that is so often emphasised. It is worth remembering that homeland policy and the implementation thereof was not uniform. The homeland policy changed

through the years, unevenly and incompletely; furthermore only four of the homelands legally accepted independence. Beinart (2012) begins to illustrate the narrative that homelands were not passive settlements. Whilst being homelands they developed their own ways of governance, cultural identity, political movements that has made these places stand firm amongst its changing conditions. An example that can be used to further explain what Beinart (2012) is referring to, can be taken from my own personal experience as a resident of Siyabuswa.

Having lived in Siyabuswa for twenty years KwaNdebele is the only place I know of where I can practice my culture without question or fear of 'breaking' any laws. People living there understand the traditional ceremonies and practices that take place, if I were to move and live somewhere else I would have to leave a significant part of my identity. This is what Beinart (2012) begins to discuss. , places such as Siyabuswa have over time developed strong social, political and economic bonds and networks that are embedded in place so people do not want to remove themselves from that. What Beinart (2012) reveals to the reader is that the spatial consolidation of homelands was not a clear cut process. He begins to reveal that there is a large complex history attached to them.

The literature on how small towns in former homelands are being understood and theorised is slowly increasing, the following section will discuss the developments in literature.

2.3 Homeland small towns: Categories

According to Kok and Geldeblom (1994) there are four settlement types that are found in former homeland territories (Table 2). The authors further continue to state that closer settlements and homeland rural settlement types are often used inter-changeably as the difference between the two used to lie in land ownership. However the authors reveal that populations living in rural parts of homelands are less landless than people living in closer settlements.

Homeland Category	Characteristics
Homeland urban	Proclaimed towns (1) proper towns • Autonomous economic base e.g. Decentralized industries administrative seat • Example Butterworth (2) commuter towns/ dormitory towns • Labour provider for nearby urban areas • Established for African townships relocated from the urban areas to the homelands • Peri-urban category (lives within daily commuting distance from urban centres) • Example Umtata in Transkei, Mabopane
Homeland Fringe	• Informal settlements located within homeland boundaries that are as close as possible to urban centers due to influx control • Dependent on commuting income (peri-urban category) • Result of migration of inhabitants in rural homelands moving closer to the towns and forced removals from townships in white urban areas • Example Winterveld
Closer settlements	• Populations no longer have access to agricultural land • Populations consisted of farm laborers and those that were relocated from black spots
Homeland rural	• Agricultural settlements • Migrant labour and pensions a key source of income

Table 2. Settlement types of former homelands (Kokand Geldeblom, 1994)

Meth (2000) provides the understanding of the different forms of relocation settlements established between the 1950s and 1970s for people forcibly removed from various areas by the apartheid government. Meth (2000) states that there were three different types of these relocations settlements, namely the Group Areas Township, relocation townships and closer settlements. Group Areas townships were located just outside the white urban areas and reserved for the Indian and coloured populations that were removed from the white areas. Relocation settlements were reserved for the African populations and located within commuting distance to the white areas and provided with rudimental basic infrastructure. Closer settlements, also known as dumping grounds, were located within the Bantustans territories or the South African Bantu Trust land, far from the white urban areas. The locations had very little natural assets such as agricultural land or mineral resources and the people were expected to build their own houses. Such places are referred to as dumping grounds

which according to Meth (2000) are associated with "dispossession, trauma, desolation, bareness, scarcity, lack of facilities" (Meth 2000:230) and inhabitants sharing sentiments of having been abandoned by the state. According to Meth (2000) a general negative perception of such areas has been accepted precluding the possibility of progress and change from these areas and their residents.

According to Meth (2001) literature needs to diversify in terms of their conceptualisation of and narrative for relocation settlements. Meth (2001) argues that simply understanding former homeland areas as 'places where people were forcibly removed to' is inappropriate in terms of thinking about the futures of such places. This was further elaborated in the Centre for Development and Enterprise Research (1998) study.

Closer settlements

In investigating a closer settlement called Bilanyoni located in Northern Kwa-Zulu Natal, Meth (2000) discovers that the term 'dumping grounds' is a problematic one to describe such places because the actual reality of the inhabitants differs to the assumed reality that currently exist in literature on such places. Meth (2000) argues that there has been a lack of critical engagement about relocation settlements. A single narrative has been built about these settlements, as places where people were 'dumped' from forced removals from different areas, while there has been little attention given to the other alternative reasons of why people moved there or why they still live there. According to Meth (2000) while some of these alternative stories may be 'unremarkable' their exclusion from research results in a single narrative that might not be reflective of the actual reality. Meth (2000) begins to explore the notion that while the establishment of relocation settlements was to economically and politically disempower certain racial groups, the development and changes over time of these areas have accumulated other narratives that have not been told, narratives that might be contradictory with the predominate narrative of relocation settlements as 'dumping grounds'. She argues that there is some level of agency applied by residents of such areas which motivates their reasons for living in these areas even though that agency is practiced under restrictive conditions. Thus, it is important to acquire a better understanding of the dynamics of such areas.

Meth (2000) through her research noted that the reasons and realization of why people moved to Bilanyoni were various and complex but identified five reasons that were given by some of the residents that serve as the untold alternative histories of people living in relocation settlements. The reasons are as follows:

- For some residents Bilanyoni had amenities and possible job opportunities that did not exist in the rural hinterlands, thus they moved to Bilayoni to access these amenities and improve their standards of living;

- There are more basic services provided for free in Bilanyoni making the cost of living lower which does not consume a great chunk of their social grant incomes.

- There are more sites available in Bilanyoni than in other areas. Some residents indicated that while they did not want to live in Bilayoni it was the only place which they could afford which had sites available to occupy as other nearby townships are over-crowded.

- Some people cited “ancestral heritage” for their reason for staying while some residents had these ties prior to Bilanyoni being declared a relocation areas and not where they were relocated from as most literature would indicate. Some of residents’ family members and friends have been buried in Bilayoni thus they have developed an attachment to the area. For many it is their original home and forms a big part of their identities.

- For some residents Bilayoni serves as a place of ’refuge’ allowing them to escape from family difficulties. For many, particularly women, it was a place where their independence and freedom could be exercised because there were no cultural constraints imposed by a traditional authority or discrimination that might be faced by women

It can be concluded that there are various categories of homeland small towns that have had other origins, relocation settlements was a huge part of the origins story of some homeland small towns. Siyabuswa is an undocumented area, thus what we are dealing with in the case of Siyabuswa is a town that was a homeland capital and a relocation settlement and a place

of displaced urbanisation, even if it was not only these things it does have those characteristics.

2.4 The origins and debates about displaced settlements, hidden urbanities

There was this idea about former homeland being dumping grounds for the African population however is a bit more complex than that. So what are these places and how did people understand them?

Displaced urbanities

Marais et al. (2015) begins to reveal the displaced urbanities that were created by apartheid planning through channelled urbanisation. The aim of these settlements was to prevent the black populations from moving into the urban cores reserved for the white populations by locating these settlements within the Bantustans territories. As a result several homeland small towns were established; with some located at close proximity to the urban cores. This meant that the black populations could not live within the urban cores however they were located close enough to supply the urban cores with labour. What makes these settlements distinct is that their function was similar to those of historically black townships however they were located within homeland territories which were much further from the urban cores compared to the black townships.

In order to make these settlements viable the apartheid government provided subsidised buses to transport workers from the urban cores and back to their homes. Furthermore there was a development of growth points within the homelands through "decentralisation subsidies" to stimulate economic development but they only had limited success. Some of these displaced urbanities include (Marais, 2015: 4):

- Winterveld, Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa, linked to Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality
- Botshabelo, linked to MangauangMuniciplity
- Seshego in Polokwane
- Pietermariitzburg, Edendale, and Vulindlela
- Queenstown and Wittlesea
- King William's Town and Zwelitsha, Dimbaza

- East London and Mdantsane (Buffalo City)
- Durban (former homeland areas adjacent to Durban)
- Bushbuckridge
- Siyabuswa linked to Tshwane
- Mondo linked to Vryheid
- Loskop linked to Estcourt
- Grahamstown and Glenmore

Marais et al. (2015) has begun to touch on the points that my research will explore, however they are looking at different case studies, namely Botshabelo, Mdantsane (Buffalo City), Seshego and Winterveld.

