

**LAND USE DECISION-MAKING ON RESIDENTIAL PLOTS IN FINGO VILLAGE,
MAKHANDA (GRAHAMSTOWN), SOUTH AFRICA**

Thesis

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to understand land use decision-making dynamics on large residential plots in Fingo Village, Makhanda (Grahamstown). Fingo Village was selected as a study area because it is one of the poorest urban settings in South Africa where urban poverty is observed alongside access to land. A dominant economic perspective not only suggests that land use decisions are motivated by economic motives, but also implies that access to land would enable people to generate income from its use to improve their livelihoods. This study argues against an uncritical embrace of this assumption. Lefebvre's production of space thesis provides a holistic understanding of the factors involved in the making of land use decisions. The focus of this study is on the dialectic process in the spatial triad— spatial practice, representational space and representations of space. This involved the reading of government policies and legislation together with local lived experiences to gain an understanding of the particular spatial practices seen in Fingo Village. Snowball and convenience sampling were used to select 36 household plots in Fingo Village. Primary data was gathered by means of semi-structured interviews and participatory mapping while additional information was sourced from secondary sources and desktop analysis. The findings of the study show that there is no uniform pattern of land use and success. Different land use activities found on the selected residential plots, including the main house, backyard flat or flats, *spaza* shops, a funeral parlour, livestock keeping, cultural use (a kraal for ancestral worship) and food gardening. These activities are motivated by residents' perceptions and attitudes towards their spaces, as well as the value and meaning they attach to the land which is not limited to economic factors, but is also influenced by socio-cultural, political and biophysical considerations. Although some spatial practices are prohibited by the government, they are important to the residents. Other participants fail to use the land as would be expected by a conventional economic perspective, due to spatial conflict relating to different interests as a result of collective land ownership and the failure of municipalities to enforce policies and regulations. The fact that numerous factors influence households' land use decisions means that access to land does not always directly translate into economic benefits. It is all about what people think or do about their land, as well as what the state lays out in terms of policy and legislation, that will influence whether those people with large plots of land will 'prosper' or not.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own original work. All information and ideas from various authors and other intellectual sources have been fully acknowledged. This thesis has never been published in any form or submitted to another institution in fulfilment of any degree.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa
ESRI	Environmental Systems Research Institute
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GDS	Growth and Development Strategies
GIS	Geographical Information System
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preamble

Prior to South Africa's independence in 1994, the question of urban land ownership, use and management was either ignored by the state or left to the markets to determine. The democratic government's land reform programme, which ushered in new land legislation aimed at redressing the racially based land inequalities of the past, focused more on the transfer and redistribution of agricultural and rural land (Kepe, 2016). Moreover, while urban land is largely managed by the market in response to supply and demand stimuli, poor urban people struggle to access affordable and well-located land that meets their needs (Muller, 2013). This has led to large-scale demand for land by Black South Africans, many of whom continue to suffer from the legacy of racially motivated land legislation, such as the Glen Grey Act of 1894, the Native Reserve Location Act of 1902, the Native Land Act of 1913, and the Group Areas Act of 1950.

The Glen Grey Act of 1894 laid the foundation for racial spatial segregation and the seizure of land from Black people while assigning suitable agricultural land to White farmers. It also introduced individual land holdings in the form of 'one-man-one-surveyed small plots' for Black people with the remainder of the land sold to White farmers (Hendricks and Ntsebeza, 1999). The Native Reserve Location Act, promulgated in 1902, led to the establishment of native residential areas outside towns, called townships intended to accommodate Black people working in towns. This Act led to the forcible removal of Black people from urban areas to the townships (Hendricks and Ntsebeza, 1999). The Native Land Act of 1913 resulted in large-scale dispossession of land held by Black people while making it illegal for them to buy or rent land outside the reserves/Bantustans (Beinart and Delius, 2014), which limited their livelihood choices and forced them to work for white farmers or on the mines. Finally, the Group Areas Act of 1950 led to physical racial separation in different residential areas (Muller, 2013). It enabled the government to control land ownership, use and occupation by Black people.

These pieces of legislation are to blame for the current land hunger¹ in South Africa's urban areas, which has led to widespread land invasions and squatting on both private and state-owned land since the 1980s to the present day. Gibson's (2008) rationalisations for the scourge

¹Greed for the acquisition of land

in land occupations and squatting are as a result of landless people moving from rural areas to the cities seeking employment and access to government housing. However, in order to receive government housing citizens should wait in a long queues of house seekers. Furthermore, there is a demand for fair distribution of land as most of the country's land is owned by a selected few people. Land occupations are motivated by poor Black people demanding access to land that was taken away from them during the colonial and apartheid eras. It is also argued that Black people in the cities are tired of paying rent, and want permanent spaces (Gibson, 2008).

In the midst of this land hunger, Black people with access to urban land have to make decisions regarding land use activities. It is important to note that people's activities and decisions about land is informed by the significance of land to them (Kepe *et al.*, 2008). It has long been recognised that land is a crucial resource for people's livelihoods and welfare. However, the significance of land differs widely. The most common conception of land is as a natural or economic resource. In economics, which addresses the allocation of scarce resources (Black, 2003), land is listed as one of the crucial factors of production – the others being capital, labour and entrepreneurship (Stilwell and Jordan, 2004). However, the importance of land extends beyond its function as a factor of production. It can also be seen as a commodity. According to Stilwell and Jordan (2004), land is an investment in two different ways: it can generate profit simply through speculation where individuals purchase it after assessing and establishing that the value of the location would increase in the future. Secondly, land can be improved to increase its value through building, renovation or producing something on it.

Many scholars highlight that land use decisions are motivated by economic considerations. Koontz (2001) uses an economic model to explain land use decision-making at a macro level. His findings reveal that such decision-making is primarily influenced by financial returns such as farming methods and the cultivation of crops after an assessment of the costs and benefits. It has also been argued that land use decisions are made considering risk preferences as stipulated in the land rent theory (Briassoulis, 2009). Decision makers consider the profit they could make on a given parcel of land and services associated with a particular land use activity (Koontz, 2001; Briassoulis, 2009).

Guillem *et al.* (2015) state that land use decisions are made in response to changes in the economy. Market forces and commodity price fluctuations often influence farmers when deciding what to cultivate. Land use decisions in the rural and urban areas of developing countries are often motivated by poverty and the need to generate an income and produce food

(May and Rogerson, 1995; Kombe, 2005; Kuiper and Van der Ree, 2006; Lemanski, 2009; Cousins and Scoones, 2010). Lemanski (2009) illustrates how the urban poor in Cape Town build backyard shacks (informal dwellings) either for income generation or to house family members.

Fisher (2016) explains that land is perceived as an object with enduring value: it is holdable and appreciated for its natural resources or materials. Land's material use includes various activities such as collecting firewood and medicinal plants, agriculture, grazing for animals, extraction of minerals, raw materials (e.g., timber), residence and many other natural resources that can either be for livelihoods or profit generation (Ferguson, 2013; Li, 2014).

However, a study conducted by Kepe *et al.* (2008) in rural South Africa, revealed that subsistence agriculture no longer plays a vital role in meeting the needs of rural households as most people rely on social grants and employment. A similar study conducted by Kepe and Tessaro (2014) found that rural land did not make a significant contribution to livelihoods as the owners of the land did not have access to resources such as cash for agricultural inputs (seed, fertilizer, labour and fences) that would allow them to productively utilise the land (e.g., for crops).

Some scholars recognise land as a territory and a form of identity. Sauer (2012) sees land as a territorial space that can be identified and located in a place, which is thus used for work and dwelling. Ferguson (2013) argues that territory is a place that can be called home. People may feel connected to their home and their attitudes towards the land may differ. It may be perceived as a resting place, a place to care for the sick, a sacred place, a place for parents to whom they owe loyalty and service, a place to host ceremonies, and a home that is used to foster connections among family members.

Traditional African societies consider land as a source of identity. Kepe *et al.* (2008) argue that land is an important part of an individual's identity which may motivate them to use it in a particular way. For example, many people from South Africa's rural areas have a strong connection to their place of birth because their umbilical cord buried in the land to indicate a symbolic attachment to the place. Furthermore, many others have a preference to return to their homesteads following retirement and to be buried in their place of birth.

Datta (2015) defines land as a symbol of respect, blessing and connection with the ancestors. Indigenous people may feel spiritually and emotionally connected to the land because of the

belief that land is 'god', who takes care of them (Datta, 2015). A similar study conducted by August (2009) revealed that African traditional societies regard land as a sacred space because it is where the ancestors, spirits and community live. Land forms part of agrarian societies' identity, which is expressed through ritual, music, dance and rites of passage (August, 2009). Some people believe that land is connected to their ancestors as it is passed from one generation to another (Li, 2014), which has resulted in a reluctance to sell property because of this ancestral connection attached to the land.

Some South Africans regard land as a symbol of citizenship, which is central to exercising their democratic rights (James, 2017). This has encouraged land hunger among Black people who demand a return of the land that was forcibly taken from them. In both instances, the land may not be used but is valued for its symbolic significance. In this way, owning land is part of exercising their democratic rights and an indication of a hard-fought struggle.

Land is not only perceived as a symbol of citizenship, economic resources, livelihood strategies, territory and identity, but is also an important determinant of power relations in society. In patriarchal African societies, ownership, access to and control of land remains in the hands of men, while women can only access it through marriage (Ferguson, 2013). This has led to women's vulnerability, especially unmarried women, as they have no control of resources and are forced to rely on their partners. In rural areas, land often falls within the ambit of customary law which continues to reinforce unequal power relationships between males and females in terms of land use and ownership (Hendricks and Ntsebeza, 1999).

Given land's multiple functions and meanings in people's lives, it is important to understand the decisions that people make about its use. Land use decision-making involves allocating space to competing demands and thus deciding on how the space will be used for different purposes (Knopp and Bruder, 1982). Many scholars argue that land use decisions are motivated by economic optimisation. In economics, optimisation refers to the best use of an object to maximise benefits and minimise costs (Zenios, 2007). An assessment of profit, cost, revenue production and utility is important to achieve optimal use. As Koontz (2001) explains, farmers make decisions on which crops to cultivate after assessing the costs and benefits with the aim of generating sufficient profit that can be used to promote economic prosperity or for subsistence by poor people where they will generate livelihoods (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007). Bouman (2002) notes that economic optimisation is not only concerned with the present but also considers future revenue. May (2015) argues that economic optimisation ensures that if

space is not used for its intended purpose, it can be utilised for other purposes or the owner can sell or lease it. The author adds that the economic optimisation of space requires resources to enable optimal usage.

In contrast to this popular belief, this present study aims to critique this economist point of view mentioned above because it presents a narrow view of what influences of land use decisions especially in developing countries where people who hold land have limited economic opportunities to increase its value or generate income from it. The study focuses on land use decisions in a marginalised settlement in an urban setting: Fingo Village in Makhanda (Grahamstown) in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. Fingo Village is one of the poorest areas in the city and the only Black township with large plots that average about 1 000 square metres, whereas the size of plots in other colonial or apartheid townships ranged from 76-600 square metres (Mills, 1989; World Bank, 2001; Lee, 2005). There is no doubt that the size of the landholding is important. For example, in most real estate marketing information on the size of the plot gives the potential buyer ideas about what it can be used for (Williams, 2016).

This study thus considered whether land size is a significant factor in land use decisions, as well as what such decisions mean for livelihoods. As Fingo Village is one of the poor urban areas with unoccupied spaces – an uncommon phenomenon in South African urban areas – there is a need to understand the power dynamics and lived experiences of the users as it is likely to influence the use of space. Focusing on the economic perspective is limiting. Henri Lefebvre's production of space theory provides a comprehensive understanding of the interaction between physical spaces, lived experiences and governance of the space by experts; it offers good insight into understanding all power dynamics involved (see Chapter Two).

Different methods were used to collect and analyse data. Semi-structured interviews and participatory mapping were used to collect primary data and previous studies used as part of the secondary data. Qualitative thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Approximately 36 households were included in the research sample; the detailed methodology of this study is presented in Chapter Five.

1.2 Research Aim and Objectives

1.2.1 Research Aim

This study aimed to understand land use decision-making dynamics on large residential plots in Fingo Village, Makhanda (Grahamstown) in South Africa; paying particular attention to how space is used (occupied) and the reasons or why it is not used (unoccupied), if any.

1.2.2 Research Objectives

The research objectives were:

- To understand the different rights that people hold on the residential plots (land tenure system).
- To explore what, and how, residential space is used (occupied), or what space is not used (unoccupied) by people.
- To investigate the factors influencing land use decision-making

1.3 Significance of the Study

This study intends to address a gap in literature and contribute to the growing body of knowledge on Fingo Village township and similar urban cases in South Africa and other countries where land and poverty can be observed alongside each other. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no previous studies have investigated and published data on the factors influencing household land use decision-making in Fingo Village. While scholars have examined the history, land tenure and registration of large residential plots in the township (Claassens and Cousins, 2008; Roux and Barry, 2010; Kingwill, 2011; Kingwill, 2014), they focused on Fingo Village residents receiving land parcels from the British colonists, the issues of land ownership and outdated land registration over the years. Other studies have only focused on livestock keeping and food gardening covering all the Makhanda (Grahamstown) townships (Thornton, 2008) and Fingo Village has a very different setting from these townships.

It is important to understand decisions regarding the use of land, including the purpose behind such usage or lack thereof, from their lived experiences. Further, the literature on land use decision-making often focuses on farming and rural areas in developing countries (Cousins and

Scoones, 2010). Given that land is a scarce resource, it is important to consider a broader spectrum of land use decisions. This study focuses on land use decision-making on residential space in an urban township of a developing country that was previously marginalised in terms of these debates. Since the research was conducted at a micro-level in an urban area, it is expected that various factors can influence land use decision making.

Fingo Village township is zoned for residential use, but some plots are also used for urban agriculture, household enterprises and rental accommodation. Thornton (2008) notes that people also keep animals on their residential plots despite disapproval from the Makana Municipality. Indeed, the municipality purchased local farms to relocate urban livestock from residential areas (Thornton, 2008). This study sheds light on the non-compliance of residents on this issue based on their lived experiences and reveals the participants' level of awareness of different residential land use policies, which could be useful information for local government.

Local newspaper, *Grocott's Mail*, reported that it is difficult to find safe, well-located and affordable rental accommodation in Makhanda (Grahamstown) (Sipungu, 2016). Sufficient rental accommodation in the townships could address this need. Fingo Village is the closest township to town and is possibly preferred because of its geographical location. The study's findings on this issue could offer useful perspectives for planners and those interested in the rental market.

According to Makana Municipality (2016), only 19% of the residents of Fingo Village are employed. Most property owners cannot afford to build houses on these large plots, while others have relocated to newer townships where the local government provides affordable houses, commonly known as RDP housing (named after the ANC government's Reconstruction and Development Programme²). Since this research project focused on large plots, its findings could assist in the development of appropriate policies and strategies to provide affordable housing to the poor.

Finally, most residents in Fingo Village rely on social grants for food security (Makana Municipality, 2016) and these large plots could potentially be used to support their livelihood strategies. The data presented in this study in the form of maps could assist local leaders and

² The African National Congress, which is the ruling political party in South Africa.

residents to better understand the layout of township to make informed decisions regarding the use of space.

1.4 Thesis Outline

This section outlines the details of the thesis, which is divided into eight chapters, as follows:

Chapter One: introduces the study by presenting a brief background, the research problem, the study's aims and objectives and the research questions. It also discussed the study's significance and outlined the structure of the thesis.

Chapter Two: outlines the conceptual framework that guided this study. The production of space thesis, particularly Lefebvre's spatial triad, is used to understand factors influencing household land use decision-making in Fingo Village.

Chapter Three: presents a literature review on dominant land use activities on township residential plots, including backyard dwellings, *spaza* shops, livestock keeping and food gardening, all of which are present in Fingo Village township.

Chapter Four: describes the study area, focusing on the history of Fingo Village and residential registration and land ownership.

Chapter Five: discusses the methodology employed to conduct this study. It presents the research design and discusses the sampling techniques employed to select the plot and participants as well as the methods used to gather and analyse the data. Ethical considerations and limitations of the study are also discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Six: presents the study's research findings, categorised according to the themes that emerged during data analysis. It explores how much space is occupied for which purposes and the factors influencing the usage of space.

Chapter Seven: presents the second part of the findings and discusses how much space is unoccupied or empty, including the factors influencing non-usage of space.

Chapter Eight: summarises and discusses the study's key findings about occupied and unoccupied spaces. The chapter also reflects on the implications of the study for research, policy and community practice.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTUALISING USE OF SPACE

2.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter One, from an economic perspective, land is a scarce resource that could be used to promote economic prosperity and enhance livelihoods. This way of thinking ignores power dynamics and lived experiences of users/inhabitants involved when land use decisions are made. Fingo Village in the Eastern Cape is a poor township with access to relatively large residential plots averaging about 1 000 square meters, but the residents have been unable to use the land to improve their welfare as predicted by the economic perspective. This calls for a deeper understanding of power dynamics when decisions about space use are made which can be achieved, as argued here, by using the production of space thesis that has been popularized by Henri Lefebvre, among others. Lefebvre, a French Marxist philosopher, developed the production of space thesis as a critique to Marxist thinking. He advanced abstract Marxist and capitalism by focusing on analysing spaces of everyday life by involving humans. Lefebvre argued that the organisation of human activities in a space is not only a product of capitalism, accumulation of wealth or state, but also lived experiences of the user/inhabitants (Lefebvre, 1991; Elden, 2007; Prudham and Heynen, 2011).

This chapter contextualises the use of space following the understanding promoted by Lefebvre and others who have since subscribed and developed his conceptual framework about space. Section 2.2 discusses the production of space focusing on social practices, representations of space and representational spaces, dialectic relationship and space and time. Section 2.3 discusses scholarly work that has been influenced by Lefebvre's ideas. Section 2.4. illustrates how the spatial triad is applicable in household land use decisions where spatial practices are influenced by representations of space and representational spaces. In the representations of space, the focus is on the spatial plans used to influence household land use decisions, while representational space is based on the power of the users/inhabitants to govern the use of spaces is discussed.

2.2 Production of Space

Social space is a social product which means that it is produced by the social practices that exist in society (Lefebvre, 1976; Lefebvre, 1991). Space is appropriated and dominated so it can be managed, used and exploited using different methods in response to particular events

(Lefebvre, 1976; Thrift, 2006). Social space has societal practices that assign an appropriate place to social relations (e.g. gender, sexuality, race, age, language and disability) and relations of reproduction (labour division hierarchy), which may have power on how space is produced, and used to discriminate (Lefebvre, 1991). Relations of production focus on the relationship between those with means of production and those without or social structures regulating production relations. Lefebvre (1991) was interested in analysing the relationship between capitalists (or bourgeoisie) and workers (or proletariat) as they produced the space. Workers were needed for the production process to create profit for the capitalist system while wages were often lower than the value of goods produced -- something that could have led to the struggles against, and desires to overthrow, capitalism.

Lefebvre used his notion of a spatial triad (spatial practice, representational and representations of space), as shown in Figure 2.1, to explore and understand the complexity of space, production, distribution of power and its utilisation by the society (Lefebvre, 1991; Hansen, 2013). Social space comprises activities that occur in a physical space where experts and users/inhabitants have the power to determine these land uses. Diverging experiences and interests are noted, unlike the use of economic perspective.

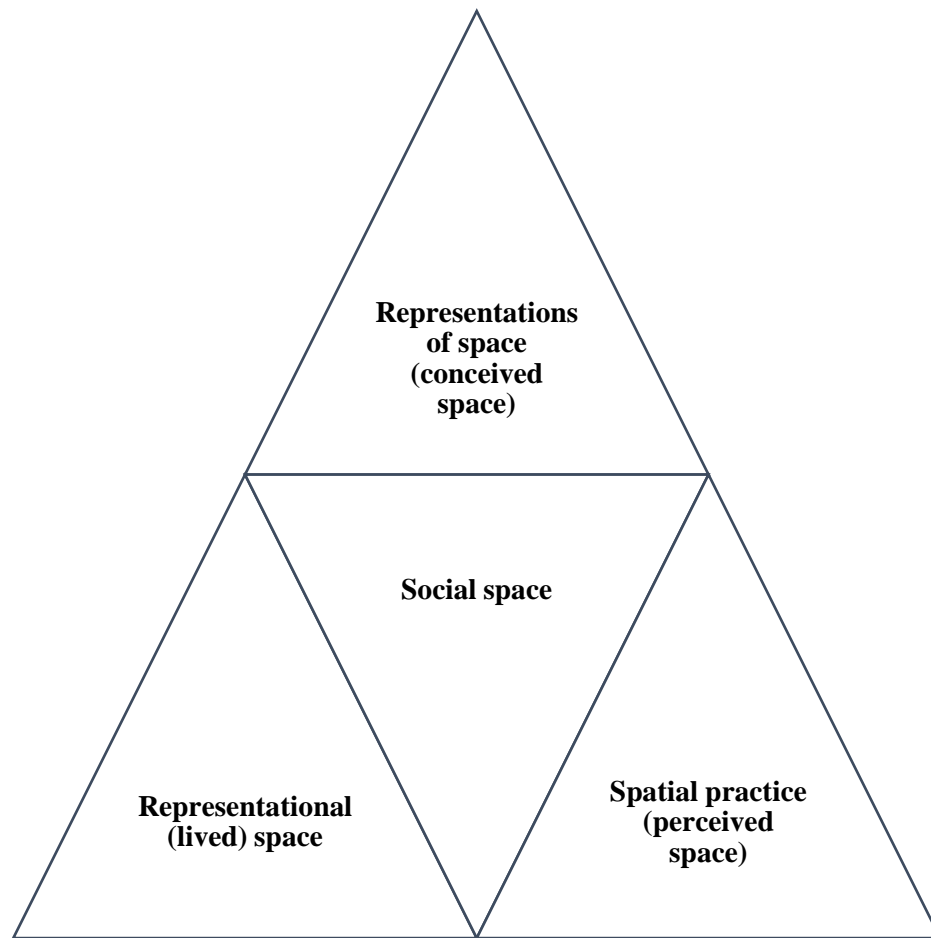


Figure 2.1: Lefebvre spatial triad, adapted from Hansen (2013)

2.2.1 Spatial Practice

Lefebvre first introduced the spatial practice as the physical space, which relates to the deciphering of space by society and its physical constructs of space by humans (Lefebvre, 1991). The tangible and physical transformation of space, including having buildings, infrastructure, fencing, daily routines, routes and networks linking work, private life and leisure, all represent spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991; Hansen, 2013). This is the real space, which is generated and used (Elden, 2007). It can be ideas developed by experts in the representations of space and now implemented on the ground which will require physical intervention that will change or transform physical space. Society and users will transform the space to serve their needs (Carp, 2008). Lefebvre (1991) notes that spatial practice is the space of alienation and resistance, as the users feel alienated by the capitalist system and resisting geometric ordering of the space by experts.

2.2.2 Representations of Space

Lefebvre's second realm is the representations of space: the space of knowledge, logics, maps and mathematics (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is seen as abstract, which means it is mentally constructed and imagined (Elden, 2007). There is a geometric ordering of space with spatial regulations and policies aimed at controlling bodies of spaces (Huxley, 2007). This space is produced as a collaboration between the state, capital accumulation and institutional knowledge. The power to dictate how space is used lies with scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers (Lefebvre, 1991). These experts meet and discuss verbally; these discussions are then made on the drawing boards, maps, images and lead to formulating codes and policies creating the dominant representations of space, which are then imposed on users as a guide to how space should be used (Lefebvre, 1991). For example, in natural resource management, politicians and conservation planners would spatially organise space through policy documents and plans (Hansen, 2013). Reyes (2016) argues that in privatised public spaces like shopping malls, the mall managers with power and rights who regulate services provided as well as what can be and cannot be done by the users on the mall premises. Additionally, experts such as a planner may formally visualise the representations of space through land zoning (Leary-Owhin, 2015). Representations of space has more power to influence spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991) and control how society uses the space.

Lefebvre (1991) explains how capitalism and neo-capitalism produced abstract space through its logic, strategies, power of money and state. This resulted in the development of bank networks, business centres, transport system and major productive entities. Lefebvre (1991) defines representations of space as a dominant space in society, which often shapes the spatial practices rather than representational space. The domination of the space is achieved through the production of spatial coded plans, maps, policies and spatial by-laws (Butler, 2009; Leary, 2013). The state has the authority to make rules that will guide and govern society (Scott and Marshall, 2009). As noted by Lefebvre (1991), the state is primarily concerned in organising society and subjecting society in its political organisation. The abstract space produced can result in war or violence as it often favours capitalism and the bourgeoisie which marginalises labourers who will do whatever it takes to transform spaces (Lefebvre, 1991).

2.2.3 Representational Space

Representational space is regarded as the space belonging to users or inhabitants who have the power to influence how the space is used (Lefebvre, 1991). Representational space is alive and embraces passion, actions and lived situations. Representations of space often want to enforce orders in this space, resulting in continuous resistance and counter-discourse. As Lefebvre (1991) argues, representational space is a space that does not obey any rules of consistency and cohesiveness.

This was Lefebvre's main contribution towards understanding the production of space, which was to move away from an abstract way of thinking, but to also look at the lived experiences of ordinary people (Lefebvre, 1976; 1991). In other words, space is produced by users or inhabitants in a particular place as they perceive and experience it (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is not only produced for capital accumulation, but to furnish human means of subsistence as well as appropriately altering and producing it for everyday life or dwelling practices depending on the rights they hold on the land (Eaton, 2011). Hansen (2013) highlights how users produce the space and where they will use the space for subsistence needs including hunting, grazing and cropping. Lefebvre (1976) problematised how the production of space was conceptualised. He argued that town planning only included rigid techniques of the town planner at an abstract level emphasising the representations of space (Lefebvre, 1976). Also, the three dimensions of production planning excluded the users, as they ignored the lifestyle of the people, their needs, their customs and local context (Lefebvre, 1976). The first dimension focused on quantifying and measuring input and output of production. The second dimension focused on financial accounting, which paid attention to the cost of production. The third dimension focused on communication and transaction network as well as production and consumption centres.

Representational space is a space where culture intervenes; it is lived and shaped by human experiences, subjectivity and local knowledge as well as images and symbols (Lefebvre, 1991). Cultural knowledge is important in the production of space and determining how space is used. It might be presented in a form of habits, experiences, social rules, conducts and beliefs. It is transmitted between generations or from generation to generation through habit formation, observational and social learning.

Carp (2008) and Buser (2012) argue that lived space can evoke social norms and a deeper sense of the meanings of space experienced individually or collectively as a society. Space is

experienced through the heart and attachment to space, not necessarily through the expert's orders. The lived experiences of the users are often in a contest with the representations of space to reflect the identities of the inhabitants (Jones, 1994). Jones (1994) refers to European urban design and street naming adopted by Latin American governments where, in 1987, the Puebla community organised each other and contested the space to reflect their identity. Witt (2005) reveals that sometimes-lived experiences are in support of conceived space, mentioning an example of how culturally acquired knowledge of hunting, preparing food or artefacts may require tools produced by the tool maker's knowledge. This leads to the idea of the spatial triad dialectic relationship.

2.2.4 Production of Space: Dialectic Relationship, Time and Space

The spaces in the triad are not mutually exclusive; they affect each other and are intrinsically connected, interact and overlap (Lefebvre, 1991). Understanding each space as a separate structure is insufficient (Lefebvre, 1991; Elden, 2007). The order created in the representations of space will be imposed in representational space. For example, a park is conceived as it is designed and produced by planners. Similarly, space may be transformed as it is perceived and lived as it used by users/inhabitants, social actors and groups (Elden, 2007). For example, shack (shanty) dwellings (spatial practice) are mushrooming in spaces within urban areas of Latin America where the urban poor invaded and built the shacks because they could not afford to buy land (representational space), while town planners (representations of space) have reserved the space for other uses (Jones, 1994).

The production of space often involves conflict, struggles and contradiction as people value space differently (Lefebvre, 1991). This is a challenge since spaces are filled with experts and users with different needs and desires resulting in conflict because users often feel excluded and marginalised. Hansen (2013) shows a dialectic relationship in the spatial triad, which resulted in resistance and spatial conflict in the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, South Africa. In such case, spatial conflict emerged when conservation planners (representations of space) decided to erect a fence as a material tool to prevent illegal poaching and excessive fishing (spatial practice). This conflicts with representational space as users of space are now restricted access to natural resources and felt excluded when decisions were made. The users of the space ended up not complying with the expert rules and continued using the space the way they wanted which is governed by local conventions.

Time is important as the production of space can change at any period depending on social circumstances (Lefebvre, 1991). Space is not fixed; it is constantly produced. Bunce (2008) notes that the power to influence spatial practice among the actors in the spatial triad cannot be predicted, as it varies in space and time. In the case of the Latin American example above, we see poor residents winning over town planners, and ending up building informal settlements. Chigwenya (2020) provides an example where there is continued contestation on how space is used. In Zimbabwe, the bylaws of city council of Masvingo demand all urban informal traders to have permits for trading with designated trading areas such as markets not city centres. However, informal traders often fail to follow these bylaws because they do not have permits despite wanting to sell in the city centre which often results in the clashes with the city council. The informal traders are often arrested or their goods confiscated (Chigwenya, 2020).

Since space is a social product, it can be reproduced but this is linked to how things have shifted over time. During the Medieval era, space was lived through the experiences of the peasants, where they preserved it for its symbolism, which was later changed by European capital accumulation (Lefebvre, 1991). Capitalism produced abstract space with mathematical systems that allowed the space to be mapped and divided in location to allow the capitalist system of production to flourish.

2.3 Production of Space Scholarship

Scholars who have written on Lefebvre's work argue that he saw most analyses on the production of space focusing on the superficial level. For example, industrialisation and the capitalist system created a capitalist society with the state being actively involved in city planning, which programmed everyday life and behaviour of people (Elden, 2007). Lefebvre's work influenced many scholars in many directions. Smith (2008) discusses the production of space by focusing on the role of humans as labourers and consumers in the political economy. They were labours who also bought the commodities produced, which was important for capital accumulation. Understanding the lived experiences of humans became vital as they form part of the capitalist system. One cannot study the production of space without humans. Smith (1996) again shows how urban spaces can be produced through specific policies and gentrification. For example, at an abstract level, banks may refuse to give loans to racial minorities leading to the physical appearance of a particular area to become dilapidated and ultimately a decline in property prices. Additionally, marginalised people may be able to access

affordable spaces to work and live. On the other hand, property owners and developers get an opportunity to re-invest and improve a neighbourhood.

Schivelbusch (1978) analysed how space was produced by infrastructure development and expansion of railroads in the early 19th century. It changed how people experienced space, time and speed of travelling. Before railroad development, people's movement was limited by distance which meant they could only travel locally. After railroads were introduced, people could travel a long distance in the shorter time frame, which then encouraged them to move from seaside to countryside with ease. Time and space were altered as well as how people experienced the space. Schivelbusch's (1978) analysis is corroborated by the findings of Harvey (1991), who argues that transport systems play a major role in shaping space and time. Additionally, Schivelbusch (1978), King (1980) and Harvey (1991) show that production of space and time, not only focuses at an abstract level but also focuses on people's lived experiences.

dos Sontos (2014) reveals how space can be produced through dialectic relations and contradictions between varying agents. In urban areas, for example, a square house's location might be linked to its relations to other places and flow of services. On the other hand, it might be influenced by the local property market or personal meanings, experiences and memories. Space has different actors with different values and views on how space should be used (dos Sontos, 2014). Some view space as material, where the focus is for material gain and accumulation of wealth, while others view space as a symbolic space. This often results in spatial conflict about how space should be used.

Woolf (1929) discusses how social relations in the production of public space can be discriminatory, which results in struggles to access the space. In a way, she critiques how spatial practices have a gendered nature where it allows male domination while discriminating against women. The article is based on her experiences in London where she was refused access to Oxford library because of her gender. She calls for these spaces to be reproduced where women would have a room of their own in order to write successfully.

Shaw (2020) emphasises the importance of access to finance in the production of space. He argues that it can structure or regulate how space is produced as it can be an enabling or restricting factor. For example, the poor may use public transport or walk to access space, which might be limiting, while rich can go wherever they want as they drive. This can influence

access to food because of the location of the markets and car ownership. Because poor people do not own cars, they rely on local markets that sell food that is likely expensive and not fresh, while the rich can easily access healthy and cheaper food at any location. This is the case of Fingo Village as presented in this study because finances are critical in making space do what the user desires.

Gordon (2012) discusses the production of urban public space in South Africa. She argues that public spaces are socially produced at an abstract level, which influences how people on the ground use it. Gordon (2012) explains how public spaces were produced during apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. During apartheid, there were several legislations including Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act, which ensured that spatial practices were based on race. Post-1994, South African planners, academics, urban designers and architects were mandated to create strategic spatial planning that is socially inclusive for all, where the use of race as a basis for access to public space was eliminated as the new Constitution emphasised citizenship, respect and diversity.

Nkooe (2018) conducted another study in South Africa where she used the production of space to explore how public spaces (parks, squares and streets) are used and organised in Mangaung. She argues that public spaces were appropriated by inhabitants with unpoliced spatial practices, where they vandalised and littered causing spaces to deteriorate. At the presentations of space, Mangaung bylaws in the spatial plan were not enforced, which resulted in the decay of these public spaces.

The scholars discussed above have shown the importance of understanding these spaces as well as the dialectic relationships between representational space, representations of space and spatial practices when spaces are produced. This study then focuses on the production of space regarding household land use and dialectic relationship of the spatial triad. The following discussion illustrates factors that can influence the production of space and how it relates to household land use.

2.4 Production of Space and Household Land Use

This study focuses on a household level where spaces are produced and used. The physical use of space depending on how space is perceived by users as well as abstract ideas of space are discussed. The most common different land use activities found in most urban townships in South Africa are mentioned in Chapter Three, including backyard dwellings, *spaza* shops,

food gardening and livestock keeping. All physical use of space can be influenced by the realm of representations or representational, as discussed in the following sections.

2.4.1 Representations of Space

At the representations of space, the focus is on the role of the state (local, provincial and national) that adopts different concepts, rationalities and programmes to the use of space. Many other parties regulate the behaviour of others and space use, including missionaries, scientists, activists, non-state actors, non-governmental organisations, international organisations, companies, markets, the monarchy, and donors, as well as any other methods that can seek to govern space use and manage the environment in a particular way (Li, 2007; Rose-Redwood, 2006; Jazeel, 2009; Robbins, 2012). This study focuses only on the state as it was conducted on urban residential plots where other actors exert minimal influence.

In South Africa, urban governance is often carried out by the local government (municipality), embedded in the national and provincial agenda (Oldfield, 2002). The municipality represents the interest of the residents in particular jurisdictions and is responsible for providing service delivery and development of the area. The municipality may be required to develop an Integrated Development Plan (IDP), which is a strategic development plan for over five years. It informs all planning, budget, management and decision-making in a particular municipal space. The IDP addresses the issues of land use zoning and provision of service delivery, which can influence how land is used at a household level.

i) Land Use Zoning

Land use zoning controls household land use decisions in urban areas, but personal factors also come into play on individual plots. Lamer (2004:1) defines zoning as a "police power measure enacted by units of local government under a permissive state legislature". It aims to promote the safety, welfare, health and morals of users/inhabitants as well as to ensure that land use activities are separate from one another. Zoning laws generally adopt broad land use categories, namely, commercial, industrial, agriculture and residential (Lamer, 2004). This means that land use zoning can be regarded as imposing restrictions on how owners use their land, rather than its use being based on the perceived societal socio-economic patterns. It is regulated by local government, differs across space, and determines what can and cannot be built in a certain area, and the activities permitted on a piece of land.

Land use zoning was adopted in Europe in the 19th century (Lamer, 2004) to separate industries and factories from residential areas in London and Paris, as these cities were affected by pollution and industrial development (Lamer, 2004). Separating land use was successful as it improved the lives of urban residents and their lifespan. In 1916, New York City also adopted a comprehensive zoning policy, including restrictions on building height, window access, bulk and setbacks of the building (Lamer, 2004).

Regulating building plans and construction to ensure that they are safe and conducive for human habitation is part of dispositional and generative spatial rationality. Building plans are often drawn by professional architects. A plan needs to be submitted for construction and alteration of the structure and approved by the municipality. In most countries (including South Africa, Belgium, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden and The Netherlands), the national government creates building regulations which are then adopted by local municipalities (Meijer *et al.*, 2002). The aim is to promote "uniformity in the law relating to the erection of the buildings in the areas of jurisdiction of the local authorities; for the prescribing of building standards; and matters connected therewith" (National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act 103 of 1977:3). The national building regulations ensure that buildings are safe against fire and floods, healthy, conducive for human habitation, solidity constructed, and aesthetically pleasing, and do not negatively impact the value of neighbouring buildings (Meijer *et al.*, 2002). The role of the local municipality (through an appointed building control officer) is to ensure that building plans meet these requirements before construction commences and through to completion. Residents can only occupy the building once they have a certificate of occupancy. Njoh (2009) describes a building plan as the method used by the government to control the physical and spatial structures of urban areas to ensure spatial uniformity. Property owners must comply with the building regulations adopted by their local municipality and must, therefore, hire an architect to draw up plans (Meijer *et al.*, 2002). The municipality has the power to reject a plan that does abide by the rules and to penalize those that fail to comply by demolishing the building if the owner is unprepared to make the necessary alterations; they are also empowered to demolish dilapidated buildings if their owners fail to undertake renovations (Meijer *et al.*, 2002).

In response to rapid urbanisation and population increase as well as rising unemployment and poverty, many developing countries transitioned from strict urban land use zoning to mixed land use during the 1970s (May and Rogerson, 1995; Kombe, 2005; Kuiper and Van der Ree,

2006; Lemanski, 2009). Mixed land use refers to the process where different land uses are co-located in an integrated manner that supports sustainable access to transport and increases neighbourhood amenities. It results in compact development, employment opportunities and access to livelihoods strategies for the poor.

While Lamer (2004) notes that some cities continue to only allow specific land use within a given zone, mixed land use on residential plots is part-and-parcel of sustainable urban development to create employment opportunities and access to resources, reduce urban poverty and generate income (May and Rogerson, 1995; Kombe, 2005; Kuiper and Van der Ree, 2006; Lemanski, 2009). Today, most urban residential plots host multiple land use activities such as housing, urban agriculture, backyard dwellings or small businesses. The following cities allow multiple land use activities: India (New Delhi and Bangalore), Tanzania (Dar es Salaam), Zimbabwe (Harare), Ghana (Accra) and South Africa (Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London and Mthatha). However, keeping livestock on residential plots is still prohibited in urban areas as it results in pollution and human health problems. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, this has not prevented some people from keeping livestock in residential areas. There is spatial contradiction between the state and land users as they have opposing views on how space should be used.

ii) State Assistance

As noted by Lefebvre, representations of space are powerful as they influence the lived experiences of the users. The state formulates policies and strategies that regulate the provision of basic service delivery that impacts household land use decision-making. It is the role of urban government to provide sufficient and affordable basic services (Avis, 2016). Provision of water, sanitation, waste management and housing is important for the health and well-being of the residents. However, the exacerbated urbanisation rate in most developing countries often constrains the delivery of these services (Avis, 2016). This creates spatial conflict that leads service delivery protests in developing countries as representations of space fail to deliver.

