3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC DYNAMICS

Within the previous chapter, socio-structural issues were addressed to provide a backdrop for the social issues presented in this chapter. This chapter will address the interaction between processes and social-economic groups and the resulting dynamics within the study area. Two areas of change are contributing to the social morphology of the area. Post-Apartheid policies as well as post-industrial factors are the basis for many of the changes within South Africa (Pacione, 2001) and this area is no exception. The chapter will interlink post-Apartheid and post-industrial processes with various identifiable racial and social groups and the dynamics created within the area. The dynamics and groups identified within this chapter will be utilized within a model in the following chapter 4.

3.1 Processes

Within the study area there is two primary processes which are driving changes within the community. The two processes are independent of each other but the results are creating like results. The first is a decline in industry within South Africa over the last decade. The second is post-Apartheid policies and its impact on both social and economic trends within the country. The following sections will further explain the situations with focus on both the social/racial as well as economic changes that have been occurring within a post-Apartheid South Africa.

3.1.1 *Post-Industrial*

The contemporary urban world is vastly different from that of the past, as contemporary cities must compete in a global, rather than a local economy (Hall, 1997; Rogerson & Rogerson, 1999). While South Africa may have a national global focus, the struggle being incurred to post-industrialization in society is being played out at the local level (Maharaj, 1996).

In Pretoria West, just south of Danville and Elandspoort, there is a heavy industry location by the name of Pretoria Industrial. This area was one of the main

operations and headquarters of Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa (ISCOR), now Mittal Steel, which is a large steel and iron producer. In the past, South Africa produced its own steel because of sanctions imposed on the Apartheid government. ISCOR was a busy location employing many people from the surrounding areas. Many White employees moved to western Pretoria to be close to work as a result, many of the residential areas surrounding Pretoria Industrial were established during Apartheid for lower class Whites who were employed by the heavy industry or subsidiary businesses (Parnell & Mabin, 1995).

South Africa no longer has any sanctions against it, so the country is free to trade amongst other nations (Rogerson & Rogerson, 1999). With modern trade, it is often cheaper for South Africa to import steel products than it is to produce locally, hence the demand for locally produced material has declined. The industry is also older and not as technically advanced as many competitors from overseas (Rogerson & Rogerson, 1999). Heavy industry has been declining, which in turn has lead to job losses regardless of race. This affected the immediate area most drastically (Hall, 1997), similar to other areas in the world affected by post-industrial economic changes (Chen *et al.,* 2006).

Another major impact has been the decline of heavy industry as a whole. The heavy industries in Pretoria West have been declining to various external pressures such as an inability to compete efficiently on a global scale. This has created more job losses to an already heavily impacted area. Many employees hit the hardest, were the White under-educated general labourers. These individuals had little education or skills that could be transferred and thus were unemployed with little future potential outside of industry (Franchi, 2003a). Being blue collar workers they were at the lower pay scales, so they typically did not have a surplus of money to relocate or have substantial bank accounts to rely on during hard times (Interviews 50,55).

Quickly these workers went from lower income stability to an impoverished situation with low expectations of recovery. These residents are still in the area, as they can not afford to leave. The study area is one of the lowest rent White areas in Pretoria (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002), so there are few places that offer a better existence. It

seems that these people are stuck in a vicious circle of poverty, as they can not afford to upgrade lifestyle or move, but without employment the residents will continue to fall. Maharaj (2005) has described this situation as social entrapment which states people are trapped in an area or situation as they are too poor to leave or change their circumstances and this perfectly describes some impoverished White individuals in the area.

3.1.2 Post-Apartheid

"South Africa can be regarded as a complex, divided and heterogeneous society characterised by deep-seated racial, ethnic, cultural, language and religious differences, overlapping with large scale economic disparities" (Bornman, 2005, p.5). Many racial and social changes within urban areas started in the late 1980's with the decline and demise of Apartheid and accelerated with the new government in 1994 (Abbott, 1996). Urban Apartheid officially ended in June 1991 with a repeal of mass legislation which had enforced racial segregation (Christopher, 2001; Crampton, 2001). A large problem for South Africa now is the historic remnants of segregation planning and the social injustices of Apartheid (Parnell & Mabin, 1995). For the study two post-Apartheid processes will be dealt with in the following subsections, desegregation and Black economic empowerment / affirmative action.

Desegregation

Since the demise of Apartheid, the country has been experiencing rapid urbanization, as there are no longer laws restricting citizens from living in the urban areas. Consequently, 90% of new urban populations are Black (Abbott, 1996). These new urban Blacks have been flooding into informal and township areas, creating an overcrowded situation. Many Blacks with the economic means to leave these township areas move to less crowded, more secure, historically White areas (Horn & Ngcobo, 2003). Transformation from Apartheid towards a democratic society since the early 1990's has had a major effect on the socio-spatial geographies of urban areas within South Africa (Carmody, 2002; Jurgens *et al.*, 2003). "One of the greatest challenges in the reconstruction of society in post-Apartheid South Africa is overcoming the spatial legacy of Apartheid …" (Oelofse &

Dodson, 1997, p.91). The desegregation of many White areas by the influx of upwardly mobile Black residents is creating a true 'Rainbow Nation', as all ethnic groups are now allowed to live together (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994). The study area has been receiving an influx of both White and Black residents since the demise of Apartheid (South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 2001).

A major local factor of change within the study area is the racial dynamic. The following table shows the population dynamics within the study area. In 1991 the Black population was 7% of the total population, but now comprises 27% of the total population (Table 1). The area has seen a population increase of 77% within a 10 year period (Table 2). Though the White population has increased by 28%, the Black population has increased by over 550%. Other non-Whites comprising of Indians and Coloureds make up such a small percentage of the population they will not be looked at as individual groups, but will rather be categorised by all non-Whites being referred to as a 'Black' group.

Table 1: Study Area Populations in 2001 and 1991

Area	Total	White	Black *Af+Col+In*	*African*	*Coloured*	*Indian*
Study Area	13228 (7454)	9599 (6903)	3631 (551)	3432 (533)	110 (18)	89 (0)
Kwaggasrand	5019 (4666)	1799 (4230)	3220 (436)	*2764 (426)*	*125 (10)*	*331 (0)*
Wespark	6083 (4238)	2622 (3813)	3461 (425)	*3141 (419)*	*71 (5)*	*249 (1)*

(1991 Statistics in brackets)   (South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 2001)

Kwaggasrand and Wespark are two other sites, which are located close to Danville and are also experiencing unique trends. Kwaggasrand and Wespark are also influenced by the post-Industrial and post-Apartheid dynamic as they are experiencing desegregation (South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 2001). These two areas are more upmarket than Danville and Elandspoort and the desegregation trends are more prominent (Table 3). While Danville and Elandspoort are

experiencing an influx of all races the other two areas are experiencing a decline in White residents with an increasing number of Black residents. Also, both other areas are not expanding in terms of population at as fast a rate as compared to the study area.

Table 2: Population Change in Study Area

Study Area	Total	White	Non-White/ Black
1991	7454	6903	551
2001	13228	9597	3631
# Increase	5774	2694	3080
Percentage Increase	77.4%	39.0%	558.9%

(South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 2001)

Table 3: Comparative Populations

Area	White	African	Coloured	Indian	Total
Study Area	9599 (6903)	3432 (533)	110 (18)	89 (0)	13228 (7454)
Kwaggasrand	1799 (4230)	2764 (426)	125 (10)	331 (0)	5019 (4666)
Wespark	2622 (3813)	3141 (419)	71 (5)	249 (1)	4843 (4238)

(1991 Statistics in brackets)   (South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 2001)

The White out-migration within South African neighbourhoods could be caused by numerous factors (Donaldson *et al.*, 2003), though the trends in these areas can not be substantiated without further in-depth consideration. It was found that some people from Wespark and Kwaggasrand have moved to Danville and Elandspoort when Pretoria Industrial jobs were retrenched, in an attempt to meet racial quotas and a numerically smaller workforce (Interviews 45,53). It is these retrenched White individuals who are declining in their socio-economic status that are fuelling some of the White underclass within the study area. White people moving out of these neighbouring areas are either moving up to better locales or down to the study area. White immigration of the area tends to be considered a downward step

by the White individuals, whereas many of the Blacks in the area see the move as a positive step (Interviews 2,10 vs. 48,54). The Black in-migration is consistent within all areas, so it can be assumed that upwardly mobile Africans are seeking previously White houses in Pretoria West. These upwardly mobile and middle-class Blacks moving to western Pretoria are desegregating the neighbourhoods at a rapid rate. With a country focused on desegregation and racial integration, these racial changes have the potential for positive outcomes.

