Seshego
An Unexpected Suburb

SACN Programme: CDS - Hidden Urbanities
Document Type: Research Report
Document Status: Draft 2
Date: 22 May 2015
## CONTENTS

List of figures .............................................. ii
List of tables ............................................. iii
List of boxes ............................................. iv

1 INTRODUCTION ........................................ 5

2 HISTORY .................................................. 5

3 POLICY CONSIDERATIONS AND PLANS ............... 6

4 POPULATION ATTRIBUTES AND TRENDS ............ 7
   4.1 Population and household growth ............... 7
   4.2 Population pyramids ............................. 9
   4.3 Migration .......................................... 10
   4.4 Poverty and household income ................... 11
   4.5 Unemployment .................................... 12
   4.6 Synthesis ......................................... 13

5. HOUSING AND SERVICES .............................. 13
   5.1 Infrastructure .................................... 13
   5.2 Housing and services ............................ 15
   5.3 Education ........................................ 16
   5.4 Health care ....................................... 17
   5.5 Synthesis ......................................... 17

6. THE ECONOMY ......................................... 17
   6.1 Economic growth .................................. 17
   6.2 Structure of the economy ....................... 18
   6.3 Employment ..................................... 20
   6.4 Household expenditure ........................... 22
   6.5 Synthesis ......................................... 23

7. CONCLUSION ........................................... 23

Annexure A: Ward demarcation Polokwane Local Municipality 25
Annexure B: Population pyramids ............................. 26

8. Bibliography .......................................... 27
List of figures

Figure 1: Population of selected areas, 1996, 2001, and 2011 8
Figure 2: Number of households of selected areas, 1996, 2001, and 2011 8
Figure 3: Index of GDP-R in selected areas, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2011, and 2013 (1996=100) 18
Figure 4: Distribution of GVA across the nine sectors in selected areas, 2013 19
Figure 5: Distribution of formal employment in selected areas, 2013 20
Figure 6: Index of formal employment in selected areas, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2011, and 2013 (1996=100) 21
List of tables

Table 1: Share of households per broad annual income category in Pietersburg MD and Seshego MD compared to the national average, 1996 and 2013
List of boxes

No table of figures entries found.
1 INTRODUCTION

Seshego was used as the interim capital when Lebowa was first declared as self-governing in 1971. Due to the settlement's proximity to the white town of Pietersburg (now called Polokwane) it was further developed, under Regulation 293 of 1962 of South Africa and the regulations for the administration and control of townships of the Lebowa government, into a growth point and labour sending areas for Pietersburg. However, Seshego was located significantly closer to its white urban area than other R293 towns (roughly 10km from centre to centre). Due to its relatively favourable location and the directed efforts of the municipality, subsequent developments have seen significant integration of Seshego and Polokwane. A subsidized bus service was never implemented in the area due to the close proximity of Seshego to, then, Pietersburg. A Bus Rapid Transit Route is, however, currently being developed to link the two areas more effectively. The short distance between Polokwane City and Seshego and the role that Seshego played as the "black township area of Pietersburg" are seen to have contributed to the fact that Seshego is firmly integrated into the Polokwane City area. Local legislation, policy and plans that have strategically targeted the areas between Polokwane City and Seshego for industrial development (and some housing components) have also enabled further linkages between the two areas. The Seshego case study suggests that the proximity of a location to the urban core is important. In the Seshego case, infill was also more easily implemented because of the distance between the two locations. The methodology used in this study included a desk top study and analysis of data for the Polokwane area, a review of the literature and a review of media reports. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with various officials within local government departments (Economic Planning and Development, Local Economic Development and Integrated Development Planning), property developers, business people, community leaders and NGOs. Interviews were also held with 2 local ward councillors. In depth interviews were held with 5 Seshego households.

2 HISTORY

The newly-elected National Party introduced a new format of local government for the black population after 1948. This was the Bantu Authorities Act, No. 68 of 1951. Under this Act the former Lebowa homeland was created (Donaldson, 2001). The Lebowa Government, in 1962, declared regulations for the administration and control of townships (Donaldson, 2001). Seven farms near Pietersberg were chosen for use in developing a black township called Moletsie. This name was soon changed to Seshego and it was made the interim capital (Donaldson, 2001). Seshego, which developed near Pietersberg, allowed for the permanent residence of migrant workers and laborers employed in white areas. It accomodated black people who were forcibly removed from Pietersberg and other white areas (Donaldson, 2001). The proclaimed towns in Lebowa (such as Seshego) never developed into full municipalities and did not have substantial local government organisational structures (Donaldson 2001). Towns had a superintendent but no councilors. This stunted development planning and economic growth. Seshego was formally a homeland-border township and a growth point neighboring Pietersburg but was not formally declared an industrial growth point in any way (as had happened in formal Pietersburg the 1970s). Seshego was set out in eight zones. The townscape resembled other South African townships featuring numerous homogenous houses and few amenities (Donaldson, 2001). The
Pietersburg/Seshego complex had established itself as a core regional service function by the beginning of the 1990s. Activities included manufacturing, construction, retail, storage, business services etc. The Local Government Transition Act provided for the amalgamation and restructuring of separated black and white local governments. Seshego was integrated into Pietersburg during the transition period between apartheid and democracy. This took place a lot earlier than other integration processes (1995) which has given Seshego a ‘head start’. Pietersburg and Seshego were only effectively promulgated as a single city as from 16 January 1995. Various arrangements had to be made including the transfer of the assets, rights, and liabilities of the current Seshego local government body to the Transitional Local Council (TLC), and the supply of services, including any subsidies. The area benefited from the availability of laborers and the potential for industrial development between the two areas. Seshego has profited from the status of Pietersburg but still experiences a number of problems also experienced in other former homeland towns (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 2000).

A significant body of work emphasising the relatively high levels of post-apartheid desegregation of homeownership in Polokwane exists, largely led by the efforts of Donaldson and co-authors (Donaldson & Kotze, 2006; Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999a; Kotze, 1999; Kotze & Donaldson, 1996; 1998). Local governance during and after transition (De Villiers & Kalema, 2005; Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999b; 2000) and illegal immigrants (Mokoele, 2012; Sebola, 2011) has also enjoyed some attention. Although the primary focus of the works are, for the most part, on formerly white Polokwane or the greater Polokwane Local Municipality (LM), the relationship of the areas with Seshego and the surrounding traditional areas are occasionally addressed. Some works also address Seshego and the dispersed traditional surrounds directly, referencing local governance (Donaldson, 2001) household resource management (Donaldson & Boshoff, 2001), urban-rural migration and informal settlement (Chidi, 2011), and racial identity and space in Polokwane - current (Donaldson, 2005) and historical (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1998). Also of note is a 2014 study of Polokwane as an intermediate city in the South African urban hierarchy commissioned by the South African Cities Network (2014).