Services such as affordable housing, electricity, roads and water are crucial for human survival and can promote different land use activities that have the potential to alleviate poverty and unemployment. The provision of basic services may encourage people to use their properties for food production, tourism and other entrepreneurial activities (Local Government Budget and Expenditure Review, 2011). For example, providing road infrastructure facilitates the

movement of goods to high-value urban markets and people in rural municipalities (Local Government Budget and Expenditure Review, 2011). This can augment household income and improve food access. It is thus important that a municipality identifies and provides the basic services required by a community. This shows that services provided by the state such as infrastructure provision can influence spatial practices and users/inhabitants are able to use land productively.

State assistance can also influence agricultural land use. The South African democratic government adopted land redistribution policies and recognised the need to support those that acquired land to use it productively, access infrastructure and meet short term expenses (National Department of Agriculture, 2001). Xaba and Roodt's (2016) study in Macleantown found that land reform beneficiaries had not received funding and continued to depend on social grants, making it hard to invest in the land. The authors thus concluded that land reform had failed. This shows that people need support from the state in order to use the land productively. In contrast, smallholder farmers in the Eastern Cape received state assistance through the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) that encouraged the formation of a partnership for the mass production of crops and livestock (Kepe and Tessaro, 2014). AsgiSA assisted with the necessary inputs and the farmers were able to use the land productively, which increased yields. However, tensions around land tenure rights led to the withdrawal of state assistance and yields dropped (Kepe and Tessaro, 2014). The power of representations of space to influence how space is used can be limited by how land is owned, which may be influenced by culture. This shows that representations of space cannot be perceived independently from representational of space.

If the state fails to invest or to provide service delivery to the users/inhabitants, it can result in communities receiving assistance from non-state actors. In Turkana county, Kenya, communities received assistance from non-state actors (Enns and Bersaglio, 2015). Turkana county is an oil-rich area that has attracted many oil companies. The state has adopted a hands-off approach and service delivery is left in the hands of non-state actors, particularly oil companies and humanitarian organisations. Enns and Bersaglio (2015) note that this is not without its challenges as it has the potential to create spatial conflict. For example, the funding might be limited to projects that only benefit a few where the primary motivation is to generate profit rather than promote the interests of the community.

The following discussion focuses on the cadastral system, which is not managed at the municipal level but falls under national government and coordinated provincially by the Deeds Registry Office. However, the information is important for urban governance as land registration under the cadastral system is another form for ordering space.

iii) Cadastral System

The cadastral system is used by most countries to govern land ownership and boundaries. It has two components: land registration which records who has what rights and the conditions attached and cadastre which records of the spatial unit including the boundaries, size, value and the rights attached to the property (Zavenbergen, 2004). The cadastre information is based on the survey boundaries of the country or district using mathematical formulae. Cadastre data is usually presented in the cadastral map with the property boundary, parcel identifier and location (Silva and Stubkjaer, 2002; Zavenbergen, 2004). Following the adoption of the Roman-Dutch legal system, British authorities made the cadastral system compulsory in South Africa in 1813 (Kingwill, 2014; Hornby *et al.*, 2017). Property boundaries in the country are usually drawn using the corner beacons, which are often joined by imaginary straight lines and curvilinear ones in some circumstances (Align Survey, 2015; Hornby, 2017).

The cadastral database contains information on land registration, which is divided into the parcels assigned to different individuals. It also houses information on land rights and other resources rights. This information is important when issuing a title deed, which formally registers the property in the name of a particular person (Butcher and Oldfield, 2009). The title deed must state the name of the owner, the rights associated with the property and its use. Such deeds are another method adopted by governments to control land use, collect municipal payments and manage land transactions as well as ownership (Njoh, 2009; Hornby, 2017), while landowners require a title deed to obtain a loan to develop the property.

A study conducted by Hornby (2017) in Ekuthuleni near Eshowe, KwaZulu-Natal revealed the challenges posed by the cadastral system. Firstly, many poor people cannot afford the services of a surveyor and conveyancer to obtain a title deed. Secondly, the system does not accommodate customary or local land administration systems or issues relating to kinship, household needs and nested ownership. Under such systems, land ownership occurs using social acknowledgement. While this study was conducted in a rural area, Abrahams's (2017) research in Johannesburg produced similar results. In this city, poor people occupy land and

erect informal dwellings with no title deeds or measured land parcels. They are thus not included in the cadastral system. The findings of both studies reveal that, while the state might require people to register land, people may not comply with the law. Hornby *et al.* (2017) point out that most poor and marginalised people do not register their properties. Registration only works for the middle class and wealthy people in South Africa. This dilutes the state's ability to control land use, collect municipal fees and manage land ownership. Abrahams (2017) argues that this might force municipalities to devise other acceptable strategies at the local level.

The current study offered an opportunity to examine how land registration in the cadastral system has influenced land use. The use of cadastral system is part of conceived ideas of the state, which is challenged by representational space such as customary land tenure and affordability of the users/inhabitants. The following section discusses representational space.

2.4.2 Representational Space

As this study is based on household land use decisions, it is important to focus on the users of the space by looking at their lived experiences in this space. The area of interest is the power of the users to guide themselves toward a particular end, which can take place in two ways. First, the state adopts an overall framework of laws, policies and techniques, while the users/inhabitants of space self-govern using state regulations to guide their conduct (Besley, 2010). The aim is to create autonomous subjects who can rationally govern themselves. However, there is no guarantee that people will abide by the rules of the state government, they can either cooperate or resist. An example is residents continuing to keep livestock on urban residential plots when it is expressly forbidden by municipal bylaws. The second manifestation of self-government is that society and individuals seek to shape individual behaviours by persuading people to act according to societal, spiritual, or pastoral, cultural norms or regulations as well as based on what they know and needs of the society (Dean, 1994).

The representational space is governed by power dynamics emanating from how land is owned, available resources, conflicting views, and preferences as well as the exertion of influence over others. However, there also external factors, such as the biophysical environment, which are often beyond the user's control. While there has been growing interest in the study of household power dynamics, no reliable indicators exist to measure these. The following sub-sections

discuss common factors identified in the literature that influence household land use decision-making, including land tenure rights, resources, the meanings of land and biophysical factors.

i) Land Tenure Rights

In the representational spaces, different land tenure systems are adopted and extra-legal means. Land tenure is simply about how rights to a particular property are held. Such rights are defined as the institutional framework that determines who has the right to use, transfer and control property (Cotula, 2007). Thus, a land tenure system determines who has the power to make land use decisions. People with the power to make household land use decisions are those with stronger land tenure rights (Goldstein and Udry, 2008). Alchian (2018) states that an owner with complete property rights determines the use and delegates, rents or sells the property. In selling the property, the owner has the right to determine the price, provided that the buyer agrees. If renting, he/she has the right to choose the tenant as well as determine the rent and duration of the contract and property rights assigned to the tenant.

Isaksson (2015) notes that there are unequal land rights patterns among households. These arise from the types of rights an individual has, which can either be *de jure* or *de facto*. *De jure* property rights refer to those protected by statutory written law or a land title deed, while *de facto* property rights exist in reality or practice and there is no formal title (Butcher and Oldfield, 2009). Isaksson (2015) argues that in most rural areas, *de facto* rights are used and land tenure is enforced under customary law. This means that rights are held by the clan or family with different individual rights based on social status or group membership and accessed through complex systems of multiple rights (Cotula, 2007). The customary land tenure system emphasises collective rights that are based on flexibility, negotiations and reciprocal arrangements that differ from one area to another (Cotula, 2007). The land is allocated to the land management authority, such as the chief or a smaller family unit, and is inherited from generation to generation. However, it cannot be sold. Rights to land change over time and space depending on its on-going use (Cotula, 2007). A study conducted in South Africa by August (2009) revealed that most land in rural communities is owned by tribal or clan leaders and allocated to men when they marry. The idea is that men will establish households. The land remains the property of the tribe or clan and men are regarded as the administrators who act in the interests of the tribe or clan (August, 2009).

The customary land tenure system is governed by gender dynamics, which assign roles that are constructed by society and culture. Gender defines ways of being as well as the different powers assigned to women and men. Patriarchal societies emphasise the power, control, aggression and dominance of men, and the subordinate position of women (Davis, 1976; Bartley *et al.*, 2008). Males thus feel superior while females occupy inferior positions. This is evident in the decision-making process. Males are seen as the heads of households and have the final authority to make decisions including on matters outside the household such as career choices, allocation of resources and finances (Bartley *et al.*, 2008). Females may hold power inside the household as they are responsible for household activities, children and maintaining family relationships. As a result, females develop a specific relationship with resources that are used daily. For example, a woman might decide what to eat for dinner while a man could decide what type of car to buy. The distinction here is drawn between what is feminine or masculine. The power to make household decisions may reside in the roles assigned to each gender rather than individuals.

Cotula (2007) notes that women's right to land under the customary system is under threat, limiting their power to make land use decisions. Firstly, women cannot inherit land. If a woman's husband dies, the land is inherited by his brother or son. It is for this reason that women are under pressure to produce a male heir. Women are regarded as producers with limited rights rather than owners of the land. While the customary land tenure system has changed over the years due to interventions by the government and the courts, there are places where it is still practised (Cotula, 2007). The fact that women cannot secure land tenure in a community governed by customary traditions reduces their ability to make significant land use decisions. However, they may have the power to make decisions about the management of the land because they are key household food producers (FAO, 2002). For instance, in poor areas, a woman might cultivate food to feed her family while the man may generate an income by selling crops at the market. Puspitawati (2013) and Sajogyo (1985) found that, in Indonesia, the more women used the land or engaged in different land uses, the more they participated in decision making.

Seniority also determines who makes household decisions and is important in most traditional African societies. Seniority is linked to authority and respect; age determines the level of influence a person has in the household. For example, an old male head of household will be less inclined to alter land use activities than younger men (Koontz, 2001; Briassoulis, 2009).

Women in traditional societies are often excluded from decision making because they are younger than their spouses and are regarded as inferior. Unicef (2007) provides evidence that, in most developing countries in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, husbands are approximately five years older than their wives, which increases their bargaining power. This bargaining power is also influenced by their age differences and the woman's age at marriage. As women grow older, they are more likely to participate in household decision making (Miescher, 2007). However, it is unlikely that men will respect women the same age as them due to hegemonic masculinity. Young children are regarded as passive in the decision-making process until they reach adolescence (Moehling, 2005). Children's level of influence increases as they secure employment and contribute financially to the household. Kingwill (2014) notes that in African families if the parents die, the eldest son inherits the property and has the power to make final decisions.

De jure rights, or statutory written law, govern most land in urban areas and some rural land managed by companies and churches. These rights are recognised through a title deed that registers the property in the cadastral system under the name of a particular person or entity (Butcher and Oldfield, 2009). The aim is to prove legal ownership and security of access to the property. The title deed is important in transferring and selling the property, as well as access to it. However, Butcher and Oldfield's (2009) study in urban areas in Zambia (Lusaka) and South Africa (Cape Town) showed that residents without title deeds still have the security of tenure. In Lusaka, property ownership is recognised through local understanding, approval by family members and customary permission. In Cape Town, access is dependent on a history of living on the property. The longer the tenants occupy a property, the more they regard themselves as the rightful owners. Some tenants claim ownership of the property if they have contributed and invested in construction on it.

Furthermore, Isaksson's (2015) research in Rwanda revealed that individuals might have *de jure* rights or title deeds, but this does not guarantee access, control or use of the property. The right to use and control might occur through social acknowledgement, investing in the property, such as by planting trees or having personal experiences on the property (Isaksson, 2015). Therefore, land use decision making is not necessarily determined by a title deed but also arises as a result of informal strategies. Furthermore, in some cases, it is dependent on the gender roles assigned by society.

Extra-legal strategies can also be employed to access, benefit and control the property. This refers to the process of acquiring rights using illegal methods. For example, people may access the property and control land use decisions through intimidation, corruption, coercion, violence and theft (Leach *et al.*, 1999; Ribot and Peluso, 2003; Kepe, 2008). The aim is to boost their bargaining power and reduce other people's opinions, gain control and maintain power (Manuh, 2001). Kepe (2008) notes that in South Africa and Ghana some people employ protest and resistance to overrule legal impediments to access land from which they are excluded. This clearly shows conflict as there are spatial struggles as people want access to land. This might be regarded as illegal in terms of statutory law but could be approved by customary law and social norms and rules (Leach *et al.*, 1999; Kepe 2008). The different land tenure systems present in the representational space are influenced by cultural norms (customary land tenure), power dynamics and resistance (extra-legal means) and representations of space through formal land registration in the cadastral system. This shows that, in the representational space, there is no guaranteed set of rules that implies – nor is there – consistency and cohesiveness when it comes to tenure system.

ii) Resources

Users of space may have varying access to resources that influence production of space and land use decision making because it can determine whether, and how, space is used. Economic theory regards resources such as land (a natural resource), capital (financial/capital resources) and labour (human resources) as important means of production (Ngige, 2014). Given that this study focuses on land use decision making, production of space will be limited by access to capital and labour. The land available in this case – Fingo Village – has been documented as one of the poor communities in South Africa. Shaw (2020) argues that finance can structure or regulate how space is produced as it can be an enabling or restricting factor. As noted by Kepe and Tessaro (2014), in some rural areas of South Africa, fields are left fallow due to limited access to resources such as fertilizer, labour and fencing. Fences are important as they prevent free-ranging livestock from destroying crops. In addition, older farmers need to hire labour as the youth are no longer interested in farming.

Bartley *et al.* (2008) also show that at a household level, land use decision-making depends on the individual's resource contributions to the family. The resources available to an individual, in varying degrees, may be converted into the rights to make or participate in decision-making and is also subject to change. A family member that seeks to control or influence household

decisions must have resources otherwise he/she is likely to be excluded from decision-making. Those with more resources have more influence. Furthermore, if a person is already part of household decision-making processes and gains access to additional resources, their influence will increase. In this instance, gender and age do not have a bearing on decision making as only a person with important resources has the power to make decisions. Enete and Amusa's (2010) study concluded that Nigerian females did not participate in cocoa-based agro-forestry household farming because they were not able to make a financial contribution. Bartley *et al.* (2008) argue that as women get educated, obtain well-paying jobs and contribute financial resources and information, they are more likely to be involved in decision-making. This means that when females earn wages and contribute to the household, patriarchal norms are relaxed, and they become more powerful which promotes gender equality.

Moehling (2005) notes that young people who make a financial contribution towards the household also gain more influence. Bradshaw's (2013) research on the influence of income on household decision-making in the urban and rural area in Nicaragua found that family members that contributed a portion of their income to the household played a significant role in decision-making. This proves that resource contribution is very important and can change one's position in the household. However, a study conducted by Daplah (2013) concluded that the amount a person contributes may not always translate into household decision-making rights. Based on the unitary model, a family may adopt income pooling where everyone contributes but one person decides how the money will be used. In this instance, it does not matter how much you have contributed.

iii) Meanings of Land

At the representational space, it is also important to consider that people's use of land has a direct correlation to the associated meaning of land which is often linked to desired uses, the needs and attachment of the users/inhabitants' as well as connection with the space. Paul and Nagendra (2017) argue that land use is influenced by demands and needs or expectations. In 1969, Larimore conducted a study to understand land use decision-making processes concerning natural resources in Africa. The findings revealed that people's use of space "is shaped by individually held attitudes, values and preference" (Larimore, 1969:276) which varies across individuals, and from culture to culture, and place to place, and is subject to change. For example, a person in a traditional society may perceive land differently from a Western-trained observer. The socio-cultural, economic, and political attitudes and values

attached to space may influence how individuals perceive space, which influences decision-making and resource use (Larimore, 1969).

Knopp and Bruder (1982) argue that land use is dependent on individual space perceptions, which in turn are influenced by the political importance attached to the land, group affiliation, visibility of the area, individual experiences, the location of the area and modes of access. People perceive land in different ways because the meanings of land differ widely. Studying local people's perceptions is thus important because it may influence how individuals use land.

Literature indicates that the meaning of land differs and can influence land use activities (May and Rogerson, 1995; Koontz, 2001; Kombe, 2005; Black, 2003; Stilwell and Jordan, 2004; Li, 2014; Kuiper and Van der Ree, 2006; Kepe *et al.*, 2008; Briassoulis, 2009; Lemanski, 2009; Cousins and Scoones, 2010; Ferguson, 2013; Sauer, 2012; Kepe and Tessaro, 2014; Datta, 2015). This issue that what people do with, or decide about, the land has to do with how land is perceived and mean to them is discussed in details in the preamble to Chapter One.

Most people view land as an economic resource as it has material or natural resources that can be used to generate income. For example, minerals can be extracted and sold for cash (Li, 2014); crops can be cultivated and sold; or the land can be used to build flats or backyard dwellings for rental (Lemanski, 2009). The emphasis in this regard is on the economic use of space. Perceiving land as an economic resource is based on maximising its economic benefits by generating an income, which can be used to improve livelihoods or increase economic prosperity (Koontz, 2001; Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007). Landowners often adopt different land use activities that generate income such as backyard dwellings, *spaza* shops and cultivating crops to be sold in the market (May and Rogerson, 1995; Koontz, 2001; Kombe, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Charman and Piper, 2012). President Cyril Ramaphosa has noted that enabling poor black people access land would promote economic development and improve food security (Madia, 2018). The World Bank (2013) also argues that the optimisation of land can help reduce poverty and boost economic growth and shared prosperity.

Li (2014) and Fisher (2016) note that some people view land as a natural resource, which is appreciated for its material that is important for developing livelihoods strategies. A study conducted by Shackleton (2009) found that poor rural and urban South Africans benefit from harvesting natural resources and use edible herbs for food. Poor urban residents in Makana Municipality in the Eastern Cape rely on harvested firewood for fuel for cooking (Shackleton,

2009). In Bushbuckridge in rural Mpumalanga, people use plants for medicinal and cultural purposes (Shackleton, 2009).

The socio-cultural importance of land was also discussed in Chapter One (also see Kepe *et al.*, 2008; Sauer, 2012; Ferguson, 2013; Datta, 2015). Some people feel connected to the land and regard it a sacred space which they cannot sell. Even if the land is not used optimally in its current state, it will be passed from generation to generation. James (2017) adds that, for others, access to land is politically significant. It is a symbol of citizenship, an indication of hard-fought-for democracy (James, 2017). These examples contradict the notion of economic use of space supported by some economists, states and international agencies such as the World Bank.

iv) Biophysical Factors

People might want to use space in particular way but be limited by external factors that are sometimes hard to control. Robbins (2012) notes that non-human factors such as biophysical factors determine land use activities and sometimes constrain choices. Biophysical factors include climatic conditions, topography, land quality and insects (Briassoulis, 2009). Zhao *et al.* (2018) note that such factors affect farmers' yields and may be costly to address while labours are retrenched and lose wages. The Southern African region (Angola, South Africa, Lesotho and Namibia) is experiencing worst drought in years which has influenced how space is used (Relief web 2020). This drought has affected the agricultural sector as some farmers are unable to cultivate crops leading to decreasing food production, which creates a higher demand for food demand that ultimately increases food prices. The poor thus struggle to access food. Drought has also affected livestock production due to lack of water availability and palatable grass for grazing. Countries like Zambia (January 2020) as well as Malawi and Mozambique (March 2019) have also been affected by flooding that was caused by heavy rains and tropical Cyclone Idai respectively. In both events, this led to food insecurity as flooding destroyed crops and homes were forced to rely on humanitarian relief. Furthermore, people were displaced and killed.

Topography also impacts how space is used. Koontz (2001) observes that the location of land parcels and distance may also influence land use decision-making. For example, farmers may want to be located near markets to cut transport costs. Access to a road network and other transport infrastructure should also be considered (Briassoulis, 2009). Some spaces have been left unused because they are in the hillslope areas. For example, when cultivating in a hillslope

area, there is a possibility that crops can be washed downwards. Moreover, access by tractors is difficult in mountainous areas and the farmer will be either forced to prepare the land by hands or leave it unused (Briassoulis, 2009).

Land quality refers to the capacity of soil to function effectively in sustaining plant and animal productivity by maintaining or enhancing water and air quality to support human and habitation (Eswaran *et al.*, 1997). If the soil has low soil quality, agriculture productivity is also affected. A study conducted by Eswaran *et al.* (1997) shows that Africa is experiencing low-quality soil especially in desert areas with 16 % high-quality soil, 13% medium quality and the rest low quality. Soil may be acidic, have impermeable layers and waterlogging. If the soil needs to be used, there is a need to invest on training and skilling people to use the land productively as well as the purchasing of irrigation systems and fertilizer to improve soil productivity (Eswaran *et al.*, 1997).

Some insects are harmful to farm animals, humans and crops, which affects the way space is used. Sallam *et al.* (2013) cite the *tsetse* fly that transmitted trypanosomiasis to approximately 100 million people and 60 million cattle in sub-Saharan Africa. It reduced labour resources and prevented livestock growth as they could not survive the disease. This created a need to invest in *tsetse* fly treatment which most poor people could not afford and ultimately led to loss of lives and school dropouts. The availability of milk and meat production was affected as infected people needed to take time off for recovery (Bukachi *et al.*, 2017). Sallam *et al.* (2013) also mention herbivorous insects, which are responsible for destroying 20% (one fifth) of crop production annually. This requires massive effort to reduce insect population density to improve food supply (Sallam *et al.*, 2013). All these biophysical environmental factors are important when considering the type of land use activity to choose.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed Lefebvre's production of space idea, the different scholars that have been influenced by his thinking, and how it can be applied to land use as well as the factors that might be involved when decisions are made. Lefebvre used a spatial triad (representations of space, representational space and spatial practice) to explain how activities occur in a space as they interact, affect and overlap with each other. His thesis has been adopted to analyse the data presented in Chapter Six and Seven, which provides a holistic understanding of all factors and actors involved when space is used.

The analysis is not limited to economic factors, which are often seen as the main influencers. There is also a focus on spatial needs, relations, conditions or circumstances of the particular time. It is relevant in this study as it provided an understanding why people decide on particular land use activities in their household plots. This was achieved by analysing interaction in the spatial triad. The spatial practices focus on land use activities including the main house, backyard flats, *spaza* shops, a funeral parlour, livestock keeping, cultural use, and food gardening that are present in Fingo Village. Representations of space shows different strategies used by the state to influence land use activities. With regards to representational space, the focus is on lived experiences of people, which can influence how space is used. The following chapter presents the dominant spatial practices found in the South African townships.

CHAPTER THREE: SPATIAL PRACTICE ON RESIDENTIAL PLOTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two presented the Lefebvre's spatial triad conceptual framework, which has been used to show that spatial practices are a product of experts and lived experiences as well as laws and policies. This chapter presents a literature review on spatial practices that are considered to be one of the dominant activities and are able to strengthen economies while alleviating poverty in South African urban townships (Rogerson, 1993; McGaffin, 2015; Scheba and Turok, 2020). These land use activities were also observed in Fingo Village township. While the focus of previous studies might have been different from the current study in the sense that they did not necessarily explore land use decision-making alongside understanding power dynamics, they are useful in providing an understanding of the range of land uses in poor urban environments and their role in alleviating poverty, income generation, ownership and policy implications.

The chapter is divided into five sections. Section 3.2 discusses backyard dwellings as a prevalent land use activity where land rights holders accommodate family members and paying tenants on the property. Section 3.3 examines the increasing prevalence of *spaza* shops (informal shops) that are located on residential properties and owned by either household members or tenants. The fourth section explores household food gardening on residential plots, while section 3.5 discusses urban livestock keeping, where livestock is housed on residential plots in the evening. The last section presents a conclusion.

3.2 Backyard Dwellings

Lemanski (2009) defines backyard dwellings as informal shacks erected by occupiers of residential properties in a township. Shapurjee and Charlton (2013) note that such dwellings can be built by tenants, landlords (property owners) or both. It is a form of accommodation where tenants commonly live with a property owner on the same plot. Backyard dwellings are built in well-established townships, either at the front or back of the main house, for rental purposes or to accommodate relatives (Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013; Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2016).

Shapurjee and Charlton (2013) note that a backyard dwelling is typically constructed using a mixture of building material (such as wood, scrap metal, zinc and corrugated iron) and is a pre-fabricated, portable structure made of corrugated iron, wooden doors and cement floors. Other backyard dwellings are similar to RDP houses in that they are built using blocks or bricks for walls and corrugated iron for the roof (Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). Govender *et al.* (2011) note that cardboard can also be used to build such dwellings. This study considers all backyard dwelling types and regards such dwellings as any additional building structure built to accommodate people other than the main house.

3.2.1 Development of Backyard Dwellings in South African Townships

While the phenomenon of backyard dwellings mainly occurs in South Africa, similar structures exist in other major cities of the global south such as in Santiago, Chile (Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). In South Africa, the backyard dwelling has a long history in poor urban areas, mainly because of apartheid policies that resulted in overcrowding and under-serviced townships and informal settlements (Lemanski, 2009). Backyard dwellings were first erected in Black and Coloured residential areas due to the shortage of housing (Lemanski, 2009). In Black African townships, backyard dwellings were established in the late 1960s when informal settlements were outlawed (Lemanski, 2009). They were a popular option for accommodating rural migrant labourers in large urban centres such as Cape Town and Johannesburg as they enabled them to live close to work. In the late 1980s, the apartheid state moved to reduce the number of people in the townships, but the number of backyard dwellings multiplied. In the early 1990s, about 60% of township properties had such dwellings (Lemanski, 2009), which was either an informal shack or an outhouse. In 1994, for example, 87% of residential plots in the Cape Town townships of Khayelitsha and Gugulethu had backyard shacks. A study conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations (2004) showed that the number of backyard dwellings is growing at a faster rate than informal settlements in current times due to widespread housing shortages. Statistics South Africa (2011) notes that the number of people living in such dwellings increased from 460 000 to 713 000 over the years.

Backyard dwellings remain popular in Black African and Coloured townships as the National Housing Subsidy Scheme has failed to resolve the housing shortage. The democratic government supports the rental housing and backyard dwellings approach to solve the housing crisis (Department of Housing, 2004) and such dwellings are common in many townships,

including Soweto, Alexandra, Gugulethu, Orlando, Khayelitsha, East London and Port Elizabeth to name but a few (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013).

In Gauteng province, backyard dwellings and shacks account for about 28% of the rental housing market (Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013) and the Gauteng Department of Housing adopted a backyard rental policy to formalise and regulate them in 2008 (Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). The policy is in line with the broader national objective of eradicating informality. The Gauteng government has thus decided to accept backyard dwellings, but only if they do not result in informality. It is also against backyard shacks. Thus, backyard dwellings have become a crucial component of the housing market in South African townships.

Most homeowners build backyard dwellings to earn an income and supplement their low wages as they are temporarily out of work, engaged in casual work, earning little income or are unemployed (Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). The rent received helps to pay for service fees (municipal bills, electricity, and water), school fees, transport and food. Because some landowners cannot afford to extend their houses to accommodate all their family members, they resort to constructing backyard dwellings (Lemanski, 2009). Also, poor tenants prefer to rent backyard dwellings rather than stand-alone shacks because the former are better serviced in terms of infrastructure with access to electricity, sanitation and water and tend to be located close to economic activities (Turok and Borel-Saladan, 2016). Most townships with backyard dwellings are located either adjacent to the city centre or in close proximity to places of employment (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). Property owners are thus responding to demand for rental accommodation. Brueckner *et al.* (2018) reveal that some backyard dwellings in Cape Town are located at a distance from the workplace and the tenants are required to use public transport. They measured the mean distance to the CBD is equal to 21.1 km, which can take more than 2 hours when walking.

It can be argued that the current increase in the development of backyard dwellings in South African townships is motivated by the failure of the democratic government's RDP housing project. As part of the pro-poor, post-apartheid development strategy, RDP housing was provided to poor people to address poverty through ownership by transferring fully funded service sites and houses to qualifying beneficiaries. Lemanski (2009) as well as Shapurjee and Charlton (2013) identified the reasons why the RDP housing project failed, which resulted in people living in backyard dwellings. Firstly, only those that earn between R0 and R3 500 a month qualify for an RDP house. Second, RDP houses tend to be small and often cannot

accommodate all family members. Thirdly, provision of RDP houses has been slow and many of those on the waiting list live in backyard dwellings (Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013).

3.2.2 Profile of Backyard Dwellers and Landlords

Most landlords are male, with females usually becoming landlords in the absence of men. Females often operate on a small-scale and earn a lower income than their tenants (Lemanski, 2009). Tenants that rent backyard dwellings built from concrete blocks usually earn more and seek to live close to their places of work. This contradicts the Census findings of 2001, which portrayed backyard dwellers as poor and surviving on less than R1 500 a month (Statistics South Africa, 2001). It is possible that people living in these dwellings under-report their income or that when Lemanski (2009) conducted her study, the situation had changed.

However, evidence shows that backyard dwellers are by no means wealthy. Indeed, in most developing countries backyard dwellers are regarded as poor, uneducated and unskilled people who migrated from rural areas to seek employment in the cities (Graham *et al.*, 2005). Turok and Borel-Saladan's (2016) study in Gauteng found that tenants were poor, younger and had lower skills levels. They also tended to be migrants from rural areas. Cultural dynamics are also a factor in South Africa: Lemanski (2009) argues that in Black African townships, backyard dwellings accommodate paying tenants, while in Coloured townships they are mainly home to next-of-kin.

3.2.3 Tenant-Landlord Relationships

Tenants usually have long lease agreements, especially those who contributed toward the construction of the backyard structure. Skuse and Cousins (2007) note that, in the past, the relationship between the tenant and the landlord was understood to be exploitative. For example, during the early 1990s, a landlord would restrict access to water and electricity as well as the number of visitors per tenant while also demanding high rent (Crankshaw, 1993; Guillaume and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2002; Skuse and Cousins, 2007). Due to a shortage of rental accommodation, some modern landlords increase the rent frequently (Lemanski, 2009).

A study conducted in Westlake, Cape Town, concluded that landlords were willing to evict non-paying tenants (Lemanski, 2009). Bank's (2007) research in East London pointed to the conflict between tenants and property owners. Tensions might arise due to overuse of water

and electricity as well as inappropriate behaviour like alcohol abuse and noise (Bank, 2007). Bank argued that, as a result, tenants and property owners prefer minimal interaction. Fataar (2015) also noted that in Rastval Extension, Cape Town, some poor tenants struggle to pay rent which negatively affects landlord-tenant relationships.

However, some studies reveal a more positive and trusting relationship between property owners and tenants. Morange's (2002) study in Port Elizabeth found that personal friendships and solidarity also occur between tenant and landlords, with some homeowners even tolerating occasional non-payment of rent. Gordon and Nell (2006) note that rental agreements are often informal where property owners and tenants describe the relationship as good. Some property owners even charge low rent compared to the cost of services, mainly because of good tenant-landlord relationships (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). This could be partly because some landlords are unemployed and depend on backyard rentals. Furthermore, tenants who contributed towards the construction of the backyard dwelling often pay less rent.

Landlords can charge high rent if the township is located next to places of work which results in a high demand for backyard accommodation (Lemanski, 2009). For example, in Westlake, they charge between R200 and R250 per room without electricity, which is higher than in other areas because of the employment and economic opportunities in the area (Lemanski, 2009).

3.2.4 Access to Services

Backyard accommodation is better than stand-alone shacks because it offers access to household services and infrastructure (electricity, sanitation and water) that is shared with property owners. Govender *et al.* (2011) found that some backyard shack dwellers in Cape Town used outside toilets, the one inside the main house or those of neighbours while others used chamber pots that are emptied into the storm water system. Many backyard dwellings have illegal electricity connections from the main house that is shared with landlords. They will also collect water from the main house. This means that even the utilities bill is shared by the tenant and landlord. There is no waste disposal bin inside the backyard dwellings leading to waste being disposed of in the yard or the street which then creates pollution.

3.2.5 Negative Impacts of Backyard Dwellings

Lemanski (2009), Govender *et al.* (2011), Shapurjee and Charlton (2013) and Fataar (2015) highlight the negative impact of backyard dwellings. Homeowners without backyard dwellings complain that they create informality in the area, which lowers their property values. Govender *et al.* (2011) argue that backyard dwellings create slum conditions in formal housing areas. Slums are compact areas with poorly built and congested houses, inadequate infrastructure and an unhygienic environment (Gregory *et al.*, 2009). Many backyard shacks do not have access to proper sanitation, water, electricity and waste disposal. They are seen as creating pollution in the area and breed pests such as fleas, cockroaches and rats (Govender *et al.*, 2011) that affect the health and wellbeing of all those that live in the area. Backyard dwellings also increase population density as well as crime in the area (Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013; Fataar, 2015).

3.3 Spaza Shops

Spaza shops are another common form of land use on residential properties in South African townships. These small grocery or convenience shops are open before, during and after working hours (between 6 am and 10 pm) (Ligthelm, 2005). Thus, the operating hours of a *spaza* shop are more than 14 hours a day on average. Ligthelm (2005) notes that *spaza* shops are also found as stand-alone structures in areas zoned for residential purposes in townships. Van Scheers (2010) compares them to the corner cafes found in white suburbs of South Africa. Liedeman *et al.* (2013) state that the name is derived from township slang that means an imitation of a real shop, while Van Scheers (2010) argues that *spaza* comes from isiZulu and means 'hidden'.

What is sold in a *spaza* shop depends on local consumer demand with common products including soup, cigarettes, sweets, chips, cold drinks, bread, milk, grain staples and alcohol (Liedeman *et al.*, 2013; McGaffin *et al.*, 2015). Most *spaza* shops are unregistered, meaning that they do not pay tax, and employees are not registered in terms of labour law. Many are also located in inappropriate zones (Liedeman *et al.*, 2013; McGaffin *et al.*, 2015). They normally start as small family businesses, selling a few products and evolve. Consumers save on time and travel costs as the shops are close to where they live or work. *Spaza* owners buy products from wholesalers that are cheaper.

Ligthelm (2005) explains the physical characteristics of the *spaza* shops and notes that they are often constructed from concrete bricks or operate from garages or shack structures using corrugated iron and wood. As they often operate in township residential areas, they have access to municipal infrastructures, such as electricity, water and refuse removal (Ligthelm, 2005).

3.3.1 *Spaza* Shops Pre-1994

Spaza shops became popular during the apartheid era, when they operated secretly as a result of policies that restricted Black entrepreneurship (Ngcamu, 2002). The Bantu Education Act of 1953 was designed to reinforce segregation and inequality, with the quality of education and curricula determined by racist beliefs about the roles considered 'appropriate' for particular race groups. Black people were regarded as labourers that should serve white capitalism and the education system designed for them did not prepare them to engage in business undertakings (Ngcamu, 2002). Furthermore, the Urban Consolidation Act of 1945 prohibited Black businesses from operating in urban areas (white suburbs and townships) and they were ineligible for loans from financial institutions, where they would have benefitted from exploiting the markets. Notwithstanding being confined to the bantustans (homelands), many prospered.

These restrictions on Black entrepreneurship led to the establishment of informal *spaza* shops in hidden spaces in the townships. *Spaza* shops were legalised in 1989, and owners were then required to apply for trading permits (Van Scheers, 2010). Rogerson (2000) notes that the surge in township violence in 1993 resulted in Black entrepreneurs moving their business to the city to engage in street trading. This left the *spaza* shops in the hands of migrants.

3.3.2 *Spaza* Shops Post-1994

Post-apartheid policies were marked by an emphasis on support for small businesses such as *spaza* shops. Current South African policies recognise *spaza* shops as laid out in the White Paper on National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small Business of 1995 wherein *spaza* shops fall in the category of Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprises (SMMEs). The strategy aims to support job creation, alleviate poverty and promote local economic development, especially amongst historically disadvantaged communities (Rogerson, 2000). Government supports SMMEs by funding human capacity development and favourable tax policies.

Many *spaza* shops fall under micro- and survivalist enterprises. A micro-enterprise is a small business run by the owner, often a member of the family with four paid workers at most. Rogerson (2000) argues that micro-enterprises are usually not registered and are thus part of the informal economy. They neither have business and operating licenses nor formal premises and accounting procedures. However, there is a need for business skills and most have a capital base. It is possible for such businesses to grow into bigger businesses. Survivalist enterprises are established by people that cannot find formal employment. They are not registered (Rogerson, 2000) and the income generated is used for subsistence. Many survivalist enterprises are run by women. They require little capital and few skills. Home-based, micro and survivalist *spaza* shops are dominant in most South African townships where they are a means of livelihood, entrepreneur development, employment opportunities, skills training and empowerment, and infrastructure development (Rogerson, 2000).

3.3.3 Ownership of *Spaza* Shops

According to Gordon and Nell (2006), township *spaza* shops are either owned by landlords or tenants. Often males (64%) and females (36%) between the age of 25-49 years old own *spaza* shops (Ligthelm, 2005). This is also supported by Reynolds *et al.* (2002), where they found out that males dominate business ownership. Tenant *spaza* shops either use a formal room or unit built by a landlord or they rent a piece of land and erect a room or unit (Gordon and Nell, 2006). The success of tenant *spaza* shops is largely dependent on the relationship between the landlord and tenant because it may determine the business hours, the size of the shop, its growth potential and access to resources (Gordon and Nell, 2006). A poor tenant-landlord relationship can result in a lack of access to services, such as electricity, water or a flush toilet, which negatively affecting the business.

Since 1994, South Africa has experienced high volumes of international immigrants from Asian and African countries (Rogerson, 2000). Recent evidence reveals that the majority of *spaza* owners are international migrants. These migrants are drawn to the country by economic opportunities, and many tend to run township *spaza* shops. A survey conducted by the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (2015) revealed that, between 2010 and 2012, immigrants operated around 50% of *spaza* shops in South African urban areas, including Cape Town (Brown's Farm, Sweet Home Farm, Delft South, Vrygrond) and Gauteng (Ivory Park and Tembisa). This demonstrates that immigrants have a strong foothold in the *spaza* shop business. Also, Charman and Piper (2012) found that there was a large increase in the number

of foreigners owning such shops in Delft South, Cape Town, between 2007 and 2008 and that many bought existing premises or leased them from property owners. Some buildings used by immigrants were once owned by local people who lost business to immigrant shopkeepers that sell goods at lower prices (Charman and Piper, 2012). Migrant *spaza* shops rely mostly on hiring other male foreign nationals instead of South Africans or the owners operate their own shops, whereas South African-owned shop owners hire mostly native women and children (Gumbo, 2015). Thompson (2016) notes that migrant shop owners hire South African females if they cannot find male foreign nationals.

3.3.4 Violence and Competition

Different studies have shown that *spaza* shops have a long historical relationship with the township as they offer livelihood strategies to poor people. However, they have a limited ability to expand or develop, especially those that operate informally (Fataar, 2015). Fataar (2015) also notes that for business owners to retain their customers, they need to create social networks and offer credit. This creates a weekly flow of debt collection, which can lead to violence, arguments, and threats when payment is not forthcoming (Fataar, 2015).

Furthermore, competition is fierce among *spaza* shops as they are located close to one another (Gordon and Nell, 2006). According to the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (2015), for every 86 households, there is one-*spaza* shop. This means that *spaza* shops serve people within the close vicinity.