Coloured and Indian individuals make up a small percentage in all the historically White areas of Pretoria West (Statistics SA, 2001). Within the general area there are areas dominated by these racial groups. Laudium and Lotus Gardens are dominated by Indian residents and are located within Western Pretoria. Eersterus is the major Coloured area which is located within Eastern Pretoria. These racial groups were placed in segregated areas during Apartheid, but have not migrated out of the townships as quickly as the Africans. This trend of Coloureds and Indians remaining in more traditional areas has also been seen by Oldfield (2004) within Cape Town. A reason for this is that African townships are low in socio economic status where as the Indian and Coloured areas are of a much higher status (Lalloo, 1999). It is also possible that the community ties within the Coloured and Indian areas encourage the residents to stay with similar a racial group (Lohnert *et al.*, 1998).

According to segregation levels (Table 4) the study area is experiencing rapid desegregation. In addition to the desegregation the area is experiencing an influx of White as well as Black individuals. Kwaggasrand and Wespark are also increasing in size though the areas have experienced succession of African individuals and now the predominant group is African. The White individuals within these areas have been moving out which will lead to a 'tipping' of the dominant racial group (Table 5). The study area is unique within Pretoria West as having an influx of both White and Black individuals and still experiencing a high rate of desegregation (see Table 3).

Table 4: Level of Segregation

Classification	Percentile	
Segregation	0-9% 'others	Apartheid
Desegregation	10-24% 'others'	Slow
	25-49% 'others'	Fast
Succession	50-74% 'others'	
Resegregation	>75% 'others'	Towards Complete Transformation

Table 5: Local Comparative Black Population Increases

Area	1991	2001	Increase	*Total Pop. Increase*
Study Area	7.4%	27.5%	20.1%	*43.7%*
Kwaggasrand	9.3%	64.1%	54.8%	*9.4%*
Wespark	10.0%	56.9%	46.9	*13.0%*

(South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 2001)

Within the study area there has been a simultaneous growth of both the White and Black population combined with high levels of desegregation. The growth of the Black population has been due to the immigration of upwardly mobile Black individuals and families. The White population has been expanding due to numerous factors. The first is economic entrapment of the White youth who are unable to leave their parents homes due to a lack of employment. Secondly there is an immigration of Whites with and economically downward mobility from other more affluent areas (examples include Kwaggasrand and Wespark). Finally there is a enlarging of extended households as individuals and families of various generations move in with family and create a household with multiple adult generations.

Within Gauteng there are relatively few impoverished White areas, however, the study area is one of the lowest income White urban areas in Pretoria. The area seems to be a destination for Whites as they fall down the social and economic ladder. The lowest rent areas of the study site tend to be a final locale before

homelessness. From interviews it can be proven that numerous people lost careers and were forced to leave more affluent areas to seek affordable housing until their economic situation changes (Interviews 43,44,48,49,53,54,56), this downward trend of economic standing can be linked to an increasingly impoverished situations (Bourdieu, 2000). One lady suggested "We were doing well for ourselves until we lost out jobs, we had to sell our house in Wespark and now we rent this small house with my husband's brother and wife" (Interview 53), which shows the downward mobility of some individuals.

Black economic empowerment and affirmative action

New hiring policies (affirmative action and Black economic empowerment) are state imposed and are supposed to help address historic racial discrepancies in the workforce (Skrentny, 1998; Surgue, 1998; Christopher, 2001; Ghassemian, 2003). Affirmative action is the process in which business are required to have a racially representative workforce. Black economic empowerment is a process in which Blacks are given preferential opportunities in business and in the workforce to make up for historic discrepancies during apartheid. Between these two policies, current hiring practices favour Blacks over Whites and have created upward mobility for some Blacks and a loss of employment for some Whites.

 "Segregation prevents full and fair competition in an efficient and transparent labour market, particularly for low income job seekers..." (Bond, 1999, p.47). Bond was referring to the challenges of many poor Blacks within South Africa, but this statement is becoming as relevant to low income, uneducated Whites who are unable to find work due to their race. These Whites are being discriminated against by racial government hiring policies which only seek to benefit historically disadvantaged individuals (Visser, 2003b). During Apartheid, businesses were free to hire whomever they pleased, so Whites were normally given priority in the workforce. Blacks were left with jobs that were undesirable to Whites due to low pay or poor working conditions.

Affirmative action affects every level of business and government and is currently being contested by various political and business groups (Franchi, 2003b). It has

been suggested that when workers are dismissed and their replacements take over the position, they do not have the training or knowledge to perform the task responsible to them (Surgue, 1998; Holtzhausen, 2005). In much of the heavy industry located close to the study site, the jobs do not require a high level of training, so when Whites were dismissed the new Black workers were given on job training and performed well.

Many residents in the study area were affected by hiring and employment policies brought about by the ANC government. Job losses caused by retrenchment, affirmative action and Black economic empowerment (BEE) hit the areas White population especially hard as the main industry in the area was Pretoria industrial. When the industry had to meet a quota system of Black representation, many Whites lost their jobs so the industry could hire Blacks, as set out by the policy criteria (Interviews 42,45,50,55).

Unemployment is still significantly lower among the White population than other racial groups within South Africa (Lemanski, 2005). However, many Whites within the study area are not highly skilled or educated (Beeld, 1990a; South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 2001) which, consequently, make them at risk when large government and industrial companies retrench White workers in an attempt to meet racial workforce quotas imposed by Black economic employment and affirmative action (Goldberg, 1998; Skrentny, 1998; Visser, 2003b). Retrenchment issues are especially true within the study area as the large industries in the Pretoria Industrial area that employed many of the local residents have been downsizing in a post-industrial economy. Racially based quota employee representation has forced many businesses and industry nationwide to retrench many of its White employees to ensure a racially representative workforce (Hall, 1997).

Job opportunities for Whites in post-Apartheid South Africa are far fewer than in the past (Selod & Zenou, 2001; Visser, 2003b). Many jobs that are available require a higher education, which leaves the average White blue collar worker in a dilemma. Many middle aged workers had jobs previously that enabled them to start families and buy houses, but when they loose their jobs and are unable to find a replacement, they become impoverished. Interviewee 52 stated "I worked at

ISCOR during apartheid and had a house and provided for my family, now that I am unemployed I lost the house and live in this shelter". When this occurs, Whites are socially declining from what they had grown accustomed to during Apartheid to new, lower levels of economic status.

3.1.3 Local Consequences

Though some of the Whites within the area are experiencing hard times the community as a whole is not in decline. Blacks moving to the area are typically upwardly mobile or of a middle class socio-economic status (Interviews 1-13,16-21). This trend can be seen in other areas of Pretoria as well as described by Horn & Ngcobo (2003), Prinsloo & Cloete (2002), Donaldson *et al.* (2003) as well as Kotze & Donaldson (1998). These Black individuals and families seek the area as a source of reasonably priced historically White housing. Many Blacks within the area have benefited from recent hiring policies and now have employment within the CBD of Pretoria and the government and large businesses which are located within it limits (Interviews 1-7,9-13). This confirms the ideas suggested by Donaldson *et al.* (2003) with regards to racial hiring policies in Pretoria.

Many of the employed Black individuals within the study area are of a younger demographic profile and have better education than the historic White residents of the area. Recent Black residents are also in a different line of employment. Historically the area was dominated by White industrial employees (Pretoria News, 1993) but now the recent Black residents are in government and administrative positions (Interviews 1-13,16-21). The socio-economic shift within the study area encompasses race, age, education and area of employment.

The racial differences within the area are important as socio-economic status can have racial ties (Donaldson, 2005). Unlike many other areas within South Africa, Blacks within the area are not poor and Whites are not all well off (Interviews 1-13,51-60). This emergence of a Black middle class and an impoverished White class contradict mainstream thought and literature, Visser (2003b) has also suggested that emergence of an impoverished White group of people is only recently coming to light. The differences in race and economic standing are

important and therefore the next section will identify the major socio-economic groupings.

3.2   Distinguishable Groups

The purpose of this section is to explore socio-economic dynamics within certain identifiable groups.   The identifiable groups in the area are the Black and White populations as well as multi-racial groups including tertiary students and the homeless.   Observations in the flowing sections are based on the summary of the 60 personal interviews found in Appendix B.

3.2.1   *Blacks*

One major group amongst the population of the study area is Black upwardly mobile individuals.   Black upward mobility within South Africa is comprised primarily of younger Black professionals (Zuern, 2001). Most of these individuals have a higher education and are employed in white collar professions.   Residents matching this description have moved to the area within the last 10 years and were seeking individual houses on single stands with close proximity to the CBD.   These Black upwardly mobile residents see the area differently in terms of length of residence. Some have moved to the area to establish roots and become part of the community, Interviewee 2 states "We moved to this area and plan to stay for a long time, the crime is low and my children like the area".   Others are using the housing as a stepping stone to more affluent areas and the area is temporary: Interviewee 1 said "We like the area and own our house, but when I get a better salary we will move to better area which has less problems". Stepping stone movement is an international phenomenon of residential mobility where people continually upgrade housing as their economic situation improves (Collins & Margo, 2000).

