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Considering home, assets and place attachment in the urban periphery: Rethinking the spatial marginality of apartheid planning

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1 Introduction

The apartheid government socially engineered settlement patterns in South Africa along racial lines, actively preventing the urbanisation of black people. The area around Bloemfontein, which includes Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu and today is the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality, was a prime example of engineered settlements. Krige[1] described the region as a microcosm of apartheid. As discussed in chapter 1, it encapsulated elements of grand apartheid (apartheid based on ethnic homelands), meso-apartheid (racially segregated suburbs) and petty apartheid (racially segregated public amenities and social events).

When the National Party came to power in 1948, residential segregation was mostly in place in Bloemfontein. Black and white people lived in different suburbs. Apartheid planning further reinforced this segregation and even introduced ethnic zoning in the black township of Mangaung.[2] However, the biggest spatial consequence of apartheid planning came in 1968, when the government froze land expansion in the Mangaung township. The state then redirected black people to Thaba 'Nchu ('black mountain'), 65 kilometres east of Bloemfontein. This meant a long daily commute to reach work places in Bloemfontein. The Thaba 'Nchu area had been settled, since the early 1800s, by the

1 S Krige 'Bloemfontein' in A Lemon (ed) *Homes apart: South Africa's segregated cities* (1991) 104.
2 As above.

Barolong (Tswana-speaking) people. The apartheid state used this historical settlement of the Tswana population to create the homeland of Bophuthatswana ('gathering of the Tswana people'), a collection of reserves scattered across the then Cape Province, Orange Free State and Transvaal. With the 'independence' (recognised only by South Africa) of Bophuthatswana in 1979, the Sotho-speaking people, who lived mainly in Kromdraai in Thaba 'Nchu, found themselves not part of the new 'nation state'. Consequently, the apartheid state created a new ethnic settlement for the Sotho by establishing Botshabelo ('place of refuge'), 55 kilometres east of Bloemfontein. Botshabelo began as a resettlement camp. The later establishment of an industrial development point and a bus service to transport daily commuters was intended to counter the fragmented spatial development.[3] In the process, between 1968 and 1985, the apartheid state redirected development funds for the black people away from Bloemfontein. In the mid-1980s, the first land expansions were allowed for black middle-class households in Mangaung township and land expansions for black low-income families followed in the early 1990s.[4] Despite substantial social changes in South African society since the early 1990s, Mangaung remains spatially fragmented.[5]

The fragmented settlement development that resulted from apartheid planning came with high costs for poor black people, in the form of lengthy daily commutes and dislocation from economic opportunities. The post-apartheid state's policy was to overcome spatial fragmentation and integrate the region. For example, service delivery to households in Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu was rapidly increased.[6] The road between Bloemfontein and Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu was improved, more trading space was provided and the industrial area in Botshabelo was upgraded. However, it has been difficult to provide job opportunities in the two settlements. The industrial development points were not successful: Thaba 'Nchu's collapsed and that of Botshabelo, despite extensive investment, changed function from manufacturing to

3 As above.
4 L Marais & J Ntema 'The upgrading of an informal settlement in South Africa: Twenty years onwards' (2013) 39 *Habitat International* 85; L Marais 'Bloemfontein: Three decades of urban change' in A Lemon, G Visser & R Donaldson (eds) *South African urban change three decades after apartheid. Homes still apart?* (2021) 117.
5 Marais (n 4).
6 L Marais and others 'Reinforcing housing assets in the wrong location? The case of Botshabelo, South Africa' (2016) 27 *Urban Forum* 347.

warehousing and trade. The amalgamation of the region under one local authority, Mangaung, in 2001, was the first step towards attempting the integration of the region. In practice, this provoked debates about resource allocation,[7] through the National Spatial Development Perspective (see, for example, the NSDP policy approach). Should the state invest in places such as Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu and reinforce apartheid planning? Had the functionality of the area changed? Despite moderate investment from the national government in Botshabelo, the Mangaung local municipality has invested heavily in infrastructure in Botshabelo since 2001.[8] Consequently, Marais and others[9] have asked whether further development in Botshabelo in the post-apartheid dispensation had created assets in the wrong place and whether these investments had not reinforced apartheid's spatial fragmentation. Bus transport for commuters remains in place, although commuter numbers have declined since the late 1980s.