The fact that immigrant-owned *spaza* shops have proven to be more successful than South African-owned ones has angered many locals and has led to attacks on foreign shopkeepers in urban townships and informal settlements. For example, in the year 2000, seven violent attacks were reported in Cape Town (Cape Flats, Gugulethu and Langa township). In one case, a restaurant owner and his family were hijacked (South African History Online, 2017). In 2006, the number of violent attacks against immigrant shopkeepers increased with Somali nationals being most affected (Charman and Piper, 2012) where about 28 Somali shopkeepers were killed in the Western Cape (Charman and Piper, 2012: 82). In 2008, xenophobic attacks that started in Gauteng townships and Durban spread across the country (Schwarer, and Mwelase, 2008) and were marked by the looting of Pakistani, Somalian and Ethiopian-owned *spaza* shops (South African History Online, 2017). About 62 people died, 100 were wounded, and many were displaced. The attacks and looting continued until 2009.

In January 2015, a Somali shop owner and his family were killed in a Soweto township during a robbery (South African History Online, 2017). This triggered attacks on immigrants and looting of foreign-owned shops. About 120 *spaza* shops owned by Somalians and Bangladeshis were looted in Snake Park, Zola, Meadowlands, Slovoville, Kagiso, Zondi and Emdeni. It was reported that police officers also assisted community members in looting foreign-owned shops. In March 2015, violent shop looting occurred in Limpopo after a foreign shop owner was found using a cell phone belonging to a resident who was killed in the Ga-Sekgopo area (South African History Online, 2017). Immigrants fled the area after being threatened with being burnt alive. Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's comment in 2015 that foreigners should return to their home countries led to many violent attacks against foreigners and looting of their shops in KwaZulu-Natal townships (including Mlazi, KwaMashu and other places outside Durban) (South African History Online, 2017).

Charman and Piper (2012) argued that the causes of violence against immigrant shopkeepers included competition between local owners and immigrants. Immigrants' *spaza* shops are often cheaper and operate for longer hours. Liedeman *et al.* (2013) note that immigrants use a business model that increases their competitive advantage. For example, Somali-run *spaza* shops are considered as formal firms, while South African owners adopt a survivalist micro-enterprise strategy. South African-owned *spaza* shops are often run by family members without entrepreneurship skills (Gordon and Nell, 2006). They focus on survival rather than on exploiting the market. Given that these home-based enterprises are important in alleviating poverty, there is a need to change this mindset.

The availability of start-up capital often limits the size of the business as it is normally sourced from personal savings and loans from family members and friends (Ligthelm, 2005). Local resident's failure to compete with immigrant entrepreneurs has led to the demise of locally owned *spaza* shops, resulting in resentment among local community members. Furthermore, the Global Entrepreneurship Research Association (2015) found that South African entrepreneurs receive less financial support than those in other countries. This calls into question the effectiveness of the country's SMME policy.

Other researchers have ascribed the violent attacks on immigrants to poverty due to unemployment and poor service delivery on the part of the state (Amisi *et al.*, 2010). Harris (2002) notes that when apartheid ended there were high expectations amongst previously disadvantaged Black people. They expected access to water, land, houses, sanitation,

electricity, and employment, which was previously denied by the apartheid government. These expectations were unmet resulting in locals blaming immigrants for state failure and all the social ills. The shops belonging to immigrants are looted on an on-going basis with instances of random theft or armed robberies also being common. This has resulted in immigrant shopkeepers residing inside their *spaza* shops or paying respected and well-connected locals (like political leaders or gangsters) for protection. This often takes the form of a small amount or as little as a packet of cigarettes (Ligthelm, 2005).

3.4 Urban Food Gardening

Food gardens are another prominent land use of residential plots in urban townships. Poverty and unemployment in urban areas have led to people engaging in small-to-medium scale food gardening in the front or backyard garden or in containers (Taylor and Lovell, 2013). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2016), food gardening is spreading to the cities and towns of developing countries. It generates food, recycles urban waste, creates employment, and strengthens cities' resilience to climate change. It also helps low-income urban households to save, as they buy less food (FAO, 2016). In South Africa, many urban dwellers cultivate vegetables, including tomatoes, cabbages, spinach, maize and potatoes (Rogerson, 1993; Thornton and Nel, 2007).

Surging food prices in the early 1980s and 1990s led to the government and non-governmental organisations encouraging poor urban households to engage in urban cultivation for subsistence (May and Rogerson, 1995). Home gardens were established in many townships and informal settlements in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, and Cape Town. The poor came to regard urban residential plots as a source of income and nutrition. Watkinson and Makgetla (2002) note that when the price of maize meal doubled in June 2002, about 600 000 South African households that used to buy food were forced to produce their own. Low wages and growing unemployment also prompted an increase in the number of people engaged in food gardening. The increase in Value Added Tax (VAT) from 14 to 15% announced by the former Finance Minister, Malusi Gigaba, in his 2018 Budget Speech, which came into effect on 1 April, also exacerbated food insecurity. Considering the high levels of poverty and unemployment in the country, the poorest households struggle more to buy food. The South African government is challenged to create policy frameworks that will assist the urban poor in producing their food.

3.4.1 The Urban Food Gardening Policy Context in South Africa

The government promotes food gardening as a poverty alleviation strategy (Thornton, 2008). Most large metropolitan municipal policy frameworks, including Cape Town, eThekweni and Johannesburg, embrace household gardening in their township areas. For example, the City of Johannesburg's Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) (2011) supports urban gardening as a survivalist strategy rather than as a commercial opportunity. It notes that 3% of households produce food through gardening. Johannesburg's Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2018/19 also supports household urban gardening. Food gardening is also promoted in smaller municipalities and towns such as Makhanda (Grahamstown) and Peddie (Thornton, 2008). However, the country's policy frameworks do not set out the government's role in providing sustainable support to those that engage in such activities.

3.4.2 Motivations for Urban Food Gardening

People engage in food gardening for their consumption, and a small amount for sale (May and Rogerson, 1995). Food gardening increases the number of locally grown crops and promotes access to fresh and nutritious food, which contributes to improved health through a balanced diet (Bryld, 2003). A family is also able to save money that would be spent buying vegetables (Thornton and Nel, 2007).

May and Rogerson (1995) argue that a majority of those that engage in household gardening are marginalised and unemployed. While some rely on social grants, others are unable to access such grants. Many rely on remittances from family members with jobs. Where members of low-income urban populations engage in urban agriculture as a survival strategy, urban high-income households tend to cultivate crops to sell at a profit (Bryld, 2003) and middle-income families engage in agriculture to enhance their well-being (Bryld, 2003). While the poor use the money generated from selling their fresh produce to pay medical bills, school fees and for rent (Bryld, 2003), some people cultivate to augment their income.

Austin and Visser (2002) regard food gardening as a temporary activity that is practised by unemployed urban dwellers who abandon gardening when they secure a job. Other researchers state that it is an opportunity to exploit markets and enable self-employment. For example, May and Rogerson (1995) found that residents engaged in urban cultivation in Groutville, KwaZulu-Natal, did not want to work for an employer. Proximity to markets is an advantage as it costs less to transport the produce. There is a huge market for fresh crops. Many retail

outlets prefer to buy locally produced vegetables as they require less refrigeration, cost less to transport and are fresh (FAO, 2016). Local consumers, especially from low-income households, also opt for fresh produce at a cheaper price.

Mthethwa's (2012) study in KwaMasane township in KwaZulu-Natal found that some residents donated their crops to relatives or other community members. This is often a token of appreciation to those that assisted them during cultivation. However, some do so out of a sense of obligation to close family members. Such sharing builds social capital. However, such practices are rare in urban areas due to the limited space for planting.

3.4.3 Challenges of Urban Food Gardening

The apartheid system resulted in unjust spatial design which has rendered Black townships spaces characterised by smaller plots, resulting in people only cultivating small pieces of land. The democratic government has adopted policies that promote spatial justice and ensure that poor urban dwellers have access to land (Kepe *et al.*, 2008). This is a critical issue for food production. Some landowners lease space from other property owners and pay rent in the form of a percentage of the produce grown. However, some farmers live in fear of eviction by landowners as they lack security of tenure. This harms food gardening (Austin and Visser, 2002). Insecure land tenure rights restrict people from optimally investing in food gardening as they are cognizant of being evicted at any time.

Theft of produce also discourages people from cultivating (Austin and Visser, 2002). Most plots in poor urban areas often experience a high theft of their fresh produce because they are improperly fenced off. May and Rogerson's (1995) study in Tembisa, Mamelodi, Umtata and Groutville revealed that limited space in urban households led to residents cultivating food on vacant land owned by the municipality, on riverbanks or in cemeteries. They face harassment from city planners, who sometimes destroy their crops. However, in Umtata in the Eastern Cape, the municipality allows residents to lease such land for cultivation.

3.5 Urban Livestock Keeping

Another common land use activity on urban township plots is livestock keeping. This refers to keeping animals such as cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, geese, donkeys, turkeys and ducks to sell them as food or for cash (Rogerson, 1993; Thornton and Nel, 2007). This is not a new phenomenon. Beavon and Elder (1991) note that, in the first two decades of the 20th century,

Johannesburg was dominated by backyard dairies. During the 1940s, livestock such as poultry were kept in backyards, hidden from health inspectors, as urban planning policies disallowed livestock keeping in urban areas (Rogerson, 1993).

Keeping livestock in urban areas is a challenge because residential plots are small with limited access to pasture and water (Rogerson, 1993; Thornton and Nel, 2007). Having animals live near people can also result in the spread of diseases. The zoning regulations of most municipalities ban this practice. The South African National Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act of 2013, which guides municipal bylaws, prohibits land uses that could have negative health and environmental impacts. In line with the Act, the City of Johannesburg has banned livestock production on residential plots (Richards and Taylor, 2012). According to the FAO (2018), keeping livestock in urban residential areas is a potential hazard to public health as it results in poor hygiene created by dung, flies, zoonoses and parasites. In the absence of a proper removal system, dung causes flies and can attract mosquitoes, exposing people to malaria and yellow fever (FAO, 2018).

While some urban dwellers continue to raise livestock for different purposes, this is not a common practice given that it is outlawed by most municipalities. Ndandani (2017) notes that in Mqanduli, a rural town in the Eastern Cape, it is rare to see large animals such as cattle, sheep and goats because the plots are too small. However, chickens are kept because they do not require large spaces (Ndandani, 2017), suggesting that the municipality is failing to enforce its bylaws.

3.5.1 Purpose of Urban Livestock Keeping

Thornton's (2008) study in two small towns, Peddie and Makhanda (Grahamstown) in the Eastern Cape, found that households kept cattle, goats, sheep, chickens, pigs, ducks, geese and donkeys. In Peddie, about 37% of this livestock was used for commercial purposes, 49% for domestic consumption and 14% for cultural reasons (Thornton, 2008). This points to the importance of livestock keeping for survival. In Makhanda (Grahamstown), 16% of the livestock was reared for commercial purposes, 16% for consumption, 3% for community status, 5% as a hobby and 44% for cultural reasons (weddings, funerals and male circumcision ceremonies). These contrasting findings suggest that different urban communities have different motivations for keeping livestock.

According to Rogerson (1993), increasing urbanisation and poverty in South Africa and other developing countries has led to many poor urban dwellers depending on livestock keeping, which was previously regarded as a rural land use activity. Livestock products such as meat, eggs and milk are used for consumption and sold in the market. Livestock is sold for additional income.

While in rural areas, livestock is kept for cultural purposes and social status, which is also the case in Makhanda (Grahamstown) townships. Cattle are slaughtered for ceremonies such as weddings, ritual male circumcision ceremonies or funerals, and are also used to pay a bride price (Ansell, 2001; Shackleton *et al.*, 2005). Animals are also slaughtered for spiritual purposes, installing ancestral spirits and connecting with the ancestors. Gandini and Villa (2003) note that cattle have cultural value as they play an important role in preserving traditional practices, folklore, and religious practices. Keeping animals is also regarded as a sign of wealth that enhances one's social status and respect in the community (Gandini and Villa, 2002).

3.5.2 Gender and Livestock Ownership

The literature on other land use activities (*spaza* shops, food gardening and backyard dwelling) does not provide analysis of gender issues in discussions about land use decision-making as the focus is on the generation of income, subsistence uses, policy implications and ownership. Livestock keeping is a very politicised land use activity, where authors often provide gendered power dynamics. Females play an important role in rearing livestock (Reddy *et al.*, 2015). Fifty-four percent of the female participants in Thornton's (2008) study in Makhanda (Grahamstown) kept livestock, compared to 28% of the males. The opposite was the case in Peddie. According to Thornton (2008), males engage in livestock keeping in Peddie because of the cultural meaning attached to it. Cattle have traditional value and are regarded as part of the family. Females are not regarded as full family members because they marry and leave their families, and if their husbands pass away, they often find new partners in another family. Most females that own livestock inherit them from their husbands, which is sometimes challenged by family members (Rubin *et al.*, 2010). Other studies conducted on urban livestock keeping reveal that women are likely to own chickens, goats, and sheep, while men own cattle (Grace, 2007).

While women rear livestock, they are often excluded in decisions on selling them with sale profit being controlled by men. Njuki and Mburu (2013) found that most women have to consult their husbands before selling their livestock, while men can do so without notifying anyone. This can be attributed to the fact that South Africa is a patriarchal society that regards women as inferior, and thus excludes them from economic decisions. Given that men are regarded as the head of the household, they are seen as the rightful owners of livestock even though women might rear them (Reddy *et al.*, 2015). Women are allowed to keep cows because they are domesticated and fall under the domain of the household, which is often managed by women.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature about spatial practices on urban residential plots and how they have change over the years. While such plots are often small, they offer a wide range of opportunities that positively impact people's lives. Literature highlights that most urban property owners use their plots for backyard dwellings, *spaza* shops, food gardening and livestock keeping. These land use activities are also common in Fingo Village. South African policy frameworks support such land use activities as they contribute to human development. However, livestock can only be kept in commonage areas.

The literature review shows that most land uses in townships are influenced by economic considerations, for example, as a survival strategy or to generate additional income. However, land is also used for socio-cultural purposes in townships such as elevating one's social status, building social capital and for traditional purposes. The studies reviewed reveal the motivation for engaging in different household land use activities as well as the role played by the state. However, there is a paucity of research on the process involved in decision-making on land uses that are influenced by power dynamics in South African urban areas. Understanding this process is important when looking at lived experiences. Other studies provide a demographic profile of the participants involved in these activities (Rogerson, 1993; Ligthelm, 2005; Thornton and Nel, 2007; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013) but do not explicitly explain the impact when land use decisions were made. Other sources also look at the landowners' power over the users of the space (Gordon and Nell, 2006; Fataar, 2015).

It is against this background that this study investigated the steps and dynamics involved when household land use decision-making on the plots that were part of this study and Henri

Lefebvre's production of space theory is adopted as a conceptual framework. The following chapter profiles the study area where research was conducted.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINGO VILLAGE TOWNSHIP: THE CASE STUDY

AREA

4.1 Introduction

Space has spatial practices, which can either be influenced by representations of space through different strategies used by the state to determine land use activities, and representational space focusing on lived experiences of the people (see Chapter Two). This chapter provides background information on the study area, discussing establishment of Fingo spatial practices and the role played by representations of space and representational space. Before Makhanda (Grahamstown) or Fingo Village township was established, the space was occupied by indigenous people who were chased away by British colonial settlers to occupy land across Fish River (Cock, 2018). The British appropriated the space for colonial expansion and designed the spatial practices of the town, including buildings, road networks and the townships-which were meant to accommodate inhabitants servicing the colonial government. The use of space has changed over the years as a result of the struggles and resistance caused by disagreements on the spatial practices. Today, Fingo Village is mostly dominated by unpoliced spatial practices of the users/inhabitants, while the municipality has failed in its enforcement of bylaws and the geometric ordering.

Section 4.2 discusses the establishment of Fingo Village township, the arrival of the amaMfengu clan, property registration and land ownership over the recent years. It shows the involvement of the government plans and policies (representations of space) as well as the role of the users/inhabitants (representational space) as Fingo Village develops with its spatial practices. This serves to introduce the case study area and the context in which land use decisions are made. Townships are defined as underdeveloped residential areas that were initially established during the colonial and apartheid eras to accommodate only African, Coloured and Indian people working near or in areas designated for White people (Pernegger and Godehart, 2007).

Fingo Village township was established in 1857 for occupation by Black people who were servicing the British colonial government. It was selected as the study area because the residents have access to large plots offering an opportunity to explore and contest the dominant economic perspective that suggests that access to land promotes economic prosperity and

alleviates poverty. The average plot size is 1 000 square metres, which is unusual because Black residential townships plots were designed to be relatively small. Lee's (2005) study uncovered the plot sizes of two townships in Cape Town: Khayelitsha and Gugulethu, with the former plot size in Site B ranging between 78 and 90 square meters, while the latter was sized at 400 square meters. Another report from the Interactive Planning Workshop for Johannesburg held in 2000 revealed that the plot sizes in Alexandra (a Black township) ranged between 400 and 600 square meters (World Bank, 2001). Small plot sizes limit prospects for renovations or other land use activities, particularly in Khayelitsha (Lee, 2005). Furthermore, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, there is no published data on land use decision-making processes and motivations in Fingo Village (see Chapter One, Section 1.3).

4.2 Fingo Village Township

Fingo Village township is in the City of Makhanda (Grahamstown), 55 kilometres from the South African east coast (Makana Municipality, 2016). Before Makhanda (Grahamstown) was established as a military garrison by Lieutenant-Colonel John Graham, it was occupied by amaXhosa natives. In 1811, Lieutenant Colonel John Graham led a mass displacement of amaXhosa natives where he used scorched earth policy, which involved the burning of homes and crops as well as seizing their cattle (Cock, 2018). In January 1812, about 20 000 natives were driven across the Fish River and the stragglers were shot (Cock, 2018).

The city was established in August 1812; the site was selected due to its strategic location and the availability of water. It became the focal point for British settlers in 1820, and the Eastern Cape administrative capital in 1828 (Davenport, 1980). The number of job seekers increased in 1822 because of the ivory and skin trading markets (Davidson, 1985). In the mid-1850s, the military role of the city declined: initially it became a service centre for surrounding communities and subsequently an educational centre (Davidson, 1985). Today, it is characterised by white-owned commercial farms, small service centres and minimal industrial development (Makana Municipality, 2016).

Fingo Village is one of the oldest Black townships (Kingwill, 2011). It falls within the Makana Local Municipality which is part of the Sarah Baartman District Municipality of the Eastern Cape Province. Figure 4.1 shows the Fingo Village locality map. According to the Makana Municipality (2016), Fingo Village is home to approximately 4 015 people, with an employment rate of 19%. A majority of the residents are either unemployed or earning less

than R801 per month and largely dependent on social grants. Most houses are dilapidated and there is poor infrastructure and service delivery due to past legacies (Claassens and Cousins, 2008; Kingwill, 2011). Relatively wealthy individuals often leave Fingo Village to live in the suburbs or new townships without cutting their family ties in the village (Kingwill, 2011). The following section discusses the establishment of Fingo Village.

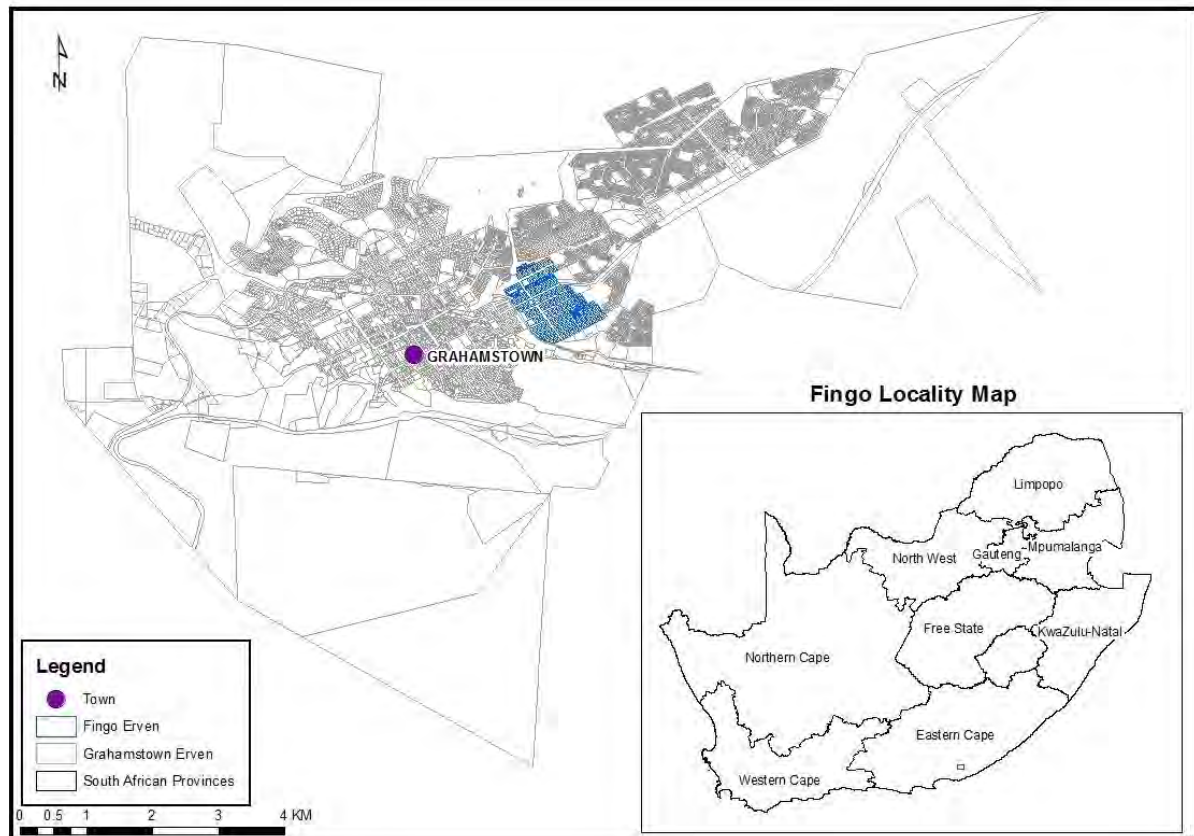


Figure 4.1: Fingo Village Locality Map

4.2.1 History of Fingo Village

The term Fingo is used to describe ‘Mfengu’ (as in amaMfengu people), which is derived “from the isiXhosa verb ‘*ukumfenguza*’, meaning ‘to wander about seeking service’” (Webster, 1991:132). Figure 4.2 shows the first Fingo Village location plan of 1826 that was surveyed in 1856 (Kingwill, 2008) with the allocation of plots to people in 1857 (Roux and Barry, 2010). A total of 320 freehold title deeds, with large plots of an average size of 1 000 square meters, were granted as a reward to the Fingo (amaMfengu) clan for serving the colonial government. In addition, provision was made for churches, schools and cemeteries (Sulter, 1984; Kingwill, 2014). The land was registered at the Deeds Office; however, over the years Fingo residents stopped updating their details when the land was transferred and current landowners are

unknown by Deeds Office. Land ownership is now largely recognised through social acknowledgement (Kingwill, 2014).

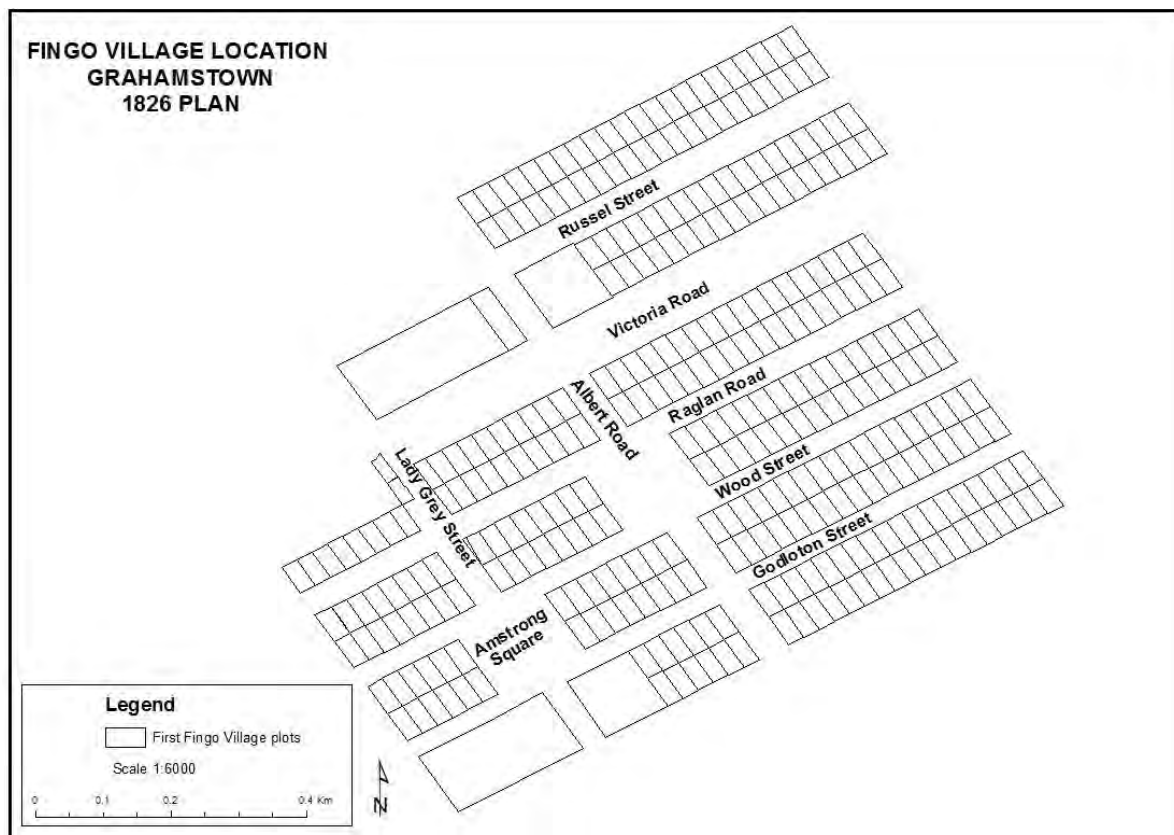


Figure 4.2: Fingo Village 1826 Plan

There have been many debates about the identity of amaMfengu. Some researchers argue that they were displaced from Natal (now KwaZulu-Natal) during the Mfecane wars that occurred during the rise of uShaka which left many people displaced or dead (Blumenfeld and Nuttall, 1972; Sulter, 1984; Roux and Barry, 2010). The amaMfengu clan are said to have fled southwards, where they found refuge among amaXhosa and White colonial settlers in the present-day Eastern Cape (Blumenfeld and Nuttall, 1972; Roux and Barry, 2010).

Sulter (1984) argues that the amaMfengus were not only displaced by King Shaka Zulu but were among those who were initially displaced by King Dingiswayo and Mtetwa, and later found refuge in the Eastern Cape with the Gcaleka people under Chief Hintsa (Sulter, 1984). In 1935, the British army attacked the Gcaleka, killing Chief Hintsa and overrunning the clan. It is said that in the process, the British army rescued the amaMfengu clan from Gcaleka and hired them to load boats at Algoa Bay in Port Elizabeth, and as water carriers in Makhanda

(Grahamstown) (Sulter, 1984). Davenport (1980) notes that the amaMfengu line was diluted over the years due to inter-marriage and contact with other people (amaXhosa, Whites and Coloureds).

Webster (1991) contends that the amaMfengu came only from Natal and comprised missionary collaborators and refugees, and colonial labourers and destitute people seeking employment. According to Webster (1991), Ngwane women and children from Natal were captured at Mbolompo in 1928, taken to work in the British colony and named amaMfengu. Again, all those who performed forced labour in the British colony were called amaMfengu (Webster, 1991). In the 1830s, there were many amaMfengu people working in Somerset and Albany because there was a labour shortage. It was suggested that the amaMfengu and Mantatee people were encouraged to serve British colonialists (Webster, 1991). The British colonialists managed to recruit more people into servicing them and appointed the amaMfengu Chief to recruit colonial collaborators (Webster, 1991).

Fingo Village was established under the European land ownership system where the 320 freehold title deeds (see Figure 4.2) granted to the amaMfengu people were based on Sir George Grey's land tenure system (Davenport, 1980). Grey was the governor of the Cape from 1854 to 1861 (Kingwill, 2014). His land tenure system was aimed at introducing western political ideas, including land ownership and registration to indigenous people. Land purchased under the freehold system was not restricted in terms of size and was aimed at promoting individual land holding amongst Africans in order to limit the chief's authority over land and tax those acquiring title deeds (Kingwill, 2014). Fingo Village residential plots were larger than those allocated in urban areas. On 5 March 1855, George Grey issued title deeds to the amaMfengu clan in the name, and on behalf, of British Queen Victoria, with the following conditions set for the surveyors (Sulter, 1984):

- Reserve space for churches and schools;
- Individuals were not allowed to own more than one plot;
- Individuals had to pay one British pound before the land was granted to them;
- Title deeds holders had to pay an annual five-shilling educational levy.

Local authorities were not authorised to control Fingo Village as it was excluded from urban location rules set out in the Cape Native Reserve Location Act of 1902 and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 (Sulter, 1984). In 1935, it was reported that Fingo residents were unable to

pay municipal rates. In 1941, housing, infrastructure and health were deteriorating and about 12 to 15 people were living on one property in Fingo Village (Manona, 1987). Local authorities regretted not having strict rules in Fingo Village. With the introduction of influx control, the municipal manager recommended that Fingo freehold titles be expropriated and replaced by restricted municipal housing (Sulter, 1984). According to the municipal manager, it was challenging to control Fingo Village because of the high unemployment rate, overcrowding, and failure of residents to pay municipal bills (Sulter, 1984).

The promulgation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 did not affect Fingo Village, but residents were impacted by an amendment to the Act in 1955 (Sulter, 1984). The Group Areas Act was intended to enforce apartheid laws by providing separate residential areas, education and municipal services to different races (Maharaj, 1997). In 1957, the Group Areas Board, responsible for separating areas based on designated racial groups, presented a plan to racially rezone Makhanda (Grahamstown). In 1970, Fingo Village was proclaimed a Coloured area, with a small section for Indian and Chinese residents (Sulter, 1984; Manona, 1987). Figure 4.3 shows the 1970 plan for group areas in Makhanda (Grahamstown). As a result, Black African people were evicted from Fingo Village to their designated area out of town (Davenport, 1980; Sulter, 1984; Manona, 1987).

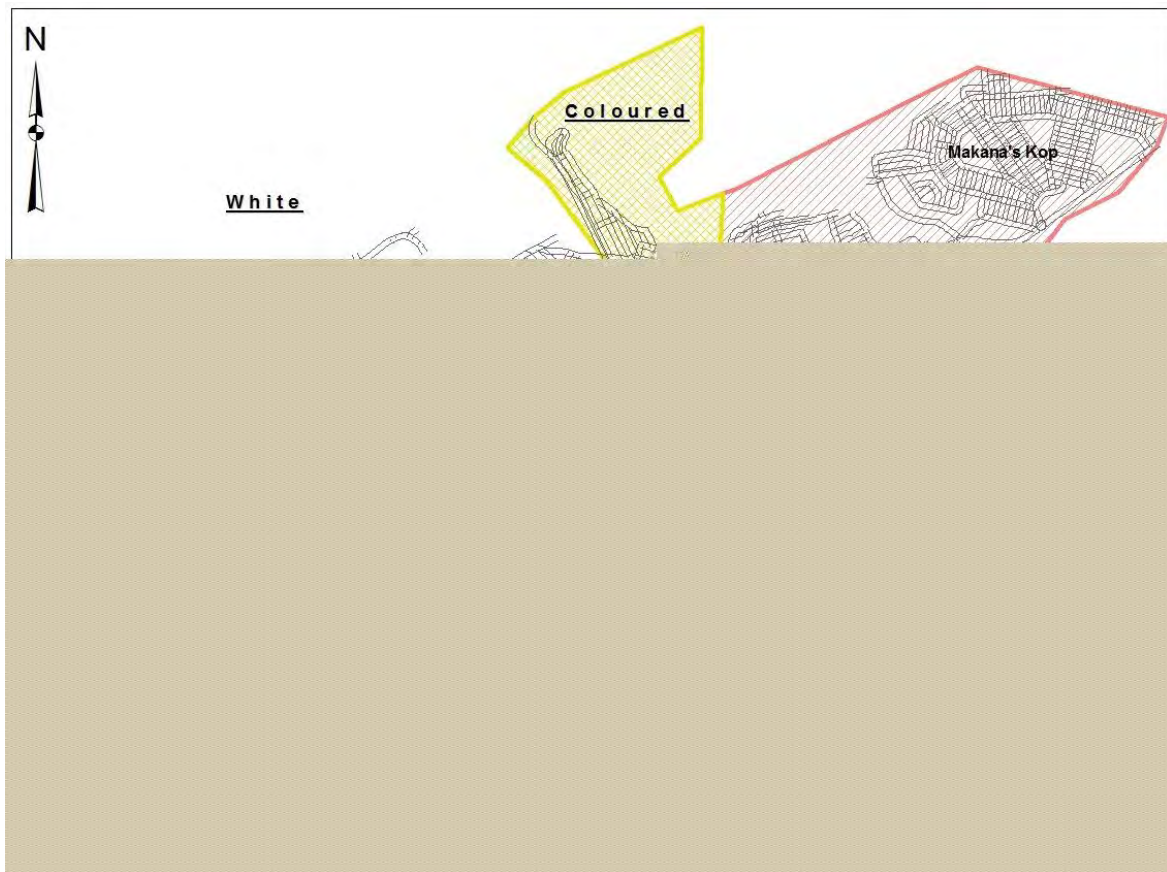


Figure 4.3: Makhanda (Grahamstown) Group Areas 1970

A patch of land on the Ciskei homeland side of the Fish River in Peddie district was chosen for resettlement (Davenport, 1980; Sulter, 1984). As shown in Figure 4.4, the Ciskei was 50 kilometres from Makhanda (Grahamstown). However, attempts at expropriation failed as local authorities were challenged by Black opposition groups (Manona, 1987). Protests and resistance on the part of residents were motivated by the following factors:

- Residents were worried about their future and felt disoriented and confused. They were used to an urban lifestyle and were concerned that it would be difficult to adapt and live in a rural area;
- Residents were afraid of losing their jobs since a 50 kilometres relocation from Makhanda (Grahamstown) would render it impossible for a daily commute causing financial and family problems;
- Residents were also concerned about the security of tenure in the new location;
- Property owners were worried about unfair compensation;
- Residents were unwilling to resettle in an undeveloped rural area and rebuild their lives in an unestablished community;

- Residents were distrustful of authorities and felt that the relocation was unfair and deprived them of their property rights (Sulter, 1984).



Figure 4.4: Location of the Ciskei Homeland

Eviction attempts failed which led to the government announcing that Fingo Village would continue as a designated area for Black people in the 1980s (Sulter, 1984; Kingwill, 2014). Fingo Village township was the only areas where where Black people resisted evictions during the apartheid era (Kingwill, 2014). They were permitted retain their properties, but under the following conditions (Sulter, 1984):

- Land tenure rights were retained in the residential area, but not for public purposes such as schools, churches, public open spaces, and streets;
- Properties not owned by Black people would be bought for a public purpose by the Eastern Cape Administration Board; and
- Black people who were unable to obtain property in Fingo Village would be allocated sites in other Black residential townships in Makhanda (Grahamstown), such as Makanaskop or Tentyi.

As shown in Figure 4.5, the size and number of Fingo Village plots changed over the years. Manona (1987) notes that the number of plots increased due to population growth caused by the influx of labour migrants working on farms and the railways, as well as internally displaced people due to conflict. Plot sizes were also reduced to an average of 200 to 1 000 square meters. Population growth also resulted in a shortage of housing and overcrowding. This led to land invasions where poor residents built informal structures in Fingo Village's Old Cemetery in 1972. The democratic government later built houses and other infrastructure to cater for their needs.

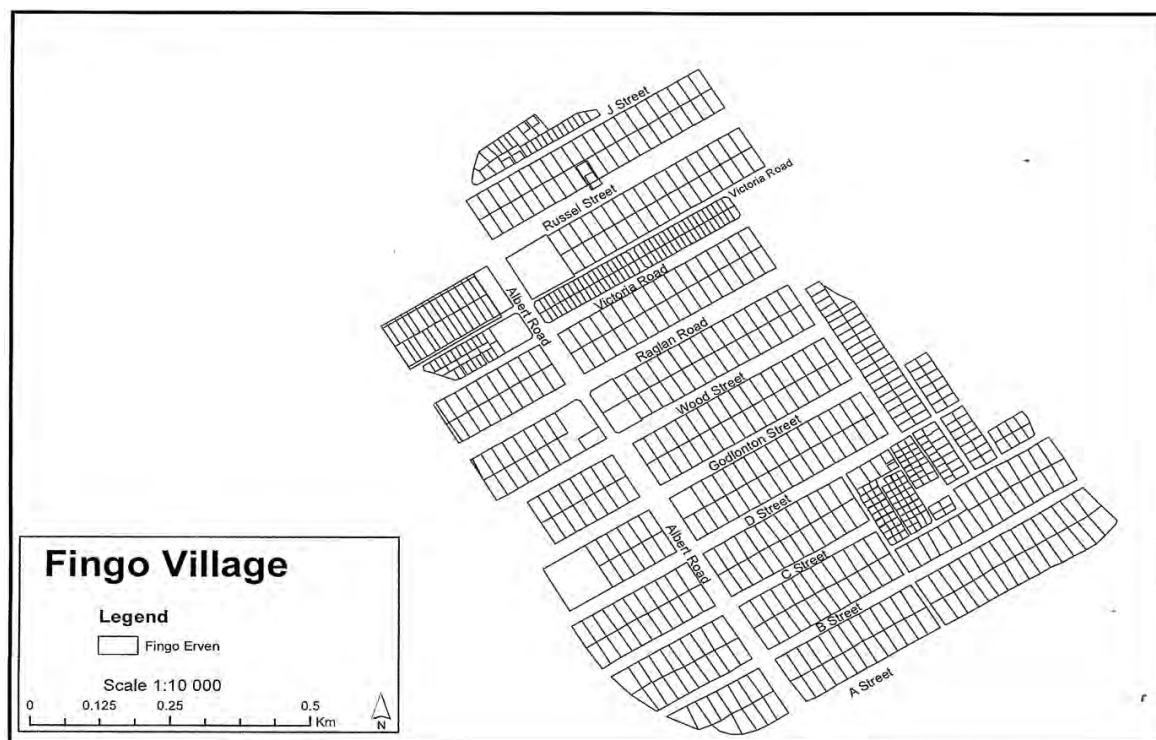


Figure 4.5: Current Fingo Village Plan

4.2.2 Residential Registration and Ownership in Fingo Village

A study conducted in Fingo Village by Kingwill (2011) indicates that people understood property as a family property: “family membership is not a given; there exists repertoire of family norms with which relationships are legitimate and kept alive, the most visible of which is active participation in the family affairs, events, and ceremonies” (Kingwill, 2011:216). Family membership is not linked through blood or birth but by behaviour and norms rather it is determined by a person’s behaviour according to the family norms. The family members choose a responsible person to manage the property on behalf of the family. The guardian of

the property is responsible for protecting the family (such as taking care of geriatrics and children) and the property (such as repair, maintenance, and pay municipality bills). When the guardian of the property dies, living family members take over the management of the property with more women being appointed as guardians compared to men (Kingwill, 2011).