The Black group still has connections with the areas they have left, yet they no longer wish to reside in those previous areas, this is seen in other research throughout South Africa (Flippen, 2001; Horn & Ngcobo, 2003).   Black residents may still return to their original areas for church, social events, shopping and other factors, but they continue to choose to live in the area (Horn & Ngcobo, 2003).

Many of these residents have moved from townships and other previously Black areas. Motivations for moving to White areas include locale and its proximity to the CBD and other major infrastructures (Interviews 1-13). It has been suggested that crime rates in this area are lower than in historic township areas, which is a drawing factor. One respondent said: "Crime here is much lower then Atteridgeville, my children can play outside without fear" (Interviewee 4). Housing and stand size are larger on average than in previous Black township areas. Danville Extensions 3 and 5 both have primarily lower cost housing developments within their boundaries. These areas have been attracting economically-viable Blacks away from the townships, where unemployment, crime and social disorder are serious problems.

The Danville Extensions are unique in that they inhabit a Black majority, but encompass many White traits. None of the areas have informal buildings or shacks, typically associated with poor Black township areas. One resident felt positive of the housing and said "It is nice living in this area without the poor Blacks around, there is no shacks or outdoor toilets" (Interviewee 13). This is indicative that the area must be of a higher economic class than other historically Black areas. Interviews with residents (Interviews 1-13) and census information suggested that employment in the area is much higher than in the townships (Statistics SA, 2001). Many of the Blacks moving through the extensions are upwardly mobile, using the lower cost housing as an investment stepping stone which confirms ideas by Jurgens *et al. (*2003). The individuals may have jobs with the potential to pay higher salaries in the future which may enable these people to upgrade housing in the future or to move to more affluent areas.

The upwardly mobile younger Blacks tend to be located in the extensions as the housing is more recent and does not require attention or upgrades. Older Blacks who want to establish roots in the community are more likely to buy housing in Danville Proper or Elandspoort Proper. The lot sizes and houses are bigger than in the extension areas. The houses are older, but with some upgrading can become comfortable and stylish. The Blacks who bought housing in Danville Proper and Elandspoort Proper tend to be middle aged with families. They have been rising in the last ten years in regards to their socio-economic status, but will likely stabilize as they reach stability within the workforce. Some of the Blacks have also entered

the workforce in jobs that do not have high future potential incomes, but do pay well enough to afford current housing in the area. These individuals have risen in terms of their socio-economic status, but now are stabilizing in their present socio-economic situation.

Black residents typically were not from a past that enabled them to move to the area and to decline in economic status. A Black low economic category is present in the study area, but is not common. Most of these individuals are reliant on other family members for support and do not own property. Most of the younger Blacks are upwardly mobile, but the parents and older Black population have a greater tendency to be less economically well-off. One older Black lady suggested "It is nice that I can live here with my son and his family, I have a job but it does not pay well, this is not my house but it is better than living in a shack in the township" (Interviewee 36).

Education, age and historical locale all have factors in determining the past of these individuals. Older Black individuals tend to be a product of the Apartheid system whereas the modern young Black have had more benefits provided by the new government to gain education, which makes job opportunities more accessible. No financially independent retired Black residents were encountered or mentioned during interviews or site visits. Older Black residents in the area typically live with a younger close relative who have assumed responsibility for the aging parent or family member.

3.2.2 *Whites*

Within the study area the predominant group of residents are White Afrikaans speaking individuals. Only 5 of the 38 Whites in total interviewed were English. These White Afrikaners are generally in the lower categories of economic status. The first being a stable population in which their current socio-economic status is similar to which they had during Apartheid. The second category being of a falling situation in which the individuals are falling in terms of their socio-economic status. The third is the impoverished fallen group which are unemployed and reliant on social assistance. Danville Proper and Elandspoort, excluding the infilled areas,

are both well established communities with older houses and populations. White middle-aged individuals have generally been in the area for long enough to have developed roots. Many of the well-established members of the community had moved to the area during Apartheid and have not left.

The coping strategies of the stable middle income individuals can be due to factors relating to employment. If individuals are employed in the same profession as they were during Apartheid their level of income is likely to be comparable or increasing slowly. Another situation is where a person may have lost his/her job since 1994 but has found alternative employment in a job that pays similar. Situations can be seen in which individuals were unable to find any sort of employment so they opened home-based businesses (Interviews 26,27,30). Businesses that are run from home are often the same type of industries in which the people have previously worked, just on a smaller scale. Car repair, electrical services and carpentry are all services that are offered from local residents based out of their homes. At least 30 home based businesses were identified by advertising signs during the site investigation of the study. Another major trend in the area is the prevalence of tuckshops, at least 10 existed during the site investigation. The legitimate home-based tuckshops are located in well-established areas of the study site. The home-based businesses seem to provide these local residents with an income that is sustainable.

Low and Falling individuals typically have lost employment and have not been able to find any replacement sources of employment or income to maintain their previous lifestyle. These individuals are declining in their socio-economic status and are at a high risk of poverty, being at high risk of poverty if no economic substitutes can be found the situation of poor individuals can be bleak (Goldberg, 1998; Yapa, 2002). Falling individuals are at a high risk of social entrapment as they are not able to leave the area due to lack of economics. It was stated by one individual "I do not like living in this area but there is no other areas in Pretoria that I can go to as they are all more expensive" (Interviewee 56).

In a few conversations individuals would not admit to living in the area though it was obvious they lived in the residence. "I do not live in this area, this is a friend's

house" (Interviewee 74), immediately after during a conversation with a neighbour the man was identified as being a resident of the house. Others suggested they did not live in the area, but were simply looking after the house. "I am only taking care of this house for a friend but I have been here a year" (Interviewee 73). Though some of the lower income individuals (Interviews 41-60) in the study area were not happy with living in the area, many residents in the middle-class were happy and content to be living in the area and had no intentions of moving (Interviews 16-35). The stigma towards the area is a huge problem as it has keep the area undesirable to large sections of White society in the past (Beeld, 1990b; Transvaler, 1990a), but this currently benefits many upwardly mobile Blacks who do not hold the same negative attitude of the place and take advantage of the lower housing prices in the area (Interviews 1-13,16-21).

Residents who are falling in terms of their socio-economic status tends to be middle-aged to older White Afrikaners within the area (Interviews 41,45,50-60). These residents grew up during Apartheid and if they did not finish high school they could still find jobs that could sustain a simple lifestyle. It has been found that many of the impoverished individuals do not have high school diplomas. These residents stated that it was easier to go to work in the past then finish high school (Interviews 51,53,56,57,59,60). With the historic low level of education the individuals are now unemployed and are having a hard time finding employment, as most current jobs require education and training (Selod & Zenou, 2001). The uneducated and unemployed within the area have expressed concern that obtaining a high school certificate is difficult as they have been out of school for so long they fear going back (Interviews 51,53,56,57,59,60). "I am too old to go back to school, I don't think I would remember anything" was a fear of Interviewee 56.

Amongst the population of the study area is a group of retired individuals who tend to be stable in their socio-economic status. These retired individuals in the area are White residents who typically have historically established themselves in the area (Beeld, 1989a). Some of these retired individuals do not receive a high monthly income, but because their housing is paid off, and their expenses are low, they can afford their lifestyle on a relatively low monthly budget. Some retired individuals have deep roots in the area and admit to doing most of their shopping and social

engagements within the area. "We have everything we need here in the community and my friends are here so why would I want to leave" was commented by an elderly retiree (Interviewee 24). Retired individuals live off savings and pension plans as a source of income, so the monthly income typically remains consistent. Some retired individuals do have small workshops or home-based business, where they produce goods or services for added income to supplement their pensions (Interviews 25,34). Local support for retired individuals in the area has always been high and reinforces the level of social capital, especially amongst the White population (Beeld, 1989b; Tshwane Beeld, 2003a).

White retired people typically have a multi-room house which they have owned for a lengthy period of time. They purchased the housing in the past when their children were still young and dependent. As the children aged and gained independence they moved out and left the aging citizens with larger homes that are under-occupied. Although in some instances extended families have moved back in with the elderly parents when economic depression hit due to a lack of employment. "We had to move back with my parents when I lost my job as I could no longer afford rent, the house is full now but it is better then being on the street" (Interviewee 47).

3.2.3 Tertiary Students

Tertiary students are a multi-racial group that have a potentially upwardly mobile future. The study area is close to the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), which has a large campus in western Pretoria. The study area is a location that attracts many students with its lower rents and close proximity to TUT. Both Black and White students have located within the study area. There are instances of numerous students renting one house together, as well as individual students renting granny flats in the rear of houses within the study area (Interviews 14,15).

