

# **Challenges of Private Capital Investments in the Transkei Area in South Africa and the Effects of Customary Land Tenure on Real Estate Development**

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**Key words:** Customary Tenure, Land Tenure, Real Estate Development, Private Investment

## **SUMMARY**

The study reported in this paper is about identifying the barriers to private capital investments in the Transkei area of South Africa and how customary property laws affect real estate development. The former homelands (Transkei) are characterised by under-investment and development, partly due to a lack of a clear and transparent land management systems. The majority of the inhabitants hold informal and customary title to their land which does not offer the same level of rights as the cadastral based title which has the highest level of tenure security. There is a dearth of private real estate investments in the former Transkei of South Africa and the effects of land tenure systems on private real estate investments are not well understood. The study sought to identify the reasons for the dearth of private real estate investments in the former Transkei, in South Africa with a focus on the historical and current land tenure laws in order to develop guidelines for improved investment performance. An empirical study undertaken utilising using semi-structured interviews revealed that; permission type tenure, leaseholds and freehold tenure were prevalent in the study area. Permission type tenures were identified as insecure for private investment because they involve cumbersome processes and do not provide full ownership rights. New tenure laws have created a shared responsibility between the community and the traditional leaders in the management of customary land. Additionally, tenure security, access to bulk infrastructure, economic activity, the quality of municipal and government services were ranked as important factors influencing private investment. The study concludes that improved tenure systems, innovative provision of bulk infrastructure together with reliable municipal services are key to achieving development goals while protecting the land in a sustainable manner. This could lead to improved private investment within the former Transkei homelands. Economic development should be encouraged in these areas by addressing structural limitations to development in line with sustainable development goals.

# Challenges of Private Capital Investments in the Transkei Area in South Africa and the effects of Customary Land Tenure on Real Estate Development

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The land tenure system of South African is founded on the pre-colonial African customary land tenure system on one hand; and the consequences of colonial of conquest and dispossession on the other (Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014; Clark & Luwaya, 2017; Phuhlisani, 2017). This resulted in a dual land tenure system. Further divisions were created by the colonial and apartheid governments which systematically established and maintained a complex legal policy framework that effectively prohibited the majority indigenous African people from lawfully owning land on a freehold basis whilst the white populations were permitted to do so (Clark & Luwaya, 2017). Therefore, the majority black population was generally given customary land rights through their tribal lineage in the so called Homelands, of which the Transkei is one of such areas (Kingwill, 2013).

The above legacy has created a skewed development landscape within South Africa which typically consists of a highly developed former “white” South Africa, and a highly underdeveloped “black” South Africa (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2014). This is because customary land tenure is considered to be insecure and thus not conducive to private investment (Blandy, et al., 2006; Whittal, 2014). Freehold tenure title gives the most ownership rights, and is therefore considered to be a catalyst for investment and economic growth (An, 2013, p. 481; Whittal, 2014). To give credence to this, the former homelands are still plagued by poverty, lack of access to basic services and high unemployment rates due to a lack of investment (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2014).

A number of laws have been passed that seek to improve the tenure rights for the people living in the former homelands since 1994. The thrust of these laws is to provide an enhanced tenure security which leans towards freehold tenure, but without giving ownership rights (Cousins, et al., 2005). However, this new type of tenure systems are not properly understood by the formal economy. Hence, there has not been any meaningful investment in the former homelands since 1994 despite this new tenure dispensation (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2014). Therefore, the aim of the study is to investigate the reasons for the dearth of private real estate investments in the former Transkei, with a focus on the historical and current land tenure laws in order to develop guidelines for improved investment and development. The objective is to identify the types of land tenure systems operating in the former homelands; the perceptions of tenure security for private investment; examine the processes involved in the acquisition of land tenure rights and the respective legal and social recourse available thereof.

The study is significant because it seeks to highlight the barriers to private investment in these poor regions that make up a sizable constituency of South Africa; where more than a third of the nation's population reside on an estimated thirteen percentage of the land surface of the country (Noble et al., 2014; Williams, 2015).