According to Claassens and Cousins (2008), land registration is inconsistent in Fingo Village. There is a land tenure system, namely formalised land registration and local modified customary system, operating at once. The land is transferred and inherited without formalisation. Since Fingo Village plots are quite large, it has led to the informal sub-division of some plots into multiple residences, resulting in residents using their plots to generate money through rent (Kingwill, 2008). Municipality officials and some lawyers have argued that most people do not pursue a formalised registration of land because of “ignorance, poverty, lack of education or indiscipline” (Kingwill, 2008:18). It is argued that residents do not understand the legal procedures of transferring land. Registering land title is expensive and poor people cannot afford the registration fees. While some land owners are aware of the need to register their titles, they simply act with ignorance.

Though there are no formal land ownership records in Fingo Village, some residents are unfazed because they believe in the social acknowledgement of land ownership whereas others are affected (Claassens and Cousins, 2008; Kingwill, 2011). The lack of current property ownership records affects the billing for service provision by the municipality (Claassens and Cousins, 2008; Kingwill, 2011). In most of the cases, owners are indebted which affects the transfer and sale of the property as property owners are unable to sell their property due to outdated titles and the difficulty in obtaining an extension of credit in the absence of registered up-to-date titles (Claassens and Cousins, 2008; Kingwill, 2011). Moreover, Kingwill (2014) argues that family property is likely to cause conflict between family members in instances where property guardians intend to sell the property. In such instances, property guardians cannot report such issues to relevant authorities or seek legal assistance because of the informality of the land tenure system.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented information on the study area from the establishment of Makhanda (Grahamstown) through land invasion, to the emergence of Fingo Village township as a place to accommodate those servicing the British colonial government. If the dialectical process in the establishment of Fingo Village is applied, it can be seen that when the township was established, it was all based on the ideas of representations of space - all the plans, maps and land ownership rules were made by the colonial government for the inhabitants. However, the users were not following formal land ownership as required by the government, but used their own local modified customary tenure system. The apartheid government also attempted to control and remove Black African people from Fingo Village to their designated area on the Ciskei homeland side of the Fish River in Peddie district out of town, using Group Areas Act but failed. The apartheid government wanted to also guide the spatial practices in Fingo Village, which failed because of the social circumstances/conditions, only few occasions where they were able to control land use such as building regulations (see Chapter Six). Lack of policing power continues to be a challenge even today, and the space is lived through the experiences and needs of the users (see Chapter Six and Seven). Fingo Village township, which was selected as the study site because it is the oldest Black township with large residential plots alongside with high poverty rates. The following chapter discusses the methodology employed to conduct this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH DESIGN

5.1 Introduction

Whereas the previous chapter provided information about the study area, this present chapter discusses the research methods employed for gathering information about Fingo Village. The Production of space theory adopted in this study focuses on the spatial triad dialectical analysis between the spatial practice (physical use of space), representations of space (regulating space using abstract ideas) and representational space (lived experiences). The chosen research methods had to accommodate all these three aspects, hence range of methods were used.

These methods were framed using a geographic research paradigm, namely spatial analysis and the humanistic geographical approach, which is a body of literature that formulates assumptions "about what the world is like and how we should research it ... about what the key objects of analysis for geography should be" (Shaw *et al.*, 2010:17). The spatial analysis paradigm – a very important in the study of geographical knowledge – was adopted for the current study. According to Rhoads and Wilson (2010: 32), spatial analysis "focuses on the measurement of properties and relationships that incorporate or are expressed in space". The use of spatial analysis in human geography has gained popularity and is often conducted using a Geographical Information System (GIS). GIS is a computer-based technology used to perform spatial analysis and mapping; it is mainly used by geographers in an attempt to find solutions to daily challenges (Batty, 2010). The information is often used to complement qualitative data (Rhoads and Wilson, 2010). In this study, the spatial analysis was used to understand the land use activities of different households, as well as unoccupied spaces using participatory mapping and GIS desktop analysis. The spatial analysis was followed by qualitative interviews that delved into people's perceptions of space usage. Qualitative interviews are one of the humanistic geography approaches which were adopted as a second research paradigm in this project. The humanistic geography paradigm focuses on understanding and interpreting people and their environment. It uses qualitative research methods to investigate human conditions and lived experiences, including ethnography, archival material, life stories, participatory observation, textual analysis, structured and unstructured interviews and culturally specific interpretation (Shaw *et al.*, 2010). Qualitative research methods include the collection and interpretation of data through words and narratives from the perspective of those involved, focusing on human behaviour and their social world as

well as their perceptions, experiences, opinions and feelings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Qualitative research methods aim to gain an in-depth understanding of an issue. This approach enabled the researcher to obtain a deeper understanding of why people use their space in the way they do and the factors influencing their land use decisions. It also unveiled people's perceptions of land use. However, the sole use of spatial analysis to understand the relationship between humans and their environment has been challenged because people's lived experiences cannot be reduced to maps and numbers or be quantified (Rhoads and Wilson, 2010). This study, therefore, employed both spatial analysis and humanistic paradigms.

The combination of the research methods used in this study gives a platform to the users/inhabitants to tell their stories on how their residential spaces are produced and the role of representational space and representations of space, so that ideas about space production/use is not only influenced by the economist views. Following this introduction, Section 5.2 discusses the sampling strategy and criteria adopted to select participants. Section 5.3 details the data collection methods used while data analysis is discussed in section 5.4. Ethical considerations and approval are deliberated on in section 5.5, which is followed by limitations of the study in section 5.6.

5.2 Sampling Design

Sampling refers to the process of selecting a small number of subjects (the research sample) from a larger population. A variety of sampling techniques are used in geography which fall within two broad categories: probability or non-probability methods. Probability sampling involves the random selection of a sample using statistics to generalise. In this sampling technique everyone has an equal chance of being selected (Rice, 2010). In non-probability sampling methods, not everyone has a chance to be part of the research sample because the selection is based on accessibility, the researcher's judgment and the purpose of the study. A qualitative research project aims to gain an in-depth understanding of certain human conditions and non-probability methods are usually used to enable the researcher to select a research sample based on their judgment, the literature, and experiences (Rice, 2010). This study adopted non-probability sampling methods and not all Fingo Village households had an equal chance of being part of the study.

5.2.1 Research Sample and Size

The purpose of the study was to understand land use decision-making dynamics on large residential plots in Fingo Village, which meant that only households with large properties were selected. In this sense, sampling was partly purposive. Residents with land tenure rights (use, inhabit, control and transfer rights) or in a position to make land use decisions and were over the age of 18, participated in the study. Defined as large plots, Fingo Village plots have an average size of 1 000 square meters in comparison to other township property sizes that range between 76 and 600 square meters (Mills, 1989; World bank, 2001; Lee, 2005).

A total of 36 household plots participated in the study – the social differentiation of which is attached in appendix 5. The sample size was simply based on feasibility. It was the researcher's intention to obtain an in-depth understanding of past and present land use decisions and the factors influencing these decisions for the past decade or so from the participants; however, the interviews proved to be time consuming. Furthermore, the land question continues to be a very important and sensitive topic among Black South Africans due to the country's history of dispossession. People are land hungry; it is hard to find respondents that are willing to participate in this type of research project. Several people with land tenure rights who were not primary residents of Makhanda (Grahamstown), but stayed as Namibia, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth, refused to participate through other communication networks.

5.2.2 Sampling Methods

Selecting the research sample was a challenging task because the researcher was not familiar with the study site and community setting. Three sampling techniques were used, namely, purposive, convenience and snowball, to ensure a reliable and representative sample. These are discussed below.

i) Purposive Sampling

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) define purposive sampling as a process where a researcher selects or identifies a sample that can provide the required information for the research project. In this study, purposive sampling was used because the interest is solely on households with large plots. It offers an opportunity to test the dominant economic perspective that access to land promotes economic prosperity or alleviates poverty.

ii) Convenience Sampling

The study site and household plots were selected because of their accessibility and the willingness of the residents to participate. As a result, convenience sampling was used. According to Jensen and Shumway (2010), this involves selecting accessible subjects from a larger population. Convenience sampling methods are a thoughtful approach which is less costly and time-consuming as the researcher selects a sample that is available and willing to participate. Reddy and Davalos (2003) note that the location of the study area influences accessibility; the close proximity makes it more accessible and enables the researcher to be in the field on the regular. If the location is inaccessible, a researcher may struggle to obtain valid information. Fingo Village was selected as a study site because it is close to the researcher's location at or near Rhodes University. After ten field visits to understand the community setting and with the help of a local research assistant, the researcher identified accessible households which could form part of the research sample.

ii) Snowball Sampling

Knowing the community setting before selecting a research sample is important; as such, snowball sampling was very useful in this regard. In this technique, networks developed over time are drawn on to identify participants which is ideal when the sample frame is hard to reach (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Jensen and Shumway, 2010). In this case, the community regarded the researcher as an outsider. Moreover, the study involved sensitive issues (see the discussion on ethical considerations later in this chapter). Thus, the researcher had to use personal contacts to identify participants. The participants were selected using the following methods: Firstly, before conducting a pilot study, the researcher visited Fingo Village township and accommodation was booked for ten days in October 2016. This enabled the researcher to build trust by spending time with community members, engaging in their activities and attending meetings. The researcher was also able to understand the community setting and to select and hire a research assistant who became gatekeeper in the community. The research assistant aided in explaining the nature of the study and why they should participate. A gatekeeper was necessary because the community thought that the researcher was a surveyor sent by the municipality to reduce the size of plots. The gatekeeper ensured that the researcher gain the trust of the community while also impressing upon them that the aim of the study is for the

fulfilment of the degree. Secondly, those that agreed to participate referred the researcher to other large plots whose occupants were interested in partaking in the study.

5.3 Data Collection

Several methods were employed in gathering data to understand the factors that influence land use decision-making on large residential plots in Fingo Village. These methods included participatory mapping, semi-structured interviews and secondary data. A pilot study was conducted to pre-test the research instruments and ensure that the questions and instructions were clear. It also served to establish the duration of a thorough interview and to ascertain whether the chosen methods would provide the information required (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005). The pilot study was conducted with ten households in December 2016 and the data was collected from March 2017 to October 2018. The selected data collection methods proved invaluable in understanding the participants' perceptions and local knowledge about household land use, which then enabled the researcher to identify factors that influence land use decisions.

5.3.1 Stage 1: Participatory Mapping

Participatory mapping was employed as one of the data collection methods because this study involved entering private spaces. The researcher, or anyone not related to the family, might not have been allowed to enter or measure some spaces. Ferguson (2013) argues that when dealing with land use on a small scale, it is hard to understand how much space is used for what, especially personal space usage and perceptions. It was thus important to involve the community in mapping. Participatory mapping is a process of creating maps or any method used to record spatial data with the input of the local community (Rambaldi *et al.*, 2006; Vajjhala, 2005). Participatory mapping enabled the users of the space to visualize their physical use of space (spatial practices).

Access to land is currently a very topical issue in South Africa, and some researchers have raised the issue of how the land will be used once access is granted (Kepe and Hall, 2018; Maromo, 2018). This raises the need to establish how much land is currently occupied and unoccupied. The use of specialists and technical experts and the exclusion of local communities results in biased information (Robbins, 2003). For example, a study conducted by Cinderby (1999) in Namaqualand in the Northern Cape revealed that the Landsat satellite imagery used to assess the quality of grazing land did not provide detailed information contained in the mental maps created by people from the villages. These maps revealed areas with the grazing

of average quality, which the satellite imagery classified as good grazing (Cinderby, 1999). This highlights the danger of relying on imagery collected at a distance without engaging local people.

Participatory maps are usually drawn in sand/ground or on paper, which can then be incorporated into a computer-based system. These maps may be important in developmental and planning projects that require spatial information and are useful during decision-making, especially for outside groups, including state authorities (Rambaldi *et al.*, 2006; Vajjhala, 2005). Participatory mapping is commonly used to represent land and resource use, display hazards, express community values and perceptions to gather information regarding traditional practices and acknowledgement, educate stakeholders, present alternative scenarios and collect data for monitoring and assessment. A study conducted by Basupi *et al.* (2017) in the southern fringe of the Okavango Delta, Botswana, illustrates that participatory mapping can be useful in acquiring traditional pastoral information which may be important for policy development in Botswana. The local community drew cognitive maps of the location of grazing lands, spatial extent and livestock mobility patterns. This spatial information was used to raise awareness of indigenous land use and grazing methods, which was subsequently incorporated into government cadastral and corridor classifications (Basupi *et al.*, 2017). Vajjhala (2005) argues that participatory mapping is good because it promotes community engagement, facilitates public participation, incorporates public values and increases transparency during planning and decision-making.

The following discussion outlines the steps used when doing participatory mapping (Vajjhala, 2005; Mundia, 2016; Lienert, 2020). It starts with the sketching of a map either on a piece of paper or on the ground. This drawing is of the geographical unit boundary being analysed and gives an outline of the local area including all key geographic areas and network systems such as roads, rivers, towns and property boundaries. The information about how space is used is added on the feature either directly or using sticky notes. The sketched map may be measured or given quantities if necessary.

For each of the selected plots under study, residents with land tenure rights (use, inhabit, control and transfer rights) or in a position to make land use decisions were invited to participate in mapping and measuring the different land use activities and unoccupied space on their plots. As this study examined household land use, the information given to participants was already zoomed to the boundary of the plot. Participants were given Google Earth imagery printed on

A3 sheets (29.7 x 42.0 cm print measurement) zooming into each household, displaying all visible features on the plot. They were asked to identify and measure the different land use activities in their residential space including those that are not visible. Measurements were done using a measurement wheel (see Figure 5.1) provided by the researcher. The participants were first taught how to use the measurement wheel.



Figure 5.2: Measurement Wheel

Participants were trained to use the measurement wheel because there were spaces such as kraals wherein the researcher was not allowed to enter, resulting in family members taking the measurements. Mapping each household land use with the measurement wheel took between 30 and 45 minutes on each plot. The mapping exercise was done on the first visit. Figure 5.2 illustrates the participatory mapping process, where one participant is measuring using a wheel, while others identify different land uses on the A3 imagery.



Figure 5.3: Participatory Mapping Process

The different land use activities and measurements were then written on the A3 printed maps and were transferred into a GIS database to create a digital version using Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI) software for desktop analysis – a more detailed discussion is provided in section 5.4.2.

5.3.2 Stage 2: Semi-Structured Interviews

Participants were interviewed in the second interaction. Invitations to participate in the interviews were only extended to residents with land tenure rights (use, inhabit, control and transfer rights) or in a position to make land use decisions on each of the selected plot. A schedule was drawn up with questions for the interviews. These semi-structured interviews were very useful in gaining an in-depth understanding of land use decision-making on large plots in Fingo Village. Using Sem-structure interviews, the participants of the study were able describe the spatial practices (physical use of space) in their households and explain whether they are influenced by the representations of space (regulating space using abstract ideas) or representational space (lived experiences).

Longhurst (2010) defines semi-structured interviews as a data collection method that employs a conversational format with an unstructured list of questions directed by the interaction between a participant and a researcher. Semi-structured interviews are useful when conducting a study about human experiences, behaviour, and opinion as in the case of the current study where the researcher investigated people's spatial perceptions (Longhurst, 2010). Longhurst (2010) notes that semi-structured interviews enable participants to tell their story without being interrupted and provide positive feedback. Human geographers use numerous data collection methods to explain human beings' interaction with their environment, including interviews, diaries, and visual methodologies. However, semi-structured interviews are one of the most commonly used qualitative methods because they are regarded as an intensive method of collecting data about power relations and understanding such relations in geographical patterns (Longhurst, 2010). In this study, power relations were observable during the household decision-making process; semi-structured interviews were thus appropriate.

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted at a venue convenient to the participants. Each interview took a maximum of 45 minutes; if it exceeds this time, a further interview was scheduled. The interview schedule (Appendix 1 and 2 - English and isiXhosa) was written in the participants' preferred language, which was either isiXhosa or English. The interviews were also conducted using the participants' preferred language. Those interviews conducted in isiXhosa were translated by the researcher and research assistance. According to Birchall (2014), the questions in the interview schedule must be designed in a way that allows a participant to provide detailed information. Myers and Newman (2007) note that the questions for semi-structured interviews should start with general questions and proceed to more specific and probing ones. The aim is to create a sense of comfort and freedom for both participant and researcher.

5.3.3 Stage 3: Secondary Literature Review

Secondary literature refers to data that was collected by other researchers and is thus already available. It is useful in understanding what has already been researched about the study topic (White, 2010). Secondary data was obtained from selected publications such as journals, books, newspapers, reports, websites, international organization reports as well as local and national government policies. The orthophotographs used in the analysis were downloaded from the database at the Geography Department at Rhodes University. The literature review assisted in understanding land use decision-making process, historical information, spatial planning

policies and providing clarification on issues and concepts, analysing data and drawing conclusions while also describing the study area.

5.4 Qualitative Thematic Analysis

Data collected from interviews, secondary data and maps were used to derive meanings and themes. Vaisnoradi et al. (2016) define qualitative thematic analysis as a mechanism used by researchers to organise or group recurrent ideas under particular theme, which makes it easier to answer study questions. Themes may have subthemes that assist in gaining comprehensive information, and organise the way stories are told and uncover patterns (Phoenix, 2008; Bolderston, 2012). The themes can be developed manually by the researcher, which involves the researcher scrutinising the interview transcripts for common ideas that are grouped together into themes and later categories. This process, however, requires a researcher to be first familiar with the data set. Secondly, themes can be developed using a computer software program for qualitative data analysis such as NVivo or ATLAS (Bolderston, 2012).

This study aimed to understand land use decision-making dynamics on large residential plots in Fingo Village, Makhanda (Grahamstown), South Africa; particularly what, why, and how space is used (occupied), or what and why it is not used (unoccupied). In order to accomplish the aim of the study, themes were first developed to get the essence of the lived experiences of the users/inhabitants of the space. The researcher used occupied and unoccupied spaces presented in Chapter Six and Seven as the main analytic units, also as thematic areas. The subthemes were developed manually: as the researcher was working with the data set, all similar categories were grouped together, as well as selected GIS maps and the respondents' narratives to ensure that issues were clearly understood. These are discussed below.

5.4.1 Narratives

Narratives are how people give or construct meaning about their experiences; this can occur through images, interviews, storytelling and conversations (Gibbs, 2007). They promote an understanding of key events in the lives of the respondents, their communities and the context in which they live, which then acts as evidence to support the statements made by a researcher. Gibbs (2007) argues that narratives explain emotions and issues that might be misunderstood or missed when using other methods. They offer mechanisms for respondents to contextualise their experiences and the surrounding environment.

In this study, respondents were asked to provide narratives on how decisions are made about household land use. Some of these stories are presented in the findings – Chapter Six and Seven. According to Jarvis (2016), narratives promote understanding of the messy nature of preferences, relations, and inequality during household decision-making, which was also observed in this study. Holstein and Gubrium (2012) state that narratives are important in explaining compelling aspects of life such as work, relationships, illness, trauma or conflict. The same was also observed about household decision-making in Fingo Village. Feminist scholars note that narratives are useful in exploring the meanings that unrecognised groups assign to their experiences, which can open a new window into social, historical and cultural processes (Holstein and Gubrium, 2012).

5.4.2 GIS Desktop Analysis

This study used GIS to visualise different household land use activities (spatial practices) and unoccupied spaces. ESRI software, ArcGIS version 10.5, was used to perform this analysis. This software is used by many research organisations and universities around the world because of its data standards and capabilities to perform spatial analysis. Rasouli (2013) used GIS to map public space and understand the relationship between people's activities and physical patterns of urban space. GIS is a useful method to analyse space and its activities and has been used in a variety of studies to map the distribution of land use, vegetation, hinterlands, territories, and trade areas (Goodchild, 2010; Rasouli, 2013).

As the data collected through participatory mapping (handmade land use activities maps) was in an analogue format (hard copy), it was converted to digital format through digitising, using an editor tool. Gregory *et al.* (2009) define digitising as the process of converting an analogue image, text, model, maps, data and sounds into a digital or computer-based readable format. ArcGIS produced digital maps displaying which space is used for what purposes.

GIS was also used to map all Fingo Village plots to determine their usage status. A vector shapefile of Fingo Village Erven acquired from Makana Municipality's database was overlaid on the orthophotographs that were downloaded from the Geography Department at Rhodes University, and spatially referenced in Universal Transverse Mercator projection, with Datum: World Geodetic System 1984. The GIS desktop analysis was performed to consolidate a map showing how many residential plots are used as well as the number of empty plots. The maps were used alongside qualitative data such as interviews about land use decisions from lived

experience to provide an analytic picture of both land use activities and decision-making for each space under investigation based on the participant's spatial knowledge.

Ground truthing was then used to assess the accuracy. Ground truthing refers to the collection, observation or measurement of data collected from a distance, which is used to aid interpretation, analysis, and validation of data as paved areas can be mistaken for a building, for instance (Garrity, 2009). Since the researcher used Google Earth imagery, the ground-truthing was important in verifying the number of unoccupied plots (unused). Undertaking ground-truthing was time-consuming but helpful as it provided a more accurate indication of the number of used and empty plots as well as their location (see Table 5.1 below).

Table 5.1 Location and Number of Empty Residential Plots in Fingo Village

Street	Empty (Desktop Analysis)	Empty (After Ground-Truthing)
A-Street	2	5
B-Street	3	3
C-Street	2	2
D-Street	0	1
Godlonton-Street	2	1
Wood-Street	2	2
Raglan-Street	4	2
Victoria Street	1	2
Russel Street	1	1
J-Street	0	0
Total	17	19

Only six of the empty plots were part of the sample. These plots were of interest as would provide the researcher with understanding why they were unused. The legal owners of the plots were traced, so that they could answer the questions in the interview schedule attached in Appendix 1 and 2.

5.5 Ethical Considerations

A study that examines human relationships with the environment, and adopts a humanistic geography paradigm, needs to abide by ethical principles. Ethical clearance was obtained from Rhodes University for this research project (Annexure 1). This study involved data collection on people in their personal space and examined how they use their residential space as well as the factors influencing land use decisions in Fingo Village township. Such information might be personal and sensitive. Literature indicates that some plots in Fingo Village are family property, which sometimes results in conflict regarding land use management (Claassens and Cousins, 2008; Kingwill, 2008; Kingwill, 2011). This could have resulted in residents being reluctant to participate in the study as they would not want to disclose family conflict and tension. Some might feel threatened or even fear for their lives if they revealed certain information. Furthermore, ethical issues also arise from the use of geographical maps showing the exact location of the participating households. It could be harmful to individuals as it may reveal personal space usage that becomes public knowledge. Hay (2010) argues that GIS maps can create public alarm and influence property values and health in the area, which ultimately affects local development. Thus, caution should be exercised when conducting research projects involving GIS maps.

The informed consent document (Appendix 3 and 4), which was presented in both English and isiXhosa, was given to the respondents before the interviews. The aim was to ensure that the respondents understood the nature, purpose and research methods (discussed earlier) as well as the risks and benefits of the study. This assisted the respondents in making an informed decision on whether to participate. The ethical issues explained in the informed consent document are discussed below.

5.5.1 Risks and Discomfort

According to Hay (2010:10), research may have “potential physical, psychological, cultural, social, financial, legal and environmental harmful effects” and respondents need to be protected. During data collection, the respondents were told that if they felt at risk due to participating in the study, the researcher would terminate their participation and that they had the right to withdraw from the study with immediate effect. The researcher also undertook to make suggestions or refer participants to a professional for relevant support. The respondents

were also informed that they were free to decline to answer any questions that they were uncomfortable with.

5.5.2 Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

Respondents should volunteer to participate in a study; they must not be coerced and must be free to withdraw at any time (Brownlow and O'Dell, 2012). Participation was voluntary, meaning that respondents had a choice to partake in the study if there were uninterested or foresaw any risks. They could also withdraw at any stage of the research. The respondents were also made aware that the information received was not going to be used without their consent and that if they chose to withdraw, the information would be destroyed.

5.5.3 Privacy

It is important to protect the respondents' privacy by guaranteeing their anonymity, undertaking that all information will remain confidential and storing data in a safe place (Brownlow and O'Dell, 2012). During data collection, the research assistant and researcher had access to the interviews. However, as soon as each interview was over, the researcher stored the data in her locked office. The translator had to sign a confidentiality agreement.

While selected quotations from the interviews are used in the data analysis, pseudonyms are used to hide the identity of the respondents. Some GIS maps showing occupied (used) and unoccupied (unused) space are displayed; however, the exact location of the households that participated in the study is not revealed. This ensures that the responses are not linked to the participants at any point. The use of pseudonyms and disguised locations is recognised as one of the ways of ensuring privacy and confidentiality (Brownlow and O'Dell, 2012). The respondents were also made aware that the information received would be used purely for academic purposes and would be destroyed after five years.

5.5.4 Feedback

It is desirable for the respondents to be given comprehensive feedback on the study after it is complete (Hay, 2010). The researcher needs to develop ways in which results are disseminated. For the present study, the respondents are meant to receive feedback and offered the choice of summarized findings, as part of ongoing work the researcher does in Fingo Village.

5.5.5 Benefits

A research project needs to maximise benefits and reduce the level of harm and discomfort (Hay, 2010). This study could be useful to a range of stakeholders, including local municipalities about rental accommodation, community empowerment (space awareness and employment opportunities), housing policy, zoning policies and livelihood-relevant planning. The study's significance is explained in more detail in Chapter One, Section 1.3.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

A total of 36 household plots participated in the study, which is a small sample but it was enough to provide a picture on how land use decisions are made in Fingo Village. It was a challenge to find more participants as people with land tenure rights were not residents of Fingo Village but resided in other Makhanda (Grahamstown) townships such as Vukani and Joza (Extension 6 and 7), and in some far lying areas such as Namibia, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Bisho and Uitenhage. They requested one-on-one interviews, which were conducted when they were in Makhanda (Grahamstown) or convenient for them. The land issue is a sensitive topic in South Africa because of the seizure of land from Black people. Furthermore, the land question has been ignored by the state resulting in the refusal of some individuals who could have participated in the study.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research methods used in the study. Data was collected in Fingo Village; and a range of research methods and procedures were used, including sampling and data collection and analysis. Purposive, convenience and snowball sampling were used to select the research sample. A combination of participatory mapping, GIS desktop analysis, semi-structured interviews and secondary data enabled rich data to be obtained, which was then analysed thematically. Data collected was enough to visualise spatial practices (physical use of space/land use) on residential plots of Fingo Village, and explain whether they are influenced by the representations of space (regulating space using abstract ideas) or representational space (lived experiences). The following chapters (Six and Seven) present the study's results which were analysed using the methods discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: OCCUPIED SPACE, LAND USE ACTIVITIES AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES IN FINGO VILLAGE

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five presented the study's research design and the methodological procedures for sample selection, data collection and data analysis. This present chapter discusses the findings of the study focusing on land designated as occupied land, rather than unoccupied or underutilised, within a residential plot in Fingo Village. For the purposes of this study, occupied land refers to a residential plot with two or more active land use activities occupying more than half of the plot in terms of total area, which is economically and socio-culturally important for household livelihoods. As illustrated in Table 6.1, only 22 households with occupied plots participated in the study. The collection of land use activities on these plots included the main house, backyard flats, *spaza* shops, a funeral parlour, livestock keeping, cultural use, and food gardening. These are consistent with the dominant land uses in South African townships that were discussed in Chapter Three. With the exception of cultural uses, similar patterns were found in Fingo Village. Table 6.1 shows the clusters of land use activities on residential plots in Fingo Village. All have more than two major land uses, with the main house (dwelling) as the key and common activity in all these plots.

Table 6.2: Land Use Activities in Fingo Village Residential Plots³

Land use activities	Number of plots																					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Main house	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Backyard flat	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x		x
<i>Spaza</i> shop	x						x					x										
Funeral parlour					x																	
Livestock	x	x	x	x		x		x	x						x			x		x		
Kraal for cultural use	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x		x		
Active gardening	x					x			x				x	x							x	

More often, when land is viewed as a commodity, economists emphasise the use of space that is productive and functional at the maximum level for economic gain (see Chapter One, Section 1.1) (Zenios, 2007). In such a scenario, the aim is often to maximise economic returns and benefits while minimising losses. Optimal use of space is often encouraged, especially amongst poor urban communities, as it is seen as a possible contribution towards improved livelihoods (Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007). The idea, in this economist perspective, is that land use activities are motivated by economics. This study argues against an uncritical subscription to this perspective. Rather, this study allows for deeper understanding of different motivations behind adopted or desired land uses. It shows that there are multiple meanings of land and the different ways in which people regard land as important (see Chapter One, Section 1.1). This study uses Lefebvre's spatial triad, which is comprised of representational space, representations of space and spatial practice, to conceptualise the use of space in Fingo Village. For the representations of space aspect of the spatial triad in this study, the focus is on the legislation or policies at the

³ 'X' indicates that the household plot has particular land use activities. Where there are gaps or no 'X' it means that the household plot does not have the indicated land use activities. The detailed table about different land use activities in Fingo Village Residential plots that participated in the study is found in Appendix 5.

national level, the Eastern Cape provincial government and Makana Local Municipality, which may have influence on how users/inhabitants use the space. The representational aspect of space in the triad refers to the lived experiences of the users/inhabitants, individual[s], people, resident[s] or participant[s] involved in land use decision-making, particularly their beliefs and needs. The spatial practice focuses on land use activities found on Fingo Village plots.

Fingo Village plots that were part of this study are zoned for residential use by the Makana Local Municipality. Figure 6.1 presents the Makhanda (Grahamstown) land use map.

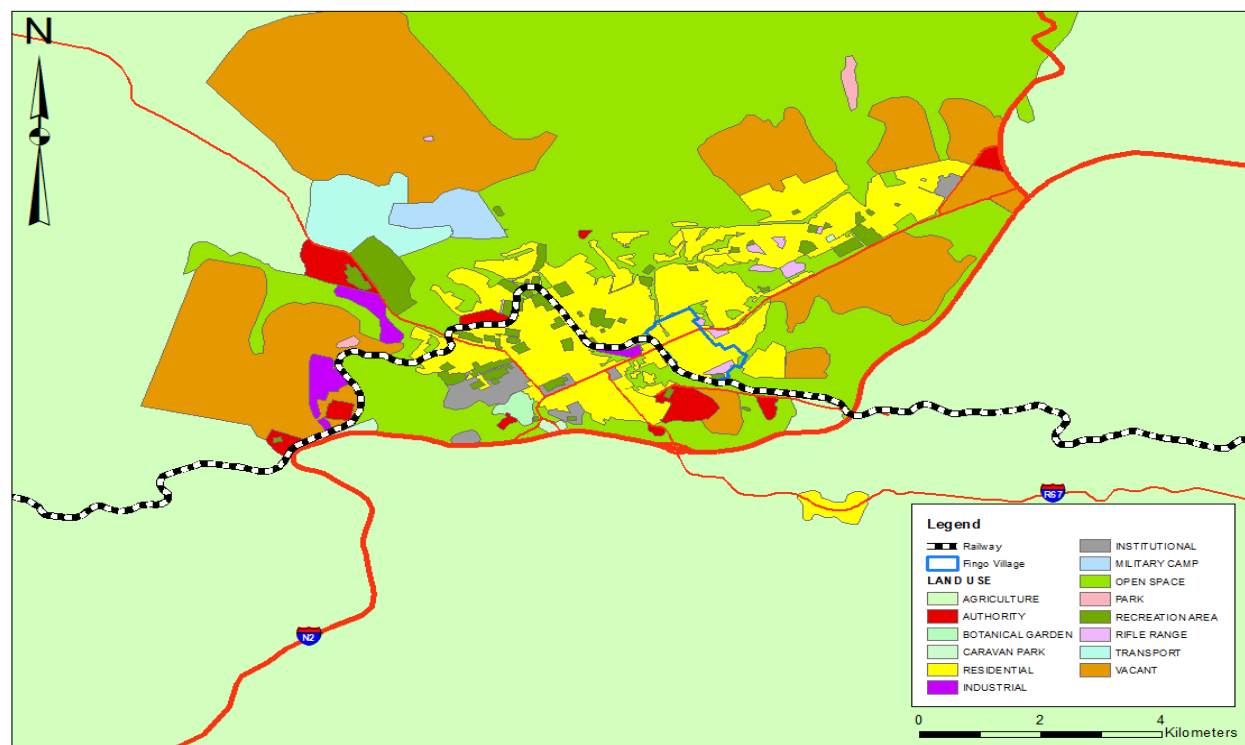


Figure 6. 1: Makhanda (Grahamstown) Land Use Map

This means that these plots are mainly for residential (home shelter) purposes. Mixed household land use activities on residential plots are permitted, but only with the local municipality's consent (Makana Municipality, 2016). Consequently, many of the plots observed in this study have multiple land use activities, including a home shelter, livestock keeping and cultural use, home-based businesses, and food gardening. These different land use activities on urban residential plots are the result of urban governments around the world, particularly in Africa, adopting mixed land use policies. Urban unemployment and poverty in developing countries such as India, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Ghana and South Africa, to mention a few, led to a shift from strict urban land use zoning to mixed land use (May and Rogerson, 1995; Kombe, 2005; Kuiper and Van der Ree, 2006; Lemanski, 2009). This urban

unemployment and poverty can be traced back to the economic crisis because of the political transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism, which led to African countries adopting neoliberal policies (Bond and Dor, 2003; Moyo, 2007). The conditions of policies included: the removal of import/export barriers; lower corporate taxation; currency devaluation; financial liberalisation, deregulation of business, flexible labour markets and privatisation of state-owned enterprise and eliminating subsidising public social services. The state lost control as the emphasis was on privatisation. This led to a decline in real wages, increasing unemployment and deteriorating public social services. This created development of different land use activities and unplanned urban settlements as people tried to survive (Moyo, 2007). The government had to create policies to accommodate this new development. There has also been increasing urbanisation alongside limited employment opportunities (Moyo, 2007).

While urban mixed land use often excludes rearing livestock on residential plots, individuals in the urban areas of many poor developing countries still engage in such activities. This clearly shows the dominance of representational space in the spatial triad, as users of the space continue to have land use activities that are prohibited by the representations of space such as in the Makana Municipality.

This study explores what, and how, residential space is used (occupied) and the different factors influencing these household land use decisions by understanding the lived experiences of the users. Section 6.2 of this chapter focuses on the spatial practices of the users in Fingo Village plots that were selected to be part of the study. Section 6.3 discusses spatial practices that are prohibited by urban governance but present in Fingo Village; this section is followed by conclusion in section 6.4.

6.2 Spatial Practices of the Users in Fingo Village

The spatial practice discussed in this study refers to the physical use of space in Fingo Village, particularly land use activities observed where the representational space in the spatial triad dominates. The following section discusses the different spatial practices in Fingo Village as well as the factors influencing users to engage in these activities. The discussion illustrates how these land use activities are shaped by several factors, including economic considerations, socio-cultural, biophysical factors and political factors.

6.2.1 Home Shelter/Dwelling

All residential plots defined as having active land use activities have a main house building to accommodate family members in the broadest sense as the plots in Fingo are regarded as family plots that accommodate the extended family from the original occupiers (Kingwill, 2008; 2011; 2014). The notion of a family plot is rooted in the African customary land tenure system and was common prior to colonisation; this practice is still in place in many rural areas of South Africa (August, 2009). In the African context, land tenure is regulated by customary rules that are governed by customs that differ from region to region and from society to society. Land is owned individually and collectively as a group, family or clan; it is, thus, important to maintain social relations in order to protect rights to the land (Du Plessis, 2011). Claiming rights to land is always a challenge because customs change over time, and are constantly invented and reinvented (Mackenzie, 2003). In this system, the family plot is viewed as having connections to the ancestors, and ordinarily, it cannot be sold; thus, the current generation has the obligation to hold on to it for future generations (Du Plessis, 2011). There is often no legal registration in place; rather, land rights are recognised through social acknowledgement, which shows the dominance of representational space in the spatial triad as the customary beliefs become important in regulating space use.

Most of the study participants claimed that the residential plots they occupy are collectively owned by the family, and everyone is welcome to live there. Family membership is not linked to blood or birth, but by behaviour and norms, where individuals need to behave according to approved family norms. Family membership is maintained through on-going participation in family ceremonies, events and affairs. As one of the participants explained, the family is, therefore, defined based on kinship relationships, where everyone who is a descendent of the clan has the right to access the plot:

This is a family plot; all people related to our late great-grandfather (Xodwana) by blood have access rights to the plot⁴.

However, there were two cases where non-kin were regarded as part of the family and had access and rights to use the household plot. A participant pointed out this by saying:

⁴ An interview with several family members: Plot 9, 02 February 2018.

This is the Zungu plot. We also have members of the Ngubo family living with us, but we are not related to them by blood. Our late father told us that Mr Ngubo came to Makhanda (Grahamstown) to work, and he asked to rent a backyard flat. He later brought his family, and since they have lived on the plot for a long time, we developed a strong relationship with them. When my father was sick, they assisted us; as a result, they stopped paying rent and we are now one big family⁵.

It is an African norm, particularly among amaXhosa people in rural areas, for people who are not blood relatives to be considered as family members (Sinqwana-Ndulo 1998; Amoateng and Richter, 2003). Collective land ownership results in many family members claiming tenure rights to land. Even family members that do not live in Fingo Village have access to the plot and often use it for rituals or during holidays for vacationing. Kingwill (2011) adds that some Fingo Village residents live on their family plot when they are unemployed or sick. In this sense, the plot is important in keeping the family together, providing a place for care and maintaining relationships. All these uses relate to the ways in which rural people normally use land (Ferguson, 2013).

Twenty-one of the participants with occupied plots stated that they had received land through inheritance. Only one plot was identified where the participant with an occupied plot had purchased the land. These findings are in line with those of Kingwill (2011), who concluded that the land is connected to the ancestors and cannot be sold but must be kept for the next generation. As one participant explained:

I was born on this plot, which belongs to my late parents, who claimed to have acquired it from their parents. We have shared a lot of memories in this house as a family. This is where we host family ceremonies and connect with our ancestors. This plot is home to my kids, who will inherit it should I pass away. Selling the family plot is not allowed⁶.

As the plot is seen as a family asset, it forms part of the family's identity, which has been passed from generation to generation. All family members need to have access to the plot,

⁵ An interview with several family members: Plot 3, 23 October 2017.

⁶ An interview with several family members: Plot 7, 17 October 2017.

meaning that no one can inherit it individually. This is a standard rule adopted by most of the participants in the study. However, as the following comment shows, tensions and conflict often arise in the process of implementing these rules:

When our mother passed away, my father married my stepmother, who came with her children. When my father died, our stepmother was worried that her children would not benefit from the plot as they had different surnames. She then decided to make her oldest daughter the legal beneficiary of the plot (registered in the title deed). The family was not consulted and currently, there is a big fight between the family members, as they do not agree with the stepmother's decision. The fear is that this land registration is going to result in the exclusion of other family members⁷.

It was observed that the participants opt for land ownership through social acknowledgement, but when there is tenure insecurity, they enforce the formalisation of ownership through legal means. Payne (2001) argues that titling is important for tenure security purposes. Once a person's name is registered, they are protected by the law and access rights to the plot cannot be revoked unlike in customary tenure where access can be renegotiated and it changes over time (Mackenzie, 2003).

Eighteen of the 22 occupied household plots have backyard flats that accommodate family members because the main house is sometimes not big enough. A participant provided the following narrative:

We are a big family, and the plot is owned collectively. There are also extended family members, which live on the plot. It was therefore important to build a backyard flat so that we all have a place to sleep⁸.