We embed our arguments in this chapter in social constructionism, focusing on people's experiences in Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu. We question the post-apartheid government's simplistic emphasis on integration as the only response to understanding these peripheral settlements. We think that there is evidence that some people are viewing their houses in Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu as rural homes rather than dormitory towns, which was their original function. The right to the city, for some, might simply be the right to stability and a home. A large percentage of the working class have already migrated out of Botshabelo, which will probably continue. Migration provides the first step in the right to the city. Conversely, those who have stayed behind have developed a substantial place attachment. Their houses have become physical, emotional and even economic assets in places with limited economic prospects. We argue that alongside understanding these places as peripheral urban settlements, understanding these settlements as rural homes on the urban periphery rather than merely dormitory towns means that they will require different forms of integration than those currently planned by the government. The evidence from our

7 R Tomlinson & S Krige 'Botshabelo: Coping with the consequences of urban apartheid' (1997) 21 *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 691; Marais and others (n 6).
8 Marais and others (n 6).
9 As above.

interviews shows how notions of home have developed, encouraging place attachment, and how the residents' houses have become cultural assets (though mostly not economic and financial assets). Policy makers need to understand the relationship between home, assets and place attachment if they are to come to grips with how to plan for the region's future.

2 The literature: Home, assets and place attachment

The housing-pathway approach developed over the past 20 years provides a framework for housing studies using notions of home, assets and place attachment.[10]

2.1 Traditions of housing research and social constructionism

Clapham[11] identified four main approaches to housing research: policy, new classical economics, the geographical approach and the sociological approach. Social constructionism provides a basis for addressing some of the concerns associated with these approaches.[12] It challenges the positivistic nature, rational responses and policy orientation of housing research. Clapham[13] stressed that 'social life is constructed by people through interaction'. Housing research based on the social constructionist theory focuses on face-to-face interactions, the experience of individuals, what they say and their body language.

Clapham[14] stressed many useful aspects of housing research based on the social constructionist theory. Research that takes this approach emphasises decision making in the context of loosening social structures and changing lifestyles globally. For example, many governments have withdrawn from direct housing provision, giving ordinary people a bigger range of choices. Clapham noted that it is hard to clearly define 'household', but accepted that some form of definition was required. The

10 D Clapham *The meaning of housing: A pathways approach* (2005); C Anton & C Lawrence 'Home is where the heart is: The effect of place of residence on place attachment and community participation' (2014) 30 *International Journal of Environmental Psychology* 451.
11 Clapham (n 10).
12 K Jacobs, J Kemeny & T Manzi *Social constructionism in housing research* (2016).
13 Clapham (n 10) 19.
14 D Clapham 'Housing pathways: A post-modern analytical framework' (2002) 19 *Housing, Theory and Society* 57.

concepts of house, home and household are intertwined and, therefore, understanding a household is important. The idea of a 'housing pathway', defined as 'patterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home, over time and space',[15] is based on the social constructionist theory. It emphasises the meaning people give to their housing and the interactions that contribute to housing actions. It also highlights changes in interactions and relationships. Interactions might, for instance, occur in different places, such as the family's house, a community meeting place, a local government office or the premises of an estate agent or landlord. The concept builds on the basic idea of a housing career but emphasises that it is in social interactions and relationships that the term 'home' becomes meaningful.

In many cases, the meaning results from either lifestyle or identity. Tenure provides a framework against which households create meaning: Tenants create meaning through interactions with the letting agent or landlord and home owners through interactions with the estate agent, mortgage holder or municipality to which they pay rates and taxes. The meaning of housing can be disrupted by a change in employment status, such as being retrenched. A change in housing creates a change in social interactions. The housing-pathway concept emphasises the importance of households' perceptions of their housing. These perceptions are important in the context of lifestyle changes and globalisation. In summary, the social constructionist approach to housing stresses the importance of considering all possible influences on the meaning of housing.