Tertiary students tend to have low monthly budgets. The ability to work full time and manage a full course load is difficult (Gultig, 2000). Students that do not have full financial backing of their parents are reliant on loans and part-time jobs to maintain themselves over their University career. The monthly income of these students

would be low enough for them to be in a low socio-economic grouping if economic variables were the only consideration. Students can be classified as potentially upwardly mobile because of a combination of other factors. Students have a high future economic potential as most are young and will likely to be able to find successful jobs after completing their degrees/diplomas. These individuals may not be happy with their current economic status, but realize that it is a temporary condition as their economic status will drastically increase once full time employment is obtained with proper qualifications. A young lady (Interviewee 14) states "I don't like living in this area and I don't like not having money but once I finish my courses I can get a job and start to buy things I want".

Younger residents of the area who are currently in University do not normally have roots in the community, nor do they wish to establish roots. These people are using the area as a temporary residence while they attend University, which has also been suggested by Jurgens *et al.* (2003). This trend has been noticed in both White and Black University residents. These University-based residents typically socialize outside the community as suggested by Interviewee 15: "We live here but when we want to party we go to Hatfield as that is where the party is at…" In this way the study area can be regarded as a bedroom community for the University students.

3.2.4 Homeless

The level of homelessness in the area varies. Homelessness is more than just being without a house. People with shelters can still be homeless if the security of tenure within the shelter is not established. Many fallen individuals live in the infilled areas of Elandspoort which include roughly 150 housing units. The rent in these structures is low and confirms that the area is a poorer minimal rent area being that the cost is less than R300 per month (Interviews 51,53,54). Pensions and welfare systems in South Africa tend to be approximately R800-900 per month. With such low rents the individuals can survive on the social safety provided by the government. The demand for these low rent accommodations is high as it was found that some houses held more than the nuclear family. In some cases extended families share the accommodation with as many as two or three couples

per household. Interviewee 47 states: "We are three couples who live in this house, our jobs do not pay well so we all live together and share the rent".

Other individuals, who are not so lucky, face a dire situation of homelessness which is a final result of poverty (Yapa, 2002). Impoverished people can be at a point where they are not able to secure permanent housing and are left homeless or dependent on the generosity of others (Yapa, 2002) which is what is happening locally in the community. Within the study area there is a homeless shelter which has just over 100 shelter units for the desperate. Demand is high for the shelter yet they can not accommodate families due to space constraints. For individuals who are unable to find any sorts of accommodation or shelter are left to their own demise. In some areas close to the study site are White people living in tents and homemade shelters (Pictures 18). These tent camps are located to the north of Elandspoort and to the west of Danville Extension 3. Both sites are similar in size and house roughly 15 people each. These sites do not have services and are the most basic of shelters an individual can have before living shelterless. Huchzermeyer (2004) describes shelterless as a situation in which individuals are living without housing or cover. Though the researcher did not find any individuals sleeping in the open, he was not out in the study site late in the evening. It would not be unexpected to see some individuals living in these conditions especially during the warmer summer months.

The community does have numerous systems to support the local residents who are desperate. Fallen individuals are the group that takes advantage of available soup kitchens and food banks. All of the other classes are still able to provide for themselves, but a fallen group struggle to even live a basic existence. The future potential for these individuals may not be good as they might be trapped in a cycle of poverty. A married man stated "We have nothing, we live in the shelter and I do not know how we are going to change it, we can not find work and do not have family to help us out" (Interviewee 55). Without major help from outside sources, they will likely be stuck in an impoverished situation indefinitely (Altschuler *et al.*, 2004). The community will continue to assist the fallen individuals, but it seems as if the number of fallen individuals is growing as more people continue falling and are unable to find means to stabilize their socio-economic status. The director of

the homeless shelter is worried because "Every month more people come looking for a place to stay or some form of assistance, the problem is growing and we have limited resources" (Interviewee 62).

Picture 18: Tent Housing

3.3 Community Dynamics

The following sub-section will deal with two main issues relating to community dynamics. The first being resident interactions which provides an overview of how the local residents are interacting. Varying issues of racial and economic tensions are present within the rapidly desegregating area but are not as tense as initially predicted. The second issue deals with issues that were expressed regarding problems within the area. Whereas the first deals with racial and economic issues, the second issues are related to crime and lifestyle problems that all racial groups are commonly seeing as problems within the community.

3.3.1 Intra-Community Assistance

The population in the study area has strong ties and social capital, especially amongst the Afrikaans population, a phenomenon which can be found throughout the country according to Crampton (2001). The area had loose social capital in the past (Beeld, 1989a; Beeld, 1990a; Transvaler, 1990b) which declined during the 1990's when the area was seeing major transformations and people turned inwards and worried about themselves first. Now that the country is no longer in rapid transformation, people are starting to look outwards towards the community again.

Many people help the less fortunate with clothing, shelter and nutritional needs (Interview 62). Though most of the area is lower to middle income, they manage to provide assistance to those in need. Charity in this area stays at the community level (Interviews 61,65-67). Poverty in the area is primarily a White problem, as most Blacks in the area tend to be upwardly mobile. South Africa experiences poverty across all the racial groups, yet the national majority is amongst the African population (Donaldson, 2005).

3.3.2 Resident Interactions

As part of the interviews and comments recorded during site visits, a reasonable description of the social relations can be assessed. Though some discrimination still does exist in the area, it has changed to less racially motivated and more economically based (Opinions of Interviewees 1-15 vs. 51-60). Blacks tend to be much more liberal with the racial dynamic than the Whites, Interviewee 4 thinks "I am very open with living with the Whites, but a few older Whites seem to hold grudges". But within both groups the younger the individual is the more likely they are to being accepting of different groups which confirms work done by Durrheim & Dixon (2000). Most individuals are no longer openly prejudice on the basis of race, but they do express distain for other economic socio-economic classes in the area. The discontented opinions are not specific to one group, as all individuals have expressed concern for another group (Opinions of Interviewees 1-15 vs. 51-60).

Upwardly mobile Blacks in the area are generally educated and have benefited from the hiring policies of the ANC government (Interviews 1-13,16-21). These individuals have expressed some concerns about the lower status residents in the area: "The people who cause problems in the area are the unemployed people who get drunk and get up to no good" (Interviewee 10). These Blacks believe that it is the poor people who cause the increased crime in the area. They do not label the problem as White or Black, but simply a result of poverty. This group is concerned that White residents have labelled them as token employees and/or responsible for their job losses: "I do not know why these people are mad at me for having a job, I have a education and deserve the job, I did not take it away from any of them" (Interviewee 12).

Lower socio-economic Blacks (Interviews 36-38) in the area have expressed some envy of people in higher socio-economic status regardless of race. Jealousy might be a factor as some Blacks are not as successful as others and feel resentment, as they are not rising as quickly. They feel the Whites benefited from Apartheid and now the higher status Blacks have had more opportunities than them. These individuals relate to others in their classification group regardless of race. It was found in the study area that groups of people associated and identified with similar individuals, regardless of race (Interviews 16-35).

A small number of the Blacks have suggested that some of the older residents in the area are still openly racist, a example is: "The older people have not changed from the Apartheid days, they still say bad things and make us feel unwelcome" (Interviewee 18). These same Black individuals have also suggested that at certain hours of the day they feel insecure in some White dominant areas within the study site but this is not a common concern amongst the majority of Black residents. They have suggested that because of their skin colour some residents falsely label them as criminals if they are in a predominantly White residential area, late at night. With this one exception all Blacks have stated that the Whites acceptance of desegregation is getting better as the years pass from the end of Apartheid. All Blacks interviewed in the area think of themselves as a higher status than the general population of townships and other informal settlements (Interviews 1-13,16-21,36-38).

Generally in South Africa the White opinion is not as liberal or as accepting as their Black counterparts (Durrheim, 2003). Different socio-economic levels of Whites have varying opinions. The most openly racist members tend to be the older White populations as well as White individuals who are struggling with poverty. Older populations lived during a political situation in which it was acceptable to discriminate against a population group based on their race. Though this explanation does not make their behaviour tolerable in a contemporary post-Apartheid South Africa, it does provide a reason for the current behaviour (Allen, 2001). The other group who is openly racist are the very poor White individuals (Interviews 51-60). Generally these people are suffering due to job losses brought on by BEE and affirmative action policies. These individuals blame the government for this problem and focus their concern or resentment on Black individuals as a face for the government policies. The individuals feel abandoned or discarded by society in general, but place their negativity and blame on the Black race as a whole rather then on individuals or the government. In some cases Black individuals move in close to Whites who have a negative racial outlook. White individuals are initially resistant, but it has been found that often these Whites accept the neighbours, but still hold the racial group in contempt (Interviews 25,31,34). These White residents have each made statements similar to "Neighbour X is fine, but he is not like the rest of them" (Interviewee 34). The statement is racist according to definitions of racism by Duncan (2003), but it does show the individuals do change their opinions over time regarding varying racial groups.