3 POLICY CONSIDERATIONS AND PLANS

Various policies and plans have been enacted in the area. These include the Limpopo Employment, Growth and Development Plan (LEGDP) which has targeted areas such as Polokwane City and the corridor area between it and Seshego. Of particular importance in the history of the Seshego/Polokwane City development was the National Spatial Development Perspective (NSDP) (Presidency, 2006). It was the primary spatial lens used by policymakers in their view of socio-economic development. The Local Government Transition Act allowed for the amalgamation and the restructuring of the racially separated local governments. This led to deracialisation (but not necessarily desegregation) in terms of informal urban businesses. The Development Facilitation Act (DFA) required local authorities to formulate Land Development Objectives (LDOs) that would spatially integrate existing segregated urban areas and promote the development of efficient and compact cities. Spatial structuring (post 1990) was largely driven by the constitution that required that half of the wards of Polokwane had to be delimited in areas that previously fell under white local authorities and coloured and Indian Management Committees. The other 50% constituted traditionally black local authorities; rural, peri-urban areas; and neglected areas such as informal settlements. The Transitional Local Government demarcation, then Pietersburg, into 14 wards on a 50/50 basis that represented originally segregated geographical areas. The Land Development Objectives of the time subdivided development areas into Strategic Development and Functional Development Areas. The corridor area between Seshego and (then) Pietersburg was regarded as a core Strategic Development Area. The route between Seshego and (then)
Pietersburg was identified as an Integration Corridor that promoted the use of public transport and integrated transport systems as well as high density residential dwellings and mixed use developments.

More recently, the Integrated Development Plan for the larger Polokwane area has mapped out core development targets which include the linkage of Polokwane City and Seshego through infill of the corridor region and the promotion of integrated transport networks better the two areas (such as the Bus Rapid Transit system currently under construction. Linked to this is the Spatial Development Framework. This is a key land use management system (along with the Town Planning Schemes or Land Use Schemes). It promotes spatial development that links previously isolated urban spaces such as Seshego. The SDF addressed issues such as managing urban sprawl, spatial densification and infill as well as urban integration and an improved transport system.

4 POPULATION ATTRIBUTES AND TRENDS

This section will highlight demographic and migration data of interest in Polokwane LM, with special focus on historical Seshego, the corridor area between Seshego and Polokwane, and the traditional areas of Polokwane.

4.1 Population and household growth

Figure 1 below gives an overview of the population size of Seshego and the corridor area compared to traditional Polokwane from the censuses in 1996, 2001, and 2011. Population growth in Polokwane LM averaged 2.7% p.a. between 1996 and 2011 (3.7% between 1996 and 2001 and 2.2% between 2001 and 2011). After initially following the municipal growth trajectory between 1996 and 2001, growth in Seshego stagnated between 2001 and 2011 (at 0.4% p.a.), likely due to the available space in the historic wards being filled to capacity. Traditional Polokwane showed similar stagnation for the whole period between 1996 and 2011, averaging 0.9% p.a., likely due to the desirability of the area relative to alternate locations like Seshego and the corridor. The only wards in traditional Polokwane to show growth above that of the municipal average were Ward 10 (just north of Seshego, averaging 3.3% p.a. between 1996 and 2011) and Ward 27 (just south of Mankweng, averaging 6.1% p.a. between 1996 and 2011). The corridor area showed significant growth on the other hand, growing 22.6% p.a. between 1996 and 2001 and 11.1% p.a. between 2001 and 2011. Other areas (not under consideration here) that also exhibited very strong growth between 1996 and 2011 include wards in formerly white Polokwane and urban Mankweng. The general pattern is then of growth in available areas close to economic activities.

1 This section makes use of ward delimited census (1996, 2001, and 2011) data from Statistics South Africa. Unless indicated otherwise, the areas of comparison are the Polokwane LM along with three subareas delineated according to the wards in the 2011 demarcation (reconciled by Statistics South Africa). ‘Seshego’ is identified as the urban area of historical Seshego (wards 11-13, 17, and 37). The ‘corridor’ comprises the area between the historical areas of Polokwane and Seshego that have seen targeted development to join the two areas (wards 8, 14, and 19). ‘Traditional Polokwane’ encompasses the (predominantly) traditional authority wards in the Polokwane LM (wards 1-5, 7, 9, 10, 15, 16, 18, 24, 27-31, 33-36, and 38). For a ward demarcation map of the area around Seshego and Polokwane see Annexure A.

2 An urban area associated with the Turfloop campus of the University of Limpopo.
As is the case in the rest of South Africa, household formation in Polokwane LM outpaced population growth, averaging 5.0% p.a. between 1996 and 2011. Household formation in Seshego initially outpaced the municipal average between 1996 and 2001 (10.4% p.a.) before stagnating (0% p.a.). Household formation in traditional Polokwane, positive (averaging 3.0% p.a. between 1996 and 2011) despite population stagnation (likely indicting relief of pent-up housing pressure and growing affluence), was below municipal average. Given the strong population growth in the corridor between 1996 and 2001, the strong rate of household formation (34.6% p.a.) is unsurprising. However, household formation between 2001 and 2011 (10.9% p.a.) fell slightly below population growth (11.1% p.a.). Due to the number of households in traditional Polokwane and the absence of household formation in Seshego between 2001 and 2011, the increase in the total number of households in traditional Polokwane is roughly equal to the increase in the total number of households in Seshego and the corridor area combined. Household formation is then, to a significant extent, dependent on existing pressure on households. Figure 2 below summarises the number of households.

While the average household size for Seshego and the corridor area were roughly equal in 1996 (4.5), it fell more dramatically towards 2001 in the corridor area (to 2.8) than in Seshego (3.3), likely due to the significantly stronger influx of youths and subsequent household formation by young adults (with Seshego hosting relatively more established families). Towards 2011 both areas increased their average
household size by 0.1. Traditional Polokwane has been steady in the reduction of its household size, from 5.3 in 1996, to 4.6 in 2001, and to 3.9 in 2011. This combination of household formation resulting from pressure on existing households and formation due to new immigrants placed significant pressure on the delivery of services, as will become more evident in Section Error! Reference source not found..

4.2 Population pyramids

Looking at the population pyramid\(^3\) of Polokwane LM it becomes clear that there has been a noticeable ‘bulging’ of the working aged population. The most significant drop in the share of the population has been amongst the age groups 10-14 and 5-9, and 0-4 years (in order of magnitude). While the age group 15-19 years have fluctuated, there have been noticeable increases in the share of the population in all age groups between 20 and 74 years. This trend is more pronounced amongst males.