2.2 Understanding home

The housing-pathway approach distinguishes between housing and home. 'Housing' refers to the physical attributes, whereas 'home' gives meaning to housing and guides how housing is used.[16] 'Home' emphasises an emotional relationship between people and their housing.[17] In this context, the home is often associated with ontological security to

15 Clapham (n 14) 63.
16 EG Arias 'Introduction' in EG Arias (ed) *The meaning and use of housing: International perspectives, approaches, and their applications* (1993) 1.
17 K Dovey 'Home and homelessness' in L Altman & C Werner (eds) *Home environments* (1985) 33.

indicate home as 'a stable mental state derived from a sense of continuity and order in events'.[18]

Somerville[19] identified six aspects of home: shelter; the feeling of physical warmth referred to as 'hearth'; affection; privacy; abode; and roots or identity. Gurney[20] listed 12 'discourses' elicited from a postal survey in Bristol in the United Kingdom (UK) across various socio-economic areas. These are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Discourses of home

Discourse	**Words used by respondents**
Emotions	Family, relatives, marriage, relationships, children, security (emotional stability), where the heart is
Back region	Return to, come back to, private, privacy, refuges, alone, peace, peaceful, quiet, haven, solitude, be on your own, be yourself
Front region	Invite people in, entertain, neighbours, community
Negative/ instrumental	The roof over your head, millstone, debt, worry, just a place to eat and sleep, my real home is my parents' home, I can't relax here, it does not make any difference if you own, housework, hard work
Relaxation	Relax, relaxation, unwind, take things easy, rest, put your feet up
Comfort	Comfort, comfortable, easy, warm
Safety	Feel safe, safety, security (physical)
Ownership	Pride, achievement, investment for our future and our children's future, worked hard for it, it belongs to me or us, feel differently about it if you own, security (financial)
Personalisation	A place to design, your own tastes, belongings, furniture

18 T Bilton and others *Introductory sociology* (1996) 665.

19 P Somerville 'Homelessness and the meaning of home: Tooflessness or rootlessness' 1992 (16) *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 529.

20 C Gurney 'Meaning of home and homeownership: Myths, histories and experiences' PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 1996.

Autonomy	You can do what you want, your own rules, freedom, a man's home is his castle, your own world
What you make of it	Home is what you make (of) it
Other	Words that did not fall into discourses above, such as security (ambiguous), everything, critical, garden, a base

We use these discourses as a framework for our discussion of home in the remainder of the chapter. First, however, we make three observations about Gurney's list. First, home does not only have positive connotations. The group of responses classified as negative or instrumental are a testimony to this. A home is a place of worry, unpaid debt, and domestic violence for some people. Second, the relationships between the categories are as meaningful as the categories themselves. For example, evidence of relaxation and comfort is related to safety. Third, as the research was done in the UK, we expect to find some different discourses in South Africa, where we did our study. More would probably be made of security of tenure and more negative discourses might be expected. For example, the notion of ownership might well be rated less important than tenure security. Furthermore, in a country where migrant labour continues, although no longer institutionalised, issues of the back region might be more extensive than those listed by Gurney. People might have views on more than one home. Finally, the ontological security provided by 'home' is present in the ideas of being in control, relaxation, permanence, continuity and safety.

2.3 Housing assets

The theoretical foundation for the policy of asset-based welfare comes from the work of Sherraden,[21] which is closely associated with Sen's work on capabilities.[22] Proponents of asset-based welfare criticise the use of income grants to alleviate poverty, arguing that enabling the poor

21 M Sherraden *Assets and the poor: A new American welfare policy* (1991).
22 A Sen 'Capability and well-being' in M Nussbaum & A Sen (eds) *The quality of life* (1993) 30.

to spend more will not help them out of poverty.[23] Instead, they argue, welfare programmes should allow the poor to access assets. Moser[24] defines 'assets' as the 'stock of financial, human, natural or social resources that can be acquired, developed, improved and transferred across generations'. Moser[25] identifies five assets: natural (land, water); physical or capital (equipment, housing); financial (savings, credit, investments in health); social (networks, institutions); and natural (water, soil). Assets can be either tangible or intangible. Compared to income grants, asset-based welfare has 'a broader mandate, incorporating risk prevention and mitigating factors as well as the perennially necessary safety nets'.[26]