The report revealed that while the post-apartheid policy framework is focused on rectifying the spatial issues that were caused by apartheid planning there is limited research that has gone into hidden urbanities which has resulted in inappropriate policy recommendations to transform such areas. The examples that the report give are that of the RDP programme; while the programme improves the quality of living of the people of these areas through infrastructure and housing improvements their poverty levels remain unchanged. This is because the economic opportunities are still far from where they live, raising the argument that programmes such as the RDP only reinforce spatial inequality rather than reduce it. This argument is further supported by the fact that there is still the existence of bus subsidies in some of these settlements which move people from their homes to the urban cores. The report brings forth the argument that in actual fact post-apartheid policies, particularly at a national level remain vague or non-existent with regards to what should be done with such settlements in the long-term. As a result such areas may remain nothing more than dormitory towns and labour pools. Furthermore the following was concluded by Centre of Development and Enterprise (1998) about the nature of these settlements:

- There is a large portion of people who plan on leaving, equally so there is a large portion of people who plan on staying for a significant period of time mainly because of the housing investments and assets that people have accumulated over time.
- The population is slowly increasing with people moving into such areas.

- The standards of living are better than those living in the rural hinterlands but far worse than those living in the urban cores.
- Dependency levels on government assistance remain significantly high.
- The travelling costs of people living in these areas are the highest amongst black workers in the whole of South Africa.
- Industries that had located in most of these areas have relocated or were experiencing a decline in occupancy rates after the incentives for decentralisation were taken away. However as reported by Marais et al. (2015) Botshabelo had 80% of their industrial stands occupied with enterprises but are experiencing declining overall employment and the occupancy rate is predicted to decline due to the pressure the global financial crises has created on these businesses.

Marais et al. (2015) reveals to us that while such settlements had been established around the same time for a similar purpose the way they have developed, more than 20 years after apartheid has not been the same. This supports the notion that such areas have different characteristics which have contributed to their change and survival post-apartheid.

Marais et al. (2015) aimed to reveal the dominant trends and the driving forces behind those trends in the four cases mentioned. The report revealed that although there has been significant investment by government, in terms of meeting basic service needs, the socio-economic profile of the people reveal that these areas remain deprived. Their deprivation is attributed to fact that they are located far from economic opportunities that exist in the urban cores. While experiencing locational deprivation there are still people who remain in these localities because of the assets and investments that they have accumulated there.As a result "the inhabitants of these settlements survive largely on an income derived from migrant labour, commuting and pensions." (Kok and Geldeblom, 1994:99)

Instead of people moving to urban areas, they choose to move to places where they could commute on a daily into the urban areas. Such places do not have the infrastructure and capacity to be called urban areas, but they are not rural either, thus they are stuck between the continuum of rural and urban. They have less of a dependence on agricultural activity but are located far from job opportunities. This is whereKok and Geldeblom (1994) introduced the concept of'displaced urbanisation'. Displaced urbanisation is when people chose to move to places where they could commute on a daily into the urban areas instead moving to urban

areas, they. They are stuck between the continuum of rural and urban because they have less of a dependence on agricultural activity but are located far from job opportunities.

According to CDE Research (1998) since the apartheid laws of influx control were abolished some people have moved out of the displaced urban areas however such areas are still experiencing steady population growth and few are even growing at a rapid rate. The reason for this is because conditions in such areas are better than that in rural areas and even in many small towns thus determining the future of these areas is not simple and definite. Therefore before questions of what kind of policy recommendations is required in such places there needs to be a better general and scientific understanding of displaced urbanisation. The authors came to realise that even the term 'displaced urban areas' was a crude label as this term did not apply comprehensively as a description for such areas. This indicates the complexity of the development trajectories that have occurred within different resettlement areas. It was assumed by the researchers of the report that these artificially created and induced areas are 'poverty traps' however the study revealed that such a conclusion was an oversimplification of the issue and thus an inappropriate concept to describe all resettlement areas.

CHAPTER THREE:

SIYABUSWA, THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter seeks to bring forth a more in-depth understanding of the case study, highlighting the historical events that have contributed to its emergence and shaped the current state. Firstly, a brief history of how the area emerged will be given, followed by statistical findings on the current state of the area in terms of its economic base including how national, provincial and local government has assisted the development of Siyabuswa. Thereafter the chapter will discuss the demographic trends of the area to highlight how the area has transformed over time.

3.2 History of the Ndebele ethnic group

The history of the Ndebele people is far too complex and rarely documented to be covered comprehensively in this section thus only an overview of the important events will be provided in order to gain a bit of context. According to South African History Online (2015) the Ndebele ethnic group has broken up into different versions (dialects spoken) of Ndebele since breaking off from the Zulu Nguni group. There are three main groups of Ndebele, however the Ndzundza group (Southern Transvaal Ndebele) are considered to be the main representative of the Ndebele ethnic group and the ethnic categorisation under which the KwaNdebele homeland was formed (Magybane, 2005). For this reason the historical events discussed in this chapter will predominately revolve around the Ndzundzagroup.

Magybane (2005) further elaborates that the 1840s saw an increasing number of Boers migrating to the Highveld and encroaching on land occupied by the Nzundza Ndebele group between the Olifants and Steelport rivers. By 1879 Ndzundza had developed a formidable chiefdom in the area of Steelport. Inevitability during 1883 a war broke out between the Ndzundza and Zuid-AfrikaanscheRepubliek (South African Republic) which the Boers won and the Ndzundza lands were confiscated by the Boers and distributed among themselves as a treaty agreement (Phatlane, 2001).

Following this event was the re-establishment of the autonomy of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR).The Volksraad reached a decision to send and scatter all Ndebele families to Boer farms across the Transvaal (Surplus People Project, 1983). The Surplus People Project (1983) further states that on these farms the people were subjected to slave labour conditions hence there were several attempts by the Ndebele people to escape these farms

and re-establish a chiefdom of their own. In 1922 the royal household of the Ndebele people managed to purchase Weltevrede known today as Mthombothini, which was a farm six kilometres from present day Siyabuswa. Mthombothini,is now considered to be the "heartland" of the Ndebele culture. The farm continued to have a significant role in the politics of its people and overtime more Ndzundza families relocated to live there escaping the harsh conditions that they experienced on the farms (Magybane, 2005).

3.2.1 Formation of the KwaNdebele homeland

According to Surplus People Project (1983) during the 1960s there was no single unit that was designated to the Ndebele ethnic group thus there were several tribal authorities that were set up for the Ndebele ethnic group, most of them situated in homelands that had been granted independence, namely Lebowa and Bophuthatswana. Phatlane (2001) states that the apartheid government were hoping that these other homelands would absorb the South Ndebele people until they disappeared and thus had no intention at the time to develop a homeland for the ethnic group. Surprisingly that attitude changed in the early 1970s and talks about creating an Ndebele homeland began between officials of the Bantu Affairs Department (BAD) and the elite leaders from the Ndebele ethnic group (Phatlane, 2001). Subsequently, plans moved forward to establish the homeland in the Weltevreden area, and furthermore farms were bought around that area to further enlarge the surface area of the homeland.

As the Ndebele homeland began to be more organised and formalised; and as an increasing number of Ndebele people were moving into the existing homelands due to being evicted or escaping the Boer farms, the government of Bophuthatswana began to force non-Tswanas to move out of the homeland (Magybane, 2005). The Bophuthatswana government managed to do this through introducing laws that allocated resources through citizenship, thus making it difficult for non-Tswanas to survive within the homeland. As a result an exodus of Ndebele families occurred into the newly formed Ndebele homeland (Phatlane, 2001). This meant that Ndebele communities that had already been established in different areas across the Transvaal had to be uprooted and forced to relocate to the homeland.

During 1981 KwaNdebele was given homeland status, it was decided that the area around Siyabuswa would be the KwaNdebele homeland. According to Surplus People Project (1983)

1 500 families were removed from 'black spots'[2] at Kromkrans and Doornkop and into the area of Siyabuswa during 1975. At the time there was an already existing community of Pedi speaking people there with two primary schools and a clinic. This highlights the fact that the core of the KwaNdebele homeland was the consolidation of black spots, whereby people were removed from one black spot to another to form one homeland. Table 3 lists the different areas in the KwaNdebele homeland that families were relocated to.

Area	Estimated Population
Vlaklaagte	18 426
Gemsbokspruit	2 898
Tweefontein	1 105
Vaalbank	6 000
Vrisgewacht	925
Boekenhout	5 724
Kwaggafontein	25 000
Leeufontein	205
Pieterskraal	2 938
Siyabuswa	14 000
Goederede	2 200

Table 3: KwaNdebele 'resettlement areas', 1980 (Surplus People Project, 1983)

3.2.2 Making a living in KwaNdebele

According to the Surplus People Project (1983) KwaNdebele was one of the last homelands that was established and it was considered to be the least viable Bantustan because of the lack of natural resources and development and thus the majority of the inhabitants were living in over-crowded and poverty stricken conditions.