Lemanski's (2009) study also found that backyard flats are built to accommodate family members. These became popular in the townships during the apartheid era when there was a shortage of houses to accommodate migrants from rural areas. Statistics South Africa (2011) notes that the population growth in Makhanda (Grahamstown) has increased demand for

⁷ An interview with several family members: Plot 8, 08 August 2018.

⁸ An interview with a female: Plot 16, 28 February 2018.

housing, leading to people resorting to backyard flat accommodation. In Black and Coloured townships, it is common to find more than one homestead under a single title deed (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). There are two types of backyard flats in Fingo Village: formal flats built using mortar blocks and bricks and informal ones constructed with mud, wood and corrugated iron (see Figures 6.2 and 6.3). Of the 18 occupied plots with backyard flats in the sample, 13 are informal with five formals⁹. These two types of backyard flats also feature in other urban areas such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, East London and Port Elizabeth (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Govender *et al.*, 2011; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013; Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2016).



Figure 6. 2: Formal Backyard Flat



Figure 6. 3: Informal Backyard Flat

⁹ The designation of formal and informal flats is not precise or functional. It is used in this research to distinguish the stronger, slow/expensive to build flats (formal) from the less strong, easy/cheap structures.

Affordability determines the type of backyard flat that is built. The study found that most of those living in backyard flats were unemployed family members that rely on social grants and lack resources. Some were employed in town for less than R2 500 per month. The backyard flats are also used to accommodate paying tenants.

The lack of affordable rental housing in Makhanda (Grahamstown) has led to soldiers, police officers, professional nurses, schoolteachers, shopkeepers, pensioners, taxi drivers and conductors, and students and staff from Midland FET College and Rhodes University, seeking affordable rental housing in Fingo Village and other local townships. This has motivated plot owners to build backyard accommodation. Whether landowners build informal or formal backyard flats is dependent on the individual affordability.

Some participants said that they prefer to rent in Fingo Village because it is closer to the city centre than other Black townships in Makhanda (Grahamstown). One participant provided the following narrative:

Renting in town is expensive and the rental keeps increasing every year. The cheap accommodation in town is untidy and you are forced to share a kitchen with a lot of people, with limited privacy. In the township, it is cheap and you have your own space. I like Fingo Village because it is closer to town and I can walk if I run out of taxi fare¹⁰.

Post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed the movement of skilled and unskilled people from town to the townships because the rent is more affordable (Crush, 1992; Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). Thus, cheaper accommodation and the township's geographical location attract people to rent housing in Fingo Village.

Of the 13 occupied plots with informal backyard flats, 11 have electricity connections, which impacts the rent charged. In contrast, other studies argue that the rental is determined by the location with places that are close to where the tenant works commanding higher rent. Furthermore, the rent is reduced if the tenant has contributed to construction of the dwelling (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Govender *et al.*, 2011; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). The participants reported that a tenant pays between R80 and R100 monthly for a room without

¹⁰ An interview with a female: Plot 21, 25 October 2017.

electricity connection, R180 monthly rental for one with electricity, plus R100 paid for electricity. The tenant shares electricity with the landlord as they use one prepaid meter. As illustrated in Figure 6.4, such connections are often informal, presumably illegal in terms of Eskom's (utility company) safety regulation of and potentially dangerous.



Figure 6.4: Electricity Connection

Illegal electricity connections are common in informal backyard flats in Cape Town (Lemanski, 2009; Govender *et al.*, 2011). If the electricity runs out before the end of the month, the landlord and the tenant pool their funds to purchase more. While informal backyard flats generate little income, the money received is important as it enables landlords to pay their municipal bills.

People living in the informal backyard flats use RDP communal toilets (see Figure 6.5) and do not have individual toilets, showers and running water inside the house. The living conditions are similar to the case study of the Westlake backyard flats in Cape Town (Lemanski, 2009).



Figure 6.5: RDP Communal Toilet

Some formal backyard flats have running water inside, an individual electricity connection with a prepaid meter and a toilet. Of the five households with formal backyard flats in this study, two have all the services listed in Table 6.2 below, and one only had a prepaid electricity meter. The other two formal backyard flats were like the informal backyard flats and lacked these services.

Table 6.3: Service Provision in Formal Backyard Flats¹¹

Services	Plots				
	1	2	3	4	5
Running water inside the house	x	x			
Prepaid electricity meter box	x	x	x		
Toilet inside the house	x	x			

The rent for a room with an average size of 5 square meters, without all the services listed in the table, is R800 per month. Electricity is shared with the landlord with the tenant of each room contributing R100 per month. Money is pooled to buy additional electricity should it run out before the end of the month. If the room has all the services listed in Table 6.2, the rent is R1 500 or more. Landowners with formal backyard flats often use the income generated to buy groceries, build other backyard rooms and pay municipal bills or school fees. Lemanski (2009) acknowledges that the money generated from backyard flats is important in meeting households' basic needs.

i) Living Arrangements

As most residential plots are collectively owned by families in Fingo Village, with renting tenants as well, many people tend live on one plot. As illustrated in Figure 6.6, in some cases, numerous backyard flats have been built.

¹¹ 'X' indicates that the household plot has particular land use activities. Where there are gaps or no 'X' it means that the household plot does not have the indicated land use activities. The detailed table about different land use activities in Fingo Village Residential plots that participated in the study is found in Appendix 5.

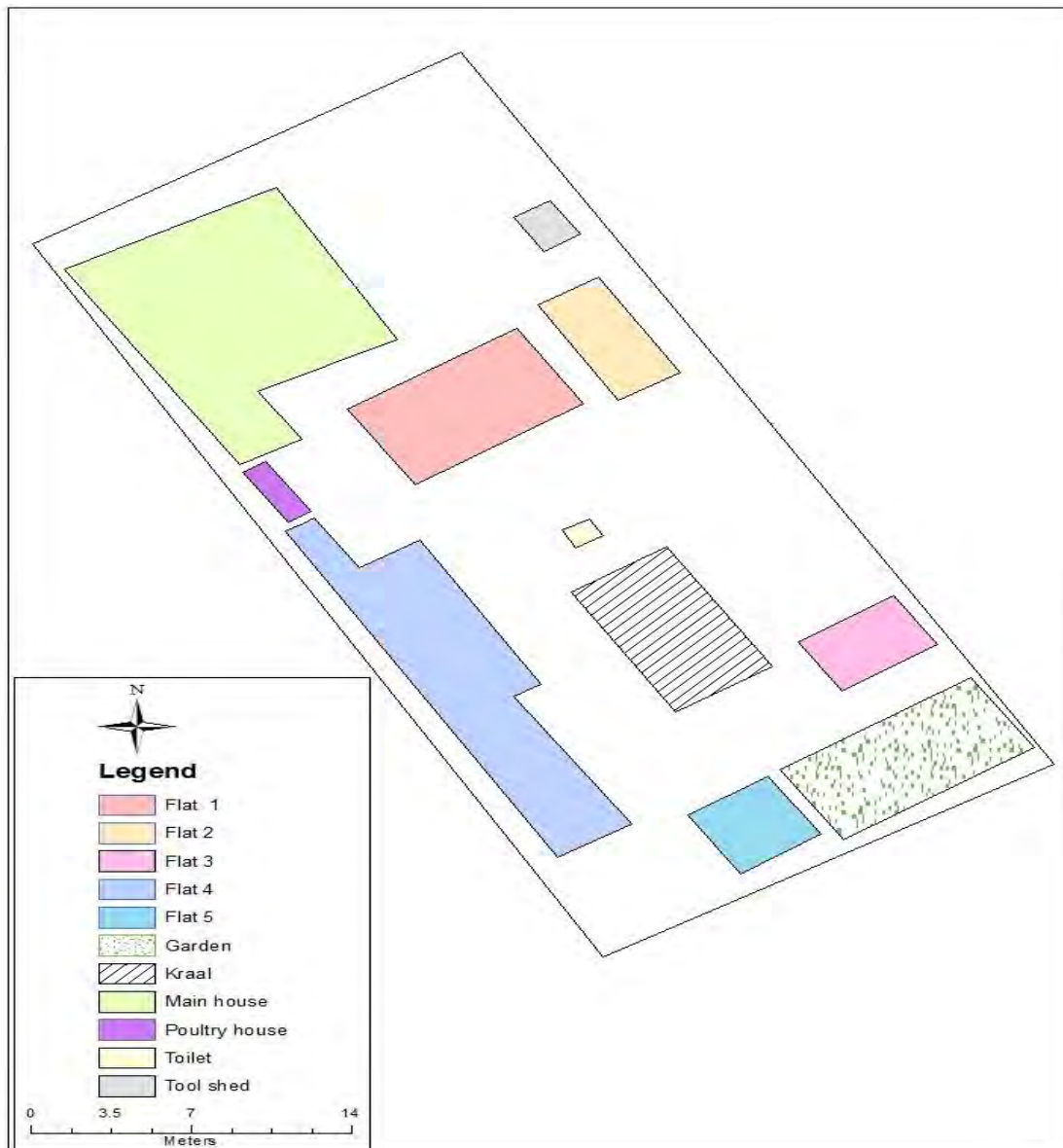


Figure 6.6: Plot with the Main house and Backyard Flats

On this plot (Figure 6.6), the main house accommodates the plot custodian. Flat 1 is used by the custodian's son who lives with his girlfriend. Flat 4 accommodates the custodian's twin brother, while the brother's daughter lives in flat 2. Although they are part of the same family, these four households cook separately. However, when there is a ceremony, they use the main house to cook together. Flats 3 is vacant and flat 5 is home to a paying tenant.

Multiple homesteads on one plot are regarded as an African customary rural lifestyle where a large piece of land is given to the tribal or clan leader who allocates it to males when they marry (August, 2009). They then build homesteads. This means that as more youngsters grow up and are ready to marry, the number of flats increases. Since Fingo Village plots are large,

any family member who can afford to do so can buy material and build their homestead on the plot. Marriage is not a requirement to be allocated space to build a house, and females are as entitled to do so as males, as in the case of the brother's daughter who was given space to build her own homestead.

However, one participant who recently purchased their plot that has different land uses, owns the land as an individual instead as a collective family. It is interesting that there is a move away from collective to individual ownership. Kingwill (2011) argues that Fingo residents were firstly given plots by British rulers, based on individual land holding, but they just used customary tenure system and owned land collectively as a family. There was a shift again, which started during the 1990s when individuals could buy these family plots and own them individually.

ii) Land Use Decision-Making Power

This study found that, as expected, tenants have limited rights and land use decision-making powers compared to family members in Fingo Village. The former was only empowered with decision making about the inside space of the dwellings they were renting. Decisions on the overall aspects of the residential plot often rested with family members, and the custodian had to ensure that such decisions were honoured. Kingwill (2011) defines a custodian as someone chosen by the family to take responsibility for the management of the plot on the family's behalf. When the custodian dies, others take on the management of the plot. Most families that participated in the study chose the oldest family members as plot custodians. Younger members are only chosen when no elderly people reside on the plot.

The significance of seniority in selecting custodians is linked to customary law. The principle of male primogeniture states that upon the death of the estate owner, the plot goes to the eldest son. If the deceased did not have a son, it goes to the eldest male descendant of the family (De Waal and Schoeman-Malan, 2015). However, in Fingo Village there was no gender bias when custodians were chosen, and males and females had an equal chance of selection. Indeed, Kingwill (2011) notes that more females than males have been appointed as custodians in Fingo Village. The custodian needs to live on the plot and be reliable. Females are preferred as they have proven to be more reliable than males. Males were accused of abusing alcohol and not taking care of the plot. Here is one of the complaints from a participant:

*Before we chose our older sister to be the custodian of the plot, our brother was the custodian. He failed to take care of the plot. He allowed every homeless person to stay, and there were always parties and the walls were dirty*¹².

This represents a shift from South African customary law, which has been criticized for gender bias for insisting that the land remain in the hands of males (Sibanda, 2010). However, some participants argued that a female who became a family member through marriage could not be nominated as the custodian of the plot. A participant added that the children of married females can be nominated once they were old enough:

*We were living on the family plot with my husband, who was nominated to be the plot custodian. When he passed away, I was never invited when the new custodian was chosen. Only my children were allowed to attend. I was told that it was not in my interest as I became part of the family through marriage*¹³.

This narrative shows that discrimination against married females persists in the management of the family plot belonging to a woman's in-laws, which stems from African customary law. Married or not, women are regarded as youngsters that cannot be responsible for protecting the interests of the household. For example, unmarried women are under the custody of their fathers, while married women are seen as being under the care of their husbands; only males can traditionally inherit household plots (Madinginye, 2017). While the current study found that there has been some change to traditional norms since females can inherit their parents' plot, this is not the case when it comes to their in-laws.

The custodian of the plot is responsible for protecting the family (taking care of the elderly and children) and the plot (repair, maintenance, and paying municipal bills) (Kingwill, 2011). The participants noted that they had the power to make land use decisions after consulting those with a right to the land. One explained that:

I will decide that I want to have a small garden to cultivate vegetables. This means that I would need a space. I cannot just decide; I will have to consult the family members and tell them that I have decided to start cultivating and I will

¹² An interview with several family members: Plot 17, 18 October 2017.

¹³ An interview with a female: Plot 20, 25 October 2017.

use some of the space in this plot. Family members will raise their concerns, including making sure that I do not block the path from the toilet or that I leave enough space between the house and the fence. I will take all those considerations and choose where the garden will be. I will inform them where I then decided to put a garden. Even if one family member wants to do something, they will inform me, and then I will take a decision after consulting other family members¹⁴.

This shows that the decision is made after a series of consultations with relevant people. Davis (1976) calls such consultation consensus decision-making. Traditional indigenous societies such as the San communities were known for such decision-making; however, it no longer exists (Wynberg *et al.*, 2009). In Fingo Village, consensus decision-making is still important regarding houses that were acquired a long time ago. However, some custodians seek to bypass this process. The following narrative explains what happens if consensus is not reached:

My sister decided to extend the backyard flat for rental without informing the family. When I came back I noticed this and I asked what is going on. She then explained it to me. However, what I did not like is that we were not consulted. I had to summon a meeting, inviting all family members, including the elderly people from the village, so that the role of the custodian could be explained to her¹⁵.

This narrative shows that custodians of the plot are not absolute decision-makers. The power to make decisions rests with family members who have land tenure rights. They also have the power to force the plot guardian to reverse any decision made without consultation.

6.2.2 Home-based Businesses

From those who participated in the study, four occupied households conducted businesses on their plots with three running *spaza* shops and one a funeral parlour. Kuiper and Van der Ree (2006) and Lemanski (2009) state that urban residential plots are important for enhancing livelihood opportunities among the urban poor. For example, they note that in Bangalore City,

¹⁴ An interview with several family members: Plot 9, 05 April 2018.

¹⁵ An interview with a female: Plot 21, 25 October 2017.

India, home-based enterprises offer a wide range of opportunities to entrepreneurs, such as small outlets selling daily household products to those that do not have space or a refrigerator; clothing manufacturing; and other activities from tuning televisions to breeding crickets. Small businesses on urban residential plots are a common phenomenon in most developing countries (Kombe 2005). In Dar es Salaam, such plots are home to many activities, including selling fresh crops, cakes, fish, household ware, secondhand garments, as well as car repairs and carpentry workshops (Kombe, 2005). Shop owners buy products from wholesalers enabling them to charge less while making a profit.

The *spaza* shops and funeral parlour identified in the sample of household plots in Fingo Village were not owned by the landlord, but by tenants. All the *spaza* shops are rented to foreigners from Somalia and Ethiopia, while the tenant with the funeral parlour is South African but not from Makhanda (Grahamstown). He has funeral parlours in other towns. The dominance of foreigners when it comes to owning *spaza* shops has also been documented in other studies conducted in South Africa (Charman and Piper, 2012; Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation, 2015).

The tenants leased the space only to operate their businesses. Thus, they only have the right to control and make decisions on what they sell. They are not allowed to alter the building or control anything outside of the business. The owner of the funeral parlour had a five-year lease. The tenants that run *spaza* shops also contributed to the construction of the building. Two participants recounted how their tenants contributed to the building of a *spaza* shop. The first said:

The tenants came and approached the family with a building plan that we approved. The building cost was R40 800, and we made an agreement that the tenant will pay a rent of R700. Rent was supposed to be R1 500 but we reduced it because of the tenant's contribution to the building. The lease is supposed to end when the tenant has recovered the cost incurred during the building of the spaza shop¹⁶.

The second participant explained:

¹⁶ An interview with some female members: Plot 1, 17 October 2017

The tenant contributed to the building of the spaza shop in this plot. The building cost was R60 000. The monthly rent fee is supposed to be R1 200, but the tenant is paying R700 a month as he contributed to the building of the spaza shop. The lease agreement will end when the tenant recovers the cost incurred during the building of the shop¹⁷.

While these two narratives show that different sums were involved, a similar lease was signed. This shows that some shopkeepers only need an unused empty space so they can build a shop and start paying rent. The contribution towards building the *spaza* shop can translate into secure land tenure rights. Tenants who do not contribute in this manner face the risk of being evicted. One participant said:

I did not contribute to the building of this spaza shop, or sign a lease agreement, so I live in fear of being evicted any day. I am always reminded about eviction. When I complain I am not taken seriously. The rent kept increasing. The shop I am renting used to be a family spaza shop, which did not take off¹⁸.

The shop was previously owned by the landlord. Ligthelm (2005) also found that some *spaza* shops used to be owned by local people who could not compete with foreign entrepreneurs. The lack of a lease agreement exposes foreign shop owners to abuse and they do not have secure tenure. When it comes to renting business space, it seems that foreigners from other African countries are not treated the same as South African business tenants. These *spaza* shops sell the same products as those identified by Liedeman *et al.* (2013) and McGaffin *et al.* (2015) in other township *spazas*. These include soup, cigarettes, sweets, chips, cold drinks, bread, milk and grain staples, but not alcohol.

The participants were also asked what attracted them to conduct a business in the township, and stated that this provided a good business opportunity in a perfect geographical location as there was limited competition and they could be able to reach large numbers of people. Figure 6.7 presents the spatial distribution of *spaza* shops.

¹⁷ An interview with a male: Plot 12, 18 October 2017

¹⁸ An interview with several family members: Plot 7, 17 October 2017

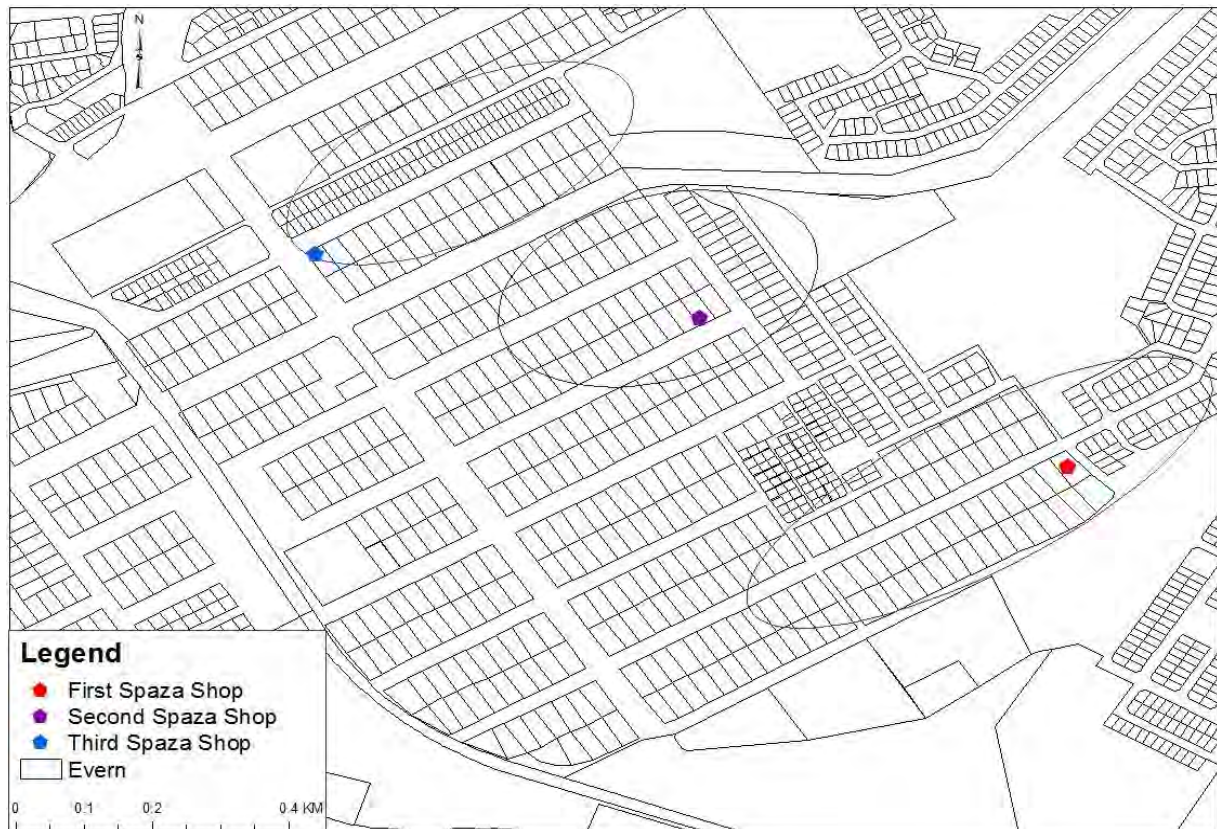


Figure 6.7: Spatial Distribution of *Spaza* Shops

As illustrated in Figure 6.7, the first *spaza* shop is located at the corner with a targeted customer base of 120 households. The second *spaza* shop is adjacent to the corner plots and targets about 110 households. The third *spaza* shop targets about 65 households. These findings are similar to those of the Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation (2015) that calculated that there is one *spaza* shop for every 86 households. Gordon and Nell (2006) note that choosing the right location is important because it can influence competitiveness.

6.2.3 Livestock

While mixed land use has been approved in the urban areas of many developing countries, it tends to exclude livestock keeping, which is the case in the Makana Local Municipality (May and Rogerson, 1995; Kombe, 2005; Lamer, 2004; Lemanski, 2009). It was observed that out of 22 occupied plots, about 10 households kept livestock on their residential plots. Based on the research sample, the most common were cattle (six households), chickens (five households) and donkeys (four households). Only one household had all three types; five had cattle only; three had both chickens and donkeys; and one had only chickens (See Table 6.3 below).

Table 6.4: Types of Livestock Kept Per Plot¹⁹

Livestock types	Number of plots																					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Cattle	x	x	x					x										x		x		
Donkeys			x	x		x									x							
Chickens			x	x		x			x						x							

As noted in the previous section (6.1) some Fingo Village residents kept livestock on their residential plots. Six of the occupied households kept cattle, five chickens and four donkeys. Five households that participated in the study kept indigenous, free-range chickens called *umleqwa* (in isiXhosa). Afolabi (2013) discusses the importance of indigenous chickens in Africa. Firstly, they form part of a nutritious diet, with meat and eggs used for consumption. Secondly, they are used for cultural purposes during ceremonies or festivals and to honour a visitor. Thirdly, they are a source of income or are for barter. In this study, only two households sold *umleqwa* chickens. One remarked:

We keep chickens for selling and meat consumption, and they are owned by the wife. Once we have more than five chickens other than those that are supposed to be producing, we sell them to the neighbours, who prefer to eat homegrown chickens rather than frozen chicken portions. We do not produce many chickens; it depends on the productivity of chickens because we do not give them any supplements to produce more. In a year, about ten chickens are sold. The normal price for umleqwa chicken ranges from R80 to R100, depending on the weight. The money is often used to buy prepaid electricity. People steal chickens so we need to make sure that the place is secured and we have dogs chained

¹⁹ 'X' indicates that the household plot has particular land use activities. Where there are gaps or no 'X' it means that the household plot does not have the indicated land use activity. The detailed table about different land use activities in Fingo Village Residential plots that participated in the study is found in Appendix 5.

next to the poultry house so that when people try to steal, the dogs bark and alert us²⁰.

This income generated from keeping chicken is used to buy prepaid electricity. The chickens are sold in the neighbourhood and not at the market as suggested by Rogerson (1993). This narrative also reveals the challenges associated with keeping chickens like theft. Wong *et al.*'s (2017) literature review on poultry farming shows that theft has led some rural people to keep their livestock inside human dwellings overnight to prevent them from being stolen. The current study found that dogs are used to guard the chickens.

This study also revealed that women tend to be the owners of the chickens. Njuki and Mburu (2013) argue that this is the case because food consumption and cooking are often associated with womanhood; thus, the decision to keep, sell and use chickens rests in the hands of women. Another participant noted that chickens were raised to provide meat and eggs for the family:

I am not working. My husband passed away and I am a pensioner, depending on a government social grant. I cannot afford to buy fresh chicken and eggs. Therefore, I produce my own. I am able to save some of my pension money that I would use to buy meat and eggs²¹.

This narrative shows that chickens are not only a source of income, but supply food for poor households in South Africa. Other studies have shown that this is true in many developing countries (Rogerson, 1993; Wong *et al.*, 2017).

However, in Fingo Village, cattle are owned by the elderly men of the family, with the right to use them also vesting with the men. The researcher could not identify a household where women were owners and decision makers regarding the use of large livestock. Where there is no elderly man in the family, ownership is conferred on a male child. A participant explained:

When our father died, he owned these cattle. Prior to his death, he was very clear that it was supposed to be inherited by our brothers, because they are going to preserve the name of the family. My brother inherited the cattle. He is

²⁰ An interview with several family members: Plot 15, 19 October 2017

²¹ An interview with several family members: Plot 9, 02 April 2018

*old now and is currently mentoring my nephew on how to take care of the cattle.
My brother is the one who decides about the use of cattle²².*

On the other hand, donkeys are owned by young males in the family, who use them to generate income. A study conducted in Makhanda (Grahamstown) revealed that livestock are rarely used for daily consumption, but are important for cultural reasons (Thornton, 2008). The participants' responses also endorse Thornton's (2008) finding that cattle are not kept for random use such as dietary requirements. However, they are used if something important and urgent is needed. Cattle can be sold to build a house or slaughtered for a funeral, wedding, or male circumcision ceremony. The following narrative explains the importance of livestock:

Every time when there is a ceremony, we slaughter cattle. If cattle have grown enough to be slaughtered, we use them. However, sometimes we are required to buy from farmers out of town if the cattle are still young or they just gave birth. My elderly brother who owns the cattle decided to sell some and use the money generated to build a house as an RDP house cannot accommodate the whole family. Therefore, the cattle were sold, in order to get money to buy building material²³.

While the participants noted that livestock would not be sold to pay municipal bills or buy food, their milk is sold and the household also consumes it. A participant pointed out that, while milk production is uncommon, it does generate an income:

When the cattle give birth, we know that we will be able to generate some income. It is not a lot of money, but I am able to buy few things such as bread and pay municipal bills. We normally sell fresh and sour milk. People from the neighbourhood will come and buy two litres for R10²⁴.

Donkeys are kept because the income they generate plays an important role in livelihood strategies. According to Hanekom (2018), in South Africa, they are used to deliver groceries,

²²An interview with a female: Plot 20, 25 October 2017.

²³ An interview with several family members: Plot 2, 28 February 2018.

²⁴ An interview with several family members: Plot 3, 24 October 2017.

water, manure and maize. They are used as pack animals to pull a load on a cart or wagon (Hanekom, 2018). Figure 6.8 shows donkeys with a cart in Fingo Village.



Figure 6.8: Donkeys Pulling a Cart

Since 2002, the Makana Donkey Association has recorded about 55-58 donkey cart owners in Makhanda (Grahamstown) (Houzet, 2018). In Fingo Village, donkeys are used as transport for wood collected from the forest and to deliver furniture and groceries. As a participant explained, this is an important source of income:

The donkeys have a carriage, which is used to carry wood from the forest. The normal price of one load is R150. If people are hosting ceremonies, I supply firewood. In addition, if people are moving from one house to another place or bought groceries, they ask for transport, I normally charge them from R60 - 80 depending on the weight. The money generated assists in buying the house groceries and I can also buy clothes for myself²⁵.

Donkeys are also an important part of township tourism, with some tourists visiting the township just to experience a donkey cart ride. One participant added that donkeys are also hired for local ceremonies. The following narrative explains the economic importance of livestock:

If the donkeys are hired for a function, I charge R150. For example, one of the schools in Makhanda (Grahamstown) was welcoming the headmaster so I was

²⁵ An interview with a male: Plot 4, 31 October 2017

told to decorate my donkey cart, as they wanted me to use it to carry the headmaster. People were so happy; they gathered around and took some pictures²⁶.

The decisions to keep livestock are thus influenced by economic considerations (to generate income and provide for subsistence) and socio-cultural factors (cultural use of livestock, theft and ownership based on gender), whereas the cultural use of space is influenced only by socio-cultural factors.

6.2.4 Food Gardening

Twelve of the occupied households that participated in the study had a designated area for food gardening. Of these, six gardens were fallow while the other six had active gardens. Their size ranged from 27 to 451 square meters. As in other urban areas (Rogerson, 1993; Thornton and Nel, 2007), most Fingo Village residents cultivate vegetables including tomatoes, cabbages, spinach, maize and potatoes, but they also plant onions, which are not listed by these authors.

Food gardening is regarded as a strategy to alleviate the high levels of poverty and food insecurity in South Africa (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4). This has led local municipalities to embrace food gardening as a part of their policy framework. The Makana Municipality's IDP also recognises the importance of food gardening. However, much attention has been given to community gardens with three gardens developed thus far and assistance provided to farmers (Makana Municipality, 2014). Fingo Village residents who participated in this study benefit in these gardens because they are located in other townships in Makhanda (Grahamstown). The participants also noted that the municipality offers no support for food gardening in Fingo Village and that this has discouraged others from cultivating. The following comments from participants illustrate this:

I would like the government to provide us with seedlings every year so that we can be able to cultivate early. Because we are not working, we end up eating

²⁶ An interview: Plot 15, 19 October 2017

*everything and not saving seed to plant the following year. Therefore, we have to wait until we have money to buy inputs*²⁷.

*The issue of livestock discourages us from cultivating. If you do not have a proper fence, they eat your crops. We wish that government could do something with these roaming cattle in the township streets*²⁸.

There are two key issues in these narratives. The first is the need for the municipality to provide seed. Unfortunately, this situation is widespread in South Africa where municipalities, including those of Cape Town, eThekweni and Johannesburg emphasise the need for household food gardening, but do not offer support to do so (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4). The availability of resources influences individual land use decisions. As seen above, the participants said that they are often unable to save seed for the next season and when it is time to plant, they cannot afford to buy seed. Food gardens, thus, lie fallow. This shows that resources can constrain and enable food gardening.

Secondly, stray livestock also affect food gardening and use of space for livelihoods. Roaming livestock have discouraged Fingo Village residents from growing food as they destroy crops. It is the responsibility of the Makana Municipality to enforce Impoundment of Animals bylaws to ensure that there are no roaming livestock and that livestock are not kept in the township residential plots because they destroy cultivated crops. This means that if the South African government is serious about promoting food gardening, all issues that prevent people from having gardens need to be addressed. The lack of seedlings and the presence livestock destroying crops is also documented in Kepe and Tessaro's (2014) study in the rural areas of South Africa as inhibiting farming. The most frequently reported negative impact of roaming livestock in Makhanda (Grahamstown) is the prevalence of road accidents, which endangers people's lives (MacLennan, 2017). The issue of livestock eating urban gardeners' crops is not reported. The failure of the municipality to enforce bylaws is political, and it shows the inadequacy of the representations of space to influence users' space.

While some studies have shown that urban dwellers that cultivate fresh produce sell it at the market to generate an income (May and Rogerson, 1995; Bryld, 2003), none of the participants

²⁷ An interview with a female: Plot 21, 25 October 2017.

²⁸ An interview with a male: Plot 13, 23 October 2017.

in the current study sell fresh produce as it is used for subsistence and barter. A male participant observed:

I am a pensioner and I stay alone. I cultivate vegetables as a hobby since I retired from work. I wanted to do something in order to keep myself busy. As I stay alone, I normally give away fresh vegetables to other residents that are needy. I do not sell them. The community members know that if they need vegetables they can come to me²⁹.

There was only one case in the occupied plots where a resident trades fresh vegetable with other community members in exchange for social capital. The use of vegetables for barter is common in South Africa's rural areas but it is slowly gaining momentum in urban townships – see, for example, Mthethwa's (2012) study in KwaMasane township in KwaZulu-Natal. Five of the sampled households in the current study with active gardens cultivate for subsistence only. One provided the following narrative:

Both my wife and I depend on government pension grants. The amount is R1 700 per month per person. The garden is important for livelihoods; through producing fresh vegetables we are able to save about R200-300 a month. The money that we previously used to buy vegetables is used to buy prepaid electricity³⁰.

Cultivating is important for livelihood strategies because the money normally used to buy vegetables can be saved or spent on other things. In each occupied household that participated in the study, there were no set rules as to who should engage in cultivation; everyone with tenure rights could participate. In the six gardens that were actively cultivated, it was observed that only pensioners over the age of 65 have launched food gardening initiatives. The youth reported that they do not have time due to being employed or they depended on child support grants. A study conducted by Susilowati (2014) found that only about 12% of young people in rural areas in Indonesia participated in farming. Furthermore, the older people that farm are ageing (Susilowati, 2014). Kepe and Tessaro (2014) also found that South African youth in

²⁹ An interview with a male: Plot 14, 17 October 2017

³⁰ An interview with a male: Plot 13, 23 October 2017

rural areas are no longer interested in farming. While these studies were conducted in rural areas, a similar trend is observed in urban areas (Susilowati, 2014; Kepe and Tessaro, 2014).

6.2.5 Cultural Use

It was noted that Fingo Village plots have kraals even if they do not keep cattle or donkeys. The participants indicated that they are used for cultural purposes. Residents without a kraal are those who do not believe in ancestral connections. As shown in Table 6.4 below, from the 22 occupied households that participated in the study, only 15 plots had a kraal: ten households used it for both livestock and cultural use, while five households used it only for cultural purposes. The use of a kraal for ancestral purposes is common in rural areas. This finding illustrates the importance of ancestral connections amongst residents of the urban township of Fingo Village.

Table 6.5: Kraal Uses³¹

Kraal Uses	Number of plots																					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Livestock Keeping	x	x	x	x		x		x	x						x			x		x		
Cultural use	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x			x		x		

In African culture, ancestors are those who have passed on and serve as mediators between the living and God, the creator (Abdulai, 2009). They also symbolise the moral value system of a particular family or clan lineage and they take care of the living. Many residents of Fingo Village set aside a sacred space, such as a kraal, to perform these cultural activities. One participant pointed out that the kraal is used when they want to communicate with their ancestors and perform cultural rituals:

³¹ 'X' indicates that the household plot has particular land use activities. Where there are gaps or no 'X' it means that the household plot does not have the indicated land use activity. The detailed table about different land use activities in Fingo Village Residential plots that participated in the study is found in Appendix 5.

The kraal is used to communicate with the ancestors. For example, if a child is misbehaving, they ask for guidance from the ancestors or when there is a proposed ritual ceremony, they go to the kraal to inform the ancestors. Even when there is a ceremony such as introducing the newborn (Imbeleko), the child is taken to the kraal to be introduced to the ancestors³².

It is regarded as important that the ancestors are informed about such instances as it is believed that they protect, advise and guide individuals, the family or the lineage of the particular group (Abdulai, 2009). It is important to introduce a new member of the family so that the ancestors can extend their guidance and protection to the newborn. Other participants pointed out that the kraal is important especially when there is a ceremony and an animal has to be slaughtered. One said:

Cattle or a goat may be slaughtered inside the kraal when there is a ceremony of remembering and respect for those that have died. After the cattle has been slaughtered, the females are given the meat to cook outside the kraal, while males cook theirs inside the kraal. People will gather around near the kraal during the ceremony, and this is referred to inkundla³³.

The use of animal sacrifice in remembering the ancestors is common in African culture. Abdulai (2009) notes that food, drink, pouring of libation and erecting physical structures are also signs of remembrance. The social and spiritual importance of a kraal in African traditions is the reason why it is included on residential plots. The discussion shows that the decision to create a cultural space as one household land use is influenced by socio-cultural factors.

6.3 Representations of Space Influencing Spatial Practices in Fingo Village

Some of the spatial practices found in Fingo Village are prohibited, either because the space is not designated for them or land use activities are not approved by urban government. The land use activities may overlap with the Makana Municipality spatial planning, which frustrates users as policies clash with their socio-cultural beliefs and do not consider their socio-economic status. Nevertheless, Fingo residents continue with these land use activities; this shows the

³² An interview with a female: Plot 11, 18 October 2017

³³ An interview with a male: Plot 10, 08 August 2018

limited influence of representations of space in what happens in practice. There are many spatial practices that do not follow government policies. These are discussed below.

As most residential plots in Fingo Village are zoned for residential use, all 22 occupied households that participated in the study have a main house structure, which is usually used to accommodate family members. Of the 22 occupied households with main house structures, only four did not have at least one backyard flat. Before constructing either a main house or backyard flat, the owner must submit a building plan to the local municipality for approval (Makana Municipality, 2016). In South Africa, plans for a main house or backyard flat must comply with the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act of 1977, which requires a building to be safe from fire and floods, be conducive for human habitation, solid, and pleasing to the eye, while also not reducing the value of other properties in the neighbourhood. The proposed building plan is submitted to the Makana Local Municipality, which has the power to approve or disapprove the building plan. The Act empowers a local municipality to demolish unsafe dilapidated buildings. As noted by Njoh (2009), this Act seeks to regulate the physical and spatial structures of an area and individual household space (see Chapter Two).

However, most residents of Fingo Village that took part in the study said that they had not submitted building plans prior to the construction of the main house or backyard flat. This means that they build without the Makana Local Municipality's approval, as one of the participants pointed out:

When I built this house, I did not submit the building plan because I did not have money to pay the person to draw the plan for me. When doing a building plan, there are costs involved; it is not done free. Maybe if doing a building plan was free, I would have done it³⁴.

The issue of resources prevents residents from abiding by the municipal rules because they claim that the drawing of building plans is unaffordable. This means that if residents lack resources, it becomes a challenge for the government to enforce regulations. Some participants

³⁴ An interview with a female: Plot 18, 25 October 2017.

claimed that a building plan was not important since the Makana Local Municipality does not conduct inspections. This was articulated in the following words by one of the participants:

During the apartheid era, we used to follow the municipality's rules. We submitted the house plans because there were random inspection visits. Now they no longer do inspections; people can also keep cattle. Law enforcement is no longer there³⁵.

The municipality's failure to enforce the law has resulted in Fingo Village inhabitants disregarding regulations. Other residents did not follow the regulations as they were of the view that violating them carried no sanctions. One participant put it this way:

There is no penalty associated with the failure to follow the building regulations. This means that the municipality is not fussy about the submission of the building plan³⁶.

While the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act of 1977 states that a person that constructs a building without approved plans can be fined up to R100 per day, none of the study participants had been fined or knew of anyone who had been fined. They are thus of the view that there are no penalties. This also shows that the residents are unaware of the regulations regarding building plans. This results in structures (main house or backyard flat) that do not comply with building regulations; in addition, the structures are informal and dilapidated and are inconducive for human habitation as required by the Act (see Figure 6.9. for an example).

³⁵ An interview with several family members: Plot 9, 02 February 2018.

³⁶ An interview with a male: Plot 4, 24 October 2017.