The population pyramids of Seshego, the corridor and traditional Polokwane shows several significant differences. The growth in the share of the working age population is most strongly represented in the corridor area amongst those in the age groups 20-24, 25-29, and 30-34 (stronger for males than females) and, secondly, amongst males in the 20-24 and 25-29 age categories in Seshego. In traditional Polokwane the growth is distributed amongst all aged over 25 (with a significantly larger share of the population aged above 60 years compared to other areas).

Between 1996 and 2001 the strongest average per annum growth was amongst males aged 25-29 years in the corridor area (35.6% p.a.), while the strongest contraction was for females aged 75-79 years in traditional Polokwane (-3.0% p.a.). Between 2001 and 2011 the strongest average per annum growth in numbers was amongst males aged 20-24 years in the corridor area (16.8% p.a.), while the largest contraction was for females aged over 85 years in traditional Polokwane (-3.3% p.a.).

Also of note is the contraction of the population aged between 5 and 14 years in Seshego and traditional Polokwane between 2001 and 2011 (by as much as -3.0% p.a. for males aged between 5-9 years), while the same age group continued to grow in the corridor area (as high as 9.2% p.a. for males aged 10-14 years)

While part of the population aging is a reflection of reduced fertility rates, a significant part of this is then related to population migration, especially those of working age looking to take part in the economy of the area. This is especially evident by the growth amongst males aged 24-29 years in the population changes. Possible reasons for the increase in the male population aged 24 – 29 may be the movement of the population from neighbouring traditional areas back to Seshego for work and tertiary study purposes. The increase might also be attributed to migratory movements of young men moving to South Africa from Botswana, Zimbabwe etc.to find work opportunities. The implication of this is that more single young men now need accommodation, services and work in the area. This is evidenced is some of the local housing development types seen in the Seshego area and discussed in the housing section.

\(^3\) See Annexure B for the population pyramids
4.3 Migration

In 1996 92% of residents in traditional Polokwane, 73% in Seshego, and 55% in the corridor area have always lived in the current residence or moved there more than five years prior to the census. By 2011 99% of residents in traditional Polokwane, 98% in Seshego, and 93% in the corridor area have always lived in their current residence or moved there more than five years prior to the census. This indicates that there had been significant stabilisation in the population.

Where an individual had moved to their current residence from within South Africa in the five years prior to or the year of the census, they were most likely to have moved from somewhere else in Limpopo (though this share declined dramatically between 1996 and 2011 - for Seshego from 96.7% to 66.9% - indicating that the sending areas were growing increasing further afield), followed by the provinces of Gauteng (between three and 22 times the share of the next highest province), Mpumalanga, and North West (see Figure 3 for numbers from outside/inside Limpopo Province).

![Figure 3: Immigrants from within South Africa to selected areas, 1996, 2001, 2011](image)

Tracking of immigrants from outside South Africa was only successfully administered in the 2011 census. In 2011, immigrants from outside South Africa made up 86.0% of all immigrants (in the five years prior to or the year of the 2011 census) moving to traditional Polokwane, 85.3% of all immigrants moving to

---

4 The data on migration is drawn from place designated census data that was not reconciled by Statistics South Africa (but by the authors) as the migration information is not available from the ward delimited data set. The comparisons across years are not as precise as the ward delimited data (due to changes in place designation but also due to changes in how the questions were asked), though still useful for highlighting broad trends.

5 While investigated in 1996, implausibly few immigrants from outside South Africa where enumerated. Given the controversial nature of immigrants in South Africa in general and the area in particular, questions around the accuracy of the data remain.
Seshego, and 78.4% of all immigrants moving to the corridor area. In absolute terms the majority of immigrants from outside South Africa settled in the corridor area (3792), followed by traditional Polokwane (2559). The Southern African Development Community is the most prominent region of birth among immigrants not born in South Africa (with a few also enumerated from the rest of Africa and Asia). Though specific countries were not captured, Zimbabwe is more than likely the country of origin for the majority of immigrants in the five years prior to or the year of the 2011 census. The presence of foreigners in the area has historically been a contentious issue (Mokoele, 2012; Sebola, 2011), with xenophobic violence in Seshego noted in news reports in 2011 (Louw-Carstens, 2011). This was also noted during the household interviews. A number of respondents commented that most crime incidents were directed at foreigners, mostly Zimbabweans. Said Community Member 1: “You can tell they are foreigners by their accent, they are a target in this community”. Community Member 4 said: “They (the criminals) tend to only rob foreigners, there are lots of foreigners around”

4.4 Poverty and household income

While poverty levels amongst black people were increasing between 1996 and 2001, both nationally (from 43.3% in 1996 to 45.7% in 2001) as well as in Seshego Magisterial District (MD) (from 55.0% in 1996 to 60.0% in 2001), poverty in Pietersburg MD was declining (from 48.9% in 1996 to 44.2% in 2001). This was likely due to the influx of middle class black families into the formerly white areas of Polokwane. The reduction in poverty in Pietersburg MD continues up to 2011 (down to 36%) before a slight uptick towards 2013 (to 37.7%). Poverty reduction nationally and in Seshego MD occurred at a slightly faster pace (dropping to 27.7% nationally in 2011, below the levels of Pietersburg MD; and to 49.3% in Seshego MD in 2011). While national poverty levels remained steady towards 2013 (27.9%), it continued to decline in Seshego MD (down to 47.5%). Income levels were commented on by those interviewed during household interviews. Community Member 3 remarked: “we see lots of rich people in Seshego now, there are people with nice houses and big cars” another (Community Member 1) said “we see more shops and more businesses, people are making money”. The increase in wealth has, however, not been experienced by all. Some business owners complained that bigger businesses (such as large retailers) are taking over much of the business as people prefer to shop at the big “fancy” shops. Household interviews also reflected the fact that people rely on grants and multiple sources of (often) informal income (discussed later). Table 1 below illustrates that, while household income in Seshego MD was overall lower than the national average in 1996, by 2013 it had surpassed the national average. Pietersburg MD extended its lead over the national average and Seshego MD. Reduction in the R0-R30 000 income category outpaced the national level for both Pietersburg MD as well as Seshego

---

6 This subsection is based on data from Global Insight’s REx Database using magisterial district demarcation. The ‘Pietersburg MD’ includes all of formerly white Polokwane (including the farming areas) along with what has been designated as the ‘corridor’ area elsewhere in the report. The ‘Seshego MD’ includes urbanised Seshego as well as the traditional areas north west of Polokwane. There are two problems for interpretation of data in this format for the report: first, urbanised Seshego is conflated with the rural areas that are relatively undeveloped and remote from the economic opportunities of formerly white Polokwane; second, much of the post 1994 growth, that is otherwise centrally located between the historical areas of Seshego and Pietersburg/Polokwane, are conflated with growth in the historically (exclusionary) white area and the less accessible developments south west of Polokwane. As this is however the only format in which economic data is available at sub-place level, its use is justified.
MD, while increase in the R42 000-R72 000 income category in Seshego MD outpaced Pietersburg MD and national levels.