Due to the lack of infrastructure there could not be any large scale industrial development in the homeland thus economic activity was largely limited to commercial development, small

[2] Areas of black African freehold ownership during apartheid (Surplus People Project, 1983)

service industries and house loans for people to be able to afford buying homes in the homeland (Surplus People Project, 1983).

Few managed to make a living within the homeland as a result a large proportion of its inhabitants worked in surrounding towns and farms, travelling as far as Pretoria. According to Phatlane (2001) by 1981 when KwaNdebele attained self-governing status 92% of the population worked outside the homeland. Most of the people that were working outside the homeland were working in the service and agricultural sector (Surplus People Project, 1983). It was at this point that the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) regional economic connection was at its strongest because KwaNdebele served as a major labour pool for the PWV. Instead of providing housing closer to the PWV the nationalist government decided to pump excessive amount of money into providing subsidised commuter buses taking people back and forth from the homeland to the PWV to further enforce the apartheid policy of separate development.

The homeland earned the reference term as a 'dormitory homeland' because buses operated from as early as 3am and ended at 10pm thus when people were not at work they were sleeping. The commuter population travelling from the homeland into urban areas is a distinct feature of the KwaNdebele homeland and till today it still continues. According to O. Mtsweni (Ward 6 Councillor, pers. comm., 16 August 2015), nearly half of the population of Siyabuswa travel close to 3 hours, one way, to Pretoria on a daily basis to access economic opportunities.

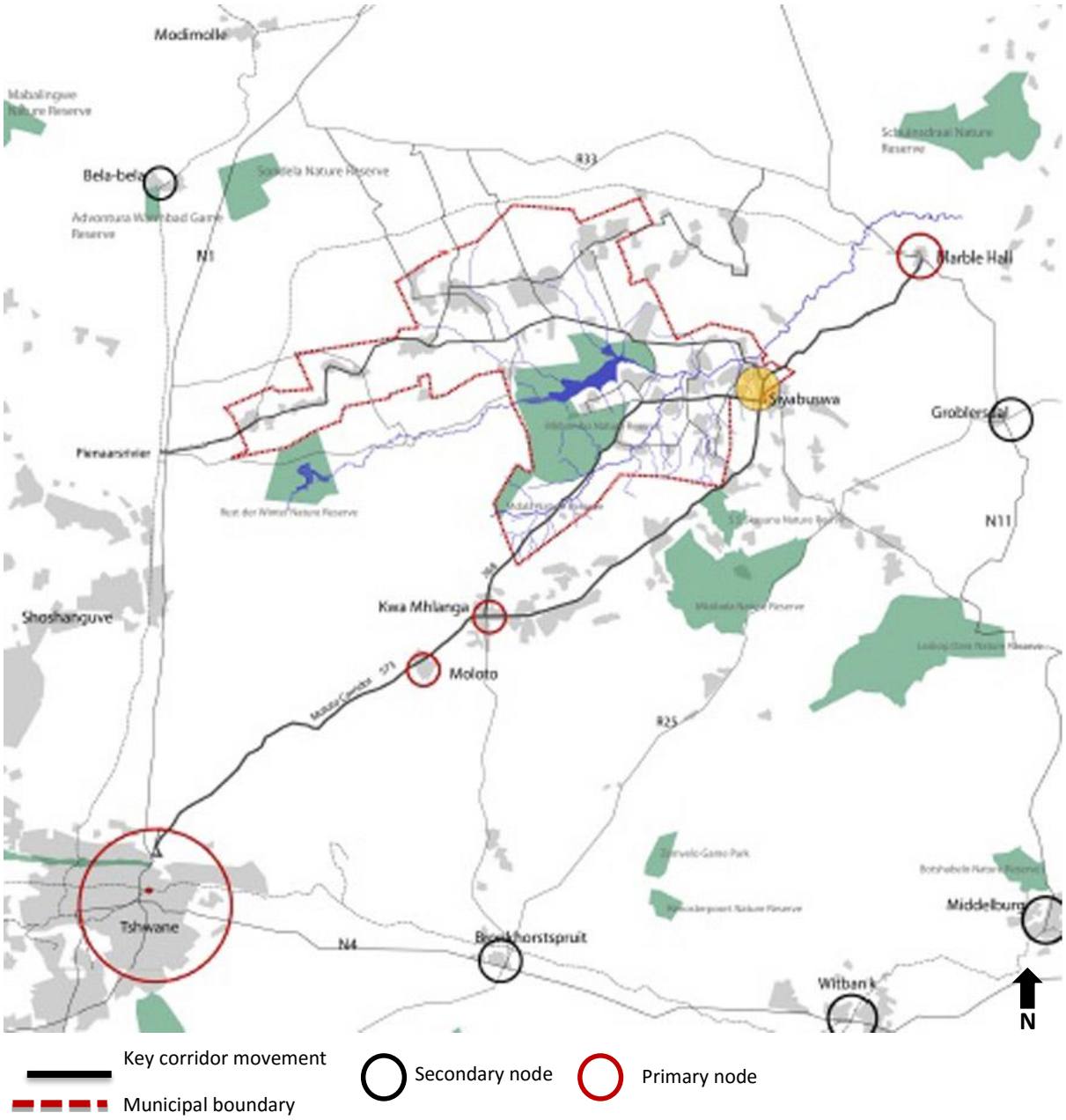
Once the apartheid system had been overturned and a new democratic government was elected during 1994 the homeland system was removed and local government was reorganised.

3.3 The current state of Siyabuswa

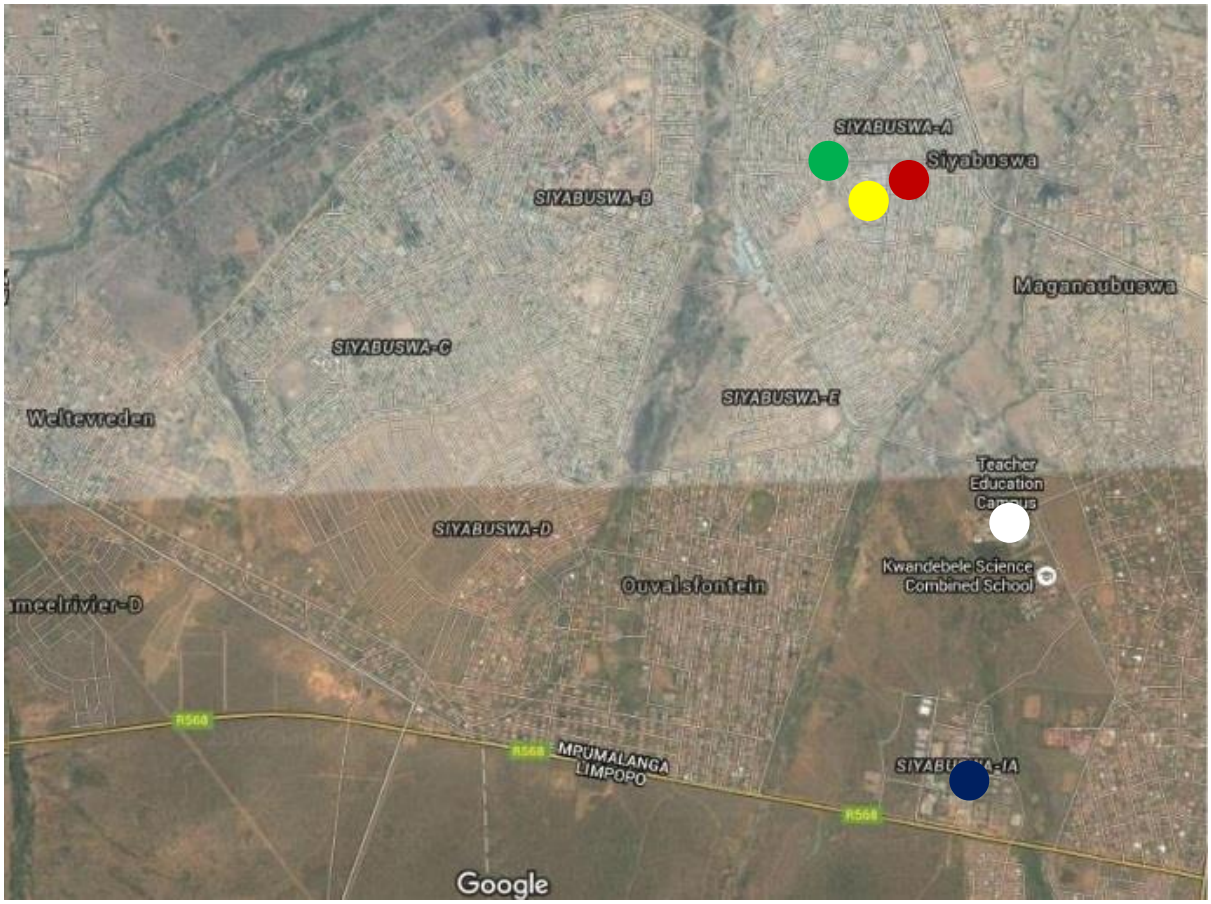
Siyabuswa now forms part of the Dr JS Moroka municipality in the Nkangala District of Mpumalanga. According to the 2014/15 JS Moroka Integrated Development Framework the municipality consists of areas from the then Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele homelands. As a result the majority of the people living there are predominately Ndebele, followed by Tswana and the minority being Sepedi speaking group. The municipality consists of 60 villages and Siyabuswa Township is one of its 3 nodes as well as the location of the municipality. The

municipality still has a complex regional economic connection with Pretoria as well as other surrounding small towns as shown in Map 3.1.