Figure 6.9: Informal Housing

Most people do not have jobs and depend on social grants for survival. They can, thus, only afford to build the informal structures that are prevalent in Makhanda (Grahamstown) townships. These buildings are often unsafe because they are easily destroyed by severe climatic conditions such as strong wind and heavy rain. Some participants argued that their informal houses were destroyed by storms in 2008. As shown in Figure 6.10 below, the Makana Local Municipality provided transit accommodation for affected Fingo Village residents.



Figure 6.10: Transit Accommodation

This was meant to be a temporary solution as affected residents waited in anticipation for the municipality to build RDP houses. However, such structures are now permanent accommodation as the residents have been waiting for a decade. According to the Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement, government should facilitate durable solutions by ensuring

that people who have been displaced by disasters and lost their property, recover or are compensated. The respondents felt the municipality failed to provide the necessary support.

Contrary to this norm, three occupied households that participated in this study followed the correct procedures. Figure 6.11 shows one of the houses that was constructed according to an approved building plan.



Figure 6.11: House with Approved Building Plan

These participants felt that building regulations should be followed as this will increase the value of their house. Another participant had building plans but did not submit them to the Makana Municipality; he did it for his own benefit:

I had a building plan for this house but it was not for the municipality's approval as it (the municipality) is dysfunctional. I did it because I wanted to see how my house would look once it is finished and to inform the builder what I want. The Makana Local Municipality is dysfunctional because does not respond to the needs of us as citizens. The roads are poorly managed and people applied for RDP houses a long time ago in Fingo Village but they are still waiting even today³⁷.

³⁷ An interview with a male: Plot 13, 23 October 2017.

The responses from the participants are divided, with a few heeding the National Building Regulations when constructing their houses and backyard flats, while the majority did not. This suggests that the representations of space, in terms of the Makana Municipality, has minimal influence on these land use activities in Fingo Village. Thus, it has limited impact on household land use decisions when it comes to shelter.

Because there are occupied households with home-based businesses, the user of the space is required to request rezoning from the local municipality, and then wait for approval before opening a business (Makana Municipality, 2016). This paves the way for mixed land use, where residents live and work on their residential plots. These business buildings also need to comply with the National Building Regulations and Building Standards Act of 1977. It was found that only two of the four occupied households that were operating a business had applied for rezoning. One participant whose residential plot had a business put it this way:

Because the place was zoned for residential use, before the funeral parlour started to operate, my father had to apply for rezoning permit. It was a long process and it cost a lot, as we also had to pay an architect to draw up a plan³⁸.

Goslett (2017), CEO of Remax Property in South Africa, argues that rezoning is time-consuming. First, the owner needs to provide detailed reasons as to why the plot needs to be rezoned, which is then submitted to the local municipality. Second, he/she must advertise the intention to rezone to the public to determine whether there would be any objections. The information provided to the local municipality and feedback from the public is then used to make the final decision to either approve or deny rezoning of the household plot. This process can take two months to a year to finalise (Goslett, 2017). This lengthy process could be the reason other residents of Fingo Village operate their business illegally. One said:

My sister and I inherited this household plot from our parents. She is married and lives with her husband next to Marry Water School. As I am the only one who lives here now, my sister and I decided that we would rent the RDP house to a tenant, who decided to open a spaza. The tenant is not working. Rezoning

³⁸ An interview with a male: Plot 5, 19 October 2017.

*a household plot complicates things and it was going to take time to be approved, while I expected the tenant to pay rent*³⁹.

As the tenant is unemployed, he relies on the money generated from the shop to pay rent. Waiting for approval would also mean that the tenant could not meet his basic needs. Opening the *spaza* shop in this plot was a rushed decision. This shows that operating small businesses on residential plots is important in addressing unemployment and poverty. Thus, for the most part these businesses operate with or without the municipality's approval of a building plan or rezoning.

The Makana Municipality's Integrated Land Use Scheme allows for the keeping of small animals such as chickens, for domestic use only (Makana Municipality, 2016). However, two occupied households that participated in the study reported keeping chickens for sale. These residents were unaware that this was not allowed and thought that only large livestock were prohibited. One commented:

*We keep chickens so that we can sell and eat them. To my knowledge keeping small chickens on the residential plots is fine, it is only keeping of cattle, donkeys and goats that is not allowed by Makana Local Municipality*⁴⁰.

There is a need for some of the Makana Local Municipality bylaws to be explained to residents. However, they are correct if they say that keeping large animals such as cattle, donkeys and goats on urban residential plots is prohibited, but Fingo Village residents continue to keep these on their plots (Makana Municipality, 2016). This is in line with Thornton's (2008) findings. Thornton (2008) notes that this resulted in Makana Local Municipality purchasing farmland (commonage) for residents to rear their livestock. This means that the municipality is fully cognisant that many households in the township keep large livestock. The negative health and environmental impacts of livestock are among the reasons why it is not allowed in urban residential areas (see Chapter Three, Section 3.4) (Richards and Taylor, 2012; FAO, 2018). Figure 6.12 illustrates Makhandu's (Grahamstown) east commonage area, which is just outside the residential area. The municipality is responsible for controlling and regulating the use, protection and management of the commonage (Anderson and Pienaar, 2003). However,

³⁹ An interview with a male: Plot 6, 02 February 2018.

⁴⁰ An interview with several family members: Plot 15, 19 October 2017.

residents continue to keep large livestock (cattle and donkeys) on their residential plots and release them during the day to graze in open spaces in the township and city centre. It is the interest of this study to investigate why Fingo Village residents do not use the available Makana Local Municipality commonages and continue to keep livestock on residential area.

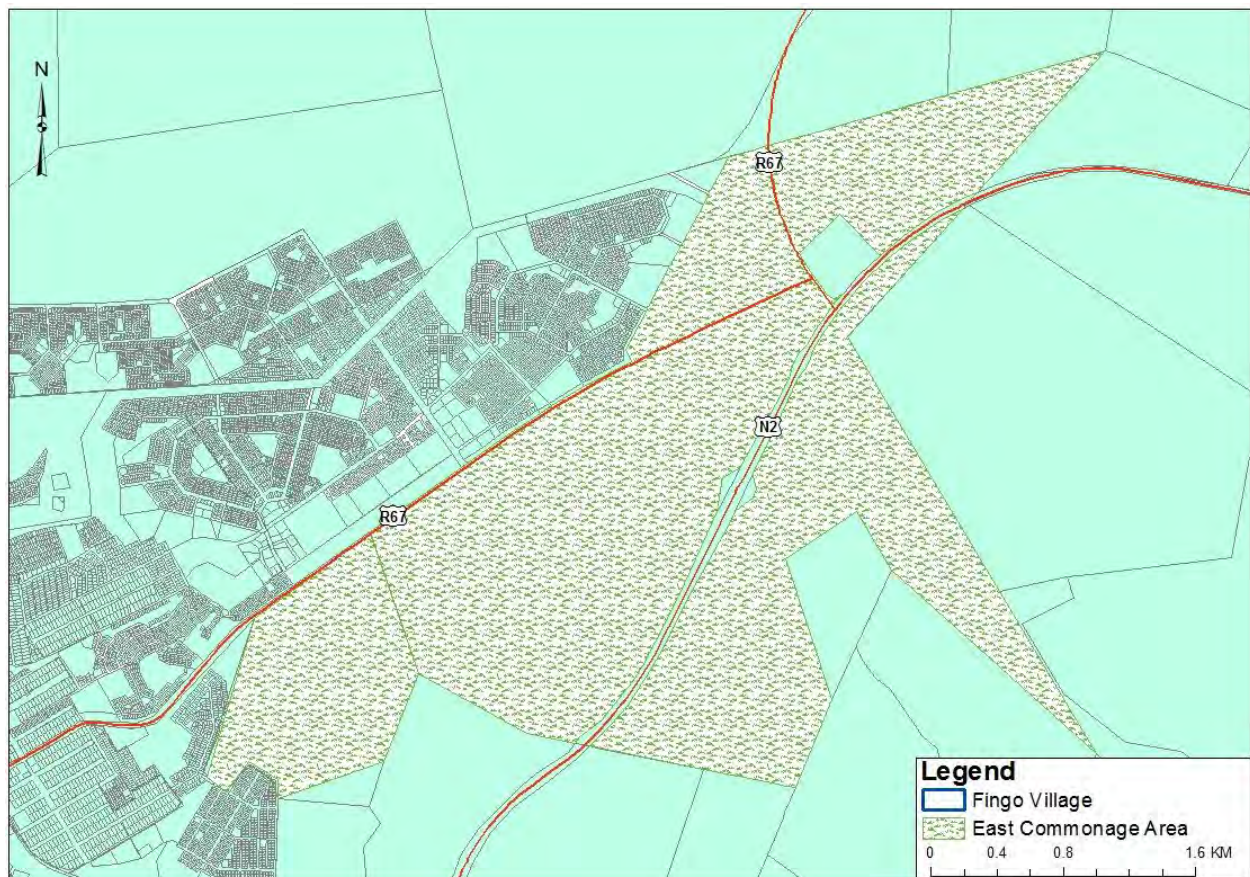


Figure 6.12: Fingo Village East Commonage Area

The participants were aware of the commonage areas and the fact that keeping of large livestock is prohibited on household residential plots. This contrasts with Thornton's (2008) finding that many residents were unaware of the commonage. The findings of the current study suggest that residents are resistant of the Makana Local Municipality's rules on how they should use their residential plots.

The study participants identified three specific reasons as to why they keep livestock on their residential plots instead of in the commonage area. The first was the geographical location of the east commonage area, clarified by one of the participants as follows:

The commonage area is hidden from view from my plot, so I prefer a place where I can see my cattle when they graze. The commonage area is not visible from where I stay. It is not safe because I cannot see them as they graze. I would rather keep them on my plot and let them graze in the open areas of the township⁴¹.

The Makhandha (Grahamstown) east commonage areas is not far from Fingo Village. The challenge is that from the village to Makhandha (Grahamstown) east commonage area, there is a gentle upward slope with the commonage area on top of the slope. This means that it is not visible from the village. It can be argued that the participants do not approve the location of the commonage and are thus reluctant to use it. However, not much can be done as commonage areas are supposed to be located adjacent to towns and residential areas, which is the case in Makhandha (Grahamstown) (Anderson and Pienaar, 2003).

The second reason identified by the participants was theft, as narrated by the following statement from the participant:

If you take cattle to the commonage area, they are stolen or slaughtered. One day the shepherd took the cattle to the commonage area for grazing during the day. He left to do other things in town and when it was time to take the cattle back home, one was missing. It was found slaughtered by thieves. The people only left the head and feet. We are scared to let cattle stay in the commonage area. Even my donkeys stay at home at night. During the day they graze in the township open space and I use them if I have to deliver something⁴².

The fear of theft has made participants abstain from using the commonage areas. The third reason why participants are not using the commonage relates to African culture, as shown by the following comment:

It is our culture that the livestock must be kept in the backyard. Even when we were growing up in the villages, the livestock would graze out in the veld, and

⁴¹ An interview with several family members: Plot 2, 28 February 2018.

⁴² An interview with several family members: Plot 3, 24 October 2017.

then be taken to the kraal in the evening. This is important because they are seen as the part of the family and used as a sacrifice to the ancestors⁴³.

The decision to keep livestock on urban plots is also influenced by societal norms imported from the villages where cattle are kept in the homestead kraal at night. These societal norms are derived from the previous experiences of the participants observed from the villages. Even if livestock are shepherded to grazing areas during the day, the belief is that they have to be kraaled at night in the homestead (Munyai, 2012). Phalafala (2013) explains that cattle are used to connect those that are living and their ancestors, which is why they should be kept at the liminal space between people and the ancestors, not far away as with the commonage area.

Keeping large livestock such as donkeys and cattle in residential areas as well as stray, abandoned animals is a challenge in Makhandla (Grahamstown). This has resulted in the municipality impounding stray animals. The Impoundment of Animals bylaw aims to ensure that urban livestock owners house and care for their animals in order to create spatial order in the urban area (Huxley, 2007). When animals are impounded and their owners do not pay fines, they are sold to recoup the costs incurred in transporting them and running the pound.

However, the number of stray livestock has increased due to inconsistent pound operations. MacLennan (2017) notes that the pound was not open during 2016 because of a lack of resources, including proper fencing, shelter, drainage, water and electricity. Towards the end of 2017, when operations resumed, Fingo Village residents ensured that their livestock did not stray into town. A participant noted that:

When donkeys are impounded, it is a challenge because I have to pay the fine or else I do not get my cattle and donkeys. However, before the impoundment, I usually get notification from one of my neighbours working for Makana Local Municipality, and I make sure that I do not let my livestock out, so they stay in the backyard⁴⁴.

This shows that policing through impounding livestock enhances governance to some extent. However, once the impounding operation is over, livestock roam the open spaces, the township

⁴³ An interview with several family members: Plot 2, 28 February 2018.

⁴⁴ An interview with a male: Plot 4, 31 October 2017.

and the streets in town. The situation calls for regular impoundment exercises. The challenge is the cost of housing impounded animals (MacLennan, 2017). The participants also revealed that the last impounding was conducted in town, rather than the township. This sent a wrong message to some township residents, as they now believe that animals are allowed to roam the township and people are similarly allowed to rear livestock. As noted by Foucault, it is the role of the government to enforce spatial orders and regulations until the appropriate behaviour is achieved (Huxley, 2007; Huxley, 2008). If keeping livestock on urban residential area plots is inappropriate behaviour, the Makana Local Municipality should enforce bylaws (impounding stray animals) in the township as in town, and also conduct daily inspections until it is understood that this activity is prohibited. In a way, the Makana Local Municipality's failure to govern township land use activities encourages livestock keeping on township residential plots.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the different factors influencing household land use decision-making in Fingo Village. The findings of the study revealed that Fingo Village can be regarded as a space for users instead of a policed space as the physical use of space is often without the respect of urban policies. Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad incorporates two lenses for conceiving the production of space. This includes the representations of space, focusing on government legislation or policies and the representational space, which is the space of the users/inhabitants that is lived through their experiences. The dialectical process between the two spheres of the spatial triad provided a deeper understanding of the factors that influence the spatial practices in Fingo Village. The representational space dominates Fingo Village, leading to people ignoring or resisting any rules of consistency and cohesiveness by urban governance. The space is lived to fit the needs, norms and circumstances of the users/inhabitants. The chapter has shown that the urban government has limited power to influence spatial practices of the users/inhabitants through its policies of building regulations, land use policies and provision of services.

As shown in Chapter Four (section 4.2), conceived ideas of governing Fingo Village have always been difficult to implement and the residents have always had the power to control their land use activities even during colonial times. Understanding the lived experiences of the users/inhabitants revealed many issues that are involved when household land use decisions are made. Twenty-two occupied households participated in the study and their active land use

activities included human shelter (e.g., a backyard flat and main house), home-based businesses (e.g., *spaza* shops and a funeral parlour), livestock keeping and food gardening. It was found that land use decisions are not only motivated by economic factors (profit and income generation for subsistence), but also by socio-cultural factors (seniority, gender, income status, theft, experiences, cultural beliefs and group affiliation), political factors (municipality policies and bylaws) and biophysical factors (the location and visibility of the area). This means that access to land does not directly mean economic prosperity and improved livelihoods. The following chapter analyzes the factors that influence non-use of space.

CHAPTER SEVEN: PRODUCTION OF SPACE ON UNOCCUPIED AND UNDERUTILIZED RESIDENTIAL PLOTS IN FINGO VILLAGE

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter (Chapter Six) discussed different spatial practices and factors influencing occupied residential in Fingo Village, Makhanda (Grahamstown). This chapter focuses on large residential plots that are unoccupied, meaning that they either empty or have underutilised space in Fingo Village. The chapter particularly discusses factors influencing non-use of available land in the midst of wide-ranging poverty in Fingo Village (see Chapter One, section 1.1). As South Africa is currently experiencing increasing rates of urbanisation, alongside high rates of poverty (Turok and Borel-Saladin, 2014), demand for urban land amongst the poor people has increased. For several past decades, this demand for land has led to many incidences of urban land invasions in many places with prominent examples being East London (Eastern Cape), Dunoon and Gugulethu (Western Cape) and Olievenhoutbosch, Blue Hills, Waterfall, Marlboro, Alexandra, Golden Highway near Eldorado Park, Weilers Farm, Orange Farm Extension 10 and East Lynne (Gauteng) (Pijoo, 2018). Makhanda has not been exempt from these land invasions. In addition to historical land invasions that led to squatter settlements (e.g. Vukani and Hlalani) during the late 1980s and 1990s, 2018 saw increased land invasions in Makhanda (Grahamstown) such as the Mayfield's Enkanini. In many of these urban land invasions the residents are simply registering their cry for shelter, hence the settlements.

There has been growing interest in understanding how the land that people have access to is used in South Africa. As shown in Chapter Three, urban township plots can be used for different activities, including backyard dwelling, *spaza* shops, livestock keeping and food gardening. Wisdom from economics dictates that the more land one has, there better the chance is for generating and improving livelihood strategies that lead to wealth (Koontz, 2001; Hall and Ntsebeza, 2007). Henry George, a classical economist, suggests that urban landowners should be encouraged to use land productively through land policies that demand taxes so that they will be able to cover the costs incurred on the land (Stilwell and Jordan, 2004). Henry George supports that household land use decisions must be motivated by economics but, as this chapter shows, access to large pieces of land does not necessarily lead to poverty alleviation and wealth in excessively poor communities. Fingo Village is one such case where

bigger plots (average of 1 000 square meters), alongside high levels of poverty, have not led to prosperity for those with access rights to these residential plots. This chapter focuses on household plots identified as unoccupied or underutilised. The aim is to explore why available land was unoccupied/underutilised, and factors influencing that the status quo from the perspective of lived experiences of users/inhabitants.

There are many criticisms about how researchers conceptualise unoccupied land as they often rely on their observations and exclude the perceptions of those who hold some property rights on the land. In fact, declarations of empty land or unoccupied space by outsiders – traditionally associated with the concept of *terra nullius* (empty land/unowned land) that was used as justification for colonial dispossession (Miller, Ruru, Behrendt, and Lindberg, 2010), and currently land grabbing (Li, 2014) – remain dangerous for marginalised users of the space, as this categorisation can attract locally unwelcome policy interventions on that land. Writing about rural villages in the Eastern Cape, Kepe and Tessaro (2014) warn about generalisation concerning declaring land unoccupied or underutilised and reveal that sometimes ‘open’ land can be mistakenly taken as unoccupied land since there are no crops or houses on it.

In this present study, Fingo Village residents with land tenure rights were involved in identifying unoccupied land for this research. There are two ways of conceptualising unoccupied land in this study. First, unoccupied land refers to a completely empty plot. These empty plots were first identified through Google Earth imagery and ground truthing was performed to verify what was observed. Residents with land tenure rights (use, inhabit, control and transfer rights) or in a position to make land use decisions in these empty plots were also invited for interviews and then confirmed their land use status. The land tenure rights holders of these plots were traced in a quest to understand why these plots were underutilised and to gain insight into the factors influencing non-usage. It was found that many of those that had tenure rights on some of these unoccupied/empty plots were not living in Fingo Village but resided in recently established townships in Makhanda (Grahamstown) Vukani and Joza (Extension 6 and 7), and as far away as Namibia, Pretoria, Port Elizabeth, Bisho and Uitenhage. About 19 of the large plots in Fingo Village stood empty without any spatial practices mentioned in the previous chapter. Only six plots were part of the research sample because it was difficult to recruit absentee owners or those with land tenure rights to participate in this study. An empty urban township plot in close proximity to the city centre is an unusual

phenomenon in South Africa, and such plots have often been the sites of land invasions and squatting (Gibson, 2008; Pijooos, 2018).

Second, in this study unoccupied land may also refer to large chunks of land that are currently unutilised, but are on occupied land (with different land use activities, see Chapter Six, section 6.1). There were eight plots with underutilised spaces. The residents identified underutilised spaces on occupied land and mapped them during participatory mapping exercise (see Chapter Five, section 5.3). The hand drawn maps created by participants were then transferred into a digital ArcGIS platform to create maps presented in this chapter. Pseudonyms are used when reference is made to participants' stories captured by the researcher.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Lefebvre's spatial triad (spatial practice, representational and representations of space) is used to explain how space is produced and to understand the dynamics behind land use decisions affecting unoccupied or underutilised residential plots in Makhandla. The dialectic interaction in the spatial triad can result in spatial conflict as there are competing ideologies on spatial practices appropriate in the particular area, which has led to some spaces being unoccupied in Fingo Village. Another spatial conflict is caused by collective ownership where individuals having different interests. Some spaces are empty because the Makana Municipality fails to provide the required enabling conditions for plot owners to develop their land as well as the residents' precarious financial situation. If we apply the representations of space aspect of the spatial triad in this study, the focus is on legislation or policies at a national level, the Eastern Cape provincial government and Makana Local Municipality, which may influence on how users/inhabitants use the space through its various policies and service provision. The representational aspect of space refers to users/inhabitants, individual[s], people, resident[s] or participant[s] involved in land use decision-making. The spatial practices focus on land use activities found on Fingo Village plots.

Section 7.2 of this chapter discusses spatial practices on empty spaces in Fingo Village. Section 7.3 explains the dialectic interaction in the spatial triad which has resulted in some spaces being left unoccupied. This is followed by Section 7.4 that focuses on spatial conflicts in the representational space level. Section 7.5 explains the intended purposes of the unoccupied spaces.

7.2 Spatial Practices on Empty Plots

Of the 19 empty plots in Fingo Village, two are fenced and the rest have vandalised toilets. Township residents often use unfenced plots as shortcuts to the next residential plot or street, as well as a site to dump rubbish, which negatively affects plot values in the neighborhood. Indeed, Wassenberg's (2013) study found that unoccupied/empty plots accumulate litter and increase pollution that results in property values decreasing, rendering it difficult to sell or rent these out. According to the representations of space in Fingo Village, there is Makana Integrated Land Use Scheme, which states that the local government has the responsibility to ensure that landowners keep their urban sites clean while they wait for the erection of a building (Makana Municipality, 2016). Either they must clean the unoccupied plot or the local authority can do so and bill the owner. However, the unoccupied plots in Fingo Village are dirty, which suggests that the Makana Local Municipality is not enforcing this since residents are not complying to municipal bylaws. This has also been witnessed in public spaces of Mangaung Municipality in South Africa, where space is appropriated by residents with unpoliced spatial practices such as vandalism and littering, which has caused the spaces to deteriorate (Nkooe, 2018). Nkooe, (2018) blames the municipality for failure to implement bylaws to curb urban decay, as is the case in Fingo Village. This shows that representations of space have limited influence on space is used.

Participants revealed that one empty plot was unoccupied because residents of Fingo Village destroyed the building and stole the material. This was an unpoliced spatial practice that occurred on a private property and not in a public place such as in the cases discussed by Nkooe (2018). Fingo residents have appropriated space and stole material to meet their social needs of building their houses. This study reveals the illegal ways in which the particular plot was used, which is uncommon in Fingo Village. The plot belongs to a local church and has been unoccupied for decades. The story recounted by one of the executive church members is narrated by the researcher:

The plot was bought to accommodate a pastor and visiting executive church members (including preachers and bishops). The church plot and its use and management lie in the executive members of the church, while the final decision is often taken by the pastor. In the early 1960s, there was a house on the plot. The church was able to find another plot next to the church building and a new pastor's home was built on this plot in the 1980s. No one lived on the original plot unless there was a visiting executive

church member. Community members started to vandalise it, stealing building material and even removing the fence. It is now used as a short-cut by pedestrians.

The church hopes to build a carwash or flats, which will generate income for the church while also employing the youth that are not working. The church executive has yet to discuss details, as they do not have a timeline or budget for the proposed business idea⁴⁵.

A study conducted by Forsyth and Copes (2014) reveals that abandoned buildings in South African townships may be used by criminals to engage in illegal activities such as rape, robbery and assault. They also vandalise and litter, which portrays a negative image of the area (Heron, 2003). Forsyth and Copes (2014) note that if an abandoned building is in a poverty-stricken area, residents are likely to vandalise and steal material for sale to recyclers and scrapyards. However, in this case, residents used the material to build their own houses. Most vandalised properties in townships are stripped down to the bare bone (Heron, 2003). This is an interesting revelation that a household plot can be vandalised until there is nothing. It was also observed that church members have a vision for how to use the plot, but there is no plan that sets out when they will start and where they will obtain the funds. A vision without a plan was found to be common amongst residents with land tenure rights.

7.3 Dialectic Relationships

As shown in Chapter Two, the three spheres in the spatial triad should not be treated as separate structures as they affect each other. In the case of Fingo Village, spatial practices are evident, which do not benefit the users/inhabitants' livelihoods and economic development. Looking at the representations of space sphere of the triad, in 1994 the government adopted Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy framework, under the African National Congress (ANC)⁴⁶ leadership, after consultation with its tri-partite alliance, Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Communist Party as well as civil society organisations. The purpose of this policy was to address socio-economic problems, poverty and the inequalities

⁴⁵ An interview with a male: Empty plot 25, July 2017.

⁴⁶ African National Congress- the first political party to govern South Africa after independence.

created by the apartheid system (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994). This was going to be achieved through:

- building houses for deserving citizens;
- ensuring access to clean water, electricity connection, healthcare services; and
- land reform and employment opportunities through public work programme (White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994).

While few plots have RDP houses in Fingo Village, there are deserving users/inhabitants who have been in the waiting list for a very long time. To qualify for a RDP house, you need to be South African citizen over 21 years old, earning less than R3 500 and a first-time homeowner. One needs to register with the local municipality or provincial Department of Human Settlements.

The pace of the provision of the RDP houses has been slow and insufficient, with some people living in backyard dwellings or shacks while they wait (Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013; Chiweshe, 2014). Chiweshe (2014) notes that there is housing demand and backlogs in urban areas that are caused by migration, household changes, economic conditions and mortality. Manomano *et al.* (2016) further argues that housing problems in South Africa are caused by government corruption and mismanagement. About 1 910 government officials were arrested in 2010 for wrongfully benefiting from RDP houses as they officiated doggy contracts (Manomano *et al.*, 2016).

The failure of the Makana Municipality to provide RDP houses as expected to all deserving users/inhabitants in Fingo Village has motivated individuals to leave their plots empty. The following is the story of Mhlongo family, explaining why the land is empty:

The plot belongs to all Mhlongo family members, three siblings (including their children), all with equal land tenure rights. The plot was inherited from their late parents. The Mhlongo family nominated the brother (Mxolisi) as the plot custodian because he was living on the plot. The other siblings and their children relocated to Joza and Port Elizabeth. All family members had access and used the plot for cultural rituals. There was also a vegetable garden. The desire to own his place motivated

Mxolisi to apply for an RDP house in Joza's new extension and he left as soon as he received it⁴⁷.

The participants claimed it was easier and quite common to obtain an RDP in Joza extension (6, 9 and 10) or Vukani than in Fingo Village. According to Moller (2008:8), Vukani and Extension 6-9 are dominated by RDP houses, with more than 4 900 homes built between 1996 and 2007. While residents of Fingo Village were encouraged to apply for RDP houses, only a few were built in this township. They thus argued that they would rather apply for such houses in other townships where they were more likely to receive them. The failure of the state's housing policy is one of the reasons why some plots in Fingo Village remain unoccupied. As noted in the Local Government Budgets and Expenditure Review (2011), when citizens are provided with basic services, they are likely to stay and use their properties in order to enhance their livelihoods.

The idea of representations of space with power to influence spatial practices in individual households is in question as the municipality fails to live up to expectations of providing affordable houses to deserving residents. However, the failure of the Makana Municipality to deliver RDP houses has resulted in negative spatial practices such as vandalism and littering, which does not benefit the community.

In other plots, the space is occupied with different land use activities such as housing a backyard flat, main house, *spaza* shops, funeral parlour, livestock keeping and food gardening, but significant spaces were also identified as underutilised by the participants. These underutilised spaces were reserved for government RDP houses and it was a challenge to invest in the land because of tenure security. Mr Zulu gave the following explanation for having vacant space on his plot:

⁴⁷ An interview with a female: Empty plot 23, 02 March 2017.



Figure 7.4: Space Usage on the Zulu Plot

Mr Zulu began living on the plot in the early 1980s, when he was renting from the Methodist Church. He lived on the plot with two sons, who are now working in Port Elizabeth and his late wife. His current house is built of mud and corrugated iron. When Mr Zulu was working, he wanted to build a proper house (bricks or blocks) but he did not do so, as he did not enjoy secure tenure due to the fact that he was renting. This remains the case at present. The plot that he is living on still belongs to the Methodist Church. In 2001, the Methodist Church decided to give the plot to the Makana Local Municipality. Mr Zulu thought that the land would finally belong to his family and that they could do whatever they want. However, it is still unclear who owns the plot and he is no longer working and cannot afford to build a house. Mr Zulu believes that when the land is finally owned by the Makana Local Municipality, it will be transferred to his name and he will receive an RDP house as promised. He thus decided to reserve a space for this house. The space was used to cultivate vegetables. The local government council promised to build affordable houses so Mr Zulu decided to keep this space

vacant. As indicated in Figure 7.1 Mr Zulu still cultivates the space, but the garden is smaller than it used to be as he has reserved space for the RDP house. Also, since the land is still not owned by the government, the household does not have its own taps, but is sharing with neighbours ⁴⁸.

The extract above illustrates the challenges of investing in the land or receive an RDP house. Erf 3825 is known as Glebe land and is registered at the Deeds Office in the name of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa. This land was leased to 30 families up until 2001. The Makana Local Municipality provided services to these families but billed the church. In 2001, the church approached the municipality with a proposal that it take over Erf 3825 in exchange for Erf 7117, to be used for religious purposes. Figure 7.2 shows the geographical location of both parcels of land. The Glebe land is located in Fingo Village and Erf 7117 is owned by Makana Local Municipality and located in Eluxolweni township. The Methodist Church wants to establish another church in Eluxolweni while Erf 7117 already has a church building. The church and the municipality agreed that 28 plots in portion B of Erf 3825 (highlighted in blue in Figure 7.2) would be given to the Makana Local Municipality, while Portion A (next to portion B) be retained for church use. The Makana Local Municipality would need to pay the costs of the transfer.

⁴⁸ An interview with a male: Plot 29 with underutilized space, 17 October 2017.

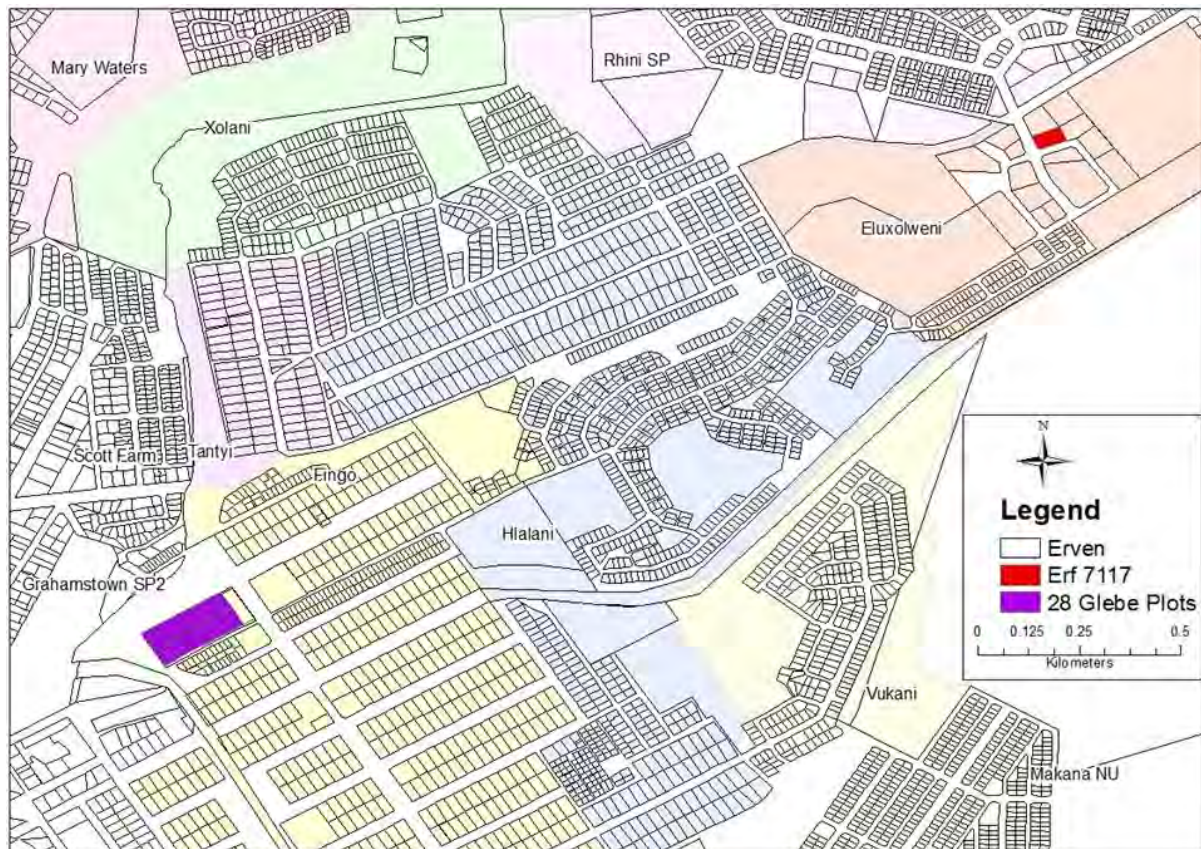


Figure 7.5: Map showing the location of the proposed land exchange

This exchange never took place as the Makana Local Municipality must still decide on waiving the debt owed by the Methodist Church and transfer costs. There are also disagreements between the local Methodist Church and its Head Office, with the former not supporting the exchange, while the latter is in favor of it. Discussions between the municipality and the church have been on-going since 2001. Under the Methodist Church land governance, residents are not owners but are also not paying rent. However, if the land is transferred to the municipality, they will receive RDP houses, and title deeds. Therefore, the residents support the proposal to transfer the land from Methodist Church to the Makana Local Municipality. The uncertainty surrounding this land has negatively affected the residents of Glebe as it prevents development in the area. Based on a report prepared by Whitesides Attorneys in September 2003, it was agreed that if the Methodist Church agrees to legally transfer the land, the project to provide RDP houses for residents will resume. Since the transfer is on hold, these houses cannot be built. The participants noted that they are concerned that they might have to pay rent again and not receive RDP houses if the land dispute is not resolved. In this case, the state (land registration under the cadastral system) is the main influencing factor because citizens' security

of tenure depends on the Makana Local Municipality purchasing the Glebe land. This would mean that the land can be registered in the residents' names enabling them to obtain title deeds. It is likely that once this is done, residents will be in a position to use their spaces as they want. Those that can afford to do so will be able to build houses, while others will obtain RDP houses as promised.

Besides the residents that live on Glebe land, others that qualify for RDP houses also have reserved space for them on their plots. However, many do not hold much hope that they will receive RDP houses; they noted that come election time, promises are made but are not kept. Some residents whose homes were destroyed by severe climatic conditions such as strong winds and storms are also still waiting for their promised RDP houses (Chapter Six). According to the Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement, the government should facilitate durable solutions in the aftermath of severe environmental conditions that negatively affect people. The residents that Makana Local Municipality has failed in this regard. The case of the Mbanjwa plot discussed below demonstrates that a lack of access to resources and the local municipality's bylaws have forced the owners of a poultry cooperative to cease operations:



Figure 7.6: Spatial Features of the Mbanjwa Plot

The land is a family plot, which was inherited from the parents. The parents had two sons. When they passed away the plot was given to the youngest son, who moved in with his five children and his wife in 2007. The eldest son, the rightful heir is working and living in Port Elizabeth with his family, who also have the right to the plot and often come to visit.

About 213.56 square meters of garden space has been fallow since 2014. As illustrated in Figure 7.6, this unused space constitutes 16.77 % of the plot. Mr Mbanjwa does not have time to cultivate the garden as he has other commitments. He is a pastor and has recently joined the car wash business. His children are still too young to participate in food gardening. If Mr Mbanjwa can find the time, he plans to start cultivating.

There are also two backyard flats that have not been used since 2015. Figure 6.6 shows, that, combined, they occupy 83.79 square meters. The flats were used to raise chickens as part of a community cooperative that was funded by the Department of Agriculture. The cooperative was important for income generation for unemployed community members. They were given 500 chickens as well as feed to start the cooperative. When the department gave them another 500 chickens, they needed more space and facilities. The Makana Local Municipality proposed moving the cooperative to another bigger location where the required facilities and equipment would be sponsored. During that time, the department withdrew its support. The participants said that they could not continue raising chickens in the yard because they are afraid of being denied sponsorship by the government. Mr Mbanjwa and the members of the cooperative are still waiting for the facilities, equipment and space promised by the municipality⁴⁹.

This narrative reveals that lack of resources such as access to labour, space and poultry facilities and equipment as well as the Makana Local Municipality's sluggish response to community members' needs has prevented the space from being used. Again, the interaction between the representational space and representations of space is unproductive, failing to result in spatial practices that are in the interests of or desired by the users/inhabitants. Firstly, the garden is fallow because Mr Mbanjwa does not have time and his children are too young to cultivate it. This is in line with Kepe and Tessaro's (2014) study that found that limited access to labour has resulted in much land remaining unused in South Africa's rural areas.

Secondly, in the Mbanjwa case, the two backyard flats that are underutilised were previously used for poultry production. The poultry cooperative is a collectively owned enterprise that focuses on egg and broiler production (Chibanda *et al.*, 2009). The South African government supports cooperatives as they contribute to employment and income generation. Poultry cooperatives receive much support such as labour, training, financial support, capital, access to markets and technical support from different organisations (Chibanda *et al.*, 2009, Urban-Economic Development Economists, 2013). Mr Mbanjwa and his partners had about 1 000 chickens and complied with the National Environmental Management Act. However, the Prevention of Public Nuisances and Keeping of Animals bylaw empowers the Makana Local Municipality to determine the number, kind and sex of animals, as well as the areas where they

⁴⁹ An interview with a male: Plot 32 with underutilized space, 30 April 2017.

are kept. The Makana Integrated Land Use Scheme also prohibits the keeping of animals on residential plots for commercial purpose. Mr Mbanjwa and his partners were operating a cooperative on a small residential plot, which was not permitted by the municipality. The Makana Local Municipality acknowledged the existence of the poultry cooperative and was aware of the need for an alternative space to raise the chickens. However, it has been slow to respond, resulting in the cooperative becoming non-functional. The participants received funding from the government to keep livestock, yet the same government has created policies that prohibit livestock keeping on residential plots. This shows that government departments function in silos and are uncoordinated.

This section has revealed that without the intervention of the Makana Municipality and its power to influence spatial practices, land can be left unoccupied or have unpoliced spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991). The users of the space might not use the space in ways that are beneficial to them as they may be dependent on the municipality.

7.4 Spatial Conflicts

The production of space often involves spatial conflicts, struggles and contradictions as people value space differently (Lefebvre, 1991). Hansen (2013) saw spatial conflict in the communal land tenure system at iSimangaliso Wetland Park, South Africa, as resulting from a dialectical interaction in the spatial triad explained earlier. In the case of iSimangaliso Park, the spatial conflict arose as representations of space through the conservation planners' lens imposed a conservation ecology plan to the users/inhabitants of space to control their spatial practices. Porta and Fabbri (2016) argue that space can be a place of contests resistance and mobilisation when users/inhabitants want to ensure that their needs are included.