## **2. LAND TENURE AND PROPERTY RIGHTS SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Land tenure is defined as the nature of relationship that people, groups and organisations have with land legally or otherwise (FAO, 2002; Schirmer, 2017). It include user rights, transfer rights, exclusion rights and enforcement rights (Adams, et al., 1999; FAO, 2002; Manona, et al., 2010). Land tenure systems are used to regulate access and the exploitation of land and resources that are attached to it. Land is considered a finite resource, and therefore land tenure systems are created in order to regulate the behaviour of people as a means of preserving and conserving land from wastage and destruction. They form a key part of political, economic and social structure of societies (Adams, et al., 1999). It involves many disciplines that cover institutional, technical, social, legal and political aspects of life which are taken into consideration when dealing with land and its usage (FAO, 2002). Land tenure rights are generally classified as formal or informal. Formal rights are well defined and can be enforceable in a court of law, whilst informal rights are only enforceable through customary or informal structures of a community (Adams, et al., 1999; FAO, 2002).

### **2.1 Land Policy Environment of South Africa Post-1994**

South Africa's land policy environment post 1994 is shaped by the Bill of Rights as captured in the Constitution of 1996 (Tlale, 2019). The Constitution provides for land tenure security for all irrespective of the economic or social status (Cousins, et al., 2005; Kloppers & Pienaar, 2014). A number of new land laws fulfil the aspirations of the constitution by providing end-to-end tenure security across the different land use and spatial zones, strengthen and secure possessory rights and reclaim dispossessed land (Cousins et al, 2005a; Parliament of South Africa, 2014). With this new dispensation, the challenge for the South African land policy landscape is how the state can reconcile individual with group rights on one hand; and the customary law and common law on the other. This is because new laws have formalised multiple levels of authority within communities and multiple structures of tenure governance at government level that adjudicate and allocate rights to land (Cousins & Hornby, 2006). The multiple regulatory authorities influence the way in which people and communities access, transfer ownership and protect their rights as individuals, within families in communities as well as the access to government subsidies and other public or private services (Cousins & Hornby, 2006).

The Upgrading of Tenure Rights Act (1991) is of particular importance to this study. The Act was designed to upgrade and convert land that is under the full ownership of tribes in both urban and rural into freehold (South Africa, 1991). The land tenure types targeted by the law

were identified as leaseholds, deeds of grant and quitrents under Schedule 1; and the Rights to the Occupation of Land in Schedule 2 as defined in the Irrigation Schemes Control Regulations (1963); the Black Areas Land Regulations (1969); and the Rural Areas Act (1989) (South Africa, 1991; van Broekhuizen, 2020). The land rights described in Schedule 2 are commonly known as Permission to Occupy (PTO) land rights (Johnson, 2009).

**2.1.1 Land rights and the private investment nexus**

Common law defines ownership as a discrete category that confers the greatest number of rights to the holder (Pienaar, 2015). The rights are often conceptualised as a ‘bundle of rights’ as shown in figure 1. According to the default common law position, ownership is realised when a specified legal criterion is met, with the most obvious being the registration of rights in the deeds registry (Kingwill, 2011). The rights can belong to an individual or be shared amongst many interested parties for the same parcel of land (du Plessis, 2011).

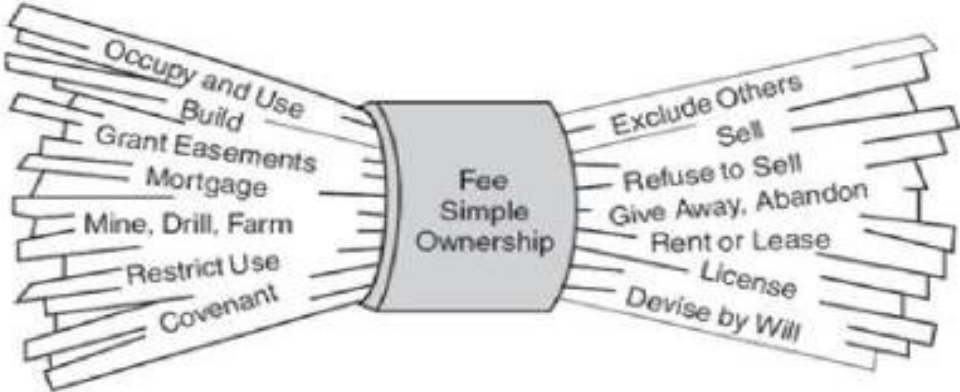


Figure 1: An illustration of the concept of bundle of rights

(Jacobus, 2003; Bennett, 2007)