Siyabuswa mainly consists of 4 sections, Siyabuswa A, B, C, D and E (Map 3). Since being given township status Siyabuswa has been more focused in being a service centre for surrounding villages and thus the predominant land uses in the area, are residential, business and institutional. Section A, the oldest section of the township, is considered to be the CBD and administration centre of Siyabuswa. All three main retail centers and the municipality are located there. Furthermore Siyabuswa has 2 major educational institutions, a Further Education and Training (FET) college and university branch. CN Mahlangu FET College Campus part of the Nkangala FET College was established in 1981. The College offers courses mostly in Construction, Business Studies and Engineering. The University of Mpumalanga Teacher Education Campus is a branch of the University of Mpumalanga located in Nelspruit. Due to the presence of these two education institutions there is trend growing in Siyabuswa which is the rise of rental accommodation. More and more students who are not living in Siyabuswa and attending at these colleges are opting for rental accommodation in Siyabuswa.



Map 3: Dr JS Moroka regional nodes, primary and secondary nodes (image from http://bgis.sanbi.org/ 2007)



Map 4: The 5 main sections of Siyabuswa. (The circles represent the images below)



Image 1 and 2: University of Mpumalanga Teacher Education Campus's two main entrances



Image 3: CN Mahlangu FET College Campus.

The three major retail nodes in Siyabuswa:



Image 4: Siyabuswa Mall



Image 5 and 6: Siyabuswa retail complex



Image 7: Siyabuswa retail complex

3.3.1 LED Policy and plans

This section will look at some of the policies and plans from the national, provincial and local spheres of government that have been in place post 1994 to try to improve the economic well-being of residents living in Siyabuswa.

3.3.1.1 Post-apartheid spatial planning policy frameworks

Spatial policy frameworks from the national and provincial government that guide planning in the area of Siyabuswa are as follows (LED Strategy Review, 2014/2015):

- The National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP)
- Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for SA (ASGISA)
- Mpumalanga Rural Development Programme (MRDP

The common feature of these policies is that they recognise that the focus in areas such as Siyabuswa should be on improving service delivery, investing in bulk infrastructure and alleviating poverty. Siyabuswa is considered to be a nodal point because of its increasing population trend and thus high levels of public investment should go into the area. The post-apartheid government has invested in programmes and initiatives which aim to improve the liveability of Siyabuswa. The following section will look at the various policies and initiatives of the different spheres of government, namely national provincial and local.

3.3.1.2 National and Provincial government

One of the ways in which national government has sustained its support for the development agenda in Siyabuswa is firstly through the bus subsidy that transports residents from the area and to Pretoria. Currently the bus company that is responsible for this is PUTCO and according to Mr M. Mathebe ([LED Coordinator] pers. comm., 12 August 2015), a large portion of Siyabuswa's residents remain dependent on the commuter buses to travel to Pretoria to get to their places of employment. According to Mr Mathebe national government gives subsidies to PUTCO to lower the costs of ticket prices for commuters commuting to and from Pretoria .About 20 or 22 buses service a number of villages every day thus in all about 1000-2000 people commute on the buses daily from Siyabuswa to Pretoria and it's because of the subsidy that is possible.

The continual ticket price hikes has caused some tensions between commuters and government as it is becoming more unaffordable to commuters but also financially unfeasible for government to continue sustaining the subsidy. Around the year 2000 the subsidy was costing the national government R100 million a year (Omar, 2000). An alternative has been looked at by the National Treasury and Department of Transport that a 140 kilometre rail, linking KwaNdebele and Gauteng should be implemented which will be the Moloto rail corridor project (Myburgh, 2015). The corridor development is viewed as having potential to develop and improve regional linkages between Pretoria and KwaNdebele and encourage regional traffic to pass through the former homeland area .According to Nkosi (2013) a feasibility study done in 2006 and 2007 confirmed that the rail option "feasible and economically viable" as stated in the national transport government reports. The project was estimated to cost R8.6 billion in 2008.However the rail has yet to manifest in reality.

When interviewed on 12 August 2015 Mr M.Mathebe stated that there are a number of things that the government has done to address areas like Siyabuswa. There are programs such as the CRDP (Comprehensive Rural Development Programme) from the Department Rural Development and Land Reform which focuses on three components, namely "agrarian transformation, rural development and land reform". Currently Siyabuswa is a CRDP ward. According to the Reviewed IDP (2014/2015) the programme is set to create 2088 jobs in the Dr. JS Moroka Municipality and thus far the programme has generated 1700 of those jobs and significant RDP housing. In addition, the government has put considerable effort into developing social infrastructure in Siyabuswa, according to Mr M. Mathebe (12 August 2015):

> "*the government is also building schools provided and clinics and all social amenities, or social programmes to ensure that the places have something to offer in terms of economic development. Thus the little that is there the government is trying to bring social amenities or social programmes that will stimulate or that will influence economic development*"

This can also be confirmed by the community interviews, people acknowledged that there is room for improvement but as far as providing basic services Siyabuswa has improved significantly over the years.

Another programme is CWP (Community Work Programme) initiated by the National and Provincial Department of Co-operative Governance & Traditional Affairs (COGTA). Dr JS Moroka Municipality is one of the beneficiaries of the programme thus residents from Siyabuswa benefit from it. The programme is not set to provide long-term employment but is a short-term programme that aims to give the unemployed youth work experience and skills to enable them to be employable and expose them to other job opportunities. Currently the programme only has 1023 participants and it is not clear what kind of impact it is making in the area.

3.3.1.3 Local government

When interviewed on 12 August 2015 Mr M. Mathebe stated that while Dr JS Moroka Municipality has a weak economy it is not weak to the point that nothing can be done thus there are a number of initiatives that the municipality has committed itself to in order to improve the lives of residents in Siyabuswa.

One of the ways in which the municipality is trying to alleviate the vast unemployment rate is through the introduction of co-operatives (O. Mtsweni, Ward 6 Councillor, pers. comm., 16 August 2015). This is a collaboration between the private and public sector that teaches people how to start up their own businesses and it is free of charge. Many of the young community members that were interviewed mentioned the introduction of co-operatives as one of the key economic opportunities that Siyabuswa offers them. In addition to that there is a computer school located in Kameelrivier, a neighbouring village, which is free of charge for residents of the municipality to attend.

The municipality is currently focused on LED projects related to agriculture and tourism. One policy that has been initiated and is still being implanted is the fresh produce market, for emerging and local farmers. Other policies that are being looked at are in the fields of tourism. A master plan and a viability study have been done for the Mdala and Mkhombo Nature Reserves. To further strengthen its commitment to tourism development the municipality aims tore-develop the Kamoka Tourism Route and the main purpose of the route is to promote economic activity. Those are the two projects that they are hoping will generate some economic growth. These initiatives are amidst the basic services initiatives that government is doing where it is trying to provide water and sanitation services. In addition, there are a number of proposals for malls around Dr JS Moroka (Mr M. Mathebe, LED Coordinator, pers. comm., 12 August 2015).