In the case of Fingo Village, there were few incidents where spatial conflict arose because of the dialectic relationship where the representations of space in Makana Municipality coincided and clashed with the lived experiences of the users and resulted in space left completely empty. Spatial conflict occurred at the household level where land was owned collectively, individuals were fighting as they had competing views about how land should be used. The Khumalo family (see story and Figure 7.4) had a vision, plan and resources to use the plot, but they were prevented from doing so by tenure insecurity and family clashes. Khumalo's story is presented below:

Thoko Khumalo runs businesses on her plot. There is a tavern, a seating area and a place to braai meat. During the Makhanda (Grahamstown) National Arts Festival, the place is usually packed with limited space to move; this restricts the number of customers. She decided to buy the plot behind hers (about 1258.55 square meters on the existing plan, which currently houses old shacks and a toilet) and to combine the properties to expand her business. As shown in the proposed plan in Figure 7.4, the second plot would accommodate a large seating area. When the two plots are combined, there will be gates at the back and front as shown in Figure 7.4. However, Ms Khumalo cannot implement her plan as the plot she wants to buy is a family plot, which is collectively owned by the Mnguni family. Mnguni family members who used to live on the plot and were its custodians informally sold the house to Ms Khumalo as they needed money to bury their late mother. It was agreed that she would give them money for the funeral and thereafter, they would transfer the land. The other family members who were not living on the plot were not informed of the decision to sell the plot. When they were told, they refused to sell the plot and the transfer has not gone through. Ms Khumalo is now afraid to develop the plot until the deal has been finalised⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ An interview with a female: Plot 31 with underutilized space, 30 April 2017.

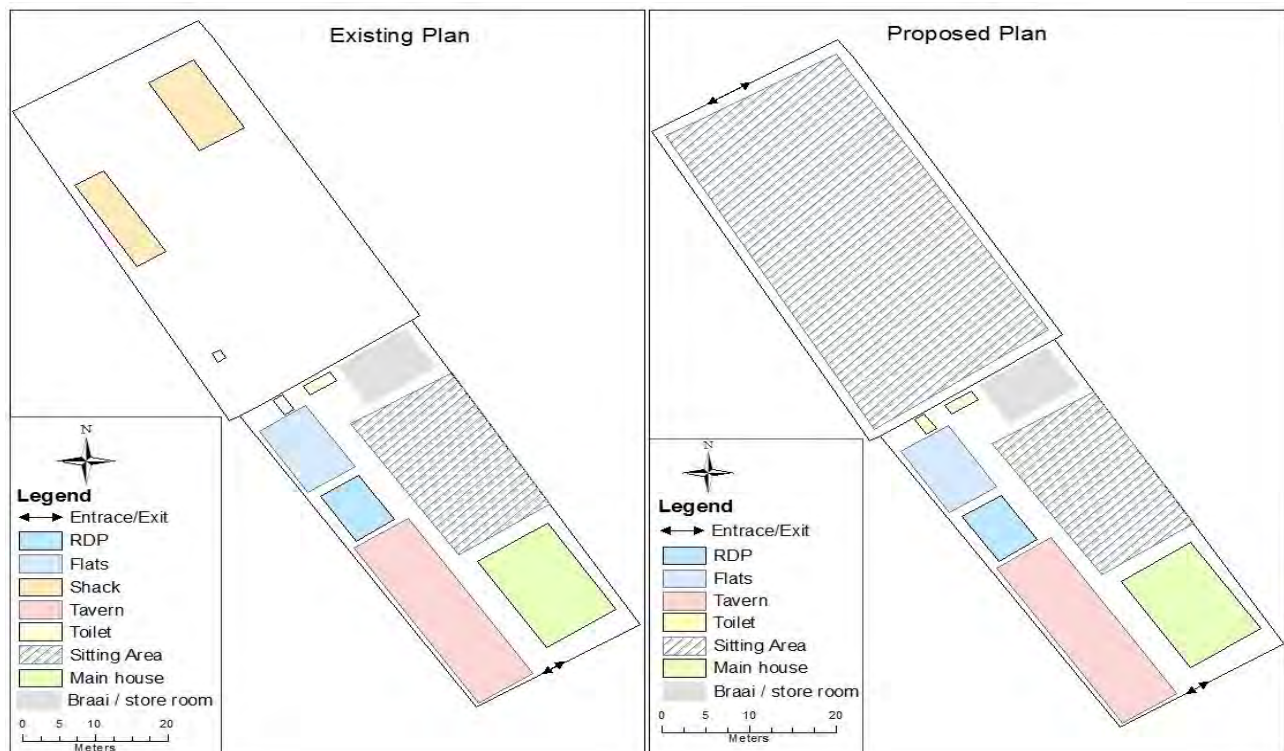


Figure 7.7: Khumalo Existing and Proposed Plan

This means that about 1258.55 square meters of space are not being used productively due to tenure insecurity. Ms Khumalo did not follow the South African cadastral system for title deed registration that stipulates the steps that must be followed when buying land, which would have given her legal ownership. Kingwill (2011) argues that the South African cadastral system records the following: spatial component-geometric description of land parcel; the textual component-ownership, rights and servitudes; as well as up-to-date information about sales transaction, inheritance and spatial alteration. Formalisation of ownership governs most land in urban areas and some rural land managed by companies and churches. Once information has been registered in the cadastre system, a title deed is issued (Butcher and Oldfield, 2009). Such deeds are another method adopted by governments to control land use, collect municipal payments and manage land transactions as well as ownership (Njoh, 2009; Hornby, 2017), while landowners require a title deed to obtain a loan to develop the property. However, land transfer without legal formalisation is common in Fingo Village, but normally occurs when land is inherited from generation to generation (Roux and Barry, 2010; Kingwill, 2011; 2014). Similar to Ms Khumalo's case, Claassens and Cousins' (2008) reveal that residents of Fingo Village sell their plots to repay loans to micro-lenders and are then forced to rent backyard flats elsewhere.

Though Fingo Village is an urban area, it still adheres to some elements of customary tenure are evident, which governs most rural areas. Isaksson (2015) argues that in most rural areas, *de facto* rights are used and land tenure is enforced under customary law. This means that rights are held by the clan or family, with different individual rights based on social status or group membership and accessed through complex systems of multiple rights (Cotula, 2007). The customary land tenure system emphasises collective rights that are based on flexibility, negotiations and reciprocal arrangements that differ from one area to another (Cotula, 2007). The land is allocated to the land management authority, such as the chief or smaller family unit, and is inherited from generation to generation. However, it cannot be sold. Rights to land change over time and space, depending on its on-going use (Cotula, 2007). It is also apparent that collective ownership of a plot impacts land use decisions as it results in spatial conflict because of competing views on whether to sell or not. Most properties in Fingo Village are collectively owned as a family plot (Kingwill, 2014).

This is a challenge because, as in the case of the Mnguni family, some members might want to sell the plot while others disagree. Claassens and Cousins (2008) recount a successful sale of a family plot in Fingo Village, without the full consent of family members, where family members had to leave family property and find other alternative accommodation. In the Khumalo case, the sale was not successful. As a result, Ms Khumalo is afraid to invest in the land (as per her proposed plan in Figure 7.4) because ownership has not been transferred. Had this been done, she would have the right to use the land. Chagutah (2013) notes that tenure insecurity can hinder the development of livelihoods and investment in the land. The Khumalo case study illustrates that the land tenure system affects land use decisions.

Owning land as a collective seemed to be a local norm in Fingo Village, which forms part of their culture. Here is another case study in Fingo Village where this cultural way of land ownership also led to the household plot left unused:

Mhlongo family: One sibling living in Joza (Nosipho) retired from her job and in 2014 decided to demolish the house (family owned) where Mxolisi used to live, so that she could build flats to rent to tenants. The other family members heard of Nosipho's plan and called a meeting. They demanded that all family members should share the rental income and be equal partners, although they did not contribute to building the rental units as they claimed that the plot belongs to all of them. In addition, they demanded that Nosipho build the main house so that it can be used when there are ritual

ceremonies. Nosipho decided to stop building, as she did not agree with their demands. The Mhlongo family now wishes that the Makana Local Municipality would build an RDP house for them. Since it is a family plot where they host cultural ceremonies, they would not consider selling it⁵¹.

The collective family ownership of a residential plot can be a challenge, as in the example cited above, where family members demanded that they benefit equally from rental income though they were not contributing financially. According to Kabumbuli (2016), joint land ownership means that no single family member can claim or use the land as they wish unless all family members approve. This means that there must be consensus where all members of the family agree on the decisions or desired outcome. Collective decision-making is a time-consuming, and often fraught, process as group members try identify solutions that will at least meet the minimum expectations of all parties (Davis, 1976; Napier and Gershenfeld, 2004). When consensus is reached, family members are expected to accept the decision without bearing a grudge. In the case of the Mhlongo family, failure to reach consensus resulted in the plot not being used at all. Nosipho sought to use her financial resources to increase her bargaining power. While Bartley *et al.* (2008) note such power can be enhanced where the individual contributes resources to the household, it did not work in this instance. The case is typical in Fingo Village, where a lack of resources or disagreements among family members, prevent optimisation of space. In summary, the second reason why plots are unoccupied/empty is influenced by citizens and the structure of land ownership (collective land tenure rights).

In the second case study, the plot was unoccupied/empty because a family member was angry that he was removed from the position of plot custodian and stripped of his right to access the plot. Ngcobo family members did not approve of how the plot custodian was taking care of the plot, including his behavior. He decided to destroy the house on the plot as a means to punish his relatives for evicting him:

The Ngcobo family comprised four siblings: two males and two females, who have a right to the plot. The two females got married; and both lived in the newer townships of Makhanda (Grahamstown) (Vukani and extension 6). The other male moved to Port Elizabeth and one male (Mthokozisi) and his daughter (Lucy) continued living with the

⁵¹ An interview with a female: Empty plot 23, 02 March 2017.

parents until they passed away. Before Mthokozisi passed away, the house was already transferred under Lucy's name, and she became the legal owner of the plot. The family were not bothered, as they believed it is still their home and they can still make decisions. Lucy found a job in Pretoria and does not visit Makhanda (Grahamstown) often. She is hardly involved in the running of the plot, as she always claims to be busy.

The surviving siblings then chose Philane (grandson from Ngcobo's extended family based in Peddie) to be a custodian of the plot. Philane burnt and destroyed the main house after a disagreement with family members in 2014. The siblings were concerned about his failure to take care of the property (the main house was not neat) and suspected that he was a drug addict. They wanted to evict him. He did not take the accusations well. He started by intimidating the family so they would not chase him away and when he saw that they wanted to completely remove his rights to the property he decided to burn down the house. The family do not know where he lives now and do not want to see him anymore. They are not planning to sell the plot because they still need a house, as it is 'iKhayakhulu' (a nuclear home). They want to apply for an RDP house once Lucy sends her documents as the house is registered under her name⁵².

As noted by Du Plessis (2011), maintaining social relations is important to protect rights to land as access to the family plot can be easily taken away, as in the case of Philane. Surrendering power as the plot custodian and losing access to the family plot was not easy for Philane, which is why he destroyed the plot. Destroying the house was a violent act, which he used to boost his bargaining power. The rationale is that if they had not tried to evict him, he would not have intimidated them and destroyed the house. Family disagreements often result in violence in order to prevent others from expressing their opinions (Ramos, 2016). The use of violence in collective household management is quite common in Fingo Village, but it is often expressed as verbal bouts of violence instead of the destructive behavior such as that displayed by Philane.

The Ngcobo case study also reveals that being a plot custodian and legal owner of the plot does not translate into land use management and decision-making (Butcher and Oldfield, 2009; Isaksson, 2015). For example, in the absence of the legal owner, Lucy, the family members

⁵² An interview with a female: Empty plot 24, 02 October 2017.

were able to select a plot guardian. Furthermore, although a plot custodian was living on the plot, collective decision-making remained important. This shows that decisions about land use and management lie with individuals who have regular contact with the family and who are concerned with the smooth daily running of the plot. One does not have to physically live on the plot. In contrast, Isaksson's (2015) study in Rwanda revealed that only those who live on the plot can make decisions on land use and management.

The Ngcobo family case demonstrates that when the land is collectively owned, one can be excluded from access to the plot and decision-making and has to resort to extra-legal means. The case also shows that both *de jure* and *de facto* rights are important influences on household decision-making. Furthermore, some people use extra-legal means (violence and intimidation) to gain bargaining power in order to hold on to their position, which led to the plot being empty (Leach *et al.*, 1999; Ribot and Peluso, 2003; Kepe, 2008). In both the Mhlongo and Ngcobo family cases, they do not intend to build a house any time soon, and hope that the Makana Local Municipality will grant them an RDP house.

7.5 Future Purposes

Other unoccupied spaces are reserved for future use as they will be inherited by younger members of the family when they older or able to build rental flats once they have enough resources. Shaw (2020) also reveals that space use can be limited by financial situation. The current use of space in the study is also constrained by the financial situation of the users/inhabitants of the space as they end up not being able to use the space. The Mlambo plot was empty with no plans of use anytime soon. The land was bought for the daughter, who would inherit it once she had the financial resources to build a house. Mrs Mlambo provided the following explanation as to why the plot was unoccupied/empty:

This is a second plot, which was bought by the late husband, who transferred it to the wife (Mrs Mlambo) in 2006. It was bought with old buildings that were destroyed. The plot will be given to the daughter, who graduated recently from Rhodes University. When she is working and has enough resources, she is to build her dream house. Mrs Mlambo cannot afford to use the plot, as she does not have a stable income and depends on the rent from a backyard dwelling and an old age pension for survival.

As the daughter is still young, Mrs Mlambo controls the rights to use and manage the plot. The community was using the plot as a short-cut and to dump garbage, so Mrs

Mlambo decided to let it to a neighbour (Mr Ndlovu). Mr Ndlovu has fenced the plot and is planning to use it as a car wash. Once the car wash is established, he will start paying rent⁵³.

In this case study, although the land was not being used, the family was confident that it would contribute to a sustainable livelihood as the daughter will use it in the future. Kepe and Tessaro (2014) also found that in rural areas of South Africa, land is left fallow in the hopes that future generations will use it to build their homesteads. Financial resources are an important factor that determine whether individuals will use a space. As such, finances are either constraining or enabling factors. Individuals with limited resources do not have the means to use the space, while the more resources one has, the more power they possess (Giddens, 1984). The Mlambo case study illustrates that families can have a vision for how they want to use the land, but a realisation thereof is constrained by financial limitations. Mrs Mlambo and the daughter cannot apply for a home loan because they are unemployed.

In two unoccupied/empty plots, participants claimed that they were saving money and were not in a rush to build as the plot was bought for their retirement. One of the responses is narrated by the researcher:

Mr Mkhize was born and raised in Fingo Village by his late parents who left a plot that he owns with his sister. He found a job in Bhisho, where he is currently living. He comes to Makhanda (Grahamstown) to visit his sister. Mr Mkhize decided to buy another empty plot in 2017, where he plans to build his dream house that he will live in once he retires. He is not in a rush to build a house as he has a home to live in should he decide to return to Makhanda (Grahamstown). He is still saving to build his future home. The people with rights to access the new plot are Mr Mkhize and his wife; the sister only has access to the plot the parents left them⁵⁴.

This case study shows that some residents who recently bought their plots do not have the financial resources to use the land in the now. They are not in a rush to build because they do not live in Makhanda (Grahamstown), as they have other homes. They will use these properties in the future. The researcher observed that the landowners were unaware that their

⁵³ An interview with a female: Empty plot 27, 18 July 2017.

⁵⁴ An interview with a male: Empty plot 26, 15 June 2017.

unoccupied/empty plots could decrease the value of plots in the area, as they are used to dump rubbish and are unsightly. Furthermore, the Makana Local Municipality seems to have been lax in taking action to ensure that the owners keep their empty plots clean.

Other users have reserved some spaces to be used for future accumulation of wealth, which is aligned to the economic perspective. The historical foundation of production of space also notes the importance of accumulation of wealth in the use of space (Lefebvre, 1991). The Machi plot is space that is reserved for an RDP house and the construction of backyard flats for rent. Mr Machi's story is narrated below:

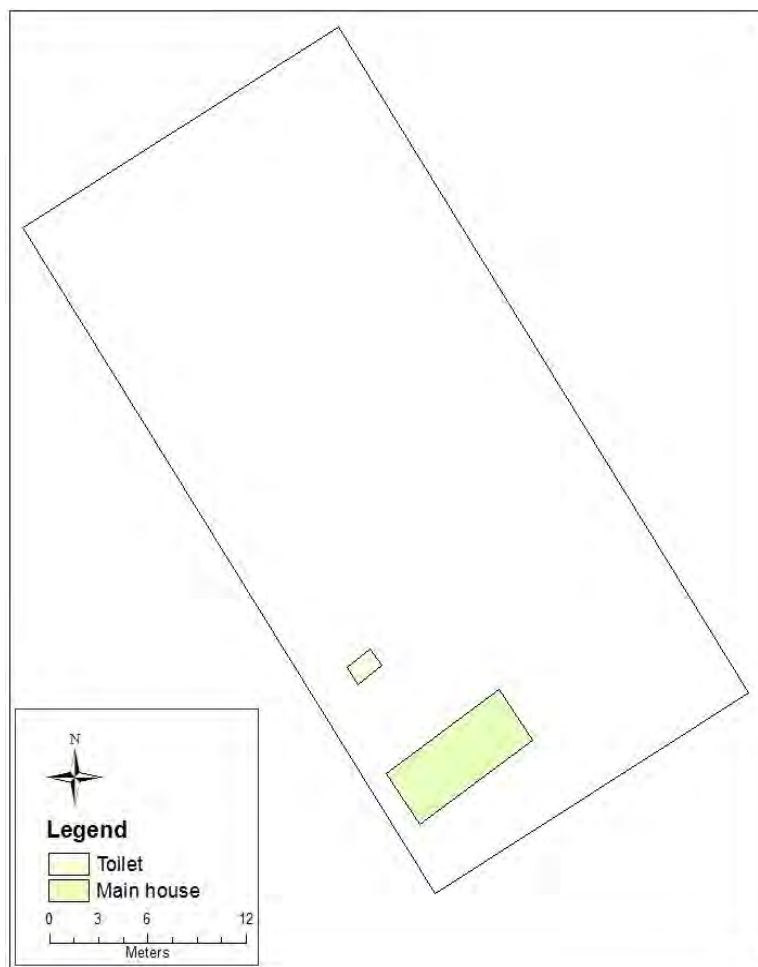


Figure 7.8: Spatial Features of Machi Plot

Mr Machi was living in Joza with his parents and four siblings. He is the last-born child and used to visit his grandfather, who was the owner of a plot in Fingo Village. He would buy him groceries and clean the place. In 1980, his grandfather decided to make Mr Machi a property guardian. The grandfather chose him because he was responsible and used to take care of him. Mr Machi did not get marry but had a daughter and son.

The daughter has the right to access the plot, but she is married and cannot inherit the house. He will not give the plot to his son because he is disrespectful and does not even visit. Mr Machi is now a pensioner who lives in a small two-room house. When the daughter and her family visit, they can't sleep over because the house is small, with only one bedroom.

About 96.83% of the Machi plot is unoccupied. He would like to receive an RDP house so that his daughter and her family can use it when visiting. Some of the space was reserved to build flats to rent. As Mr Machi is a pensioner, the flats will be built by his nephew. The nephew has to save up to start building, as he is unemployed and cannot obtain a loan. The plan is that he would start by building two flats and the money generated from rent will be used to build the other ones. No date has been set to start building the flats⁵⁵

In common with many residents of Fingo Village, Mr Machi dreams of receiving an RDP house and has reserved space for it. The plan to build backyard flats is in response to demand for affordable rental houses in Makhanda (Grahamstown) townships (Sipungu, 2016). As noted by other scholars that backyard dwellings are common structures in townships that are located adjacent to the city centre, in proximity to places of employment or far but closer to public transportation (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013). The backyard dwellings are either for rental purposes or accommodating family members. The majority of tenants in Fingo Village are soldiers, police officers, professional nurses, school teachers, shopkeepers, pensioners, taxi drivers and conductors, and students and staff members from Midland FET College and Rhodes University. In the case of the Machi Plot, the family knows how they want to use the plot but the constraining factor is resources. It can be concluded that they view land as an economic resource and have a vision for how they want to use the plot to generate income, but they do not have proper plan to achieve this. This also reveals that a vision without a proper plan prevents optimal use of space.

7.6 Conclusion

Based on the economic perspective, if access to land can promote economic prosperity and enhance livelihoods, the findings discussed in this chapter reveal that this is not always the

⁵⁵ An interview with a male: Plot 30 with underutilized space, 12 October 2017.

case, as some users/inhabitants have left the land unoccupied. There are many things happening in Fingo Village that affect how spaces are used. These factors are not considered by the economic perspective. It should not be forgotten that production of space depends on the spatial needs, relations, conditions or circumstances in a particular time (Lefebvre, 1991). In this case of Fingo Village, the users/inhabitants of the space are poor. The findings revealed only two exceptions where the unoccupied land was associated with participants from the middle class. The power to use space is limited by financial situations. The lack of resources has led to one plot being vandalised as they want to reuse the material, which is an unpoliced spatial practice. The Makana Municipality is required to intervene in the lived experiences of users because the role of the state is to formulate policies and strategies that regulate the provision of basic service delivery such as affordable housing, electricity, roads, water, sanitation, waste management and housing (Avis, 2016). In Fingo Village, spatial practices are dominated by the representational space as users/inhabitants survive with limited interference of the municipality which could have enabled them to generate livelihoods or economic development and prosperity. As shown in Chapter Three, it is common that South African townships become ungovernable and marginalised in terms of service delivery and the enforcement of bylaws.

There is also a spatial conflict that has resulted in some spaces being unoccupied. Conflict arises because of the land tenure system where land is owned collectively by many individuals with power to make land use decisions despite having diverging interests. Some unoccupied spaces continue to be spaces of contradictions and disagreements as people with power to influence how it is used have different interests. Unoccupied and underutilised spaces are now reserved for future purposes as users wait for better financial circumstances. If the economic perspective is to be achieved, there is a need to focus on the lived experiences of users/inhabitants and the role played by the representations of space in the Makana Municipality to ensure that spatial practices promote economic prosperity and enhance the livelihoods of residents.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This study aimed to understand land use decision-making dynamics on large residential plots in Fingo Village, Makhanda (Grahamstown), South Africa; particularly, what and why space is used (occupied), or not used (unoccupied or underutilised). It argues against the dominant economic perspective that if people have access to land, they will use it to enhance economic development, prosperity and improved livelihoods. Lefebvre's work has provided a holistic understanding of the different factors involved in land use decisions and the different actors with varying powers and interests who influence land use decisions. Abstract processes such as involving government policies and legislation, as well as lived experiences of local people were brought together in an attempt to understand why Fingo Village residents have particular spatial practices.

The research objectives, which are set out in Chapter One (section 1.2), were to: understand the different rights that people hold on the residential plots (land tenure system); explore what, and how residential space is used (occupied), or what space is not used (unoccupied) by the participants; and investigate the factors influencing land use decision-making. Fingo Village was chosen as the study site because it is the oldest Black township in Makhanda (Grahamstown) with unusually large residential plots compared to the other townships in the city. It also has high rates of poverty. A range of research methods were employed to understand land use decision-making dynamics on these large residential plots. These methods included sampling, data collection, and data analysis. Snowball and convenience sampling methods were used to select the research sample. Participatory mapping, GIS desktop analysis, semi-structured interviews and a secondary literature review were used to gather and organise data, which was thematically analysed.

This chapter discusses the study's main findings, presents conclusions and highlights the study's key contributions. It discusses how Fingo Village has different land use activities that are important for the users/inhabitants' livelihoods, but how these land use activities are dependent on local and external factors that enhance or restrict each of the activities. Section 8.2.1 discusses occupied spaces with different land use activities and the factors influencing them. While there have been discussions on access to land and economic use of space and prosperity, there are also unoccupied spaces with empty plots and underutilised spaces, which

are not used as predicted from an economist perspective. Section 8.2.2 discusses the dynamics underlying these unoccupied spaces. Section 8.3 reflects on the implications of the study for research, policy and community practice. An overall conclusion is presented in Section 8.4.

8.2 Power to Influence Spatial Practices in Fingo Village

The starting point of this study is that the economic view on the meaning of land (mainly as a commodity) and its use according to international organisations such as the World Bank and the state, is still prevalent in South Africa (White Paper on Land, 1997; World Bank, 2013; Madia, 2018). It holds that enabling poor and marginalised people to access land can bring about economic prosperity and reduce poverty while promoting food security. It also posits that if poor people have land tenure rights to a particular plot, they are in a better position to engage in different land use activities in order to generate an income and improve their livelihoods (May and Rogerson, 1995; Kombe, 2005; Kuiper and Van der Ree, 2006; Lemanski, 2009). A large body of literature supports the economic optimisation of space thesis; however, this offers a narrow understanding of the factors that influence land use decisions at a household level.

This study primarily explores different factors involved when land use decisions are made. It draws from Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad that has three spheres – representations of space, representational space and spatial practices (see Chapter Two, Section 2.2) – to explain these influences on land use decisions. Spatial practices focus on land use activities that are present in Fingo Village. Where the representations of space sphere relates to the different strategies used by the state to influence land use activities, the representational space focuses on the lived experiences of people in Fingo Village. It is particularly relevant in this study as it provided an understanding of people's decisions on particular land use activities in their household plots. The spatial triad framework is central in understanding how the production of space thesis provides a holistic understanding of the factors and actors involved when space is used, which is not limited to economic factors, but are seen as the main influencers in land use decisions. This was achieved by analysing interaction in the spatial triad. In Fingo Village, the representational space has more power to influence spatial practices, the users/inhabitants dictate how space is used than abstract ideas developed by urban governance. This takes away the idea of representations of space through urban governance being seen as a dominant discourse that influences spatial practice. The users do not obey municipal policies and have lost trust in governance as the Makana Municipality fails to deliver services or enforce laws.

The space is also occupied by land use activities that contravene municipal bylaws. These activities are beneficial to the users/inhabitants in that they are not limited to economics but socio-cultural needs. Fingo Village is surrounded by many spatial conflicts at a household level, there are clashes between people with land tenure rights because they hold different interests and goals on the use of space. The financial situation of users/inhabitants has also led to some spaces being unoccupied or not used as expected. All these factors should be considered when thinking about land use decision-making and economic prosperity. Most physical use of space observed in Fingo Village includes the main house, a backyard flat or flats, *spaza* shops, a funeral parlour, livestock keeping, cultural use (a kraal for ancestral worship), and food gardening. The following sub-section discusses the key findings on what and why space is occupied or empty/under-utilised.

8.2.1 Occupied Spaces

In this study, occupied land refers to a residential plot with two or more main active land use activities occupying more than half of the plot in terms of total area. A total of 22 plots in the sample were labelled as occupied with different land use activities including the main house, a backyard flat or flats, *spaza* shops, a funeral parlour, livestock keeping, cultural use (a kraal for ancestral worship). Using the spatial triad, the physical use of space was mostly informed by representational space in Fingo Village as these activities responded to the needs, circumstances, norms and desires of the users/inhabitants. All the plots in Fingo Village that are designated as occupied have a main house that accommodates family members with rights to the land and is used to host ceremonies of cultural importance. This correlates with Kingwill (2008) who argues that use of space in this way is expected as these residential plots are regarded as family plots that belong to all family members with a right to the land. Using the land this way is a cultural norm of Fingo Village that has been passed from generation to generations. This highlights how culture informs the lived spaces of the user/inhabitants in Fingo Village. There are also backyard flats that are used to accommodate family members as well as for leasing to tenants. Deciding to rent out a backyard flat is influenced by economic considerations (see Zenios, 2007) – mainly the desire to make money to buy basic household necessities. As noted by Lemanski (2009), building backyard dwellings in South African townships is important for income generation and accommodating family members.

As discussed in Chapter Six, some household plots accommodate home-based businesses such as *spaza* shops and a funeral parlour. Landlords are motivated by economic gain to rent out

space to tenants (foreigners and local) for their businesses. Again, economic gain is motivated by the desire to get money to cover the needs of the user/inhabitants. Renting to foreign entrepreneurs is common in South African townships and is well documented in literature (Charman and Piper, 2012; Liedeman *et al.*, 2013). The home-based enterprises in Fingo Village were once owned by landowners who rented them out to foreigners as they could not compete with them. Fingo Village's close proximity to the city centre means that it attracts those seeking rental accommodation and business space. Home-based businesses need to be situated in a geographical location that is accessible to many potential customers; this raises the issue of the geographical location. As noted by Knopp and Bruder (1982), before considering using a space, it is important to understand how the location of the area will benefit one economically. Fingo Village is also a preferred area for rental accommodation as it is close to the city centre and places of employment which enables tenants to walk to town, thus reducing transport costs. This is also evident in large South African cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg (Lee, 2005; Lemanski, 2009; Shapurjee and Charlton, 2013).

The small food gardens established on plots in Fingo Village enable users to cultivate fresh produce for their own consumption enabling them to save money and to maintain social capital. While some people in rural areas cultivate food for barter, in most urban areas it is either for consumption or for sale in the markets (May and Rogerson, 1995; Bryld, 2003; Thornton and Nel, 2007). A study conducted in KwaMasane township in KwaZulu-Natal also found that individuals in the township use cultivated food for social capital (Mthethwa, 2012).

Representations of space in the Makana Municipality use the Integrated Land Use Scheme, which adopts mixed land use zoning, but like many other urban areas in South Africa, it excludes livestock keeping. The municipality purchased farmland (commonage) for residents to rear their livestock (Thornton, 2008). However, residents still keep livestock on residential plots. This was also documented by Thornton (2008) in Rhini townships. It shows a contradiction between the conceived land use designations of the Makana Municipality and the lived experiences of the users/inhabitants. Residents keep chickens for sale in order to buy prepaid electricity or they sell larger livestock such as cattle in order to buy building material for a house. Livestock is also important for dietary purposes. Products such as meat, eggs and milk are sometimes sold for cash. Donkeys with carts are used for transport and are hired to carry furniture, groceries and wood as well as for entertainment at ceremonies. Livestock are slaughtered when there are cultural ceremonies. All these livestock uses are well-documented

in other studies conducted on urban townships that found that people keep livestock to fulfil different needs such as to meet commercial purposes, consumption and socio-cultural reasons (see Rogerson, 1993; Ansell, 2001; Shackleton *et al.*, 2005; Thornton, 2008; Afolabi, 2013; Hanekom, 2018).

It is important to understand why residents continue to keep livestock on residential plots even though it is not allowed. The reasons include cultural considerations, the geographical location of the commonage area and the municipality's failure to enforce bylaws. Firstly, it is an African norm to have livestock kraaled (enclosed) in the backyard at night, something that the residents learnt from growing up in rural areas (Munyai, 2012; Phalafala, 2013). Having a kraal in the yard is also important for communicating with the ancestors, performing cultural rituals when there are ceremonies and as a place to slaughter animals. This corroborates Abdulai's (2009) findings. Setting aside space for cultural purposes stems from the fact that land is perceived as part of one's identity as this is where the spirit of the ancestors resides. Collum and Van der Merwe (2017) note that, in some places, the kraal is also used to bury the head of the family and introduce the new bride. Furthermore, family meetings are usually hosted near the kraal. Thus, socio-cultural factors influence how land is used in Fingo Village.

The second challenge is the geographical location of the Makhanda (Grahamstown) east commonage area, which is not visible from Fingo Village household plots as there is a steep hill obstructing the site. Residents cannot keep an eye on their livestock while they graze. There is also a forest in the commonage which makes it easy for livestock to be stolen. Theft from commonages was reported by Palmer (2005) and Puttick (2008). This has caused some residents of Fingo Village to continue keeping livestock in the residential area. Palmer (2005) and Puttick (2008) also cite a lack of palatable grass that is caused by overgrazing, and the fact that there is no fence to keep the livestock from wandering onto the road. Proper management of the commonage to address these issues is the municipality's responsibility.

Thirdly, failure to enforce the Makana Integrated Land Use Scheme and the municipality's failed impoundment operation in the township has motivated residents to continue keeping livestock in residential area. For example, the last impoundment operation was confined to the town and was not carried out in the township. This has led Fingo Village residents to believe that no sanctions will be imposed if they keep livestock in the township. It is thus clear that the representations of space through municipal land use zoning, which aims to influence household land use decisions in urban areas, is failing in Fingo Village. Failure to enforce bylaws has

negative consequences as some residents do not use their land productively. For example, they cannot cultivate food as roaming livestock destroy crops and no action is taken by the local authorities. When livestock destroy crops, it prevents the use of space. This phenomenon has also been observed in rural areas in South Africa where some farmers argue that roaming livestock discourages them from cultivating crops (Kepe and Tessaro, 2014).

As discussed earlier (see Chapter Six), few residents of Fingo Village comply with building regulations. As a result, the area is dominated by informal and dilapidated buildings as well as poor infrastructure. This is in line with the findings of other studies conducted in the township (See Claassens and Cousins, 2008; Kingwill, 2011). These buildings are not constructed according to approved plans and are not safe as they are easily destroyed by severe climatic conditions such as strong wind and storms. As noted in the Makana Municipality 2016 IDP, most residents are unemployed and depend on social grants for survival. They can thus only afford to build informal houses. In summary, building regulations do not prevent residents from using their space in the township. Nel (2016) notes that even in big cities such as Pretoria only 15% of residents abide by building regulations when constructing their houses and that compliance is mainly confined to more affluent areas. Nel (2016) further argues that these regulations only work in high-income areas where land use regulations are arguably enforced successfully. The state's failure to play its role as a law enforcer and to deliver services has caused residents to lose trust in the state and resist compliance with its regulations (Royston, 2017). This means that while the representations of space might have powers in terms of the municipal policies and regulation, these powers may not be recognized by users. The power to geometrically order space using spatial planning and policies is being taken away as residents do not comply (Huxley, 2007). Users are seen as having more power to govern themselves as they resist being governed by policies and regulations in Fingo Village. In such a case, land use decisions are influenced by different meanings of the land held by different people (socio-cultural, political and economic), the geographical location and access to resources.

In summary, the kind of land use activities individuals choose for their residential plots depends on the meaning and associations they attach to land. Evidently, the economic use of space is one of the factors that motivated certain land use activities. Other uses include social capital and cultural purposes which are important in African culture. Economists often ignore the socio-cultural importance of land. In Africa, land is seen as a part of people's identity and spaces such as a kraal are often reserved for cultural use only. These spaces cannot be used for

cultivation or for economic gain. Economists then regard them as not being optimally used as no income is generated. Kepe and Tessaro (2014) argue that it is important to consider the multiple meanings of land and its uses when seeking to improve food security and reduce poverty in South Africa. It cannot be assumed that if people have land they will be better off.

The following sub-section discusses the reasons behind land use decisions on what is designated as unoccupied or underutilised spaces in this study.

8.2.2 Unoccupied Spaces

A total of 14 plots in the research sample were labelled as unoccupied or have underutilised space without any spatial practices that is beneficial for livelihoods of residents. Landowners are opposed to selling their land as they plan future land uses such as building backyard flats for rental that could generate income. As suggested by Bouman (2002), they foresee the generation of future revenue, which is part of economic optimisation. One participant with an empty plot considered renting the space. This is also a form of economic perspective because it involves leasing a space that is not currently used to generate income (May, 2015). Some of these empty plots were used as short-cuts and dump sites, which contravenes the Makana Municipality bylaws.

Most Fingo Village residents with empty plots plan to use them for socio-cultural purposes such as a dwelling, connecting with the ancestors, or a place to retire or host ceremonies. This demonstrates that land use decisions in poor communities are not always about economics, and that the different meanings that people ascribe to land determine how it will be used (Kepe *et al.*, 2008; August, 2009, Datta, 2015 (see Chapter One, Section 1.1)).

Again, using the spatial triad to explain why some plots do not have any spatial practices, the findings reveal that the dynamics at the representational space are the main contributing factors. These dynamics are not only limited to economic factors. The spatial conflict because of users/inhabitants with collective land tenure rights having varying interests on how land should be used result in unoccupied space. In Fingo Village, collective ownership dominates; it is recognised through the customary land tenure system where access to property is by *de facto* means. This results in many disputes which make it impossible to use the land productively. Kabumbuli (2016) argues that this form of ownership often results in conflict, disagreements, abuse of discretionary powers, bullying and vandalism thwarting the use of space. The issues emanating from ownership conflicts include the type of land use activities to engage in, who

makes decisions based on gender, seniority and resource contribution, the beneficiaries and who is excluded and whether or not to sell. As in Fingo Village, joint ownership of family land in Uganda causes conflict (Kabumbuli, 2016). In addition, Kingwill (2014) has shown how this collective ownership has resulted in conflict in Fingo Village where property guardians would want to sell the property while other members of the family refuse. The current study found that residents ultimately use extra-legal means to claim power and rights to the land. Ribot and Peluso (2003) reported similar findings: they argue that people may use extra-legal means to access property or benefit from land in South Africa and in Ghana. This has led to some properties being unoccupied. Extra-legal means include the theft of building material, intimidation and violence in order to access property that one has been excluded from.

De Soto (2000) proposes the use of a formal land tenure system, where land is registered in the cadastral system and title deeds are issued. This improves land security as disputes can be avoided. In this instance, the rights of property owners are protected and illegal land transfers and access are more difficult. He adds that formalisation may lead to economic growth and poverty alleviation as people are motivated to invest. De Soto's ideas support *de jure* property rights (see Chapter Two, Section 2.4). De Soto's (2000) ideas promote representations of space by following policies and regulations to formalise land registrations. However, Isaksson (2015) shows that in Rwanda, formalising land registrations did not enhance land security as people still relied on *de facto* property rights. Smith (2004) also cautions that formalising land ownership might only benefit those with resources to invest in it and to pay fees. Given that most residents of Fingo Village cannot afford to pay for transfer and land registration, formalising land ownership would be ineffective. The issue of affordability and outdated title deeds in Fingo Village is well-documented in the writings of Roux and Barry (2010) and Kingwill (2011; 2014). This is linked to the residents' history of resistance towards being governed and their non-compliance with regulations relating to title deeds. Since 1940, four commissioners have been appointed to address the issue of outdated title deeds in Fingo Village, but formal title deeds have not been issued (Kingwill, 2014). The provincial government appointed MM Heshula as Title Deeds Adjustment Commissioner in 2010 to assist residents, but the participants have been unable to register their land, transfer or update their title deeds. This suggests that the use of conceived ideas through formal land tenure system to improve land security where land is owned collectively would not work in Fingo Village.

Hornby *et al.* (2017) suggest that communities could adopt an informal, customary land system to improve tenure security. Bersaglio and Kepe (2013) argue that secure land tenure can be achieved by incorporating an understanding of local land dynamics and continued efforts to clarify land rights. Sjaastad and Cousins (2008) propose that land policies that bridge the gap between customary and statutory law could offer solutions to the problems that constrain space use amongst poor people. For example, in Ekutheleni near Eshowe in KwaZulu-Natal where land ownership falls under the customary system and is collectively owned, the community developed its own constitution that aided in defining land rights and uses (Hornby, 2017). Although it is not formally designed and recognized by the state, it helps to improve land administration as it is socially acknowledged by the community. I believe this can resolve the conflict in Fingo Village.