The majority of the White population does not hold such a negative opinion of the varying races within the area. Many of the White residents in the area are accommodating of new residents. "The Blacks moving into the area are decent citizens and make good neighbours" (Interviewee 26). Most middle class individuals consulted had no problems with Black neighbours and were all pleased with the racial integration of the area. Whites did tend to look down upon groups in classes lower then their own regardless of race. The economically viable White populations (Interviews 24-35) tended to look down upon the poor individuals and stated they are creating problems in the area. It was stated that "It is the poor

which are deteriorating the area with regards to outside public opinion" (Interviewee 33).

Many of the younger residents in the area admitted to having friends of a different race in the social group. Older residents tend not to have relationships outside of the workplace with different racial groups. It was found that in a few cases some of the students identified that they shared accommodation with members of a different racial group (Interviews 3,14). Age seems to play a significant role in the level of social interaction between racial groups. Socio economic status is a factor, which seems to influence the opinion of the individuals regarding other races and classes.

3.3.3 Problems Expressed

Interviews and general conversations in the area have identified some common concerns amongst all economic classifications and races of individuals. The residents identified and explained the problems and most recommended measures that could be implemented to rectify the situation. Many of the problems are interrelated and stem from social decay in the area. Drugs and alcohol create problems of crime and violence, yet the reason many people turn to drugs and alcohol is a feeling of hopelessness brought on by the rising levels of poverty (Emmett, 2001).

To solve an individual problem requires analysis of the entire matrix of problems as no single criteria cause one problem. The viable sustainable solution to the problem is to uplift the socio-economic status of the entire area, but this is difficult considering the current status of many of the residents. To obtain a better understanding of the problem in its entirety will require an analysis of some of major issues.

The first and most commonly expressed concern regards the Police and their participation within the community. Though some residents did express that the Police are trying their best, the common consensus was that they were sub-standard in their performance within the area. The main concerns with the Police were that the response time to crimes is extremely slow and or they did not even

show up to some of the less significant crimes (Interviews 53,56,59). "The Police have turned a blind eye to some of the social problems in the area" (Interviewee 53). Public drunkenness, drugs and fights all take place in the area, but residents suggest that police do not take an interest, which only exacerbates the problem. Some residents do express remorse for the Police stating that "The area they cover is too large for the number of officers and they are unable to do a proper job with the smaller crimes" (Interviewee 33). Though no Police representatives were available or prepared to make an official comment, some of the officers in the area did suggest that the area have so many small problems associated with the social decay that they do not have the capacity to deal with all non-essential problems.

Closely related to the policing issues is the crime in the area. This is a topic that had varying opinions within the study area. Many of the citizens in the upper two socio-economic classifications (Interviews 1-35) felt the crime rates were no worse than other White residential areas of Gauteng. These individuals did however have security fencing and burglar bars on their homes to create a protective buffer between them and the general public. The upper levels of socio-economic status stated that the major crime affecting them was theft. However these people had a positive feeling of security within their homes and did not foresee any major problems (Interviews 1-35).

Some of the lowest socio-economic individuals (Interviews 51-60) did express more concerns than the upper classes. These insecurities and problems arise, as they do not have the level of protection afforded by proper security measures. Crimes expressed were more in-depth and include such activities as the common theft and public indecency. The more specific activities that worry many of the poor are items such as intimidation by the local drug dealers, violence and gang-related issues (Interviews 56,59). "The local drug dealers are violent and many people try to avoid them as we do not want anything bad to happen to us" (Interviewee 56). These problems are by no means encompassing or specific only to the study area, but there is a general rise in overall crime rates throughout post-Apartheid South Africa (Emmett, 2001). The crime rates and solutions are issues the nation must address as a whole. The neighbourhood has little chance of correcting its problems due to a spill over effect from other areas. Crime affects everyone and all citizens

face the same problems, although the frequency and severity varies depending on the area (Emmett, 2001). It seems the poor are more susceptible to crime due to lack of security and thus are affected on a more regular basis than a person with more defence mechanisms.

There are many social problems within the area, but a major issue that is apparent, is the occurrence of smokers. The vast majority of the poor and fallen individuals (Interviews 36-60) consulted were smokers. Smoking causes numerous problems, which were observed and expressed. The first and most obvious issue comes when the individuals who are on a very limited budget, yet choose to buy cigarettes rather than more essential goods such as food. A few smokers stated the habit was very expensive and would like to quit, but the addiction was too strong (Interviews 54,55,57). Other smokers did not want to quit as *"...it is one of the few pleasures left since I lost my job"* (Interviewee 60). Another concern with smoking is that it has been medically proven smoking can cause many health related issues (Hawe & Sheill, 2000). The poor and fallen individuals do not have a surplus of cash to afford medical aid so they do not receive optimal medical care via the state hospitals. If problems arise from smoking, these individuals must suffer unaided or try to receive help at a state hospital. Smoking is causing additional pain and suffering to some of these residents who are failing in health from years of addiction.

While smoking is common amongst the poor, a larger growing trend with the poor is illicit drug use. Though the drug use trend is mostly in the younger crowd it was suggested that some of the older residents are also becoming addicted to various forms of narcotics (Interviews 26,30). Drugs are becoming a major problem in the poverty stricken areas of the study site. It has been suggested by many affected individuals, that drug deals and other drug related problems have increased the crime rates in the area (Interviews 43,45,51,59). Users and addicts may resort to criminal activities to support their addictions (Kalichman *et al.*, 2005). When some addicts are unable to pay off the drug dealer, violence can be the by-product resulting in bodily harm or death.

Unfortunately drugs have always been part of society, but the problem escalates with a decline in the socio-economic status of an area. With low social capital in a community, the availability and frequency of drug use can escalate (Lochner *et al.*, 1999). Residents who feel hopeless in the fight against drugs give up, as drug use becomes more frequently observable to the general public (Hawe & Shiell, 2000). With a lack of policing many drug users are not afraid to consume prohibited substances in public. Though the quantity and types of substances may differ, drug use has become a problem. The most common and visible drug is marijuana, but harder synthetic drugs are also becoming readily available (Interviews 61,62). It has been suggested that "….many drug dealers are conducting business in the area as well as some of the informal tuckshops selling various drugs illegally" (Interviewee 62). Though drug use can be associated with all economic levels in society, the highest concentration of frequent users typically tend to be in the lower classes of society. Reasons for a higher prevalence of users in the lower classes is that they have more 'free' time to utilize drugs. Many employed people would find it difficult to work if they were under an altered mind set caused by drug use.

Though drug use is occurring within the area the amount of users are limited compared with people who utilize alcohol (Interviews 61,62). Alcohol is not a banned substance and most members of society do drink with varying frequency. Problems with alcohol arise when it is consumed on a level which severely alters the judgement and decisions of the user which can lead to delinquency and crime (Waxman, 1983). Many social and family problems arise when an individual becomes intoxicated. Family violence, fights and crime all increase in the presence of alcohol (Bremner, 2001) and the study area has had examples of this in the media (Transvaler, 1990a). Many people do things that they would not normally do while under the influence of alcohol (Kalichman *et al.*, 2005). It has been suggested that some people drink to escape the reality of being poor, but the costs of alcohol deplete monthly budgets of individuals who are already struggling (Interviews 51-62). Being a legal substance people have the right to drink as they see fit and is not something that can be regulated. Poverty, unemployment and alcohol are all factors that interrelate and can not be seen as independent variables.

As suggested some impoverished people do drastic things to try to obtain money to feed varying habits. Prostitution is one illegal activity that some locals participate in to obtain income (Rapport, 1997; Interviews 61,65). Though some examples of prostitution may include a person gaining income to meet basic needs, it was suggested that: "many of the local prostitutes conduct sexual acts for money to support drug use" (Interviewee 61). Prostitution and drug use can have a symbiotic relationship. Drug users are unable to afford their habit, so they resort to the only profession that will provide them with enough income to sustain their addictive lifestyle (Kalichman, 2005). The researcher did encounter a small number of prostitutes in the public eye but all were based around the upper apartment floor of the business centre (Picture 19). According to various communications with individuals in the area, the majority of prostitution and drug use is centralised in the low rent flats within central Danville, but also some houses within the infilled areas of Elandspoort (Interviews 43,58,61,62). Public prostitution could be used as an indicator of a decline of society within a neighbourhood and the study area is no exception to the rule (Kalichman, 2005).

In the past it was likely that some social problems were existent in the study area. Though prior to the end of Apartheid, no infilled area had developed nor had any higher density extensions. Until the development of those areas, the study area had been composed of medium density housing typical of a working class area. Residents who lived in the area during that time have expressed that the social problems, though existing, were not in the public realm. Residents have suggested the social problems have increased and have been brought to the public attention by examples in common view which can be seen in other South African areas (Bremner, 2001). With a police force that is not as strict as in the past and more daring individuals, social problems in the area are escalating and are more visible.

