

## Conclusions and implications for policy

Many people have benefitted from government investment in services and housing. Waterworks stands out as an area of limited investment, different from the other two neighbourhoods in both the plans for its future as well as its governing authority.

Where poor people have benefitted from infrastructure and better quality housing this is highly significant in their lives, but these improvements do not address poverty and joblessness which remains a major concern. Crime and substance abuse is widespread, especially amongst youth who have little else to occupy their time. Distance from other parts of the city and the high cost of transport are real constraints to people forging a better life.

This suggests that a focus on youth activities

and opportunities is needed, as well as cheaper and more diverse transport options, and support for income-earning activities for everyone. Clear improvements in the lives of residents of Waterworks is needed.



Waterworks informal settlement



Makeshift sportsground in Lufhereng.

## Research on experiences of living the urban periphery in other African cities

Similar research has taken place in Molweni, Hammonds Farm/ Waterloo, Ekangala and Winterveld in South Africa and Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. The researchers spoke to men and women in each community, collected resident diaries and photographs, and interviewed residents and key professionals. The findings of the research showed that residents had experienced both positive and negative consequences of the changes that had occurred in their areas. Some of the key findings in other areas are as follows: RDP housing is much appreciated elsewhere but residents struggle with affordability and also access to jobs and services such as clinics. Conditions in informal settlements remain very poor with little evidence of improvement. Residents are very anxious about waiting times for housing and many are

living in poverty. In some areas on the edges of cities local government is quite weak or is far away, and in these cases some local powerful men control whole areas and can often be useful to residents but also operate through a culture of fear.

Residents in many cases note the importance of shopping malls and new shopping facilities both is making their daily lives



Molweni, KZN

for work. Residents noted the new investments in employment opportunities in their areas or beyond. But, many lacked the right skills for the work or were seen as too old or not supporting the right political party. Many struggled with basic things like lack of access to photocopiers etc. to submit CVs for consideration. These findings would all be shared with relevant government authorities and also with those involved in urban planning and housing.



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Hammonds Farm, KZN

easier but also sometimes providing employment. Lack of employment was a dominant theme across the cases in South Africa and this undermined most residents' otherwise positive experiences of all the changes. In Ethiopia, more residents had employment but they really struggle with the costs of their new government homes and also with the very long commutes into the city centre



## Living the urban periphery: investment, infrastructure and economic change in Lufhereng, Protea Glen and Waterworks, Gauteng, South Africa

### Introducing the Research Project

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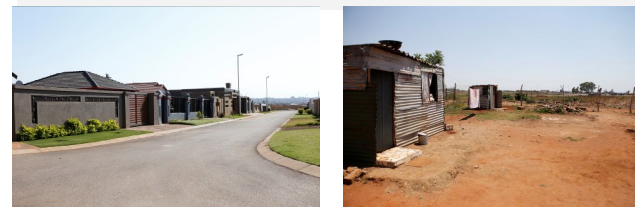
In 2017 a group of researchers from the University of Sheffield in the UK and the University of the Witwatersrand in SA began a research project in Lufhereng and Protea Glen in the western edge of Johannesburg. Research in Waterworks in Rand-West municipality started in June 2018. The researchers were interested in finding out how changes in areas on the peripheries of African cities happen (especially changes in infrastructure), who makes these changes, and, most importantly, how these changes are experienced by people living there. The researchers focused on a few different types of infrastructure, so the study includes examples of investment in housing, roads, transport, basic services, and investment in industrial areas. The researchers wanted to test the idea that infrastructure investment in the urban periphery can improve the quality of daily life for the communities where new infrastructure has been put in place.

The research in Johannesburg and Rand-West formed one 'case' in a much larger project researching seven different areas in three city-regions in Africa. There are two other cases in Gauteng – Winterveld, and Ekangala-Ekaindustria-Rethabiseng in Tshwane— and two in eThekweni in KwaZulu-Natal: first the cluster of Hammonds Farm, Waterloo, Canelands and Conistion, and second, Molweni, Crestholme and Crestview. There are also two case in Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia: the areas of Tulu Dimtu and Yeka Abado. The researchers hope to understand each of these places in detail and compare them to each other to increase our knowledge of how infrastructure changes affect poverty reduction and how people living in these areas experience these changes.