While the municipality is showing significant commitment in improving the number of economic opportunities available in Siyabuswa, from the community interviews there is a sense of frustration and despondency of this being a reality. A lot of the respondents felt that nepotism and 'empty promises' is what the local government is good at. As one community member said: "*Siyabuswa I don't like it, there is no development. I can't say I love a place*

where majority of the youth is unemployed or illiterate." (Phindile, community member, pers. comm. 15 August 2015)

Conclusion

From the above it can be said that each sphere of government has contributed in ensuring that the area of Siyabuswa has some development post-1994 in order make the area more liveable for the inhabitants. At this point the greatest challenge is that people still commute on a daily basis from Siyabuswa to Pretoria for job opportunities. This signifies that while there is substantial improvement in service delivery and infrastructure development the economic aspect of increasing job opportunities in Siyabuswa is still a problem because of its isolation from urban economic nodes.

3.4 Findings from Statistical Data

Demographics

Having focused on the historical events that have shaped the growth and current state of Siyabuswa, the report shifts to looking at the evolution of the trends and attributes of the demography associated with Siyabuswa, primarily looking at the statistical data between the periods of 1996 to 2011. It should be mentioned that where data is provided for the municipality and not Siyabuswa itself, the data for Siyabuswa was not available thus the municipality as a whole was considered. This is to at least get an indication of how the area is performing.

3.4.1. Population movement trends

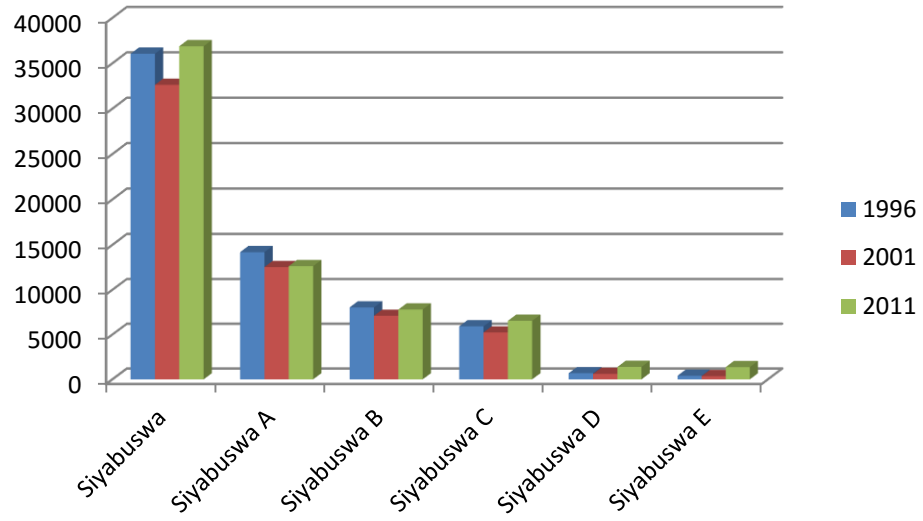


Figure 1: Population trend in Siyabuswa: 1996-2011 (Quantec Data)

While acknowledging that such areas are not ones that people are rapidly moving into, the population in Siyabuswa has experienced steady growth throughout the years despite the fact that it is a historically disadvantaged area. Nonetheless as a municipality, Dr JS Moroka municipality has an annual average growth rate of 0.26%, between 2001 and 2011 which is lower than the national average of 1.4%. This indicates there is a net out-migration from the municipality since it is below natural increase. When focusing on Siyabuswa as a whole, the growth trends indicate some interesting results (Figure 1).

The majority of the population growth was experienced between 1980 and 1996. According to the Surplus People Report (1983) the population of Siyabuswa was roughly at 14 000 and by 1996 the population grew to36 058. Mr M. Mathebe attributed the growth during this period to the in-migration of people from the surrounding villages as well as immigrants (Pakistani, Somalians and Zimbabweans) into Siyabuswa as one of the major factors for this growth. The next period took a different turn.

Evidence from Census data indicated that Siyabuswa lost around 10% of its population between 1996 and 2001. This change can be attributed to the out-migration of inhabitants probably moving closer to urban areas to access better economic opportunities. Figure 1 indicates the population trend from 1996 to 2011, with the 'older' sections (Siyabuswa A,

Band C) of Siyabuswa becoming more densely populated than the 'newer' sections (Siyabuswa D and E).

From 2001 to 2011 the area experienced a population growth of 4253 people, moving from 32628 to 36881 people**.** This change can be attributed to the development of the area of Siyabuswa. Mr M. Mathebe stated that the post-apartheid government has invested greatly in improving the social services of places like Siyabuswa to ensure that such places are conducive for habitation. In addition, as stated by O. Mtsweni, because Siyabuswa is a proclaimed township, with by-laws governing the area, the lifestyle of the area is changing. It is becoming less rural and moving more towards resembling the lifestyles of the surrounding 'better-off' small towns. Due to the continual development that is occurring in Siyabuswa more people are seeing it as a viable option to settle in, hence its ability to be able to attract some of its former residents that had migrated to other places. Overall when calculating the growth rate of JS Moroka versus that of Siyabuswa between 2001 and2011 the results came to show that while both growth rates are lower than that of the national growth rate (Siyabuswa at 01.2% and JS Moroka at 0.26%) Siyabuswa is growing while the municipality as a whole is losing numbers.

3.4.2 Population distribution

Area	0 and 14 (%)	15-25 (%)	26-30 (%)	31-45 (%)	46-60 (%)	61-75 (%)	76-80 (%)	81+ (%)	TOTAL (%)
Siyabuswa (1996)	34.9	25.2	10.1	16.9	7.9	3.6	0.9	0.7	100
Siyabuswa (2001)	35.1	23.2	8.4	18.1	9.3	4.4	0.7	1.1	100
Siyabuswa (2011)	30.8	22.7	7.7	18.3	12.3	6.4	0.7	1.1	100

Table 4: Population distribution in Siyabuswa: 1996, 2001, 2011.

Table 2 provides a better overview of the age distribution of Siyabuswa. The significant decline and increase across the different age groups of the economically active population is noteworthy. The changes are not significant however there seems to be a slight relative decline in the young economically active ages and an increase in the older groups, particularly those that approaching pensioner age.

In conclusion, Siyabuswa is experiencing net out-migration; this means that the growth rate is less than the rate of natural increase. This means that people are moving out however there is no absolute decline in population. Factors that contribute to this is the improved investment in development and infrastructure (water, electricity, sanitation, schools) attracting people from surrounding villages .According to Mr. Mathebe, generally the people moving into Siyabuswa are coming in from the surrounding areas because in terms of development Siyabuswa is seen as a 'better off' area compared to the rural villages thus people want to have easier access to the services that Siyabuswa has. However the increase in that age group is also attributed to a number of former residents moving back to Siyabuswa as it will be revealed further in the report on interviews.

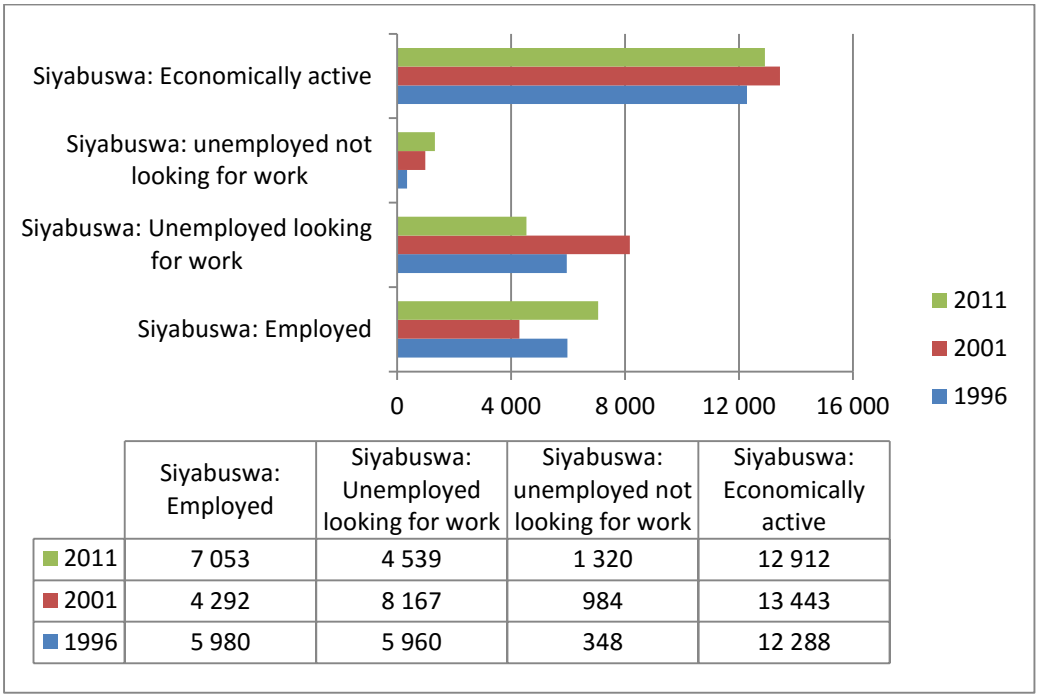
3.4.3 Economic profile

Employment and unemployment

Figure 2 and 3depicts the changes in employment (formal and informal) and unemployment. The issue of unemployment is one of the major issues the Dr JS Moroka Municipality is experiencing. According 2011 Census figures the municipality had an unemployment rate of 46.6% and the youth unemployment rate was at 61.4% during 2011 which are both higher than the national average in the same period of a 30% unemployment rate and 50.1% youth unemployment rate.