Picture 19: Apartments in Danville Business Centre

3.4   Summary

In this chapter social dynamics were explored with relation to two processes, post-Apartheid and post-industrial. The two processes have had major implications on the various racial groups and the level of their current economic status. A matrix of both race and economic status was identified with Whites and Blacks being two groups with varying levels of economic status in each. In addition tertiary students and homeless were addressed as multiracial but uniform in economic status. Community dynamics in the area is a combination of how the various social groups interacted and what problems have been expressed with regards to the community. Alcohol, crime, drugs and prostitution are all related to poverty and this area is on the increase in all aspects.

4 MODELLING SOCIO-ECONOMIC DYNAMICS

The chapter includes two sections, the first explains the conceptual framework of the model and the second section utilizes the conceptual framework to model socio-economic dynamics identified within the study. Issues and dynamics discovered during the study are complicated and the utilization of a model to visually represent the dynamics will assist in the explanation. Blacks and Whites will be addressed in separate models based on the conceptual model as the two races have had varying levels of advantage and disadvantage in the Apartheid and post-Apartheid time frames.

4.1 Conceptual Framework

The Socio-Economic Transition Model displays socio-economic changes through time. Three socio-economic categories are represented in columns with a large bold letter above the column in Figure 7, the three categories represent the past present and future. Column A is a person's Previous Economic Status, Column C is a person's Current Social Status, and finally column E is a Future Socio-Economic Outlook.

The second aspect of the Model is Trends which represents the changes in socio-economic status through time. Trends are modelled in a Historical Trends column B which represent changes which have already taken place and a Future Potential Trends column D which predicts future trends of individuals.

The X axis of the model is based on time with the past being on the left in column A, moving to the current time frame in the middle column C, to the future on the right in column E. The Y axis of the model is a range of economic levels with the highest on the top and lowest on the bottom. The following subsections will address each column individually

Figure 7: Complete Socio-Economic Transition Model Framework
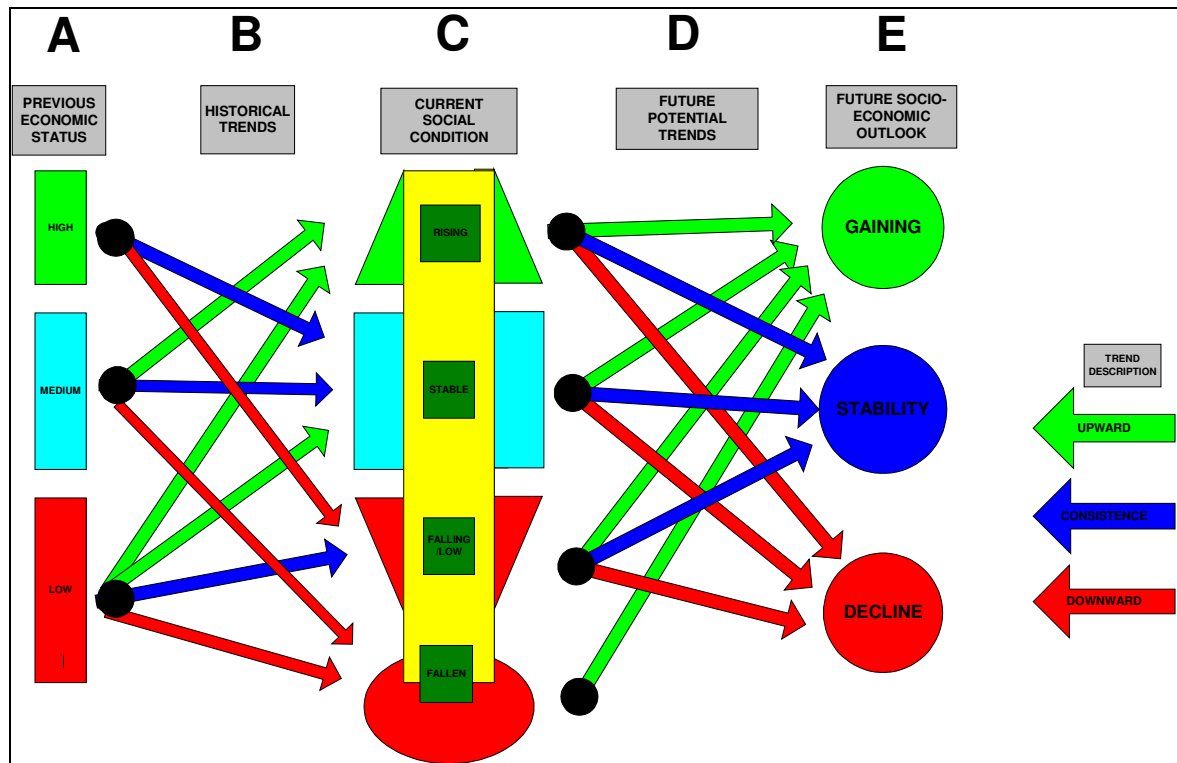
4.1.1 Categories

The model has three categories of socio-economic levels. The three categories represent the past, present and future. The past is represented in column A Previous Economic Status, the present is represented by column C Current Social Condition, and the future is represented by column E Future Socio-Economic Outlook. All three columns are a hierarchy of socio-economic levels with column A and E having three levels and column C having an extra level at the lowest end of the spectrum to represent a current situation of impoverished individuals.

Previous Economic Status

The first stage (column A) in the Socio-Economic Transition Model is Previous Economic Status (Figure 7). Since each individual would have been at varying levels of economic standing in the past, three generalized levels are presented. The three levels of status are Low, Medium and High. The Low level represents the

people who in the past were poor or struggling in terms of their economic status. The Medium level represents the average working class individual and the High level represents the upper middle-income classes. These three historic economic levels of status (column A) provide the baseline from which the Trends in Column B originate. Levels of poverty vary, as do all the levels in previous economic status, but to simplify, the individuals will be placed in a one of the three levels that best represents their situation.

Current Social Condition

Four levels of Column C within the Socio-Economic Transition Model (Figure 7) represent the Current Social Condition of individuals. Criteria to label individuals in varying levels within column C include economic potential, current social condition, contentment with current situation and previous status. The four levels of grouped individuals include Rising, Stable, Falling/Low and Fallen. These categories are represented in Appendix B with the summary of individuals interviewed for the study. The Rising population is gaining in life, they are moving up in terms of socio-economic status or are students who have high future potential. The Stable population is a group who are content with their life style and have stability in their monthly income, these individuals are employed or retired. The Falling/Low population is a group which previously had a better stand in life, but now due to economic circumstances have lost social and economic status. Another factor is that they have always been in a lower socio-economic group and have failed to achieve success in life with regards to economic standing. The final group is labelled as the Fallen. This group has typically always been of low economic status, but their present under-employed situation has seen them loose their jobs, homes and in some cases even their families. The Fallen group have hit rock bottom and depend entirely on others and the social welfare system to meet basic needs.

Future Socio-Economic Outlook

Future Socio-Economic Outlook (column E) is a category in which an estimate is made on how the individuals socio-economic status could be in the future (see

Figure 7). Future potential socio-economic status can be that of Gaining, Stability or Decline. All other factors combined help determined a potential future for the individual. If a person is currently low income because they are young and in University, their future potential will be high, as it is likely they will enter to job market and have the tools to rise within the workforce.   If an older resident is homeless, jobless and has little potential to remedy the situation, the future potential is grim for this individual and will likely decline further. Future potential status also takes into account what plans the individuals foresee in their future. The Model does not try to predict future classifications or socio-economic status, but rather gives a simple prediction in dynamic trend to which the individuals are heading. These three classifications are directly related to the Future Potential Trends (column D) that individuals are most likely to follow. These trends are predicted by the looking at the Previous Economic Status (column A) and Current Social Condition (column C) of the individuals and estimating what their future potential trends will be.   Thus, the three levels of the Future Socio-Economic Outlook in column E are Gaining for those who's that will likely rise with regards to socio-economic condition, Stability for those who will maintain their current socio-economic status into the future and Decline for those individuals who will fall with regards to their Current Economic Condition.

4.1.2 Trends

Trends within the model are universal and located in column B and D. There are three trends, a Upward Trend, a Consistence Trend and a Downward Trend. The only difference between column B and D is that column B models the socio-economic Trends that has already taken place and column D predicts what Trends will likely happen in the future.

Upward Trends describe an upward mobility of socio-economic status.   The Upward Trend is also economically driven, but with a positive connotation in terms of socio-economics rather than a negative. The positive movements can be a result of a newly gained employment opportunity or increase in wages within a current job.

Consistence Trends are where the individual has no noticeable change in the quality of life or socio-economics. A Consistence Trend assumes that the individuals are content in their life situation.

Downward Trends are a situation in which individuals are losing with regards to their socio-economics. This is a downward Trend resulting in a classification of socio-economic level lower than one had in the past. This report has discussed situations in which a Downward Trend results, but the majority of downward Trends will be economically driven as a result of loss of regular wages.