In figure 1, each stick represents a right which can be held by different people and the “sticks” can be acquired in different ways and held over different time periods (Novak, 2018). For example, in a lease agreement, the bundle of rights is shared between the owner and a tenant, allowing the tenant the right to use the land according to the specific terms as recorded in the contract whilst the owner retains other ownership rights (FAO, 2002; Blandy et al., 2006). The extent to which the bundle of rights (figure 1) are secure and enforceable before the law has a direct influence on the extent to which investment decisions are made by the owners of the rights (Blandy, et al., 2006). Secure property rights are generally considered to be a catalyst for investment and economic growth because an investment is only made when there is a reasonable expectation to reap a reward in the future without the risk of eviction (Jacob, et al.,

2002; An, 2013, p. 481). On the other hand, insecure property rights can be contested and thus are not tradeable on the formal land markets and therefore not funded by the capital markets (Cousins, et al., 2005).

2.1.2 Land rights and the private investment nexus

Tenure security is defined by the United Nations’ Habitat organisation as the right of all individuals and groups to effective protection by the state against forced evictions (Durand-Lasserve, 2015). This definition can be understood in three ways namely as, legal, de facto and perceived. The legal meaning is based on a legal construct - ownership recognised by the law; whilst the de facto meaning refers to security based on the events unfolding on the ground and the perceived meaning is based on the way something is regarded or understood (van Gelder, 2009; van Gelder & Luciano, 2025). These three understandings provide the background to the ways in which tenure security manifests itself. Tenure security is exhibited when the state issues lawful documentation of ownership – legal, when the government improves or upgrades informal settlement infrastructure and services – de facto and through government’s leniency or strictness over illegal settlements which is created over time - perception (van Gelder, 2009; Caldieron, 2010). These give overtly or covertly the sense of tenure security or insecurity which underpin the decision to invest or not to on occupied land holdings as shown in figure 2.