In Lufhereng, Protea Glen and Waterworks 52 residents wrote diaries about their daily life for a two-week period and took photographs showing living conditions, services and experiences of their neighbourhood. The researchers spoke to 43 of these men and women in the community, community leaders and six professionals involved in planning and urban development to gather further information. Surveys (questionnaires) were undertaken with around 200 residents. This pamphlet summarises the main findings of the research based on information we gathered from residents of Lufhereng, Protea Glen and Waterworks. Unfortunately there is not enough space to report on everything that was said.

### Different kinds of neighbourhoods

The three settlements in this case are very different: Protea Glen is a large area with different extensions of privately owned houses, some local shops, a mall and bus services. Lufhereng is a relatively new development still under construction, with one section occupied, mainly consisting of government-subsidised 'RDP' houses and two schools. Many of the current residents of Lufhereng were previously living in an informal settlement, in backyard rooms in Soweto, or on farms. It is planned to be a very large mixed income development with different kinds of housing including social housing flats and private housing, as well as different kinds of facilities. Waterworks is a small informal settlement with houses people have built themselves from different kinds of material. These three areas are all alongside the R554 road on the western edge of Soweto, but they have undeveloped agricultural land between them. Although this is not obvious when you visit the area, Protea Glen and Lufhereng are within the City of Johannesburg (but on its outer boundary) while Waterworks lies outside of JHB within the Rand West municipality.



A street in Protea Glen, and a house in Waterworks

### Experience of place over time

"Lufhereng is only 7 years old and has beautiful RDP houses, tarred roads, drain systems are on point" (♀ Lufhereng resident).

"In Protea Glen we have schools, churches, police station, Malls" (♀ Protea Glen resident).

Residents of Lufhereng and Protea Glen had a more positive outlook of the changes they had experienced in their respective areas over-time whereas those from Waterworks were largely unhappy. Lufhereng residents commended the rapid development of their area such as the rolling out of electricity and street-lights. In Protea Glen, the building of shopping centers and other amenities and the servicing of the Rea Vaya buses was positively received. In Waterworks, years of neglect have fuelled frustration. The challenges faced by residents in all these areas are highlighted below.



A street in Lufhereng





## Transport, mobility and location

are concerns for many residents of Lufhereng, Protea Glen and Waterworks. A common sentiment in all three areas was that employment opportunities were located far away and the cost of transport to Johannesburg CBD and other parts of the city was prohibitive.

In Lufhereng people lamented the absence of buses and trains as they are only served by taxis. This is contrast to the Protea South informal settlement where most of them use to live, which had easier access to transport, particularly the train. The absence of nearby shopping centres in Lufhereng also means residents have to commute more often.

*"The transport services are very poor because if you want to commute to the CBD you only rely on one mode of transport which is taxis"*

(♂ Lufhereng resident).



Lufhereng

For Waterworks residents, affordability was a huge concern but residents welcomed the introduction of free school buses for primary school students. The extension of the service to high school learners who are currently paying for unreliable trains would be greatly appreciated by the community. Many residents in Waterworks rely on walking to Lenasia to seek employment and for shopping.

*"What I do not like about this place is that we are too far from shops, schools, clinics, jobs"* (♀ Waterworks resident).

*"I couldn't attend school one day because the trains weren't working. We walk to school when the train isn't working and it is really far - about an hour's walk. Besides, the train will always be late"* (♀ Waterworks resident).



Waterworks

*"the problem is not the provision but the cost"* (♀ Protea Glen resident)

Protea Glen residents on the other hand commended the introduction of the Rea Vaya bus service, but still complained about the affordability of taxis to Johannesburg and places like the East Rand. The presence of shopping centres mean many residents just walk to buy their necessities reducing the need to travel.



Protea Glen



## Unemployment

is a major concern that cut across all areas. Residents lamented how their respective areas are located far away from Johannesburg or the East Rand. This is made worse by the lack of reliable and affordable transport services. Lack of jobs for young people and the elderly is particularly mentioned.