Asset-based welfare is managed mainly in three ways: governments withdrawing from housing delivery;[27] asset-based welfare programmes;[28] and land-titling programmes mainly in the Global South.[29] Asset-based welfare programmes in the Global North promote savings, education (human-capital development), home ownership and housing finance. The emphasis is on home ownership and housing finance, but the global financial crises of 2007/2008 revealed the fault lines of this dominant approach.[30] Land-titling programmes have been similarly criticised. The main criticism of asset-based welfare has been that it singles out one aspect of poverty alleviation, namely, property or titling.[31]

In this chapter we primarily use the assets framework from Moser[32] and refer to more recent focuses of asset-based development programmes.

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23 M Sherraden 'Asset-building policy and programs for the poor' in T Shapiro & E Wolff (eds) *Assets for the poor: The benefits of spreading asset ownership* (2001) 302.

24 C Moser *Asset-based approaches to poverty reduction in a globalised world* (2006) 9.

25 Moser (n 24).

26 Moser (n 24) 3.

27 J Doling & R Ronald 'Home ownership and asset-based welfare' (2010) 25 *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 165.

28 Sherraden (n 21).

29 G Payne, A Durand-Lasserve & C Rakodi 'The limits of land titling and home ownership' (2009) 21 *Environment and Urbanisation* 443.

30 W Clarke 'The aftermath of the general financial crises for the homeownership society: What happened to low-income homeowners in the US?' (2003) 13 *International Journal of Housing Policy* 227.

31 A Gilbert 'On the mystery of capital and the myths of Hernando de Soto: What difference does the legal title make?' (2002) 24 *International Development Planning Review* 1.

32 C Moser 'Reassessing urban poverty reduction strategies: The asset vulnerability framework' (1998) 26 *World Development* 1; Moser (n 24); C Moser *Reducing global poverty: The case for asset accumulation* (2007).

Assets and housing are important for creating social stability.[33] Moser[34] found that, once communities and households have secured housing, they spend time job hunting or improving their education. Access to urban areas and secure tenure form an essential foundation for creating stability and acquiring assets.[35] Housing assets promote health and well-being, which are essential preconditions for effective participation in the labour market, and can also be a base from which to generate income, for example, by running a business from home or renting a room to a lodger. Assets can provide psychological advantages and create a sense of security[36] which, in turn, may reduce risky behaviour.[37] Moser and Felton[38] point out that acquiring housing assets has substantial intergenerational value. Second generations are usually better off because the first generation has given them a foundation through housing investments. Importantly, though, since assets can also be intangible, we should be wary of seeing them only in economic terms.

2.4 Place attachment

The concepts of home and assets are closely associated with place attachment, a positive relationship between people and places.[39] Other terms used are 'place identity', 'a sense of place', 'place dependence' and 'belonging'.[40] Place attachment can mean fondness for a house, but the term usually has wider application to location and social contexts.

33 C Lemanski 'Moving up the ladder or stuck on the bottom rung? Homeownership as a solution to poverty in urban South Africa' (2011) 35 *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 57.

34 Moser (2007) (n 32).

35 S Boonyabancha 'Upgrading Thailand's urban settlements: A community-driven process of social development' in C Moser & A Dani (eds) *Assets, livelihoods and social policy* (2008) 195.

36 R Dietz & D Haurin 'The social and private micro-level consequences of homeownership' (2003) 54 *Journal of Urban Economics* 401.

37 Ford Foundation *Building assets to reduce poverty and injustice* (2006).

38 C Moser & A Felton 'Intergenerational asset accumulation and poverty reduction in Guayaquil, Ecuador, 1978-2004' in C Moser (ed) *Reducing global poverty: The case for asset accumulation* (2007) 15.

39 D Hummon 'Community attachment: Local sentiment and sense of place' in I Altman & S Low (eds) *Place attachment* (1992) 253.