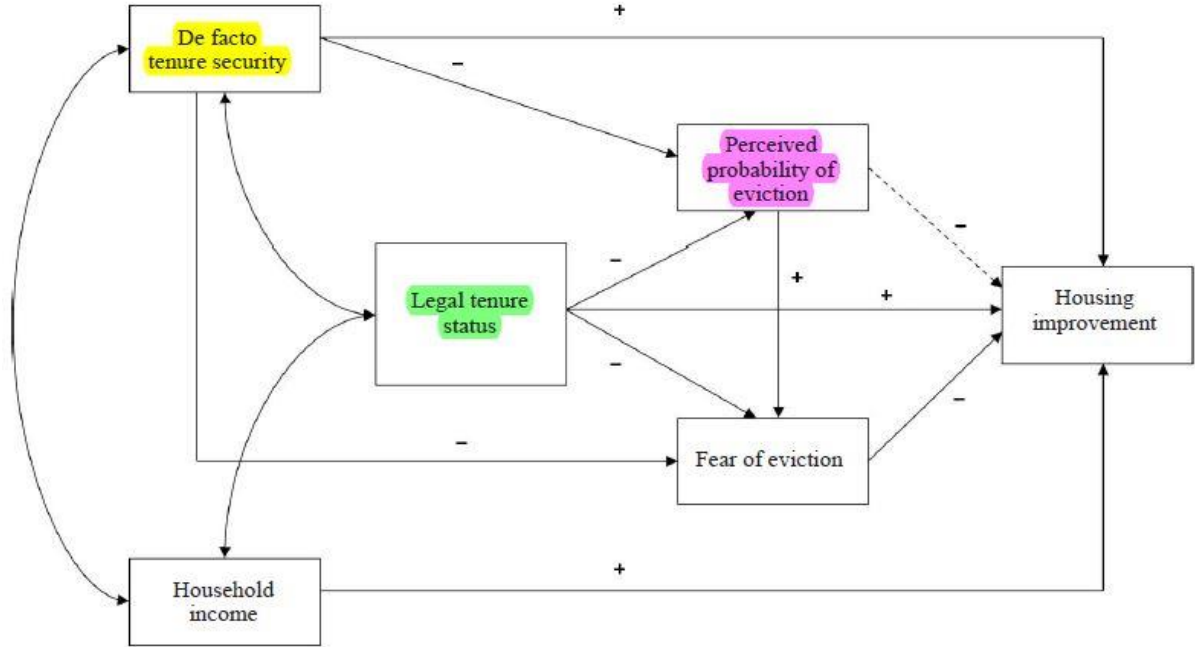


Figure 1: Hypothesized model of the tripartite concept of tenure security (van Gelder & Luciano, 2015)

Figure 2 shows that “legal tenure status”, “de facto tenure security” and “household income” have a positive relationship with “housing improvements”. Whilst, the “perceived probability of eviction” has a positive relationship with “fear of eviction” and both have a negative relationship with “housing improvement”.

### 2.1.3 Land rights and the private investment nexus

Generally, the indigenous African concept of property is premised on the notion of being part of a bigger whole (Karodia & Soni, 2014). This global view begins with the definition of personhood aptly captured in the phrase “*umunthu ngu muntu ngabantu*”; which generally means “one becomes a human being through other human beings”. This shows that personhood is derived from being part of a community – the bigger whole. Therefore, in terms of ownership of property and access to it, individuals can never own land in their individual capacity but rather it is owned by a family, community or a tribe. The custodians that are appointed to act on behalf of these groups act strictly to the benefit of the whole not for personal benefit (Abdulai & Antwi, 2005, p. 305). Their custodianship of the land is only for as long as they take direction from the ultimate custodians being a collective of every member of the grouping (Williams, 2015). Therefore, it means that in respect of the management and control of land and its resources lie in the community’s sovereign power both in the jurisdictional and non-proprietary sense (Abdulai & Antwi, 2005). These functions belong to and are exercised by the traditional political authority of the society. The authority is segmented, vertically and horizontally according to the explicit functions at different levels of social organisation (Williams, 2015).

According to Williams (2015), the family is the lowest tier of a Xhosa society and the core of a traditional community. This is the lowest level of land ownership and is responsible for managing the family’s land called the homestead. The second tier is the village level at which a grouping of families is led by the village head, a headman in most instances. The village collectively make decisions with regards to land ownership and its management through a village committee. Finally, the Chief together with the Traditional Council occupy the uppermost tier of a traditional society which is the highest decision-making body within the Xhosa society.

The customary way of acquiring land begins at the bottom of the social organisation. The first step is to identify a vacant land for developing. Depending on a prospective land applicant’s knowledge of an area, they might have to seek help from close associates and friends who have a detailed understanding of the dynamics within the village they seek land (Denison, et al., 2015). Ordinarily, the traditional leadership does not assist or get involved in the scouting for land. The traditional authorities beginning at the village level are only approached once all background research has been completed and the vacancy of a piece of land has been confirmed with the ordinary residents (Denison, et al., 2015, p. 199; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018).

An application for a vacant site is lodged with the village head. It is then elevated to the chief and the council and at each level a committee is consulted for approval (Hull, et al., 2016, p. 68). Lodging an application is easier when it is done by a fellow community member thus outsiders may need support and motivation from the community for them to be considered (Hull et al., 2016) A person’s moral standing comes into scrutiny and the reasons for wanting land in the that particular village (Hull et al., 2016). To be successful, an applicant has to be of a good moral standing, someone who is not going to disturb the peace in the village (Hull, et al., 2016). An allocation ceremony is held for successful land applications which is presided over by the village head with the other community members standing in as witnesses (Cousins, 2013, p. 94; Hull, et al., 2016).