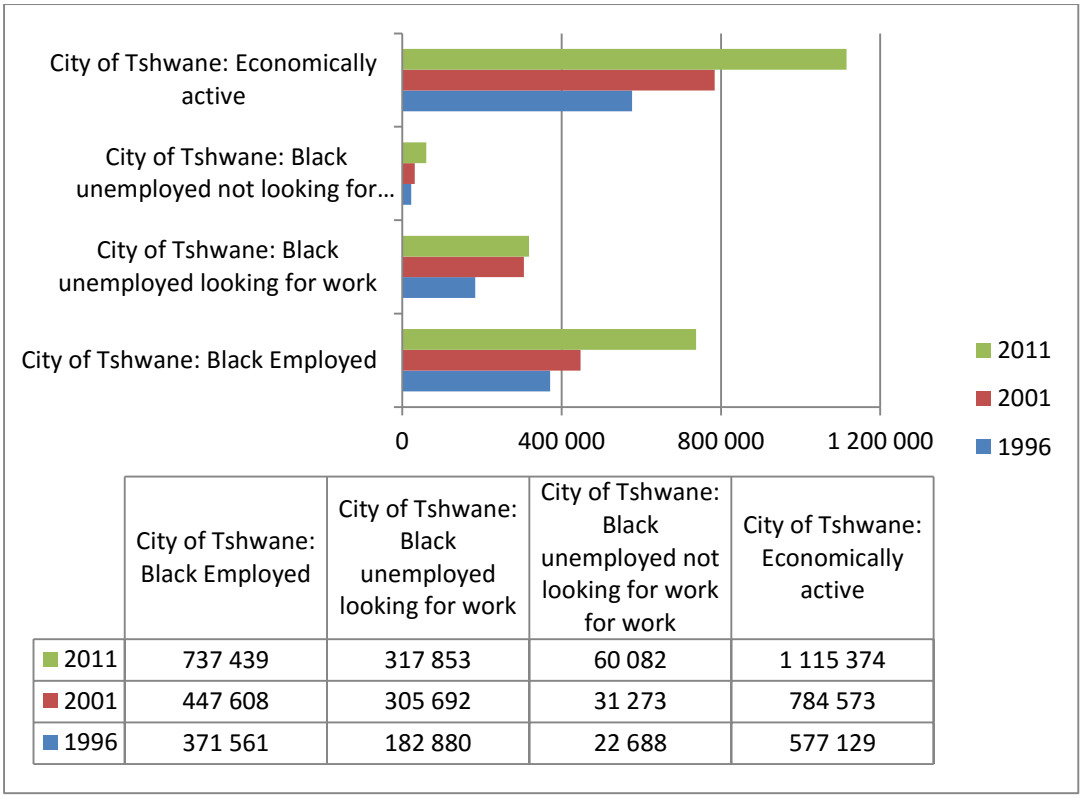
As it has been confirmed by the interviews with the LED manager and Councillor of Siyabuswa, the residents of Siyabuswa predominately sell their labour to the metropolitan area of Pretoria, thus the comparison of employment and unemployment between the two. The two figures below (Figure 2 and 3) indicate that percentage of economically active has increased between 1996 and 2011 in both JS Moroka (12288 in 1996 to 12 912 in 2011) and City of Tshwane (577 129 in 1996 to 1 115 374 in 2011) but marginally so in JS Moroka. What is important to note is that in Tshwane even though the number of employed people are increasing, so are the number of unemployed, moving from 182 880 unemployed people during 1996 to 305 682 unemployed people during 2011, thus the job market that side is highly competitive and those that are migrating to the city to find employment are not necessarily succeeding in doing so.

Siyabuswa witnessed a significant increase in unemployment over the period 1996-2001, from 6308 unemployed people in 1996 to 9151 unemployed people in 2001**.** From 2001 onwards came a sharp drop of unemployment, as more people started to become employed and the number of unemployed people was 5859 by 2011**.** This is probably due to the increase in development thus more job opportunities being created however this is following national trends.



	Siyabuswa: Employed	Siyabuswa: Unemployed looking for work	Siyabuswa: unemployed not looking for work	Siyabuswa: Economically active
2011	7 053	4 539	1 320	12 912
2001	4 292	8 167	984	13 443
1996	5 980	5 960	348	12 288

Figure 2: Changes in employment and unemployment in Siyabuswa (Quantec Data)



	City of Tshwane: Black Employed	City of Tshwane: Black unemployed looking for work	City of Tshwane: Black unemployed not looking for work for work	City of Tshwane: Economically active
2011	737 439	317 853	60 082	1 115 374
2001	447 608	305 692	31 273	784 573
1996	371 561	182 880	22 688	577 129

Figure 3: Changes in employment and unemployment in Tshwane (Quantec, 2015)

3.4.5 Economic growth

According to Mr M. Mathebe when interviewed (12 August 2015), currently the key sectors in the municipality are tourism and agriculture. According to him, these two sectors are the ones that can drive the economy and bring about opportunities for people locally. Mr Mathebe further elaborates that when analysing the economic trends of JS Moroka, there has been a shift of focus in terms of which sectors are growing currently, versus when the area was still a Bantustan. When it was a Bantustan area, what drove the economy then were government services and industrial activity.

Economic Sector	1996		2013		Annual average growth rate (1996-2013)
	N	%	N	%	%
Primary sector					
Agriculture	19	1.39	183	2.49	14.24
Mining	28	2.04	173	2.36	11.3
Secondary sector					
Manufacturing	147	10.75	681	9.28	9.43
Electricity	46	3.36	317	4.32	12.02
Construction	84	6.14	173	2.36	4.34
Tertiary sector					
Trade	226	16.52	451	6.14	4.14
Transport	197	14.4	1084	14.77	10.55
Finance	199	14.55	1710	23.29	13.48
Community services	124	9.06	792	10.79	11.52
General government	299	21.86	1778	24.22	11.05
TOTAL INDUSTRIES	1368	100	7341	100	10.3

Table 5: GVA (R millions) per sector of Dr JS Moroka municipality

Economic Sector	1996		2013		Annual average growth rate (1996-2013)
	N	%	N	%	
Primary sector					
Agriculture	1283	3.1	3425	6.58	5.94
Mining	281	0.68	371	0.71	1.64
Secondary sector					
Manufacturing	4012	9.73	2955	5.68	-1.7
Electricity	289	0.7	394	0.76	1.8
Construction	8408	20.39	2986	5.74	-5.9
Tertiary sector					
Trade	9181	22.26	5773	11.09	-2.69
Transport	2012	4.88	3282	6.3	2.92
Finance	2116	5.13	8835	16.98	8.77
Community services	6334	15.36	11079	21.29	3.34
General government	7324	17.76	12944	24.87	3.4
Total	**41240**	**100**	**52044**	**100**	**0.34**

Table 6: Employment per sector of Dr JS Moroka municipality

According to the above figures (Table 5 and Table 6) the top five sectors that contribute most to the municipality's GVA are general government services (24.22%), finance (23.29%), transport (14.77%), community services (10.79%) and manufacturing (9.28%). In terms of the sectors which employ (formally and informally) the most people in the municipality the top five sectors are: general government services (24.87%), community services (21.29%), finance (16.98%), trade (11.09%) and agriculture (6.58%)

In terms of the growth rates, when looking at the GVA figures for JS Moroka (Table 5) it can be seen that all sectors have experienced growth, but the following have grown most rapidly: agriculture (14.24% growth rate), mining (11.3% growth rate), electricity (12.02% growth rate), transport (10.55% growth rate), finance (13.48% growth rate), community services (11.52% growth) and general government (11.05% growth). Employment growth has been slower, and some sectors have lost jobs, including manufacturing (-1.7% growth rate) and construction (-5.9% growth rate). It is important to note that this is a small economy and the growth is off a low base thus it is marginal when compared to other economies such as those in urban areas.