The dialectic interaction between representations of space and representational space through government failure to provide services to deserving residents has led to spatial practices include land being left empty or unused. There are Fingo Village residents who feel that because their land is not formally registered in the cadastral system, they cannot develop it or receive RDP houses; they have thus left some space unoccupied⁵⁶. This thinking is flawed because many calls have been made in this village for RDP houses on plots where land is registered in the cadastral system. This has resulted in many people relocating to newer extensions where they can access RDP houses (Moller, 2008). It can be concluded that land registration in the cadastral system does not always translate to service delivery or access to RDP houses. If registration in the cadastral system does impact on government service provision, other ways can be found to improve service delivery. Furthermore, registration comes with a price as surveyors and conveyancers must be paid and updated records kept when land is transferred to someone else (Kingwill, 2004; Abrahams, 2017; Hornby, 2017; Hornby *et al.*, 2017). The Makana Municipality should develop programmes to improve service delivery to unregistered households. For example, the City of Johannesburg includes informal settlements in its city planning so that residents can access services (Abrahams, 2017). Instead of focusing on cadastral land registration that is formalised through title deeds, the municipality and residents need to develop a hybrid register to provide services and improve tenure security. The register could include the municipal register that records who needs to benefit and information from

⁵⁶ RDP houses are named after the ANC government's policy, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, that included providing free houses to the poor.

community leaders about changing ownership, land uses, *de facto* rights and the needs of all community members (Rubin and Royston, 2017).

Access to resources enables people to use land productively while a lack thereof constrains use of space. Most studies on land use decisions focus on commercial and smallholder farming. For example, studies conducted by Mabaye (2005) and Baudron *et al.* (2012) in Zimbabwe reveal that the lack of access to resources such as skilled labour and capital to buy equipment and inputs as well as hire labour is one of the reasons why huge tracts of land remain unoccupied, resulting in the demise of agricultural production. Kepe and Tessaro (2014) also found that some South African smallholder farmers do not use land productively due to a lack of resources such as labour and money to buy material. Although the current study was conducted at a household level, it produced similar results. In Fingo Village, lack of access to resources such as seed, labour, finance, facilities and equipment prevent residents from using their land leaving it empty or underutilised. Therefore, regardless of the size of the plot, access to resources is vital for the effective use of space. Indeed, as suggested by Ngige (2014), resources are important means of production that enable or constrain land use activities that may lead to economic prosperity and improved livelihoods. The Makana Local Municipality needs to develop strategies to assist people that live close to town with access to land so as to benefit from surrounding markets. It is for this reason that Adams *et al.* (1999) suggested that when poor people are given or have access to land in Southern Africa, they should also receive resources and financial incentives that can be used to develop sustainable livelihoods.

As demonstrated in Chapter Six, Fingo Village residents construct buildings without complying with building regulations, have unregistered *spaza* shops and keep livestock in the residential area despite this being disallowed. However, it was interesting to note that zoning compliance can be achieved and may influence land use of space if residents receive assistance from the state. This is reflected in an incident where members of a cooperative stopped raising chickens on the instructions of the municipality. It suggests that funding can act as an incentive to comply with zoning regulations. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2000) also notes that incentives can promote voluntary compliance with regulations.

8.3 Implications for Research, Policy and Community Practice

Khazragui and Hudson (2014) argue that a research project should be beneficial to academic and non-academic sectors of society. It should offer new knowledge or new perspectives as well as have positive economic and/or social impact for local or international communities. The researcher believes that this study has contributed to research pertaining to theoretical understandings on the production of space, methodological approaches for studying social issues that are firmly linked to the physical environment and implications for the community and policy makers.

8.3.1 Conceptual Framework

Previous conceptual frameworks that the researcher was exposed to focus on land use decisions in rural and agricultural settings at a macro scale (Leach, 1999) or they juxtaposed household power dynamics between males and females in general, rather than in the specific context of land use (Devkota *et al.*, 1999). For example, Bicik *et al.* (2001) provide a summary of the factors that could influence land use including natural and human factors. Natural factors include climate change, soil, hydrology and natural disasters, while human factors cover population, technology and economic growth. Other studies investigated the institutional, spatial and temporary dimensions of land use decision-making (Burgi *et al.*, 2004; Kizos *et al.*, 2018). Agarwal *et al.* (2002) examined the factors that influence land use such as:

- demographic characteristics;
- proximity to infrastructure, urban centres and markets;
- economic factors such as the cost and price of a particular land use, job growth and rent;
- social factors like affluence, human attitudes and values;
- collective rulings in terms of zoning and issues relating to the tenure system;
- biophysical factors; and
- technology.

Agarwal *et al.*'s (2002) study is similar to this one, except that it does not enable a broader understanding of access to resources and excludes the use of extra-legal methods to access property which, as noted by Ribot and Peluso (2003) and Kepe (2008), is common in South

Africa and other places such as Ghana. State assistance in the form of provision of services is also not included as one of the factors influencing land use decision-making.

This present study bridges this gap because it is applied at a household level, while using Henri's Lefebvre production of space thesis to understand what different stakeholders think or do with different spaces, and how those different conceptions and actions interact with each other. The other studies discussed in Chapter Two, which have used this theory, focus on conservation space (Hansen, 2013), public spaces (Gordon, 2012; Nkooe 2018), political economy, infrastructure development and urban planning (Woolf, 1929; Schivelbusch, 1978; King, 1980; Harvey, 1991; Smith, 1996; Elden, 2007; Smith, 2008; dos Sontos, 2014). This study applies production of space idea in the analyses of urban township household land use decisions where many dynamics are evident. In particular, the focus on Lefebvre's spatial triad and its interactions, illustrates the complex relationship between the users/inhabitants and government practices in determining the physical use of space. As illustrated in figure 8.1, in the representations of space aspect, government practices are developed and implemented, including land use zoning, registration of land in the cadastral system and the provision of state assistance. The second aspect is the representational space, which focuses on the users/inhabitants' use of space as is motivated by land tenure rights (*de jure* vs *de facto*), influencing who makes decisions as well as issues of gender and seniority, and extra-legal factors. Once people have access to land, they decide whether to use it. The level of resources they have access to determines if they are able to use it. These resources include labour, financial resources and other material important for production. Once people have land and resources, how they use it depends on their perceptions of land and its associated meaning, which is influenced by economic, political and socio-cultural factors. Finally, once people with land tenure rights and resources know spatial practice they want on the land, they have to consider whether the geographical location is suitable for that particular land use.

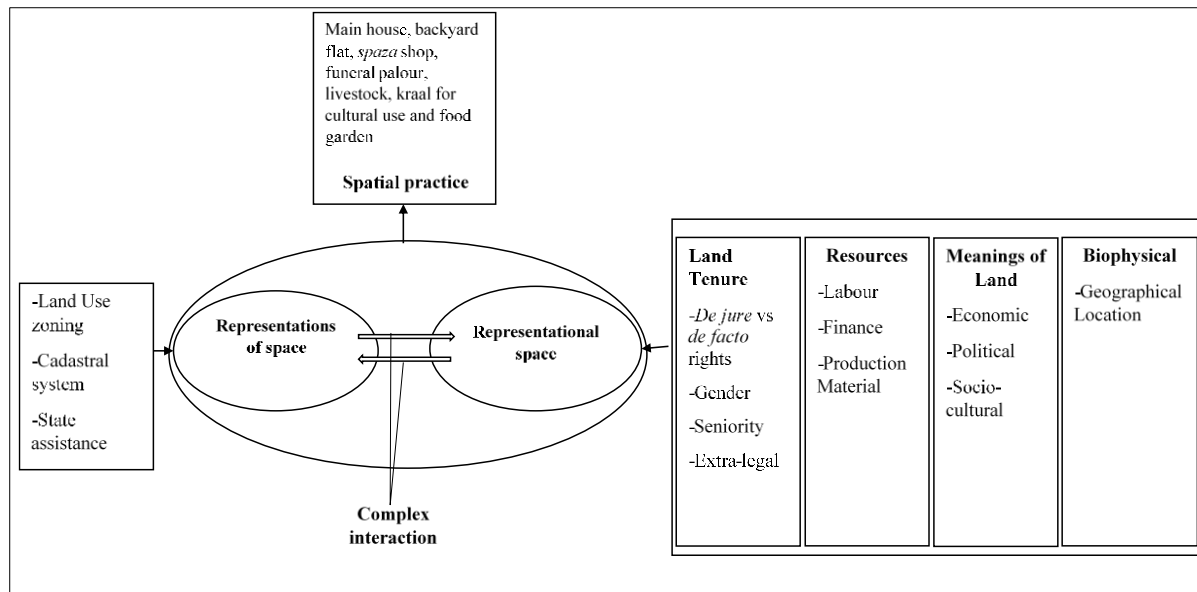


Figure 8.9: Household Land Use Decision-Making

There is a dialectic interaction between the representations of space and representational space, as they affect each other, and they then influence the spatial practices (Lefebvre, 1991). For example, in order for representations of space to influence spatial practices, the users/inhabitants need to abide by the rules when they decide to use the land. On the other hand, representational space needs the regulations to be enforced by government in order to have certain land use activities such as food gardening or receive state assistance from the municipality. The results of the study reveal a complex interaction where government fails to enforce regulations and deliver services resulting in the users not abiding by the rules and using the land in a way that suits them. The socio-cultural factors and geographical locations at the representational space level clash with the conceived ideas and regulations of the authorities such as the issue of keeping livestock in residential areas. Similarly, the issue of access to resources influences the users' ability to follow regulations such as the failure obtain building approvals because it is expensive. This leaves the representational space to be a dominant sphere with more power to influence household land use decisions. The focus on the dialectic interaction of the spatial triad reveals numerous dynamics at the representational space during household land use decision-making that the economist perspective should consider. This study has offered an opportunity to test this model in future studies that have similarities with, or are slightly different to, Fingo Village.

8.3.2 Research Methods

Economists view land as a scarce resource that could be used to promote economic prosperity and enhance livelihoods, which is a narrow way of thinking that does not consider the experiences of the users/inhabitants. Henri's Lefebvre production of space thesis emphasises on the lived experiences of users and representations of space, which have the power to influence the use of space. The research methods used focused on getting the views users/inhabitants to get a holistic understanding.

This study was conducted at a household level, where it was difficult to rely on technical information without the involvement of local residents. Participatory mapping was used to identify occupied and unoccupied/underutilised spaces (see Chapter Five, Section 5.3). Ferguson (2013) and Kepe and Tessaro (2014) argue that when a research project is conducted on a small piece of land, it is difficult for outsiders to identify all personal land use activities. In addition, some space might be mistakenly identified as unoccupied. This study thus contributes to knowledge creation by demonstrating that participatory mapping is an effective and efficient tool to understand household land uses in micro spaces. The users/inhabitants identified the land use activities and drew maps by hand; the role of the researcher was to transfer the information into a digital format (GIS). This method was very useful and the researcher was able to identify land uses such as cultural uses that are not obvious to an outsider as access is often denied. Not that this has never been done before, but in this study, it is confirmed and emphasised that participatory mapping exercises are crucial for outsiders to understand people's thoughts about the local environment. Participatory mapping was also effectively used in a study conducted in Botswana that investigated land use and grazing methods (Basupi *et al.*, 2017). Scholars undertaking research in South Africa have been slow to adopt participatory mapping (Weiner *et al.*, 1995; Cinderby, 1999; Chambers, 2006; Jiri, 2015). The use of participatory mapping in the academic space is important as it can assist researchers to act ethically and avoid bias when mapping and presenting their study findings. This study supports mapping of societal issues using participatory methods and geo-technologies. It is suggested that future research projects consider adopting this approach.

8.3.3 Community and Policy Implications

The impact of a research study should extend beyond the academic level and should contribute towards transforming society as a whole (Khazragui and Hudson, 2014). The fieldwork

undertaken for this study, in a small way, provided employment opportunities to research assistants from Fingo Village and thus positively impacted livelihoods. While Khazragui and Hudson (2014) argue that employment created by a research project should be sustainable, this was not possible with respect to the current study; however, it did make a difference. Employment only lasted for the duration of the research project (short term).

This study's findings on what, why, and how space is occupied, or what and why it is not occupied and why residents do not comply with state regulations could thus inform policy making. Working together, the Makana Municipality and the residents could devise holistic solutions that promote use of the space for livelihoods security and socio-cultural or economic benefits. Decisions could be made regarding the building of RDP houses, livestock keeping, sustainable food gardening, and ensuring that building plans and land registration are affordable.

The study also revealed the participants' level of awareness of different residential land use policies such as building regulations penalties and commercial poultry. For example, the residents of Fingo Village involved in the study did not know that keeping chickens for commercial purposes was not allowed on residential plots, and that penalties could be imposed if a house was built without the approval of the Makana Local Municipality. If the state seeks to foster governable citizens that abide by the law, the first step is ensuring that their awareness of state policies (Foucault, 2003; Huxley, 2007). What this means is that through fieldwork and interacting with the participants, research can act as a form of education for the participants, as well as help them reflect on their own spatial practices.

8.4 Conclusion

Using Lefebvre spatial triad, social space is made up of activities that occur in a physical space (spatial practice), determined by experts (representations of space) and users/inhabitants (representational space) (Lefebvre, 1991). It is a dialectic interaction between representational and representations of space that produces household spatial practices. In Fingo Village, land use activities were determined mostly by representational space, which responds to the desires and needs of the users/inhabitants, with limited influence of the expert knowledge based on municipal policies and regulations. To say that these land use choices made by users/inhabitants are solely influenced by economics is misleading. The study produced mixed findings wherein some people with access to land using it productively, while others failed to

do so using the rationale provided by the economic perspective and left it unoccupied. In conclusion, the case of Fingo Village presents a picture of enduring poverty amid an abundance of land. In terms of the economic perspective on the relationship between access to land and prosperity (Stilwell and Jordan, 2004), Fingo Village residents with large plots should be prosperous because their land is three or four times larger than the average plot in the township. This study has shown that the relationship between land access and prosperity is not as linear as economics propose. It demonstrated that the decisions that people make about how to use the land on their plots are determined by numerous factors.

Regarding users of space in the representational space, land use decisions are not based purely on economic considerations. Some are rooted in socio-cultural factors including the collective ownership of plots and the keeping of livestock. For example, the Makana Commonage bylaw requires that livestock be kept on the commonage but people still keep them in their homes because it is culturally appropriate to do so. Theft and the fact that others break the law are further motivations. Furthermore, livestock is still regarded as important in the lives of Black people especially in following the requirement that livestock must be kept at home in the kraal. The kraal is also used for communicating with the ancestors. From the economic perspective, such spaces could be seen as wasted.

It is also important to note that the representations of space at the municipal level often fail to enforce regulations, and that the South African government has not honoured its promises in terms of service delivery (RDP houses). This was found to be a crucial factor in land use decision-making by the residents of Fingo Village. In other words, people make land use decisions knowing that the Makana Municipality will not impose any sanctions. The power of the municipality to govern land use decisions through regulations is neutralised by the power of the people resisting. The failure of the conceived designations of government institutions in Fingo Village can be traced back in history (see Chapter Four, Section 4.2), as it was excluded from the urban location rules set out in the Cape Native Reserve Location Act of 1902 and the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923. This led to the enforcement of apartheid laws being fairly difficult as they were resisted. Even to this day, the users/inhabitants resist the regulations of democratic government. As a result, users/inhabitants have the power to govern their spatial practices based on what land means to them, what they know, societal norms and affordability. The representations of space influencing land use activities have been completely abandoned.

Evidently, the participants of the study aspire to prosperity as they dream of a better future and are aware of their large plots. Even those that are not using the land (unoccupied) are keeping the land for future purposes such as to the benefit of their children or developing some income-generating activity on the land. It can thus be argued that for Fingo Village households there is hunger for prosperity but not necessarily hunger for land as such, because it is available to them. This, however, does not mean land is not important to the households in the study. It is, and it also clearly bears the burden of being unusable to a level that matches the desires of the users. This, ironically, translates to a different form of land hunger that considers a holistic view of the different meanings of land, including having it meet present and future desires of the users. It is crucial to understand that land use decision-making is a complicated process. It is not as linear as presented by economic perspective. Different stakeholders need to come together to identify their common interests so as to enhance the quality of land use decision-making. For its part, the state should revisit its regulations and identify the reasons behind people's non-compliance. Future research could investigate such strategies.

This thesis concludes by arguing that having abundant land alone does not mean economic prosperity; there are internal and external factors that need to be considered. The internal factors include the aspects of the representational space (Lefebvre, 1991), such as land tenure rights, different meanings of land and geographical location. External factors refer to ideas of the representations of space (Lefebvre, 1991), focusing on the state policies and regulations on land use zoning, land registration in the cadastral system and provision of public services. Using the spatial triad idea, the dialectic interaction between the internal and external factors can determine whether the use of one's land will be beneficial for livelihood purposes or not.

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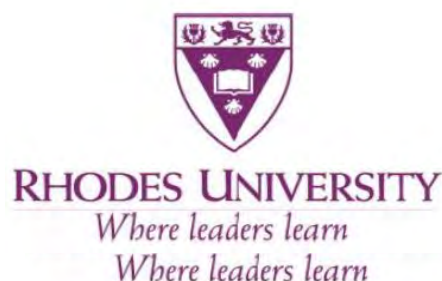
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ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Ethical Clearance



Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee

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22 March 2017

Sinenhlanhla Memela
Email: s.memela@ru.ac.za

Dear Sinenhlanhla,

Re: HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS APPLICATION entitled *Land Use Decision-Making And Optimization Of Space On Residential Plots In Fingo Village, Grahamstown, South Africa* with reference number 7226809 submitted on 9/2/2017

This letter confirms that the above research proposal has been reviewed by the Rhodes University Ethical Standards Committee (RUESC).

The committee decision is APPROVED.

Please ensure that the ethical standards committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the ethics committee on completion of the research. The purpose of this report is to indicate whether the research was conducted successfully, if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the ethical standards committee should be aware of. If a thesis or dissertation arising from this research is submitted to the library's electronic theses and dissertations (ETD) repository, please notify the committee of the date of submission and/or any reference or cataloguing number allocated.

Sincerely,

Dr Sharli Paphitis

Co-Chair: RUESC

Note:

1. This clearance is valid for three years from the date of this letter.
2. The ethics committee cannot grant retrospective ethics clearance.
3. Progress reports should be submitted annually unless otherwise specified in the clearance letter.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule for Fingo Village resident

Land tenure rights

1. Whose name is in the books at the Municipality offices?
 - 1.1 Where does this person live?
 - 1.2 What kind of rights does he/she have on this property?
 - 1.3 What qualifies this person to get his/her name in the books at the Municipality offices?
 - 1.3.1 Did he/she buy the land?
 - 1.3.2 Did he/she inherit the land?
 - 1.3.3 Is the person just the oldest in the family among other co-owners?
 - 1.3.4 Is the person designated by the family to be on the books?
 - i) Why is the person chosen?
 - 1.3.5 Did the person appoint him/herself?
 - 1.3.6 Is the person male or female?
 - 1.3.7 Any other reasons why this person is on the property books?
2. Who else holds any rights on the land (this includes the tenants and family members)?
 - 2.1 Who lives on the property and what rights do they hold on the property?
 - 2.1.1 Are they tenants or family members?
 - 2.1.2 How many are they?
 - 2.1.3 How long they have been living on the property?

- 2.2 What influence do they have on land use decision-making (on what can be done on land)?
- 3. Who else holds any rights on the land, but who does not live on the property?
 - 3.1 What influence do they have on land use decision-making (on what can be done on the land)?
 - 3.1.1 Are they tenants or family members?
- 4. How was the plot obtained?
 - 4.1 Was it bought? By whom and when?
 - 4.2 Was it inherited? By whom and when?
- 5. Who is responsible for taking care of the property?
 - 5.1 What are his/her source of income?
 - 5.2 Does he/she lives on this property?
 - 5.3 Is this person responsible for fixing and maintaining property, guarding the property, caring for elderly or minor, paying rates or collecting rent?
- 6. Who used to live in this property (10 years back)?
 - 6.1 Where are they now and why?

Residential space usage

- 7. What is the size of the plot? (refer to the map)
- 8. What are the different land use activities on this plot? (refer to the map and table)
 - 8.1. What are the motives for using space this way?
 - 8.2 How do household members benefit from these different land use activities?

9. How much space is unused? (refer to the map) (empty, reserved or underutilized)
 - 9.1 Why it is not used?
 - 9.2 Does it bother you or others that there is a lot of space unused?
 - 9.3 How long has it been not used?
 - 9.4 What are your future plans about this unused space?
 - 9.5 When these plans will be implemented?
 - 9.6 Do you need any assistance in order to be able to use this space the way that will benefit household members?
 - 9.7 What kind of assistance is needed (Legal, labour, rights, finance, etc.)?

Factors influencing land use decision-making

10. Which family members are involved in land use decision-making?
 - 10.1 What qualifies a person to be involved in land use decisions?
11. Who is authorized to make final land use decisions?
 - 11.1 What are his/her sources of income?
 - 11.1 What qualifies a person to make final land use decisions?
12. Who used to make final land use decisions (10 years back)?
 - 12.1 How are you impacted by those decisions made back then?
13. Give me an example of how land use decisions are made?
 - 13.1 How consensus decision is reached?
 - 13.2 Are there some members of the household that use force during land use decision-making process? Give an example (scenario).
14. The role of the Municipality in household land use decision making?
 - 14.1 Do you consult the Municipality before making any land use decisions?

14.2 How does the Municipality intervene in household land use decisions? Give examples.

14.3 In your opinion does the Municipality care about land use activities on the property?

14.4 Do you believe that the Municipality can assist in ensuring that space is used the way that will benefit the household members?

i)How do you think they should assist?

14.5 Do you believe that the Municipality can prevent household members from using the space however they choose? How?

15. What other things that makes you use the space the way you do (e.g. external organizations, businesses, outsider individuals, beliefs, values, social control and norms)?

16. What else can you share about this plot that we have not covered? Anything.

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule (IsiXhosa)- Imibuzo yodliwano-ndlebe yabahlali baseFingo Village

Amalungelo omhlaba wengqesho

1. Ligama likabani elisezincwadini kwiiofisi zikaMasipala?

1.1 Uhlalaphi lomntu?

1.2 Ngamalungelo anjani la anawo kulomhlaba?

1.3 Yintoni eyenza lomntu abesezincwadini zwakwaMasipala?

1.3.1 Uwuthengile umhlaba?

1.3.2 Uwufumene njengelifa lomhlaba?

1.3.3 Lomntu nguye omdala kolusapho kunabanye abanini?

- 1.3.4 Wonyulwe lusapho lomntu ubhalwe ezincwadini?
 - i) Ukhethwe njani lomntu?
- 1.3.5 Uzonyulile lomntu?
- 1.3.6 Ngumntu oyindoda okanye ongumama?
- 1.3.7 Zikhona ezinye izizathu ezibangela kubhaliswe lomntu ezincwadini?
- 2. Ngubani omnye onamalungelo kulomhlaba (ukubalula abaqeshi namalungu osapho)?
 - 2.1 Ngubani ohlala kulomzi kwaye ngawaphi amalungelo anawo kulomzi?
 - 2.1.1 Ngabaqeshi okanye ngamalungu osapho?
 - 2.1.2 Bangaphi?
 - 2.1.3 Lingakanani ixesha behlala kulomzi?
 - 2.2 Leliphi ifuthe abanolo kuthatho-zigqibo ngokusetyenziswa komhlaba (ngakumbi kwinto enokwenziwa kulomhlaba)?
- 3. Ngubani omnye onamalungelo kulomhlaba kodwa ongahlali kulomzi?
 - 3.1 Leliphi ifuthe abanalo kuthatho-zigqibo ngokusetyenziswa komhlaba (ngakumbi kwinto enokwenziwa kulomhlaba)?
 - 3.1.1 Ngabaqeshi okanye ngamalungi osapho?
- 4. Sasifunyenwe njani esisiza?
 - 4.1 Sasithengiwe? Ngubani nini?
 - 4.2 Sasifunyewe njengelifa? Ngubani nini?
- 5. Luxanduva lukaboni ukukhathalela lomzi?

5.1 Uziphilisa njani?

5.2 Uhlala kulomzi?

5.3 Lomntu nguye ononxanduva lokulungisa agcine lomzi usesimeni esifanelekileyo, awukhusele, akhathalele abadala okanye abancinci ebhatala imali yerhafu okanye aqokelele imali yengqesho?

6. Bekuhlala bani kulomzi (kwiminyaka elishumi egqithileyo)?

6.1. Baphi ngoku kwaye ngoba?

Usebenziso lwesithuba sokuhlala

7. Singakanani esisiza? (bonisa kulemephu)

8. Zinto zini ezohlukileyo osetyenzwa kuzo umhlaba kwesisiza? (bonisa kulemephu nakoluluhlu)

8.1 Zintoni ezenza esithuba sisetyenziswe ngoluhlobo?

8.2 Amalungu endlu azuza njani kwezi zinto zohlukileyo zosetyenziso komhlaba?

9. Singakanani isithuba esingasetyenziswayo? (bonisa kulemephu) (esingenanto, esigciniweyo okanye esisetyenziswa kancinci)

9.1 Kutheni singasetyenziswa?

9.2 Ayikuphathi kakubi okanye abanye kakubi lento yokungasetyenziswa kwesisithuba?

9.3 Kudala kangakanani singasetyenziswa?

9.4 Uceba ukwenzani kwixesha elizayo ngesithuba singasetyenziswayo?

9.5 Uzakuwa phumeza nini lamacebo?

9.6 Uyalufuna na uncendo elizakwenza ukwazi ukusebenzisa esisithuba ngendlela ezakwenza kuxhamle onke omalungu endlu?

9.7 Luncedo olunjani olufunekayo (olomthetho, olwemisebenzi, olwamalungelo)?

Iimeko eziphembelela uthatho-zogqibo kusetyenziso komhlaba

10. Ngawaphi amalungu osapho abandakanyekayo kuthatho-zigqibo zokusetyenziswa komhlaba?

10.1 Kufuneka abenantoni umntu ukuze azibandakanye nezigqibo zokusetyenziswa komhlaba?

11. Ngubani onelungelo lokuthatha isigqibo sokugqibela kusetyenziso komhlaba

11.1 Uziphilisa njani?

11.2 Yintoni eyenza umntu abe ukufanele ukuthatha izigqibo zokugqibela kusetyenziso komhlaba?

12. Ngubani owayekade ethatha izigqibo zokugqibela (kwiminyaka elishumi egqithileyo)?

12.1 Zakuchaphezela njani izigqibo zangoko?

13. Ndiphe umzekelo obonakalisa indlela ezathathwa ngayo izigqibo zokusetyenziswa komhlaba?

13.1 Zithathwa njani izigqibo zesininzi?

13.2 Akhona amalungu endlu anyanzelisayo kuthatho-zigqibo zokusetyenziswa komhlaba?

Nika umzekelo (umyilo obhaliweyo)

14. Unayo indima uMasipala kuthatho-zigqibo zokusetyenziswa komhlaba ezindlini?

14.1 Uyabonisa noMasipala phambi kokwenza izigqibo nangakuphi na ukusetyenziswa komhlaba?

14.2 Ulamla njani uMasipala kwizigqibo zokusetyenziswa komhlaba ezindlini? (Nika umzekelo)

14.3 Ngokoluvo lwakho uMasipala uyakhathala ngezinto ezenziwayo kusetyenziso komhlaba ezindlini?

14.4 Ucinga uMasipala angancedisa ukwenza izithuba zisetyenziswe ngendlela eyenza kuxhamle amalungu osapho?

i) Ucinga bangancedisa njani?

14.5. Ucinga uMasipala angawanqanda amalungu osapho ekusibenziseni isithuba nangayiphi na indlela abayikhethileyo? Njani?

15. Zeziphi ezinye izinto ezikwenza usebenzise isithuba njengoba wenzile (umzekelo, imibutho yangaphandle, amashishini, abantu bangaphandle, iinkolo, indlela yokuziphatha, ulawulo kuluntu nezinto ezamkelekileyo?

16. Yintoni enye onokuyiphalaza ngesisiza esingayichaphazelanga? Nayiphi na?

Appendix 3: Informed Consent (English)

Title of Research Study: Land Use Decision Making and Optimization of Space in Residential Plots on Fingo Village, Grahamstown, South Africa.

Researcher: Sinenhlanhla Memela is a doctoral student in the geography department at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.

Purpose of the Study: The aim of the study is to understand land use decision making dynamics on large residential plots in Fingo Village, particularly what, why, how space is used, or what and why it is not used. This study is the fulfillment of the requirement degree of doctor of philosophy.

What will be asked of the Participant: If you agree to participate in this study, you are expected to answer the questions from the interview schedule and participate in the mapping exercise. Mapping space will take about 30 minutes minimum and 45 minutes maximum in each plot. Mapping exercise will be done on the first visit. The interviews will be conducted on the second visit which will be face to face at the participant preferred place and language. Each interview will take up about 45-minutes maximum. If it goes beyond 45 minutes or participant is tired the interview can be rescheduled for the third visit.

Risks and Discomfort: If risks occur during your participation in the study, a researcher will terminate your participation or as a participant, you have a right to withdraw from the study with an immediate effect. A researcher can provide some suggestions or refer a participant to a professional, who might provide relevant support and assist. Also, if you feel that some of the questions are displeasing or you are not comfortable in answering them, you must feel free to skip them.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Participation in the study is voluntary, meaning that you can refuse to be part of the study if you are not interested or see that there are risks. You have the right to withdraw anytime should you wish too. No information will be against participants' will. Should you decide to withdraw from the study, the information that has already been received will no longer be used, rather be destroyed.

Privacy: During data collection, a translator and researcher will have access to the interviews. However, as soon as each interview is over, the researcher will store the data to her locked office.

The translator will have to sign the confidential agreement. During data analysis reference will be made to selected quotations from the interviews, but it will be anonymised by using pseudonyms and also some maps showing used and unused space will be displayed, however, the location of the of the households will not be revealed. This will make sure that these responses cannot be linked back to the participant at any point by the researcher. The information received from the participants will only be used for academic purpose only and be destroyed upon completion.

Feedback: After the completion of the research project, you will be given feedback with summarised findings of the study. You will be given an opportunity to decide how you want to receive feedback, whether you want to see results in writing or be communicated on one on one basis by the researcher. The feedback will be presented in your home language. During feedback dissemination, you will have the right to ask for clarity and you will be provided with relevant answers.

Benefits of the Study: This study would be useful for a range of stakeholders, including local municipalities, development agencies, and many government departments on debates about rental accommodation, housing policy, by-laws and zoning policies as well as livelihood-relevant planning.

Questions about the interview or Research: Your participation in this study would be appreciated. If you have any questions regarding interview or research project you can contact Sinenhlanhla Memela at s.meme.la@ru.ac.za or 046 603 8320 and you can also contact research supervisor Prof. Thembele Kepe by email at t.kepe@ru.ac.za.

Authorization

If you agree to participate in this study, you are expected to sign an informed consent before the interview.

I....., (Surname and Name) agree to be interviewed by Sinenhlanhla Memela. I have read and understood informed consent form.

Participant Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Researcher Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Appendix 4: Informed Consent (isiXhosa)- Imvume Eceliweyo

Itayitile yoluphando: Uthatho zigqibo ngosebenziso lomhlaba nezithuba emhlabeni ezinokusetyenziswa kwiziza zendawo yokuhlala eFingo Village, eRhini, eMzantsi Afrika.

Umphandi: Sinenhlanhla Memela ngumfundi wobugqirha kwezemfundo kwisebe lenzululwazi ngezelizwe eRhodes Yunivesiti, eRhini, eMzantsi Afrika.

Unobangela woluphando: injongo yoluphando kukuqonda imiba echaphazela uthatho sigqibo ngosebenziso lomhlaba kwiziza zendawo yokuhlala eFingo Village ingakumbi ukuba izithuba zomhlaba zisetyenziselwa ntoni? Ngoba? Njani? okanye kutheni zingasetyenziwa. Oluphando luzalisekisa iimfuneko zesidanga sobugqirha kuphando lwazi.

Kuzakubuzwa ntoni kubathathi-nxaxheba: Ukuba uyavuma ukuthatha inxaxheba koluphando, ulindeleke ukuba uphendule imibuzo ekwishedyuli yodliwano-dlebe kwaye uthathe inxaxheba nakumsebenzi wokubalula izithuba zomhlaba. Ubalulo lwezithuba zomhlaba kuzakuthatha imizuzu enga-30 kwaye kuzakuchithwa imizuzu enga-45 kwisiza ngasinye. Umsebenzi wobalulo uzakwenziwa kutyelelo lokuqala. Udliwano-ndlebe luzakwenziwa kotyelelo lwesibini kujongwene ubuso ngobuso ngolwimi lweenkobe kunye nendawo ekhethwe ngumthathi-nxaxheba. Udliwano-ndlebe ngalunye luzakuthatha imizuzu enga-45 Ukuba luyagqithela kulemizuzu inga-45 okanye umthathi-nxaxheba udiniwe, udliwano-ndlebe lungagqityezelwa kutyelelo lwesithathu.

Ungugozi nobunzima: Ukuba zikhona izinto ezinobungozi kothathu-nxaxheba kulophando, umphandi uzakuyiphelisa inxaxheba yakho okanye njengomthathi-nxaxheba unalo ilungelo lokurhoxa kulophando ngoko nangoko. Umphathi angakunika iingcebiso okanye akugqisele kwichule elizakunika inxaso noncedo olufanelekileyo. Kwaye ukuba uziva ngathi lemibuzo ayikuphathi kakuhle, uvumelekile ugqithele kweminye.

Uthatho-nxaxheba ngokuzithandela nokurhoxa: uthatho-nxaxheba koluphando ngoku zithandela ithetha ukuthi ungayeka xa ungenamdla okanye ubona izinto ezinokuba nobungozi. Unelungelo lokurhoxa naninina xa ubone njalo. Akho lwazi umthathi-nxaxheba azakubanjwa ngalo. Xa uthatha isigqibo sokurhoxa koluphando, ulwazi obeselelufunyenwe aluzukusetyenziswa luzakusele lutshatyalaliswa.

Ubomi obufihlakeleyo: Ngexesha lokuqokelela ulwazi, umguquli nomphandi uzakubanelungelo lokufumana udliwano-ndlebe. Kodwa ukugqitywa kodliwano-ndlebe, umphandi uzakucina ulwazi kwi-ofisi yakhe etshixiweyo. Umguquli uzakusayina isivumelwano sokugcina ulwazi khuselekileyo. Xa kuhlalutywa ulwazi lodliwano-ndlebe kuzakukhethwa izicatshulwa kudliwano-ndlebe elwenziweyo, kodwa kuzakufihlwa ngokutyenzisa amagana obuxoki kwaye nemephu ezibonisa izithuba zomhlaba ezisetyenziswayo okanye ezingasetyenziswayo zizakuboniswa, kodwa indawo apho izindlu zikuyo ayizukuvezwa. Lento izakwenza ukuba iimpendulo zabathathi-nxaxheba zingacaci ukuba zisuka kubo nqo okanye kumphandi. Ulwazi olufunyenweyo kubathathi-nxaxheba luzakusetyenziswa kwezemfundo qha kwaye luzatshatyalaliswa emva koko.

Impendulo: Xa igqityiwe leprojekti yophando, uzakufumana impendulo yeziphumo ezishwankathelweyo zoluphando. Uzakufumana ithuba lokuthatha isigqibo sokuba uyafuna na ukufumana impendulo, eyokuba ufuna ukubona iziphumo ezibhaliweyo okanye uzichazelwe wedwa ngumphandi. Impendulo izakufumaneka ngolwimi lakho lweenkobe. Ngexesha lokuhambisa impendulo, uzakuvumeleka ukuba ubuze ucacelwe kwaye uzakufumana iimpendulo ezifanelekileyo.

Inzuzo koluphando: oluphando luzakunceda imibutho eyehlukeneyo enomdla, njengooMasipala bamakhaya, imibutho yophuhliso kunye namasebe karhulumente kwiingxoxo malunga noqeshiso lwendawo yokuhlala, inkqubo yezindlu, imithetho yedolophu, neenkqubo zokwahlulwa kunye nokucetywa okumalunga nezentlalo.

Imibuzo ngodliwano-ndlebe okanye uphando: inxaxheba yakho koluphando ixabisekile. Xa unemibuzo nayiphina ngodliwano-ndlebe okanye iprojekti yophando ungadibana noSinenhlanhla Memela ku- s.meme.la@ru.ac.za okanye 046 603 8320 kwaye ungadibana nomongameli wophando uNjingalwazi Thembeke Kepe kwi-e-mail yakhe engu- t.kepe@ru.ac.za.

Ukugunyazisa

Ukuba uyavuma ukuthatha inxaxheba koluphando, kufuneka usayine ifomu yemvume eceliweyo phambi kodliwano-ndlebe.

Mna, (iFani negama) ndivuma ukudlana indlebe noSinenhlanhla Memela. Ndifundile ndayiva ifomu yemvume eceliweyo.

Usayino sigqibo koMthathi-nxaxheba _____ **umhla** _____

Usayino sigqibo koMphandi _____ **umhla** _____

Appendix 5: Detailed Information per plot

Pseudonyms	Gender of the Participants Present	Land Ownership	Land Use Description
Occupied Space			
Plot 1	Female	Inherited-Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, <i>spaza</i> shop, livestock, kraal for cultural use and active garden
Plot 2	Several family members- male and female	Inherited-Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock and kraal for cultural use
Plot 3	Several family members- male and female	Inherited-Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock and kraal for cultural use
Plot 4	Male	Inherited-Collectively owned as a family	Main house, livestock and kraal for cultural use
Plot 5	Male	Inherited-Collectively owned as a family	Main house, funeral palour and kraal for cultural use

Plot 6	Male	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock, kraal for cultural use and active garden
Plot 7	Several family members- male and female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, <i>spaza</i> shop and kraal for cultural use
Plot 8	Several family members- male and female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock and kraal for cultural use
Plot 9	Several family members- male and female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock, kraal for cultural use and active garden
Plot 10	Male	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house and backyard flat
Plot 11	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat and kraal for cultural use
Plot 12	Male	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, <i>spaza</i> shop and kraal for cultural use

Plot 13	Male	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, kraal for cultural use and active garden
Plot 14	Male	Unclear- once finalized it will be owned individually	Main house and active garden
Plot 15	Several family members- male and female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock and kraal for cultural use
Plot 16	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house and backyard flat
Plot 17	Several family members- male and female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house and backyard flat
Plot 18	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock and kraal for cultural use
Plot 19	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house and backyard flat

Plot 20	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house, backyard flat, livestock and kraal for cultural use
Plot 21	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Main house and active garden
Plot 22	Female	Bought-owned individually	Main house and backyard flat
	Unoccupied Space		
Plot 23	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Empty
Plot 24	Female	Inherited- Collectively owned as a family	Empty
Plot 25	Male	Owned by church	Empty
Plot 26	Male	Bought- Individually owned	Empty
Plot 27	Female	Bought- Individually owned	Empty

Plot 28	Female	Collectively owned	Empty
Plot 29	Male	Unclear land tenure	Underutilized space
Plot 30	Male	Collectively owned	Underutilized space
Plot 31	Female	Collectively owned	Underutilized space
Plot 32	Male	Collectively owned	Underutilized space
Plot 33	Male and female	Collectively owned	Underutilized space
Plot 34	Female	Collectively owned	Underutilized space
Plot 35	Male	Collectively owned	Underutilized space
Plot 36	Female	Bought-Individually owned	Underutilized space