40 J Harner 'Place identity and copper mining in Sonora, Mexico' (2001) 91 *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 960; C Hidalgo & B Hernandez 'Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions' (2001) 21 *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 273.

Research generally distinguishes between two main elements of place attachment: 'place identity' and 'place dependence'.[41] The former refers to symbolic and emotional aspects such as those connected with home that are listed in Table 2.1 and the latter to the functional value people find in the physical environment. For example, place attachment can develop from working in a specific place. Place attachment develops for many reasons, although research shows contradictory findings:[42] time spent in a place; socio-economic factors; settlement attributes and infrastructure; home ownership; social networks; and environmental factors. Some advantages of place attachment (as with assets) are a sense of belonging and stability, social continuity, and a chance to achieve long-term goals.

2.5 The relevance of the literature for this chapter

The purpose of the literature review was fourfold. First, we think these concepts are interrelated. Home contributes to the development of assets, creating place attachment. The development of place attachment stands in contrast to the forced removals under apartheid. Second, it provided us with an understanding of home, place attachment and asset formation against the context of a history of forced removals. Third, we think our broad definition of a home provides a framework for understanding home in different contexts. Different cultural views of home are possible within the pathway approach and understanding home provides ontological security. Fourth, they help to understand the functional changes in the role of these settlements. For example, Todes and Houghton[43] have indicated substantial changes in the employment of urban peripheries elsewhere in South Africa. These changes are related to economic and demographic changes in these peripheral areas.

41 M Raymond 'The measurement of place attachment: Personal, community and environmental connections' (2010) 30 *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 422.

42 M Lewicka 'What makes the neighbourhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment' (2010) 30 *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 35.

43 A Todes & J Houghton 'Economies and employment in growing and declining urban peripheries in South Africa 2021' *Local Economy*, https://doi.org/10.1177/02690942211055623.

3 Methods

In line with our overall approach of social constructionism, we used a qualitative approach to this research. We elicited people's experiences to help us understand notions of home, assets and place attachment in Thaba 'Nchu and Botshabelo. We sampled 30 respondents in each of these two settlements. We purposively sampled residents older than 60 years on a systematic geographical sampling approach.

We set out to conduct narrative interviews in two phases. In the first phase we asked respondents to tell us about all the houses or homes they had lived in as far back as they could remember. This provided rich historical data and provided evidence of disruption and frequent movement. The responses to this first question corroborate the findings of Murray[44] in the early 1990s, which provided the first evidence of large-scale forced and removals. We asked the same people eight more specific questions in the second phase. One of these questions was 'What does your home mean to you?' We used the answers to this question to understand asset generation and place attachment. Our analysis in the chapter focuses on understanding home and how home and housing create assets and contribute to place attachment.

In this, we focus mainly on the answers to the question about the meaning of home. We categorised the respondents according to 'discourses' identified by Gurney.[45] At the same time, we also used the response to the first question to understand the answers to the question on home. For example, the historical accounts elicited during the first phase were critical to understanding home. Furthermore, we used these broader reflections and the responses on home to provide evidence regarding housing as assets and the development of place attachment.

4 Findings: Home, assets and place attachment

For this analysis, we considered only the responses to the question in the second phase: 'What does this house mean to you?' Table 2.2 shows the number of responses related to each discourse of home. We also added two more discourses revealed by our data: lack of secure tenure and

44 C Murray *Black mountain: Land, class and power in the eastern Orange Free State, 1880s to 1980* (1992).
45 Gurney (n 20).

appreciation of government support for a house that some respondents thought brought stability. We coded 96 discourses of 'home' (51 in Botshabelo and 45 in Thaba 'Nchu) from the 60 interviews. However, we also considered the historical dislocation that most respondents described in analysing these responses.