Traditionally, women do not have a claim to land in their individual capacity but through marriage or through a male guardian (Jacobs, et al., 2011; Claassens, 2013; Khuzwayo, et al., 2019). However, this perpetual juvenile status of owmen has changed since the enactment of the Black Communities Development Act (1985) (Khuzwayo, et al., 2019). The new South African Constitution of 1996 also created a new moral code that guaranteed equal rights for men and women meaning women can now lawfully sell, buy, manage, inherit and register land (Songca, 2018; Khuzwayo, et al., 2019). The new constitution has also resulted in a shift of power from the traditional leadership to the communities and the ordinary citizenry (Wicomb, 2013). According to Claassens & Smythe (2013), this has emboldened the previously marginalised single women who never married or widowed to demand their rights to land.

**3. METODOLOGY**

The study followed the pragmatic philosophical worldview philosophy. It employed a purposive sampling technique to select 32 role-players from organisations that are active within the private real estate property development industry within the former Transkei as shown in Table 1. A non-probability, criterion-based selection sampling technique was more suitable because the research population was restricted to professionals and officials who are involved in the private real estate property development industry within the former Transkei.

Table1: Sample size of the study

Role Players	Estate Agents	Property Developers	Financial Institutions	Local Authorities	Traditional Leaders	Business Councils
Number	6	6	6	7	4	3
Consolidated	Total number of respondents = 32					

The data collection used semi-structured interviews which incorporated a combination of qualitative and quantitative questions. The qualitative component of the data analysis involved three cycles of coding due to the complexity of decoding non-numerical data. The first two cycles identified and labelled then interpreted and refined the received data Each coding cycle

created richer meaning of concepts, themes and categories that were imbedded within the raw data by way of thematic analysis) The quantitative component comprised of pre-coded quantitative questions which were in the form of a weighted Likert scale (of Yes, Nuetral (Ntrl) and No). Thereafter, Microsoft excel software was used for this data analysis. Triangulation was employed in order to confirm the reliability of the outcomes of the qualitative and quantitative data analysis. A side-by-side analysis approach (triangulation) was used to also check for convergence or divergence between the data and the literature review.

**4. FINDINGS**

Findings in Table 2 shows that there are some peculiar investment risks involved in investing in the former Transkei. These risks include tenure security, lack of infrastructure, funding challenges and high business expenses. The history of the Transkei was found to a an important contributing factor to the perceived and real risks associated with the region. These findings support the literature (An 2013; Cousins, 2005). The majority of the inhabitants hold informal and customary title to their land which does not offer the same level of rights as the cadastral based title which has the highest level of tenure security. However, the respondents strongly advised the need for more investment in the area despite the risks because of the potential returns and the opportunity to improve the area. This call also seem to support government in its work that it has been doing to improve land tenure in the country (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (2014).

Table 1: Perceptions of investment in the former Transkei triangulation outcomes.

Perceptions on investing in the former Transkei						
Qt. No.	Question description	Quant. results			Qual. Code & phrases	Triangulation outcomes
		No	Ntrl	Yes		
2.i & 2ii	Are there peculiar risks in investing in the former homelands?	6%	12%	82%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tenure insecurity (42%)</li> <li>• Lack of infrastructure (33%)</li> <li>• Funding challenges (17%)</li> <li>• High business expense (8%)</li> </ul>	<p># Strong Convergence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• insecure tenure.</li> <li>• lack of bulk infrastructure</li> </ul>
2iii	Are the above responses based on lived experiences? If yes explain circumstances.	19%		81%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tenure risks (55%)</li> <li>• Bureaucracy &amp; corruption (23%)</li> <li>• Poor record keeping (9%)</li> <li>• Others (13%)</li> </ul>	<p># Strong Convergence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Customary tenure.</li> <li>• Governance a shared responsibility between govt, traditional leaders &amp; communities.</li> </ul>
2iv						
2v	Does history play a role in the perceptions or facts at play?	0%	18%	82%		
2vi	Would you advise private investment in the former Transkei	9%	9%	82%		

Source: Field study (2020)

Table 3 shows that permission to occupy (PTOs) were considered not conducive for property investment because the process is cumbersome, risks of tenure security and sense of corruption



attached to the customary processes involved. PTOs were deemed not to be bank funded because of the risks associated with them. These findings are consistent with the literature (Blandy et al, 2006; Whittal, 2014). It was also highlighted that the customary processes involved were not friendly to the vulnerable groups such as women and the youths (Whittal, 2014).