While the validity of the figures can be put into question, the data shows different results to what the LED manager, Mr Mathebe reflected in the interview. According to Mr Mathebe agriculture and tourism are the sectors that can drive the economy, however the data shows that while agriculture (5.94% growth rate) has witnessed the most growth government and community services remain the dominant contributor to the economy in terms of GVA and employment. What is interesting to note on the employment side as well is that, while some sectors of employment are declining, their GVA is growing (e.g. manufacturing). The reason for this is not certain but it could be that the need for labour intensive sectors has declined and manufacturing is now more capital intensive.

While there is starting to be a slight shift in terms of the drivers of the economy in the municipality- e.g. finance is showing growth in terms of GVA and employment, the municipality remains dependent on government and community services to stabilize the economy. As Mr Mathebe stated, the government has played its role of ensuring that the services that are provided make the environment conducive for people to come and invest in the area. Mr Mathebe also mentioned that future plans to grow the economy involve focusing

more on investing in manufacturing because that is seen as a key sector for economic growth. According to the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) Siyabuswa has the industrial space for 31 industries and office space for 4. Furthermore smaller industries have been established in some of the surrounding villages, namely Kammelrivier, Weltevreden, Wolwekraal, Vaalbank and Loding. However while this sounds promising there has not been further clarity or elaboration as to what type of industries and what the office space will be for.

This chapter has looked at the demographics of Siyabuswa to get an idea of how they have evolved over time. There has been evidence provided that Siyabuswa is experiencing a marginal population growth, particularly by people in the older economically active age group. In terms of economic development it seems that such areas are still struggling to make a significant impact in the economy. This is not surprising considering that there is very little diversification in the economy, mostly depending government and community services. Furthermore the continual out-migration of its economically active younger generation is noteworthy and indicative that while the general standard of living of Siyabuswa has improved it has not improved enough to retain a key portion of its population.

CHAPTER FOUR: CURRENT PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTS OF SIYABUSWA

Introduction

This chapter will present the community interviews that were conducted in order to get a better understanding of what are the factors that are causing people to stay and move into the area of Siyabuswa. There were twenty one households that were interviewed, and one member from each household was interviewed.

4.1 Economic opportunities and challenges of residents

As can be deduced from the previous chapter economic activity in Siyabuswa is limited and people living there struggle to find permanent employment, particularly the youth. Some seven professionals, six self-employed, two unemployed, four students, two pensioners were interviewed. All the interviewees, regardless of whether they were employed or unemployed, agreed that the challenge of living in Siyabuswa is that the area lacks job opportunities. Five out of the twenty one respondents also mentioned nepotism to be a major hindrance to development in Siyabuswa. They claimed that, government jobs especially, rarely get advertised to the public. Another issue raised by one respondent is that people who do not have adequate skills to ensure that there is development in the area all want to move to the urban areas and thus Siyabuswa's work force is left with very few skilled labourers.

According to one of the community leaders Mr Mahlangu (interviewed on 16 August 2015) economic opportunities are rare in Siyabuswa and the main employers in the area are the shopping mall, Department of Education, small business and the municipality, other than that the economy is weak. Those that are not employed survive either on government grants or start their own businesses.

Surprisingly, eighteen out of the twenty one respondents agreed that starting your own business is a viable strategy for survival in Siyabuswa. However two respondents viewed it as risky because it is not a reliable source of income because when business is good it is very good, but when it is bad, it is very bad as one respondent reflected. There have even been learnerships and government programmes offered free of charge to help people start their own businesses. As one community member said: "*Business wise I think there are opportunities which is my focus…*" (Zakhele [Student] pers. comm. 14 August 2015); while another community member said: "*There are opportunities, for example I am self-employed and the customers are the people from the area that support me. It helps that it is a close-knit*

community; people know you and they get to support you" (Patience [self-employed] pers. comm. 16 August 2015). All the community members view the subsidised commuter buses as an advantage because it allows residents to be able to access the social and economic opportunities that are in urban areas.

The location of the area is also seen as advantageous by residents because compared to other former homelands Siyabuswa is located closer to Gauteng, the economic hub of the country, and also there are numerous smaller towns surrounding, referring to Marble Hall, Groblersdal, Danilton and Toitskraal where 'better' facilities that are not available in Siyabuswa can be accessed .

In summation residents who feel that it is the government's responsibility to create job opportunities in Siyabuswa have a less optimistic perspective on the liveability of the area and plan to migrate out of Siyabuswa. Those that take the initiative to create their own opportunities have a more optimistic view on the area and are happy to live in the area. For example many of the respondents view the increasing population growth as an opportunity because of the increasing customer base of potentially starting their own business. Level of education also plays a role in the number of economic opportunities a person has in Siyabuswa. All seven professionals believed that they did not encounter any economic challenges because they had employment; these are the people who had a professional degree of some sort. Therefore people who have a qualification higher than a matric certificate, particularly in fields where they can be employed in government institutions view Siyabuswa as a liveable place.

4.2 In-migration and out-migration in Siyabuswa

Respondents were asked the question whether they plan on living in Siyabuswa forever and thirteen out of the twenty one respondents said no, seven said yes and one respondent was uncertain. The community interviews indicated that those ranging from the ages of eighteen-thirty, and particularly those that were born in Siyabuswa had ambitions to migrate to Pretoria or Witbank because these places were perceived to have more job opportunities than Siyabuswa. However some indicated a desire to return at a later stage as one of the young community member said: '*Not forever, but I should have a home here, even if I have a*

home in the urban areas somewhere, that is important to me because this is my home.' (Patience, community member, pers. comm., 16 August 2015).

Overall those who answered yes felt that everything that they needed was in Siyabuswa. Respondents acknowledged that while the area is greatly lacking in economic activity there has been significant development that is causing people to stay. For example service delivery is improving and there are more shopping areas with well-known retail outlets. The interviews also revealed that community members that have been living in Siyabuswa longer than 10 years and had a steady income, particularly those in the age range of thirty five and above were happy to stay in Siyabuswa, signalling the steady improvement of development and being close to family being the reason for staying in Siyabuswa. Confirming this, one community member said: '*Siyabuswa I like it because there is a lot improvement, we have transport, housing is available, shopping malls are coming up…'*

According to Mr. Vhangani, a building inspector at JS Moroka Municipality, (interviewed on 12 August 2015) the people who are moving into Siyabuswa are people from the surrounding villages and those who have roots in Siyabuswa who consider the area to be their real 'home'. The community interviews reveal that there are two categories of people that are moving into the area: firstly, those that are moving in from the surrounding villages to have better access to the better opportunities and services of Siyabuswa. Secondly, people that have roots in Siyabuswa, those that had or still have families in Siyabuswa. These people largely fall under the middle-income group and thus want to purchase large residential plots of lands and build extravagant houses, possibly as their second homes, and those who appreciate the lower standard of living where basic services and property are much cheaper to acquire compared to urban areas.

As Mr. Vhangani elaborated : '*Most of them are local people , some of them when you approving building plans and checking their places of employment they come from Pretoria, we have people who are working as far as Cape Town, parliament they are building houses at home.*' Thus the gradual development, low cost of living and Siyabuswa being a place of cultural significance for its residents plays a role in being the reasons why people decide to stay and even move into the area. As one of the community members shared their sentiments about Siyabuswa:*".This is a place of cultural significance for us black people, people do not*

throw away their culture. Also there are different people we living here, and we are all able to live together peacefully you can't find that everywhere in South Africa"

According to Magybane (2005) the tradition of people in KwaNdebele commuting long distances into urban areas is sustained by the fact that there is shortage of affordable housing in urban areas thus people opt to live in areas such as Siyabuswa and work outside. This was confirmed by Mrs M when interviewed (16 August 2015) who commutes with her husband to Pretoria daily for work. Combined, she and her husband spend about R3 600 monthly on public transport. She claimed that while that is a huge amount of money to spend on transport, it would be more expensive to move to Pretoria. She claims that the money they spend on transport is manageable compared to how much they would spend if they had to live in Pretoria.