Table 2.2: Discourses of home in Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu, 2020

Discourse	Botshabelo		Thaba 'Nchu		Total	
	n	per cent	N	per cent	n	per cent
Emotions	22	43.1	17	37.8	39	40.6
Ownership	8	15.7	13	28.9	21	21.9
Safety	6	11.8	6	13.3	12	12.5
Negative/ instrumental	6	11.8	2	4.4	8	8.3
Personalisation	4	7.8	1	2.2	5	5.2
Autonomy	1	2.0	2	4.4	3	3.1
Appreciation of govt. support	1	2.0	2	4.4	3	3.1
Back-region	1	2.0	0	0.0	1	1.0
Front region	0	0.0	1	2.2	1	1.0
Relaxation	1	2.0	0	0.0	1	1.0
Comfort	0	0.0	1	2.2	1	1.0
What you make of it	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Security	1	2.0	0	0.0	1	1.0
Total	**51**	**100.0**	**45**	**100**	**96**	**100**

Source: Adapted from Gurney, 1996

We found no substantial difference between Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu relating to how people provide meaning to home. In the discussion below, we focus on three aspects: the discourses of home, how the discourses are related to housing assets and how home and housing assets contribute to place attachment.

4.1 Emotions

Not surprisingly, the emotional connection to home was the most prominent discourse we coded. Two core elements of the emotional response are worth highlighting. First, this response should be understood against the history of dislocation and forced removals. The introduction to the book provides a brief overview of this history.[46] Most of our respondents offered extensive life histories about the lack of a place to stay, job insecurity and leaving on-farm housing because there were no more jobs there. Once respondents left the farms, the apartheid state redirected them to Thaba 'Nchu and Botshabelo. They were not allowed to go to Mangaung/Bloemfontein. When the respondents said 'It means everything to me', 'It is like a treasure', 'It has good memories', 'I am so happy' and the house is 'a huge blessing', they were reflecting the historical uncertainty that they or their parents had experienced. One respondent said 'We don't have a problem that someone will come and kick us out', a reference to the history of forced removals. Further evidence of this history could be seen in a respondent's remark that 'it is a home to all of us', referring to her children and brother. This shows the home's value for more than just the immediate family. The literature, as mentioned above, stresses the importance of stability in creating assets and place attachment. The evidence from our respondents shows that, despite being poorly located with respect to employment or being forcefully removed, housing as a place of refuge did create some social stability and place attachment, despite instability caused by the commuting and the dire economic situation.

Second, many respondents connected these emotions with family members, either children or parents. Respondents said things such as 'This is where I nursed my father in his final days', 'It's like a remembrance of my late parents', and recalled 'how hard my late mother worked for

46 Also see Murray (n 44).

it'. One respondent emphasised the importance of inheritance, but in non-financial terms, saying 'It is a legacy left to me by my grandparents to take care of.' Respondents also expressed their emotional relationship with the home of their parents or grandparents and reflected on the importance of the house for their children, showing that home has intergenerational emotional value. One respondent said: 'Even my children grew up in this house. I have stayed with them for many years. So, it is very important to me.' This intergeneration value supports the notion of the intergenerational value of asset building. This value need not be economic or financial, and few of our respondents reported on it in such terms. This emotional value is also closely associated with the stability that a housing asset brings, which encourages a high degree of place attachment.

4.2 Back region

We coded only two responses for back region. One respondent said: 'This is my life. It is where I live.' This respondent wanted to point out that it is away from daily hassles. Another said that some of her children 'might fail in life so that they can come back here at home'. She saw her house as a sanctuary for those of her children who might struggle in society. Admittedly, there were other responses that we could have coded as the back region. Still, we think that the historical context overshadowed privacy issues, being alone and being quiet. Houses could also be generally too small, resulting in overcrowding. Furthermore, less individualised responses about home in the context of community and ubuntu contributed to the small number of back region codes. Home is more than only about privacy and individual needs and includes the needs of various extended family members.

4.3 Negative or instrumental

Over 8 per cent of the responses we coded were negative or instrumental reflections on 'home'. Seven of the eight negative remarks were about the poor quality of the house. One respondent said: 'It means suffering, and I see it as suffering because the roof is damaged. The whole house is a mess. And I am tired. My children need to attend to this house.'

The emphasis on the intergenerational nature of home is evident from the need for children to attend to the poor quality of the house.