4.1.3 Complete Socio-Economic Transition Model

In looking at the entire community a general trend or pattern can be distinguished. The past, present and future need to be modelled and analysed as a whole to properly assess an area (see Figure 7). It may be found that most modelling will have a similar pattern between the historical aspect of the model (column A-C) and the future aspect (column C-E), but if an unexpected event occurred in an area, the past might drastically differ from the future. An example may include a decline of industry in a single industry town or neighbourhood over a long period of time, but if a new industry commences operation in the area it may show a declining past with an increasing future of individuals. The opposite of this example is also quite plausible. The level of socio-economics may differ from area to area so if the model was to be used elsewhere the socio-economics of individuals will have to be assessed within the area to create a wide enough spectrum of economic differentiation.

The time frame in which the condition (column C) within the model is valid, is limited as economic and racial dynamics within communities are constantly changing and what is presently relevant may change in the future. An example may be a representation of a community in a contemporary context that can be outdated within a timeframe of 5-10 years, even sooner if drastic events are to take place within the country or on a local scale. Drastic events can include such things as loss or creation of major employment opportunities, change in governmental policies, and health epidemics such as HIV/AIDS to mention a few. Using the

predictive aspect of the future section of the model (column C-E), one will assume no drastic changes in the near future, but as no one can predict what the future holds to any certainty, all future trend predictions (column D) are subject to uncertainty.

4.2   Application of the Model

The application of the model will take the theoretical concepts discussed up to this point in the chapter and apply to the study site. Status and historical Trends are based on information portrayed in previous chapters.   The future trends are predictive and represent what will likely happen in the area within the next decade. All assumptions are the product of interpretation of aforementioned information. The future trends can not be substantiated, as they are simply a prediction of the future. Future predictions made in this project can only be quantified in the future with continued research. Two models will be presented for the area, one for the Whites and one for the Black individuals within the area. Black and Whites within the study area have very different socio-economic pasts due to the regulations and restrictions that the Apartheid government imposed and enforced. Due to a past in which Blacks were oppressed and Whites benefited from preferential treatment the historical socio-economics of the groups differed. In most cases Blacks come from a lower socio-economic standing than their White counterparts. A second factor that influenced the separation of the two groups is that since the abolition of Apartheid and the election of a democratic ANC government, the Trends differ amongst the racial groups. Blacks were disadvantaged under Apartheid but in the "New South Africa" the reverse is true under the ANC government. Government imposed hiring and workforce quotas have disadvantaged many Whites who are capable of working yet unable to find viable jobs due to their skin colour. These two factors are significant enough to model the two racial groups separately.

These two differing models are presented as the historic as well as future trends for the individuals in the two racial groups differ drastically. Within these models the frequency of trends will be represented by three weights of trend lines. The three weights will be a thick trend line for high occurrences (41-100% of interviewees), A

thin line for trends that have low occurrences (1-20% of interviewees) and medium line for occurrences that have a medium occurrence (21-40% of interviewees).

4.2.1 *Black Socio-Economic Modelling*

The following descriptions of Black Historic and Future Trends are modelled in Figure 8. The major trends within the study area for Black individuals are Rising Trends from lower economic levels. These Trends will likely continue in the future as increasing employment opportunities create an upwardly mobile black middle class.

Figure 8: Black Socio-Economic Transition Model
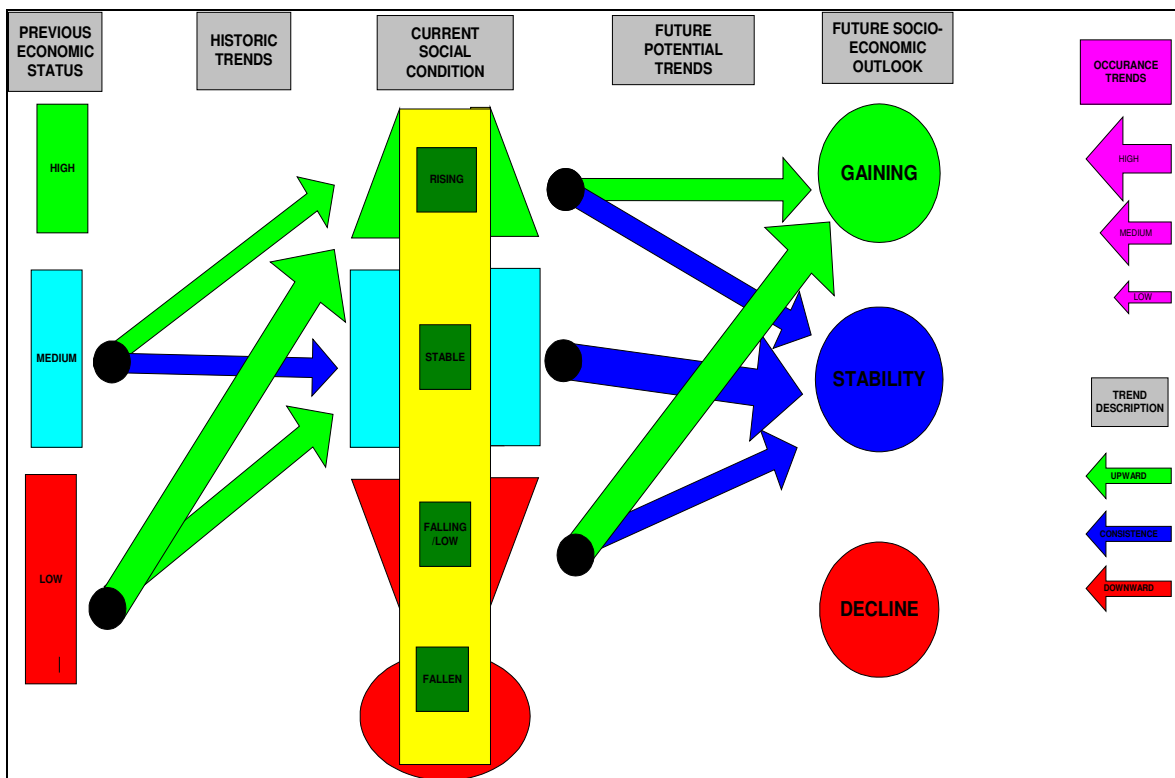
Black Historic Modelling

The Blacks within the area have some major and minor trends. The largest trend is an upward socio-economic movement of Blacks. Some of the Black individuals came from backgrounds that were of a working class. These individuals did not

have the poverty that some Blacks have experienced, but rather were working class individuals who benefited from better wages and jobs once the new government came to power (Jurgens *et al.*, 2003)

Medium economic level Blacks have either been experiencing Upward Trends or maintaining Consistence Trends within the area.   Wealthy Black individuals were uncommon during Apartheid (Christopher 1997; Donaldson, 2005) and as such no individuals were encountered during site visits that were of a high historic socio-economics, as such no Upward Mobility Trends can be based from the High status level for Black individuals. There are few Blacks in the area who are poor or are in a trend which will see them become poor. Blacks in the area seem to be happy with their situation or are in a position in which they are upwardly mobile and gaining a positive attitude with regards to their socio-economics. Therefore, the main Trends within the area for the past dynamic of the Black residents are Upward Trends or Consistence Trends.

Black Future Modelling

The general Trends of the Black residents will likely continue in a Consistence Trend to an Upward Trend. Most Blacks in the area, especially amongst the Stable and Rising conditions will level out in their careers and maintain their current lifestyle. Blacks moving into the area will tend to be upwardly mobile from a lower socio-economic situation. If any Blacks notice a Downward Trend, it will be due to a loss of job or additional expenses placed on the households. An example of decline is an upwardly mobile Black couple, who will decline from a Rising to Stable condition if they start a family and one spouse stays at home. The future for them will likely be that of Stability rather than a Gaining outlook. The reduction in income as well as the added expense of children will drastically alter the future potential within that household. Some Rising individuals may leave the area if their income becomes sufficient enough to afford housing in a more upmarket area. These individuals who are at the high end of the Rising condition may be using the housing as a stepping stone for higher priced housing in more affluent areas which has also been seen in studies by Jurgens *et al.* (2003).

Upward Mobility Trends are fuelled by better employment opportunities, the basic jobs in South Africa have seen the quickest racial transition (Bond, 1999). With BEE and affirmative action, technical jobs are now being infilled with Blacks as the university graduation rate is increasing amongst Black populations (Gultig, 2000). More modern Blacks are gaining University education and experience and now are able to gain jobs that were White-dominated during Apartheid (Gultig, 2000). With the rise in a Black middle-class, there has been an increased level of homeowners in Pretoria who are Black (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002). From the outcome of the field work there does not seem to be a Black under-class within the area. Due to higher housing prices, recent immigration seems to have excluded impoverished Blacks from the area as they are unable to afford the higher housing prices, which has also been suggested in Cape Town by Lemanski (2005). Though some poor Blacks are in the area, the household they are associated with is not poor. Desegregation within the area is economically driven rather than government imposed though state funded housing projects, which can and has led to a higher level of social capital than if the desegregation was forced (Subramanian, 2003).