Table 1: Share of households per broad annual income category in Pietersburg MD and Seshego MD compared to the national average, 1996 and 2013

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Category</th>
<th>National average</th>
<th>Pietersburg MD</th>
<th>Seshego MD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R0-R30 000</td>
<td>74.3%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>74.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R30 000-R42 000</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R42 000-R72 000</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;R72 000</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.5 Unemployment

With the exception of Seshego in 2001, official unemployment (of those aged between 15 and 59 years) in Seshego and the corridor area is generally lower than is the case for Polokwane LM overall. This can largely be attributed to the high levels of unemployment in traditional Polokwane (50.3% in 1996, 55.3% in 2001, and 46.4%, in 2011) raising the municipal average. Unemployment in Seshego was 30.6% in 1996, 43.4% in 2001, and 30.1% in 2011 (roughly in line with national trends). In the corridor area unemployment was lower, though rising - 9.6% in 1996, 29.3% in 2001, and 26.0% in 2011 – likely due to the effects of significant in-migration.

Over half of the population aged 15 to 59 years in traditional Polokwane (low of 50.1% in 2011 and high of 54.4% in 2001) and around a third of Seshego (low of 32.6% in 2001 and high of 37.3% in 1996) and the corridor area (low of 28.3% in 2001 and high of 34.0% in 1996) are currently listed as not economically active (including discouraged work-seekers). This section of the population represents latent pressure on unemployment levels should economic expectations rise and they re-enter the job market.

Household interviews remarked on the unemployment in the area. A number of the respondents mentioned that young people in particular were unemployed and spent most of their time in informal part time employment situations. This was blamed for drug and alcohol abuse as well as crime rated in the area. Community Member 2 commented that “Young people are not working, some have Matric and some have more education but they cannot find jobs. Many go to the city (Polokwane) to find work but they don’t find it”. Those interviewed did mention the fact that many unemployed people start their own businesses in Seshego. This is discussed later in this document.

7 These categories reflect nominal values. Accordingly, some of the growth in income is attributable to inflation, rather than increases in wealth.
4.6 Synthesis

Population growth in the corridor area was very high - at its peak, between 1996 and 2001, population increased by nearly a quarter p.a. Comparatively, historical Seshego and traditional Polokwane showed very little increase. When taken with strong growth in formerly white Polokwane and Mankweng, it becomes clear that population growth is concentrated in the areas closest to economic opportunities. The population increases were also visible in the shifting population pyramids of the areas, with a significant increase in the share of the population of working age in all areas, but especially strong in the area of most intense in-migration – the corridor area. This further suggests that immigrants are looking for employment. The majority of South African migrants were moving from other areas within the Limpopo province. The most recent census bore witness to a significant foreign born population among recent (2006-2011) immigrants. There appears to be general indications of poverty reduction and improvements in household incomes, though Seshego MD was lagging behind both Pietersburg MD as well as the national average. The unemployment rate in Seshego and traditional Polokwane were generally lower in 2011 than in 1996, though high levels of in-migration has meant a significant concurrent increase in unemployment in the corridor area.

5. HOUSING AND SERVICES

This section will look at the situation regarding infrastructure, housing and service delivery.

5.1 Infrastructure

The Polokwane SDF shows Seshego’s direction of growth to be towards the North East/East and the South West. Seshego was developed through proclamation R293, and the current integration was done through the provision of Town Planning and Township Ordinance, Ordinance 15 of 1986. A development proposal was introduced by the Strategic Development Area (SDA) 1 which aimed to integrate Seshego and the Town (Polokwane CBD). The Plan was successful in terms of addressing the gap between the areas.

The corridor area between Seshego and Polokwane still has almost 3km of empty space, though some industrial activities are happening on the outskirts of Polokwane towards Seshego. The corridor area between Seshego and Polokwane City has been regarded as an important Strategic Development Area. Various mixed-use developments are encouraged such as recreation, accommodation, tourism, offices and retail (to a limited extent), particularly along areas leading into Polokwane city. Housing development have been built and are planned for areas bordering the N1. The local municipality has argued that the proximity of Seshego to Polokwane City will mean that areas will benefits from more affluent neighbourhoods in adjacent areas and from local facilities and amenities provided to high- and low-income residents.

Nelson Mandela Drive is the main arterial road linking Polokwane and Seshego. There is major construction happening along this road in preparation for the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system which is being put in place. The BRT will link the Polokwane CBD and Seshego along Nelson Mandela Drive. This is expected to have a number of spin offs including promoting the economy of Seshego and enabling better linkages between the two areas. The Polokwane Municipality has prepared its Integrated Transport Plan (done in 2007) and has been reviewed in line with the National Land Transport Transitional Act as a strategic transport plan. 2009 saw the development of the Integrated Urban Realm and Movement Plan for Polokwane Municipality (IURMP). Its objective was to provide a strategic overview of the movement
patterns for pedestrians and public transport. The municipality has also prepared an Operational Plan for the implementation of the Public Transport Strategy. This has been done in terms of the Integrated Rapid Public Transport Network (IRPTN). It is reported that most people work in Polokwane and commute between Seshego and Polokwane daily. Household interviews reflected the excitement about the BRT. Community Member 2 commented that “The new transport system will help us access jobs” another mentioned the fact that they were looking to the BRT to replace having to use dangerous and expensive taxis between Polokwane City and Seshego. Some however mentioned their frustration at the slow pace that the BRT was being constructed and were sceptical that it would be cheaper or more reliable.

The Neighbourhood Development Partnership Grant is an important part of the development taking place in Seshego. It has been mobilised to unlock the economic potential of the area. The projects funded by the Grant focus particularly on infrastructure (expanding and improving) as well as encouraging businesses and investment. The municipality has invested heavily in electricity, roads and water upgrades (including upgrading and widening the road to Seshego Circle. The municipality is currently refurbishing the Seshego waste water treatment plant. There is a general feeling among residents, NGOs, businesses and councillors that there have been significant improvements in infrastructure. The building of the new reservoir has helped the area with water supply. Most of Seshego has water and electricity.