Home is seen as the home for the immediate family and within a broader definition of household or family. Another made the repairs the responsibility of the government:

> I am not satisfied because when the wind blows ... Can you see that we have put stones on top of the roof? Whenever they register us for elections, they always ask about this house. And I always tell them that it is not okay. Those people who built this house did not use cement. It is falling apart.

This comment reflects on government failure, in contrast to other respondents' appreciation of the government for providing them with a home. We also coded one response that associated the negative perception with family disputes about the house.

4.4 Security

Nearly 13 per cent of the codes reflected the role of security in understanding home. Many issues were associated with the responses about security. There was a real fear of being homeless or living in an informal house. Respondents said that, if it were not for this specific home, 'I would be out on the streets' and 'If there were nowhere else to live, I would live in a shack'. One said that the house had enabled her to move out of a mud house. There was this issue of being sheltered from the elements. One respondent said: 'Even if it rains, we have a place where we can safely lay our heads down.' Security also meant having access to services, which historically were seldom available. Again, there was a reference to intergenerational issues, such as grandchildren's security. One respondent said that 'While it protects me, that is my safety and the safety of my children and myself'.

4.5 Ownership

Nearly 22 per cent of our codes were about the role of ownership in understanding home. The literature on place attachment emphasises the importance of ownership in developing place attachment and homeownership is an essential aspect of asset-based welfare policies.[47] Yet, we heard few reflections on title deeds and home ownership in the responses. In claiming that a house was theirs, respondents provided

47 Moser (1998) (n 32).

reasons other than legal ones. We identified three reasons: inheritance, government service provision and financial value.

Some respondents said that they had inherited the house from parents or grandparents, for example:

> My mother gave it to me. It is an inheritance that she gave me. I am proud of it because I did not move in here by force. My mother gave it to me.

> It's home to me because this stand belonged to my parents. So, after they passed on, we were then left here.

Both responses show that they automatically inherited their parents' houses or their parents gave them the house. The second respondent contrasts her inheritance with being forcefully removed under the apartheid state and emphasises the voluntary nature of settling in the house in Thaba 'Nchu. In some cases, respondents said the house was theirs because they had lived there a long time with parents or in-laws.

Some respondents considered that they had secure tenure, amounting to ownership because the government provided improved services (as mentioned above, there had been a considerable improvement in both Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu). For them, this was a sign that the government would not remove them.

One respondent ascribed a financial connotation to the house when she said: 'If you have a property, it's the same as being a millionaire, so it's a huge achievement for me, but especially for my child, so that he can grow in his parent's home. It means a lot to me.'

This view of a house as a financial asset did not seem widespread. Only this one response showed that home meant financial value. When this respondent indicated financial value, she tried to express the power and certainty that accompany it.

4.6 Relaxation, personalisation, autonomy, comfort and front region

For these four discourses of home, we only coded nine responses. We think that we would hear much more of these discourses under normal circumstances. However, in the historical context of forced removals and channelled urbanisation, our respondents did not prioritise these aspects.

The one code for relaxation related to security issues, as one respondent said, 'I came in relaxed, not worried that people might attack or kill me at

night. It was a joyful atmosphere' and 'this house brings me pleasure'. It primarily is the reference to a joyful atmosphere that presents the notion of relaxation well. We were surprised that we did not find more such responses. Closely related to relaxation, we coded several responses for personalisation. One respondent said, 'We worked hard to get this house to where it is. We enjoyed ourselves when we moved inside this house.' This also partly represents evidence of autonomy. We also coded only one response about comfort when a respondent said that 'I stay nicely here' ('stay' being a South Africanism for 'live' or 'reside'), this being with reference to the amenities available in the house.

Two responses concerned feelings of autonomy. These respondents related stories about the freedom that the house gave them and about having built the house themselves. One of the respondents summarised it in the following words: 'Remember if you do something for yourself, you are satisfied.' In our view, these responses stand in stark contrast to the negative and instrumental aspects discussed earlier. Finally, we heard only one remark about community and neighbours: One respondent said that her neighbours like her.

4.7 Other elements of home

We coded a few responses that reflected the insecurity of tenure associated with the home. We coded three responses expressing an appreciation of the government for providing the home. One respondent referred to this, saying:

> I love it because at least the government provided us with free houses. Unlike in the olden days, we have water, toilets and electricity. So, this house means a lot to me because I could move out of that mud house and into a proper house.