Table 2: Land tenure systems in the former Transkei triangulation outcomes

The land tenure systems in the former Transkei						
Qt. No.	Question description	Quant. results			Qual. Code & phrases	Triangulation outcomes
		No	Ntrl	Yes		
3i & 3ii	Are permission-based tenure systems conducive to private property investment?	73%	0%	27%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cumbersome Process (36%)</li> <li>• Land Claims (tenure security) 36%</li> <li>• Corruption (28%)</li> </ul>	<p># <u>Strong Convergence</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PTOs are a weak tenure.</li> <li>• Community &amp; traditional process open to clashes &amp; corruption.</li> </ul>
3iii	Are PTOs titles acceptable for bank funded investments?	68%	14%	18%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tenure risks (68%)</li> <li>• No response (18%)</li> <li>• Other responses (14%)</li> </ul>	<p># <u>Strong Convergence</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capital markets do not support weak tenure.</li> <li>• Informal processes open to contestations.</li> </ul>
3iv	Is community involvement in PTO processes investment friendly?	59%	23%	18%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land Claims risks - 3X (33%);</li> <li>• No response – 2X (22%);</li> <li>• Difficult to get consensus – 1X (15%)</li> <li>• Cumbersome process - 1X (15%)</li> <li>• PTO not fundable - 1X (15%)</li> </ul>	<p># <u>Convergence</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One's character is a factor to getting land from community.</li> <li>• Time consuming, goes through tiers of approval.</li> <li>• Prone to contestations between stakeholders.</li> </ul>
3v	Is community or traditional leadership involvement user-friendly for women and the youth?	32%	18%	50%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vulnerable groups get land (37.5%);</li> <li>• No response (25%);</li> <li>• PTOs not user-friendly (12.5%);</li> <li>• Only males get land (6.25%);</li> <li>• PTOs are an African way of managing land (6.25%);</li> <li>• No conclusion – 1X (6.25%);</li> <li>• PTOs pose own set of problems (6.25%).</li> </ul>	<p># <u>Weak Convergence</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A small majority agreed that women do have access to land.</li> <li>• A sizable neutral position shows a lack of full understanding of the situation on the ground. The extent of access to land by single youths without responsibilities differs from one area to another.</li> </ul>

Source: Field study (2020)

Table 4 shows that previous investments in the region which were based on prospects of high economic returns, were mostly on legally recognised tenure and that was mainly premised on self-funding. The Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act (1991) was found to be not effective

in improving private investments its progressive provisions. Leaseholds were generally regarded as conducive for investment but were subject to a number of conditions that sought to improve the tenure security. However, the high negative and neutral responses suggested a lack of trust in the former homeland leases, which does not support the literature that leases are protected by law and could be funded by the financial services industry.

Table 3: Triangulation outcomes of private property investment influencing factors.