There has been clear pressure of immigrants and household formation (both from immigrants as well as movement from within the city) on the existing infrastructure. Seshego generally showed at least some recovery after initial decline and the corridor area also showed initial strong declines followed by further stagnation or minor recovery. It should however be noted that traditional Polokwane, on the other hand, showed steady improvements despite significant new household formation. The effect of disproportional increases of informal housing units in the corridor area – compared to Seshego and traditional Polokwane – then seems to be the stronger influence (more on this in Section 5.2).

The share of households in traditional Polokwane with access to water either inside or close to the yard increased between 1996 and 2001 (from 60.2% to 67.1%), more significant improvement in the share of households with access to water in the yard was recorded between 2001 and 2011 (up to 85.7%), with a further 7.6% of households having access in the home by 2011. In Seshego and the corridor area the number of households with no water access has always remained very low (generally between 0.3% and 2.4%), though the number of households with access to water inside the house dropped between 1996 and 2001 (from 67.1% to 31.4% in Seshego and from 93.0% to 39.4% in the corridor), before showing some recovery towards 2011 (to 55.1% in Seshego and 47.1% in the corridor).

Similarly there was a reduction of flush toilets in Seshego (from 80.4% to 63.2% of households) and the corridor area (95.2% to 71.1%) between 1996 and 2001, though the recovery between 2001 and 2011 has been better in Seshego (89.3%) than in the corridor area (75.5%). Little change was seen and pit latrines continue to dominate in traditional Polokwane (88.4% of households in 2011). The same pattern was also evident for use of electricity for lighting, initially falling in Seshego (from 59.2% to 52.8%) and the corridor area (94.5% to 61.0%) between 1996 and 2001, before recovery towards 2011 (up to 91.8%)

---

8 An apparent data anomaly in the Census 2001 data saw a reduction of 4595 households with water access inside the dwelling and an increase of 4898 households with no access.
in Seshego, but only 68.8% in the corridor). Traditional Polokwane however saw consistent improvements (doubling from 29.3% in 1996 to 60.2% in 2001 further to 83.4% in 2011).

The municipality is anticipating the need to establish, improve and expand bulk infrastructure, schools and hospitals in Seshego in response to the growing population. Councillors reported that the older parts of Seshego are not being developed as fast as the new areas such as Zone 5 and Zone 8 (the corridor). There is general consensus that growth and development is focused on new areas of Seshego. There are a number of new developments underway in the area including the construction of churches and new housing developments. A number of other important developments are the Seshego Hospital and the large Recreational/Community Centre. There are a number of parks for recreational purposes which are used heavily during weekends. These parks are in Zones 1, 2 and 4. These developments are designed for use by local residents and, in some ways, assist in making Seshego a legitimate urban area that is growing and providing both soft and hard services to the local population. The IDP has identified Seshego as an area of growth and development. The rapid increase in the population has also alerted the local municipality to the fact that Seshego is an important, growing urban space that requires development and service provision. Most new developments have been financed through government departments but a number of private enterprises have emerged within Seshego as well. Partnerships between government and the private sector are evident, particularly with regards to housing (discussed in the next section).

5.2 Housing and services

There are a number of new housing structures being built and many people are extending and improving their dwelling. This is also shown in the number of formal and informal building supply businesses in Seshego. These businesses supply stone, sand, gates, bricks, construction/building equipment hire etc. Some businesses provide services such as drawing up building plans etc.

These improvements are, to some extent, reflected in the census data. The average number of rooms per house has increased in traditional Polokwane from 4.1 in 1996, to 4.2 in 2001, and further to 4.8 in 2011. Seshego saw an initial decrease, from an average of 3.8 rooms in 1996 to 3.4 in 2001, before increasing to an average of 4.0. This can likely be ascribed to the initial increase in the number of households in the area between 1996 and 2001 before household formation stagnated between 2001 and 2011, allowing for consolidation. A similar - though more pronounced and sustained - pattern of decline in household size was evident in the corridor area from 1996 to 2011. Having originally comprised established housing in the formerly coloured (Westenburg) and Indian (Nirvana) suburbs, and a formerly white (Ivy Park) suburb (along with non-residential areas), the area had an average of 5.4 rooms per housing unit in 1996. Due to dramatic in-migration and household formation the average fell dramatically to 3.7 rooms in 2001 and further to 3.2 rooms in 2011. In-migration and household formation has had similar effects on housing provision and delivery of water, sanitation, and electricity.

The upgrade to formal dwellings in traditional Polokwane has been steady since 1996, from 74.3% of households to 82.2% in 2001 and 91.9% in 2011. Much of this seems to be replacing traditional dwellings (numbering 8856 in 1996, 5209 in 2001, 1508 in 2011), with the number of informal dwellings remaining more or less steady (5460 in 1996, 6956 in 2001, and 5614 in 2011). Seshego initially saw a minor reduction in the share of formal dwellings (from 67.7% in 1996 to 61.7% in 2001), before seeing

---

9 The data on the number of rooms is drawn from place designated Census data from Statistics South Africa.
significant improvement (increasing to 91.9%). The corridor area on the other hand has seen consistent decline, falling from 99.1% of households in 1996 to 73.4% in 2001 and 70.9% in 2011.

There are a number of informal settlement areas but most shacks are sparsely placed and exist on the outskirts of Seshego, in the corridor area (though some informal settlements are in Seshego itself). According to the interviews the informal settlements are built and occupied mostly by young people who have moved to Seshego for work\(^\text{10}\) or by foreigners who are just beginning their urban journey in South Africa\(^\text{11}\). Of particular interest (and mentioned by the Municipality) is the increase in the number of students in Seshego and the related need for student accommodation. There is an increasing studentification of some parts of Seshego as residential space is turned into student communes. There is an increasing need for student accommodation in Seshego. A number of stands have started to build multiple dwellings on their properties to accommodate either single men, small families or students (see photo below). These dwellings are rented out. There is also evidence of backyard shacks but this is not a very noticeable phenomenon. Households also mentioned noticing the increase in students and the increase in young people looking for accommodation.

The Seshego Community Residential Units development has been completed by the province and municipality in partnership with a private company. This social housing space has place for people to run small businesses in the front of the development. The development does not seem to have been occupied yet except for some small businesses operating in the space. Data shows that the housing market is thriving and housing sales are reported to be a (as is also suggested by the Real estate activities subsector in the economic profile) booming business but interestingly enough no “For Sale” signs or estate agents were observed in the area indicating a type of internal/informal system of transaction. There are a number of old hostels which have been turned into housing for families. There a number of well maintained, large houses in the area.