The appreciation for the response from the post-apartheid government is clear from the above quote. This appreciation contrasts with responses that valued autonomy and their work in building a house.

4.8 Assets and place attachment

Responses to the question about home show there is only limited reference to housing as an economic asset. However, asset-building elements did emerge from both phases of interviews. Most of these reflect

how Moser[48] conceptualised assets. The emotional responses associated with home mainly point to the importance of the stability these homes in Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu have brought. In line with Moser's thinking, this shows that housing creates stability even in a location with only moderate economic potential and that originated from forced removals. Most respondents referred to this stability in intergenerational terms by mentioning the value of their homes for their parents and their children. Respondents framed it as a place to which they can return or where they are safe. These reflections on housing as an asset are vital in understanding the stability these houses have provided. Although many younger people and working people have left the two towns to find work elsewhere, their ability to participate in the labour market resulted from the stability their parents received, ironically from forced removal. The high levels of out-migration and the larger number of older people and young children show that these towns perform the role of rural homes. The emotional value of the rural home is essential.

Our respondents' notions of home, coupled with the understanding of assets described above, have certainly created a level of place attachment. This place attachment certainly is closely associated with a house's stability in settlements created through forced removals. Our findings show that the following factors contribute to place attachment: the stability provided by the settlements in Thaba 'Nchu and Botshabelo, the security of tenure (in many cases supported by home ownership) and improved services.

5 Conclusion

We conducted this study to discover how people in these redirected settlements view home and whether that has any relevance to the concept of the right to the city. One the one hand, Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu provided people with stability and access. On the other hand, this stability and access was part of a process of disruption, and in that sense people remain excluded from the urban core. Yet, there is also evidence that the stability that has been created cannot be discarded. This social stability created through home is important. Two elements dominate their understanding of home: emotions and claims to ownership. The

48 Moser (2006) (n 32).

emphasis on these two elements originates from the history of forced removals and the lack of secure tenure. This stability has been created through housing assets and has created a degree of place attachment. This helps us to understand Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu in a post-apartheid context. Ironically, we found that place attachment has developed in an area with only moderate economic potential. Large portions of the working class have already migrated out of the area for that reason. The security provided through home ownership has provided the foundation to the right to the city. Yet, it is only the first step. Continued spatial segregation will hinder this right to the city.

The mainstream criticism of these settlements has been of their poor location. The apartheid government was criticised for creating dormitory towns. The channelling of urbanisation away from the core urban areas prevented poor people from enjoying the economic benefits of the city. Their poor location meant lengthy commuting to places of employment. Consequently, post-apartheid policies have focused mainly on overcoming fragmentation and ensuring equality and integration. In the case of Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu, this has resulted in higher levels of services and home ownership which, together with the emotional component of home, have contributed to asset development and place attachment.

What does such a re-evaluation of the functional role of Botshabelo and Thaba 'Nchu mean for the future of these two places and the planning approach in the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality? The initial criticism of these places was that they were far away from economic opportunities and were dormitory towns. Although much of this remains valid, the evidence from this shows that this type of assessment is somewhat simplistic and does not consider the changing reality. For one, these places will not disappear and another forced removal is unlikely. Yet, those who wanted to migrate from the area have already done so and will continue to do so in future. We found substantial emotional feelings about 'home', indicating a high degree of place attachment. We think the evidence points to the importance of a rural home. This rural home is not necessarily directly attached to the core economic area of Bloemfontein and might have many links to areas across South Africa. Rural homes are also often second homes, if household members live part of the time at their place of work in the city. If our argument about the functional change of Botshabelo and Thaba

'Nchu is valid, we think that it also means that the planning language about these settlements should change. The planning approach should focus less on integration and more on accepting and valuing these rural homes. For example, connections are required to the rest of South Africa and not only to Bloemfontein. There might be a simple acceptance that these towns would not have major industries but that policy makers should pay attention to social services. Social and economic integration becomes less critical, but national links are crucial.

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