In conclusion residents' perceptions and experiences in Siyabuswa reveal that overall; residents have a sentimental attachment to this area. Many view Siyabuswa as their original home which has cultural and sentimental value. Those that have employment and are in the age range above thirty five and above are satisfied with the gradual improvements that have occurred over time and seem to have settled in the area with no plans to migrate out. The proportion of the population that is unemployed and below the ages of thirty five is frustrated by the lack of job opportunities in the area and plan to migrate out of the area. Also the younger generation seem to be frustrated by the fact that Siyabuswa is all they know, and while they might enjoy living in their birthplace the urge to want to explore other places and get a change of scenery is also a huge factor that was brought up as a reason for people to want to leave Siyabuswa. However the low standard of living and basic service delivery improvements have played an important role in retaining and attracting people from the surrounding villages, as well as past residents of Siyabuswa to move back into the area.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

5.1 Conclusions:

From the initial description of the KwaNdebele homeland as impoverished , poverty stricken and a dormitory homeland it is surprising that overtime this has become what many people consider to be home; and to a certain extent where they have chosen to build their lives. Despite the fact that Siyabuswa is located far from the main economic and employment growth points, it is because of its improvement in development that people have chosen to live there. However the functional role of Siyabuswa as a labour reserve for urban areas has not changed as the majority of the population still travel outside the township to access job opportunities. The main post-1994 changes that have occurred are as follows:

1. The notion of Siyabuswa as a better-service area than its rural counterparts was one of the major points that came out of the community interviews. In Siyabuswa most household have access to basic services that the rural counterparts do not have. This has managed to shift the mind-sets of inhabitants as viewing Siyabuswa as a liveable place.
2. From both the interviews and statistical data, it seems that Siyabuswa has assumed a role as rural-service centre for the surrounding rural areas. Many of the major retail shops, government institutions, health services, educational facilities are located in Siyabuswa. This can be attributed to its previous status as once being the capital of the KwaNdebele homeland because the apartheid government had initially invested substantially in the area in terms of infrastructure and government institutions thus it is not surprising that the post-1994 government only built on, the existing infrastructure. The fact that Siyabuswa was once a capital has contributed to it being prioritised as a node of economic development by the local municipality because of the existing infrastructure that was put in place by the homeland government prior to the capital being moved to KwaMhlanga.
3. There is evidence to suggest substantial investment by government in higher education facilities in Siyabuswa, as currently it is home to two institutions of higher learning that have been mentioned in the report. The institutions have created a substantial amount of economic opportunities in terms of rental accommodation and the emergence of other student facilities such as internet cafes. It indicates that

Siyabuswa has not been forgotten from a provincial point of view, and government is attempting to find ways to enhance its nodal status.

4. Evidence from the interviews suggest that although there is a decrease of residents from Siyabuswa using the commuter buses compared to the pre-1994 period since there are increases of jobs available in area, there is still a high dependency on the commuter buses by the residents of Siyabuswa and that does not seem like it will change in the near future. Furthermore the subsidy of the commuter buses is seen as unsustainable hence the proposal for a commuter rail, connecting KwaNdebele and Tshwane by the province. Whether the rail will become a reality is yet to be seen. Thus the notion of such places as labour pools for nearby urban areas still holds true.

The reasons as to what are the economic factors causing people to stay in Siyabuswa are varied. When looking from a monetary perspective there are very few however it seems that it is the social-capital that is keeping people there. Further observations relating to this point are mentioned below:

1. Despite these changes and improvements, there is still evidence of the impact of apartheid spatial planning policies that ultimately aimed to segregate black people to the least economically viable areas of South Africa. From the statistical data and interviews it is evident that the availability of jobs remains a serious challenge for the area. Subsequently the area is experiencing an out-migration of its young economically active population. Amidst the improvement and development that has been occurring in the area the perceptions of people, particularly the younger generation, are that Siyabuswa is lagging behind mostly because of incompetency, corruption and nepotism within the government departments that are in charge of the development of the area.
2. The community of Siyabuswa has managed to be rid of the notion of considering such places as ‘dumping grounds’ and instead Siyabuswa for many has become a place of cultural significance and a place to call home. Societal ties and lifestyle play a big role in the survival of Siyabuswa, community members acknowledge that the fact that they are able to practice their cultures is an advantage for them, as that is not possible to do in urban areas.

3. While most of the younger generation expressed their ambition to move out of Siyabuswa mainly because of the lack of job opportunities, for many it was also the desire to 'explore' different places. Many said that they did not want to die where they were born.
4. While the majority of the relatively younger generation of Siyabuswa have ambitions to migrate to urban areas, many expressed that they still want to have a home in Siyabuswa. It seems that people who are originally from Siyabuswa eventually end up returning to the area. Furthermore for many of the younger generation that do not have ambitions to migrate to urban areas believe that being an entrepreneur is one of the ways in which they can prosper in Siyabuswa
5. It can be argued that the continual provision of the bus subsidy reinforces the notion of spatial segregation that the apartheid government aimed to achieve, however the community member view the commuter buses as an added advantage because they are able to have access to the economic opportunities that are present in the urban areas. They believe that it gives them more options because for some moving to urban areas is unrealistic because of the higher standards of living and a shortage of cheap housing.
6. Family ties in Siyabuswa are also another factor that is causing people to stay there. The tradition of letting the grandparents raise the kids while the parents work in the urban areas is still prevalent. Out of the 21 households I interviewed only about 4 had nuclear family compositions (parents and children). In the rest of the households the family was extended in the sense the sons and daughters were living with their own sons and daughters, it seemed that the culture of moving out of your parent's house once one is done with school and working is not prevalent in Siyabuswa. This seems to be either a survival tactic, whereby it is easier to support yourself when still living in your parent's house or it could be a reflection of the wider socio-economic issues in Siyabuswa of people being 'locked-in' because they are not able to find employment anywhere else.

5.2 Recommendations

After considering the above mentioned conclusions about Siyabuswa, The following recommendations are highlighted to be considered when considering policies and plans on what the way forward is for places like Siyabuswa.

1. It is acknowledged that hidden urbanities have the unique quality of 'social capital' that local structures of government need to make use of. This is what Rogerson (2006) acknowledges as bottom up development, allowing the attitude of 'self-reliance' of resident to foster LED initiatives that are oriented towards that practice. Rogerson (2006:239) elaborates:

   "The observation has been made that the emergence of rural informal activities, communal farming and various forms of community survival must be interpreted as a 'development from below' style of LED that is strongly characteristic more broadly of small-town or rural areas in the developing world . Within these small-town and rural case studies, a heavy onus of responsibility often is placed upon the actual residents of the locality or the initiative of community-based organisations in achieving local self- reliance ."

2. Entrepreneurship development is also a key initiative that should be encouraged in the context of such areas, to try diversify its economic base. When the types of skills that are being developed at the local FET College are analysed; artisan, engineering and technology dominate. These are critical skills for propelling development in any locality however there aren't any structures that are put in place to absorb this skilled labour. The college students are enrolled in these courses but the municipality's LED plans are focused is in agricultural and tourism initiatives. Why are there no LED initiatives that are focused in absorbing the skills that are being developed at the college? The municipality can offer funding to people who want to start businesses in areas such as plumbing, construction, mechanics etc.. The youth should be empowered with the skills to start their own businesses so that they contribute to the economy of the area. The reality of the situation is that as much the younger generation want to move out of Siyabuswa, finding employment in the urban areas

has become more difficult thus they are more prone to stay in Siyabuswa if there are economic opportunities available for them.

3. Technological advancement also needs to be a major focus as well, public space where people can have free Wi-Fi on offer, this could turn around the perception that Siyabuswa is backward or slow in development. People want to feel like they are not being forgotten in what is happening around the world, so through technology residents can be connected and exposed to the rest of the world. Siyabuswa can take advantage of its slow paced life but add the technological advancement.
4. Make the most of their low cost of living and improve accessibility to urban areas and infrastructure development, so that the money that is made in the urban areas is spent within Siyabuswa. Such places need to make the most of the fact that some people consider it to be a good place to raise a family, improve schools, hospitals, shopping centers and entertainment spots, look into investing in public spaces, enabling informal trading, where the youth can host festivals and gather to share ideas. The focus on pumping Siyabuswa with malls filled only with shopping facilities is not sustainable. The aspect of urban design is not emphasised in such communities, when designing malls and public facilities there is little thought or consideration to how to make these spaces also conducive for public life.
5. Maladministration should be look into, how corruption, mishandling of funds and nepotism, lack of skilled work-force hinders the progress of these areas. While it is evident that corruption is a big issue in all parts of South Africa, there seems to be a consensus among the community members that in the case of JS municipality it is to the extent that it is hindering progress. Funds are not allocated sufficiently to things that it should receive investment in. Government should look into monitoring the allocation of funds to make sure that every cent that is pumped into the municipality goes to its intended use.

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