Factors Influencing private property investment						
Qt. No.	Question description	Quant. results			Qual. Code & phrases	Triangulation outcomes
		No	Ntrl	Yes		
4i	What compels the organisations to invest in the former Transkei in the face of seemingly insecure tenure systems?				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Prospects of high economic returns (41%);</li> <li>Developments were legally tenure (36%);</li> <li>Investments done through self-funding (8%);</li> <li>Other reasons (15%).</li> </ul>	<p><b># Divergence</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Underdevelopment leads to good returns due to lack of competition.</li> <li>Investment might be mainly on legally recognised that attracts bank funding.</li> </ul>
4ii	Has the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act (1991) improved the appetite for investors to develop property in the former Transkei?	32%	45%	23%		
4iii	Long term leases are a cheaper means of gaining access to land in the former homelands. Are these conducive for developing property?	38%	19%	43%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Leases acceptable with conditions (29%); Depends on lease term (18%); Leases are risky (18%);</li> <li>Leases are legally secure (11%);</li> <li>Leases are acceptable but not ideal (6%);</li> <li>Fluid land custodianship dynamics (6%);</li> <li>Duplicate lease risks (6%);</li> <li>Extra-legal leases not secure (6%).</li> </ul>	<p><b># Weak Convergence</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Literature showed leasehold to be secure investment, but not reflected by research data.</li> <li>High number of neutral responses from research data.</li> <li>Those in agreement almost equal to those disagreeing.</li> </ul>
4iv	Does the formal financial services industry recognise these government issued long-term leases in the former homelands?	36%	28%	36%		<p><b># Divergency</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Leasehold rights are lawful and recognised by capital markets.</li> <li>No strong reflection of the banking industry's support for leaseholds in the research data received.</li> <li>High level of the neutral position (those not sure), not in line with the legal position as per literature review.</li> </ul>
4v	The lack of economic development in the former Transkei is a big challenge since 1994.				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The lack of bulk infrastructure (35%);</li> <li>Tenure insecurity (13%);</li> <li>The lack of economic activity (13%);</li> <li>The lack of proper municipal planning (9%);</li> <li>Poor government services (6%);</li> <li>Cumbersome consultative process (6%);</li> <li>Lack of understanding of the prevailing tenure (6%);</li> </ul>	<p><b># Convergence</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Literature review confirms research data, tenure security is an investment risk.</li> <li>Whilst a lack of infrastructure is a cost to development costs</li> </ul>
4vi	What advice would you give prospective				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ensure tenure is secure (31.5%);</li> </ul>	<p><b># Convergence</b></p>

	commercial investors when looking to acquiring development land in the former homelands?		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop close to bulk infrastructure (10.5%);</li> <li>• Ensure lease is more than 15 years (5.3%);</li> <li>• Employ registered professionals (5.3%);</li> <li>• Investors need to understand business culture (5.3%);</li> <li>• Understand limitations of municipal &amp; govt. services (5.3%);</li> <li>• Develop partnership with local businesses (5.3%);</li> <li>• Do thorough due diligence (5.3%);</li> <li>• Provide alternative technology for power &amp; sanitation (5.3%);</li> <li>• Understand the types of tenure used (5.3%);</li> <li>• Work with the communities (5.3%);</li> <li>• Invest for the long term (5.3%);</li> <li>• Accommodate time delays in planning (5.3%).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Research data in line with the literature reviewed.</li> <li>• A strong connection between tenure security &amp; private investment.</li> <li>• Access to bulk infrastructure reduces property development costs.</li> </ul>
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Source: Field study (2020)

## 5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall, the findings attributed the dearth of private property investment to a number of risks mainly; insecure tenure which is synonymous with customary tenure, the dominant land ownership type in the former Transkei. This risk is not conducive for long term and capital-intensive investment class such as property development. The financial services industry is not in favour of the PTO ownership type which makes it difficult for investment meaning that one can only use their own resources or seek funding from state institutions, making it limiting. Further challenges in the form of the lack of basic services or the poor maintenance of the old infrastructure compounds the challenges to real estate development in the former Transkei. This is influenced by the quality of municipal and government services which are enablers to property development and broader economic activity. However, there is potential for high income to be generated due in the former Transkei due to the historic underdevelopment of the area.

Hence, there is a need call for more investors to develop property in order to unlock the area's economic potential and create employment opportunities. This has potential to reduce the economic imbalances of the past and improve the skewed development landscape as raised in literature. The study also recommends the following for potential investors; understand tenure types, check tenure security and do thorough due diligence; develop close to bulk infrastructure, Ensure lease is more than 15 years; engage registered professionals; understand business culture and develop partnership with local businesses; understand limitations of municipal and government services; provide alternative technology for power & sanitation; work with the communities; invest for long-term and accommodate time delays in planning.

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## **BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

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