### 5.3 Education

The education profiles of Blacks aged 18-59 years in traditional Polokwane and Seshego have improved significantly. In traditional Polokwane the share of individuals with primary education or less reduced from 39.2% in 1996 to 17.4% in 2011. While the share of those with at least some secondary remain the largest share (up to 45.7% in 2011 from 42.6% in 1996), those who have completed matric have increased by 14.4 percentage points (to 29.3% in 2011) and those with higher qualifications by 4.3 percentage points (to 7.6% in 2011). Seshego has further reduced its relatively low share of individuals with primary education or less from 16.8% in 1996 to 7.8% in 2011. The share with some secondary education has fallen (from 37.4% in 1996 to 32.0% in 2011), with a slight uptick in completion of secondary education (from 33.6% in 1996 to 36.2 % in 2011). The most notable aspect however has been that the share of the population with higher qualifications has nearly doubled, from 12.2% in 1996 to 24.0% in 2011. High in-migration has seen significant fluctuation in education levels in the corridor area.

---

\(^{10}\) The average age of the head of household in the corridor area fell from 42 years to 37 years between 1996 and 2001 (remaining there up to 2011). In Seshego it fell from 43 years in 1996 to 42 years in 2001 before recovering to 43 years in 2011; while in traditional Polokwane it increased from 47 years in 1996 and 2001 to 49 years in 2011.

\(^{11}\) See Section 4.3.
with a drop in the share with higher education and an increase in the share with some or completed secondary education (the resulting profile is in line with Polokwane LM).

There are a number of tertiary institutions and training centres in Seshego. These include the large Capricorn FET College campus and the nearby “Sandton Technical College”. This has drawn a number of young people (post Grade 12) to the area. There are a number of youth education schemes in the Seshego, particularly focused on business and enterprise. There are 7 primary schools and only 2 high school/secondary schools in Seshego. There are no plans for any new high schools as there is perceived to be little demand. There are numerous pre-schools and day care centres in the area.

5.4 Health care

There are numerous health care services offered in Seshego. These include: Dentists, Optometrists, Physiotherapists, Psychologists and General Practitioners (including Pharmacies). Blood donation vehicles collecting blood at the local shopping centre were even observed. There are both home based surgeries and medical centres. Seshego hospital is an important part of the community and offers health care services to numerous residents in the area. It is reported that all Zones of Seshego now have 24 hour clinics.

5.5 Synthesis

While high levels of in-migration and household formation initially placed pressure on infrastructure, housing, and service delivery, recent gains have been visible in improved housing conditions and services.

6. THE ECONOMY

This section looks at overall economic growth in terms of Gross Domestic Product, the structure of the economy in terms of Gross Value Added and employment, and household expenditure. Concerning the overall economy of Polokwane, a previous report (South African Cities Network, 2014) noted four drivers over the past two decades: Polokwane’s status as capital of Limpopo (resulted in provincial government departments as well as certain decentralised national government departments being located in Polokwane); Polokwane’s position as a regional and national shopping hub; the economic contribution of students at the University of Limpopo and branches of the University of South Africa (UNISA) and Tshwane University of Technology (TUT); and the establishment of a small but significant manufacturing base in the late 1980s. More recently, however, the manufacturing sector has not kept up with growth in other sectors and Transport has seen significant gains in its relative contribution to the economy (together with Trade underscoring the regional and cross-border importance of Polokwane).

6.1 Economic growth

The economy of the Pietersburg MD generally outperformed the national average (averaging 3.6% p.a. growth between 1996 and 2013 compared to 3.0% p.a. nationally). GDP-R grew 83.6% from

---

12 This section is based on data from Global Insight’s REx Database.
R10 757 572 257\textsuperscript{13} in 1996 to R19 747 596 789 in 2013. The economy of the Seshgo MD (average growth of 2.8% p.a.) lagged behind both Pietersburg MD and the national average. GDP-R grew 59.7% from R2 016 228 007\textsuperscript{14} to R3 219 397 101. Figure 4 below illustrates GDP-R in the two areas and the national total expressed as an index. Note that Pietersburg MD maintained the lead built up over the national total between 1996 and 2001 while Seshgo MD has lagged behind the national total on several occasions. However, it is noteworthy that Seshgo continued to show growth in GVA despite population stagnation in the area\textsuperscript{15}.

![Figure 4: Index of GDP-R in selected areas, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2011, and 2013 (1996=100)](image)

Due to the differences in population growth in the respective areas, GDP per capita grew 2.8% p.a. in Seshgo MD between 1996 and 2013, compared to a contraction of 1.0% p.a. for Pietersburg MD. This growth was however from a very low base (an increase from R5929\textsuperscript{16} per capita in 1996 to R9475 in 2013 for Seshgo MD compared to decline from R95 104 in 1996 to R79 835 in 2013 for Pietersburg MD).

### 6.2 Structure of the economy

The structure of the economy in Seshgo MD is highly concentrated, with a Tress index of 65.38 in 1996, increasing to 70.94 in 2001, and remaining high up to 2013 (70.88). Community services remains the single largest contributor of Gross Value Added (GVA) to the economy (42.2% in 2013, having been 50.5% in 2001), followed by Finance (33.3% in 2013, up from 29.5% in 1996). These two sectors made

---

\textsuperscript{13} 2005 constant prices  
\textsuperscript{14} 2005 constant prices  
\textsuperscript{15} Population in Seshgo MD stagnated between 1996 and 2013 (falling just below 1996 levels in 2013) while Pietersburg MD more than doubled its population.  
\textsuperscript{16} 2005 constant prices
up 75.5% of the economy in 2013 (compared to a contribution of 45.6% nationally) and 73.5% of all growth between 1996 and 2013 (compared to a national average of 45.3%). The third and fourth largest sectors are Transport and Trade, contributing 9.5% (up from 7.5% in 1996, though down from 10.1% in 2007) and 5.1% (down from 5.6% in 1996) respectively in 2013. In Pietersburg MD, the four largest sectors were, in order of GVA contribution: Community services (25.8%), Finances (20.5%), Transport (20.4%), and Trade (19.3%) - collectively contributing 86.0% to the economy of Pietersburg MD. Figure 5 illustrates the relative contribution of the nine sectors nationally, in Pietersburg MD, and Seshego MD for 2013.