Lufhereng residents vividly described their concerns about employment because many of them had lived in Protea South Informal settlement which was better located for seeking job opportunities in other parts of the city. Some residents are now resorting to informal trading whilst others rely on the few government jobs that arise when there is a project in their area. However, these opportunities are allegedly characterised by favouritism. To counter favouritism, residents are increasingly in support of a raffle system whereby everyone's ID's are placed in a container and then randomly selected.

In Waterworks many people only access very low-paid part-time, insecure or casual work. Some people are despondent about the lack of job opportunities now and in the future. Residents speak of the importance of NGOs that provide meals for children and sometimes also adults. Poverty affects some people's ability to attend education.

*I cannot always afford to go to school* (♀ Waterworks resident)



A home business in Lufhereng

## Alcohol, drugs and crime

featured in many of the discussions in all three areas. In general, unemployment, particularly amongst the youth was blamed for the increasing incidence of substance abuse and crime.

People believed that some resort to alcohol and drug abuse because they have nothing else to look forward to. Those engaged in criminal activities are in turn the same individuals who are seeking money to satisfy their addictions. In Protea Glen, drug-related crime began rising from 2010 and some residents believed that this coincided with Protea Glen becoming larger.

The low visibility of police offices more so in Lufhereng and Waterworks was also blamed for the increased incidence of crime. Whilst there is a police station in Protea Glen, the other two areas are serviced by police stations located in other communities.

*"This place needs a small police station where we can report cases. Even after contacting the nearest station in Dobsonville, the police will regularly refuse to come to Lufhereng because they don't know where it is."* (♂ Lufhereng resident).

In Waterworks, the police are far away in West Rand municipality so they often take a long time to arrive. Rape or fear of rape is a real concern. Residents speak of community-based patrols as a local response to crime.

*"it is sometimes useless to even call them at all. they never come and if they do the issue would have been long resolved. We fix our own issues."* (♂ Waterworks resident).



Caricature of Nyaope

## Feelings of belonging, connectivity

are shaped by a variety of factors including peoples' relationships with their local representatives and councillors. Generally people speak positively about the different people in their community though there are some who express resentment about some of the people who get work.

*"I would say it's a good, beautiful, peaceful place but life there is hard because there aren't any jobs"* (♂ Lufhereng resident).

*"It doesn't feel that Waterworks is part of the city because there aren't any services"* (♀ Waterworks resident).



A home in Waterworks

## Service delivery

is highly uneven across the three areas. Protea Glen is the most serviced, including with private sector facilities like garages and shops. The recent extension of Wifi to the area is appreciated by residents.

*"So even if you are a student it is very beneficial to have access to the internet for free to do their research assignments"* (♂ Protea Glen resident)

As Protea Glen continues to expand more services are in the pipeline which residents were positive about. However currently some services are not extensive enough or are of insufficient quality. Residents particularly call for recreation and sports facilities for the youth, and link their absence to the widespread drug problem in the area.

*"there is only one police station and one library - people in the new extensions don't have access to them. The queue at the clinic is very long"* (♀ Protea Glen resident).

Waterworks as an informal settlement is completely the opposite and residents are greatly concerned about the lack of services. Some residents have been living in Water-

works for 18 years with very little improvement in services, although the greater number of communal taps is mentioned positively. Lack of electricity means some collect firewood for cooking, and illegal electricity connections have led to the electrocution of children. People lament the infrequent servicing of pit toilets. There is little prospect of development as the land is privately owned and has been earmarked for commercial development. Waterworks residents are now pinning their hope on a relocation to RDP housing in Zuurbekom.

Lufhereng is the in-between area characterised by access to basic services such as electricity, water, roads, sanitation and schools, with additional facilities planned. Residents' perceptions depend on whether their previous locality had better or worse public facilities: for some the tarred roads and street lighting are a significant improvement, although not all parts of Lufhereng are as well serviced. The new primary school is welcomed. Electricity is appreciated though people complain about the cost of it. Several people mention the need for robots and traffic calming measures.

*"there is no water, electricity, no sanitation and at no stage was there any waste disposal areas. Residents don't have waste bins"* (Waterworks resident).



Communal water tap in Waterworks



Protea Glen with cell phone mast