![Figure 5: Distribution of GVA across the nine sectors in selected areas, 2013](image)

The Real estate activities subsector constituted a highly significant share of the Finance sector in the Seshego MD economy - 92.2% in 2013 (up from 85.5% in 2001). Surprisingly, the Real estate activities subsector was significantly larger in absolute terms in Seshego MD than in Pietersburg MD (where the subsector constituted 13.0% of the sector), R1 361 440 624 compared to R786 764 36817, indicating significantly greater investment in the property market. The Community services sector in Seshego MD is also highly concentrated in the Education subsector, constituting 66.5% of the sector in 2013 (down slightly from 69.5% of the sector in 1996). The subsector saw GVA of R1 349 096 157 in Seshego MD, compared to R1 828 366 261 in Pietersburg MD (where it constituted 22.3% of the sector). Together the Real estate activities and Education subsectors constitute 59.7% of the GVA contribution of the total economy of Seshego MD. The Public administration and defence activities subsector, the third largest subsector in the economy of Seshego MD, contributed GVA of R288 336 185. This was only 21.4% of the size of the contribution of the Education subsector, further illustrating the concentration of the economy.

Seshego Circle is the new main retail space in Seshego. Retailers housed in this space include grocery stores (Shoprite etc.), clothing stores (Edgars, Legit, Mr Price, Pep etc.), cell phone stores (MTN, 

17 Current (2013) prices
Vodacom etc.), banks (Capitec, FNB etc.) and furniture and household retailers (OK furniture, Sheet Street) which target middle class consumers. The Municipality reports that the shopping centre was needed in order to respond to the growing population of Seshego. There are a number of other shopping centres around Seshego including wholesale stores.

6.3 Employment

From the interviews it was suggested that most people work in Provincial Government Departments (including government service sectors such as health and social work (Seshego Hospital). The dominance of Community services in the economy of Seshego MD constitutes 32.5% of formal employment. The second dominating employer is the Trade sector, constituting 24.5% of formal employment by employing 6900. These two sectors contribute disproportionately compared to the distribution in Pietersburg MD, constituting 57.1% of formal employment (compared to 40.7% in Pietersburg MD). Other major employers, in order of contribution are; Finance (10.8%, down from 13.4% in 2007, though up from 6.8% in 2001), Households (9.8%, up from 5.6% in 2001), and Manufacturing (8.1%, down from 13.4% in 1996). These three are all below the shares of employment these sectors have in Pietersburg MD. Figure 6 illustrates the relative contribution of the nine sectors and households to formal employment nationally, in Pietersburg MD, and Seshego MD for 2013.

In terms of the number of formal employment opportunities, Seshego MD shed jobs at an average rate of 0.9% p.a. between 1996 and 2013 - declining from a gain of 2.9% p.a. between 1996 and 2001 to a loss of 16.5% p.a. between 2011 and 2013. This is especially stark when compared to growth averaging 7.3% p.a. between 1996 and 2013 in Pietersburg MD; from a low of 3.1% p.a. growth between 2007 and 2011 to a high of 18.1% p.a. between 2011 and 2013. The only sectors in Seshego MD not to see a net loss in formal employment opportunities between 1996 and 2013 where Agriculture (1.6% growth p.a.), Households (0.9% p.a.), Trade (0.8%.p.a.), and Transport (0.6% p.a.). Figure 7 below illustrates total formal employment in the two areas along with the national total as an index. Note that Pietersburg MD
has built up a significant lead compared to the national total while Seshego started lagging after 2001, dropping below the levels seen in 1996 towards 2013.

Figure 7: Index of formal employment in selected areas, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2011, and 2013 (1996=100)

Due to the strong growth in formal employment, Pietersburg MD has extended its employment opportunities beyond its resident economically active population (EAP), into Seshego MD. At its lowest in 2001 Pietersburg MD provided employment opportunities to 69.1% of its EAP (51 708 opportunities for an EAP of 74 855) and at its highest to 103.7% (109 415 opportunities for an EAP of 105 557). Seshego MD has fallen from providing employment opportunities to 55.6% of its EAP in 1996 to 32.5% in 2013. The net effect saw Polokwane LM following national trends and showing slight growth in its job opportunities to EAP share between 2001 and 2013 (from 58.4% to 64.9%, though not returning to the 72.4% seen in 1996).

After initially lagging between 1996 and 2007, informal employment opportunities expressed as a share of the EAP in Seshego MD had caught up to the national average by 2011 (12.4% versus 12.2%) and maintained that position towards 2013 (both at 12.0%). Informal employment grew by 7.0% p.a. (0.3% at its lowest between 2011 and 2013, 18.0% at its highest between 1996 and 2001) between 1996 and 2013 in Seshego MD (compared to 5.3% nationally). Both the national average and Seshego MD are however significantly behind Pietersburg MD, where 39.7% (up from 26.6% in 1996) of the EAP are represented by informal employment opportunities. Growth in informal employment in Pietersburg MD grew at an average of 8.3% p.a. (2.2% at its lowest between 2001 and 2007, 19.5% at its highest between 1996 and 2001) between 1996 and 2013. Joined with formal employment, there are a total of 151 307 employment opportunities in an economically active population of 105 557 in Pietersburg MD. Compared to Pietersburg MD, the informal employment opportunities in Seshego MD are significantly more likely to be in Trade (60.4% compared to 42.9%) and less likely to be in Construction (15.4% compared to 28.4%). Compared to the national total shares for informal employment opportunities in Finance and Transport, both Pietersburg MD and Seshego MD are underrepresented. This was also reflected in the interviews and observed during the site visit. Community Member 3 said “In Seshego you make a job you don't find a job”. Most resident involved in the informal sector run businesses such as: tyre services, car washed, internet cafés, telephone services, fax services, printing and photo copying, appliance repair, catering,
functions and function equipment hire (chairs, tents, crockery, cutlery, portable toilets), hair salons, kiosk’s and spaza shops, taverns, day care centres and security companies. On the outskirts of Seshego there are a number of trade and manufacturing businesses. People from Seshego hire the various warehouses/hangers to run their own businesses (including manufacturing, storage, panel beating, construction etc.). Residents have also been using open spaces and parts of their stands for small-scale agriculture (this is very popular). Crops grown include maize, potatoes and other vegetables. There are a number of people who run their own MTN, Vodacom, Cell C, 8ta kiosks that sell cell phones, sim cards and airtime to residents.

6.4 Household expenditure

Food and beverages continues to constitute the single largest share of total household expenditure in Seshego MD - indicating relative deprivation - though this has declined since 1996 (from 31.4% to 27.8%; compared to 19.5% in 1996 and 19.3% in 2013 for Pietersburg MD). Expenditure on accommodation – the second largest share of household expenditure – though showing similar increases to the national average, remains well below the national average (10.8% in 2013 compared to 13.4%). This is indicative of the area’s relative affordability. The share of total household expenditure devoted to public transport in Seshego MD (3.5% in 2013) was more than twice the share similarly devoted nationally (1.8%) and almost twice the share of expenditure in Pietersburg MD (1.7%), though it has seen significant reductions since 1996 (down from 4.5%). It is important to note that the higher expenditure share on public transport seems to be offset by reduced expenditure on accommodation. Private transport, while below that of Pietersburg MD (11.0% of household expenditure in 2013), have been trending upwards (from 4.7% in 1996 to 7.9% in 2013).

Growth in total household expenditure for Seshego MD was lower than was the case nationally and significantly lower than was the case in Pietersburg MD, though this was due to the stagnation in population of Seshego MD compared to significant growth in Pietersburg MD. After accounting for relative population growth (by expressing household expenditure per capita), Seshego exhibited faster growth (9.7% p.a. between 1996 and 2013, compared to 8.9% p.a. nationally and 8.6% p.a. in Pietersburg MD). The fastest growing expenditure categories were private transport (13.0% p.a.), medical (12.7% p.a.), education (12.5% p.a.), and housing (12.3% p.a.)

Compared to Pietersburg MD, Seshego had significantly faster growth in expenditure on private transport (13.0% p.a. compared to 8.6% p.a.), restaurants (9.8% p.a. compared to 7.1% p.a.), housing (12.3% p.a. compared to 9.9% p.a.), medical (12.7% p.a. compared to 10.3% p.a.), and taxes (10.0% p.a. compared to 8.3% p.a.). Household running costs (6.0% p.a. compared to 6.7% p.a.), household equipment (6.3% p.a. compared to 7.0%), and public transport (7.9% p.a. compared to 8.4% p.a.) were the only categories to show slower growth in expenditure than was the case for Pietersburg MD. Together these changes in household expenditure suggest an improvement in the general affluence of Seshego MD.

There is much visible evidence of a growing middle class in Seshego:

- There is evidence of an increase in private car ownership – widening of roads, a number of new petrol stations, driving schools, tyre businesses, carwashes, driving schools, panel beaters, backyard mechanics, garages and carports being added to houses, etc.
- High end furniture manufacturing and sales
- Shopping complexes with retailers that generally have a middle class clientele
6.5 Synthesis

Economic growth in Seshego MD was slightly slower than was the case nationally and significantly slower than was the case in Pietersburg MD. This pattern was more pronounced for growth in employment: with losses of job opportunities in Seshego MD and gains in Pietersburg MD, Pietersburg MD is now more than likely providing employment to significant numbers of residents of Seshego MD. The economy of Seshego MD is also highly concentrated, with over three quarters of GVA contributed by two broad sectors; Community services and Finance. Within these sectors there is further concentration in Real Estate activities and Education; with these two subsectors together constituting almost 60% of the GVA. Similarly, nearly 60% of employment is concentrated in the Community Services and Trade sectors. The overall pattern for Seshego MD is then that of a ‘dormitory suburb’. Growth in total household expenditure expressed per capita for Seshego MD was faster than was the case nationally and in Pietersburg MD. Expenditure on private transport, restaurants, housing, medical and taxes was growing faster and expenditure on household running costs, household equipment, and public transport slower than was the case in Pietersburg MD.

7. CONCLUSION

The two most apparent differences in geography between Seshego and other hidden urbanities are its relative proximity and the absence of any other well-established black township area closer to the formerly white urban centre. The consequence of this was that Seshego remained a well located, better developed (compared to the alternatives outside formerly white Polokwane), ‘suburb’ after the ending of influx control. The implementation of Strategic Development Area 1 focussed significant development in the corridor area between the Polokwane CBD and Seshego, along Nelson Mandela Drive, significantly reducing the functional distance between the two areas. Furthermore, the development of a BRT route along Nelson Mandela Drive, as part of the Integrated Urban Realm and Movement Plan for Polokwane Municipality, has the potential to further reduce these distances. While there has been significant consolidation, the focus of development has been acknowledged to be on the newer areas of Seshego.

Population growth was greater in the corridor area and formerly white Polokwane with little growth in the historical area of Seshego (after initial consolidation) and the traditional areas of Polokwane LM. There was significant household formation and average household size declined across the board. The growths in both population and households have placed some pressure on infrastructure, with high growth areas seeing a growing backlog. Where the growth had remained low or slowed significantly progress was made towards meeting the backlog. Despite the relative proximity, economic data suggest that there has been movement of employment opportunities from the historical areas of Seshego to the newer areas in the corridor and towards formerly white Polokwane – this despite continued GVA growth in Seshego. Fortunately, Polokwane was well placed to absorb the surplus labour due to strong growth in both GVA and employment. While household income and expenditure in Seshego remains below the levels of formerly white Polokwane, there has been significant growth with strong suggestions of growing affluence and an expanding middle class. There has been significant development towards satisfying the consumption needs of Seshego locally, with expansion of retail space in Seshego.
While other hidden urbanities saw significant exodus of its inhabitants to areas better located to make use of economic opportunity, Seshego saw itself consolidating and expanding into the corridor area to provide affordable housing to those making use of the proximate economic opportunities in (the economically expanding) formerly white Polokwane. The harnessing of at least part of the investment in the improved housing and infrastructure situation of the deprived population (quite significant investment also went towards consolidation of the historic areas of Seshego and Mankweng as well as the traditional areas in Polokwane LM) combined with some targeted investment to an area that was justifiably identified as potentially well placed to contribute to urban integration seems to have paid off. While other hidden urbanities has seen similar (or even higher) levels of investment, these other areas did not have the potential (in terms of location relative to economic opportunity) to leverage this investment as effectively. It should be noted however that in the absence of strong economic growth in Polokwane, the successful integration of the formerly marginalised citizens of Seshego may have been significantly less successful.

The potential for continued investment in the corridor area (and to a lesser extent in historic Seshego) aimed at strengthening the integration of Seshego with Polokwane remains. The corridor area appears to be the focus of continued immigration and hosts the majority of informal housing and infrastructure backlogs in the LM. The development of middle- and upper-income housing in the formerly white (though now significantly desegregated) areas and in the urban periphery towards the south and south west provides alternative accommodation to those with means, which may well prove viable for higher income resident of Seshego who would like to make use of the improved infrastructure available in these areas. Such intra-city migration of income presents a threat to sustainability through the continued impoverishment of the area. Infrastructure and service provision should help keep Seshego and the corridor area as viable alternatives to households with growing incomes, lest these households be lost to better developed areas and Seshego remain an area of deprivation. Conversely, Seshego and the corridor area is the focus of the BRT system, presenting the potential of continued leveraging of public funds to improve access to the city (and its economic opportunities).
Annexure A: Ward demarcation Polokwane Local Municipality
Annexure B: Population pyramids
8. Bibliography


Kotze, N. & Donaldson, R., 1996. s.l.: s.n.