The general trend for both the historic and future sections of the Model show Consistence Trends to Upward Trends from the lower socio-economic status in the past and continued upward mobility for some as well as stabilization in the future for others. There was no decline in levels from the past and it is expected that few if any Blacks in the area will experience a Downward Trend in the future. Historically the greatest Trend was Upward from the low economic situation. Future Trends will likely see the greatest numbers in an Upward Trend from the Falling/Low condition and Consistence Trend from the Stable condition.

4.2.2 White Socio-Economic Modelling

The White Historic Model has many more trends than its Black counterpart. As the Black model showed largely Consistence and Upward Trends, the White model expresses Trends in all directions (Figure 9). The general majority Trends are of Consistence Trend and Downward Trends. The major Trend is the Consistence Trend based from the Low and Medium previous economic status. The Downward Trend occurs throughout the economic groups, but the largest Downward Trend is

from the previous Medium economic status experiencing a Downward Trend to a Low/Falling or Fallen condition.

Figure 9: White Socio Economic Transitional Model
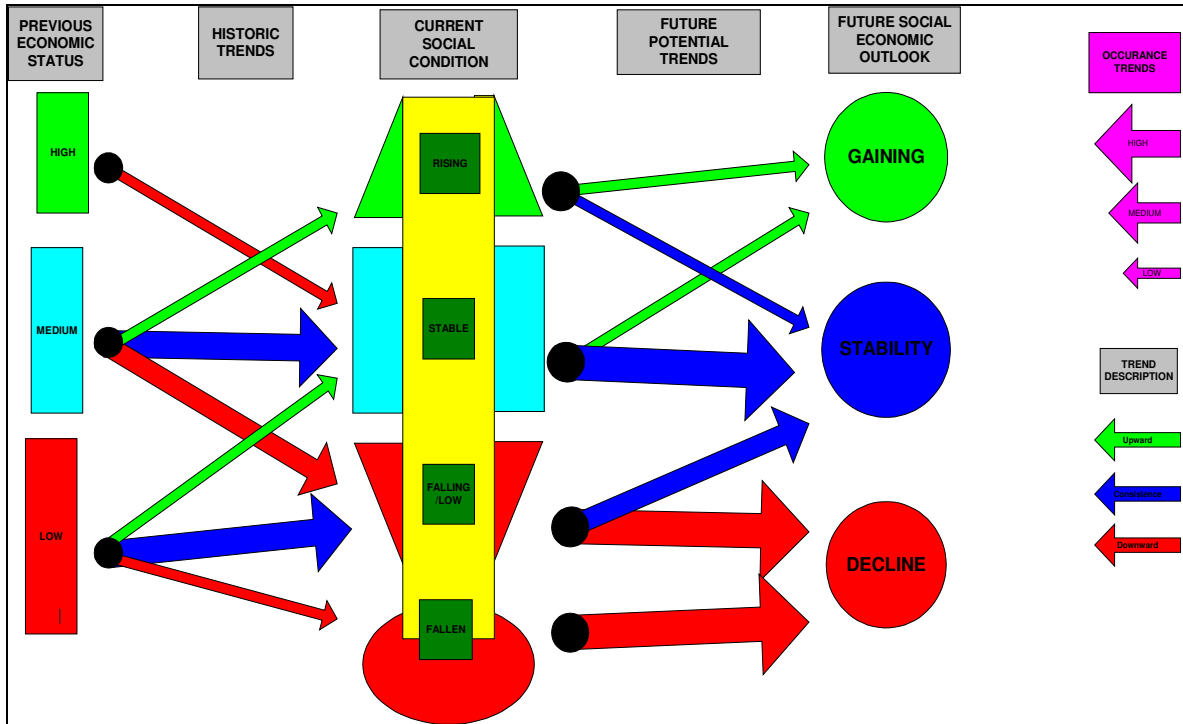
White Historic

Historically the area was a working class area that did not have many High previous economic status individuals (Beeld, 1990b; Transvaler, 1990a). The few people in the area that have experienced a Downward Trend from the historically High situations are people from other areas that have experienced decline in their socio-economic status and have moved to the area to afford the cheaper housing. The people with a Downward Trend from the historically High status typically have enough buffers in place that they do not become Fallen condition; rather they experience a Downward Trend to become Stable condition in a less expensive area. Consistence Trend from the previous Medium economic status is the most dominant Trend in the entire area. Many of the White residents within in this Stable condition classification have been living there for a long term. These individuals include the retired and older residents who typically are of an age to have benefited

from Apartheid (Lemanski, 2005). The Falling/Low condition individuals who have experienced a Consistence Trend are the individuals who are poor, but acknowledge their situation and realize there is little they can do about it. These residents accept the Falling/ Low condition with which they are faced. Almost all of the individuals who are experiencing a Downward Trend from the previous Middle and Lower Status are a result of job losses, resulting in a White poor underclass. The emerging trend of a White poverty group is now more visible in modern South Africa and has been more evident since the demise of Apartheid (Sunday Tribune, 2005; Visser, 2003b). Though there were poor Whites within the history of South Africa, there was not nearly the number or prevalence that there is today (Visser, 2003b).

White Future

Within the Historic aspect of the Model, Whites experienced a Consistence Trend and Downward Trend. Future Trends in the area will likely follow the recent past and will generally range from a Consistence Trend to a Downward Trend. The dominant Stable condition group within the study area will likely not change within the near future. This group tends to hold the entire study area stable with regards to overall socio-economic standing. The dynamic groups in the White population seem to be a minority with few Downward Trend individuals and fewer Upward Trend individuals. There are few Whites, within the Upward Trend within the area, and the ones that are, tend to be university students and the younger populations that have enough education to have a higher future potential than the under-educated. Upward Trend White populations will likely leave the area for more upmarket White areas once they are able to afford higher housing costs similar to what was suggested by Jurgens *et al*. (2003). Some of the Rising condition White individuals may also stay in the area and stabilize, if they have ties with the community as seen in Horn & Ngcobo (2003). Typically Falling/Low condition individuals will either find gainful employment and stabilize, or reach a low level of poverty and become susceptible to homelessness if they do not have outside support. Once individuals reach such a low socio-economic level it is hard to rise above their situation (Visser, 2003b; Chen *et al.*, 2006). The Fallen condition individuals are likely doomed to a life of poverty unless they can obtain skills to enable them to find

work. Though the majority of White job losses are due to affirmative action which has already taken place, the legacy of these job losses will be felt in the area for decades to come.

The area will likely remain an area for Whites of lower socio-economic standing well into the future. As elderly Whites move to retirement homes or pass away, the influx of residents will be an upwardly mobile middle class Blacks or economically declining Whites, if current trends are followed. The area has been desegregating quickly and it is entirely possible that the area will tip into a Black majority within the near future. If this happens the area will be a Black area with a sector of poor Whites.

4.3   Summary

The two applied models in this chapter portray a racial difference and their varying socio-economic trends within the recent past. Historic modelling of these trends and condition is based on interviews and community observation. Future predictions of trends are based on estimates of what is likely to happen in the near future. What is definite in the area is that racial differences are apparent in the socio-economics of individuals. Two easily identifiable trends in the locality which contradict some mainstream literature is that Blacks are experiencing an upward mobility where as Whites are falling with regards to their socio-economics which contradicts the general White elitist vs. oppressed Black arguments of the past.

The amount of White upwardly mobile residents is limited in the area as generally the area is seen as a low income district amongst the Whites of Pretoria and therefore most upwardly mobile Whites find other areas to populate. With the increasing numbers of Blacks into the area, a scenario based around White flight (discussed in Anas, 2002; Rotberg, 2000) amongst higher economic status White individuals is also plausible. Blacks on the other hand typically come from township areas and see the area as a step up and therefore hold the area much higher in regards to the public perception, which can also be seen in other historically White areas of Pretoria (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002; Jurgens *et al.*, 2003; Horn & Ngcobo, 2003).

Thus, overall the most dominant status and trend in the study area is a Stable condition and Consistence Trends. Some of these residents are occupied in different jobs than in the past, but the new source of income provides them with a lifestyle comparable to that of the past. Some Blacks also fall into this classification, but an issue with labelling a historically disadvantaged Black individual as Stable condition is that many of these Blacks have only been employed in gainful careers within the past 10 years and have progressed upwardly mobile from their previous status (Jurgens *et al.*, 2003).

Future Trends may prove that the current Black residents have reached a level in their occupation that stops them from an Upward Trend further, but are able to maintain a Consistence Trend within their current condition. Blacks reaching a plateau in the workforce are discussed within Lemanski (2005) which is what is likely to occur within this area. If this same survey is conducted in 10 years and a researcher was to look at the Rising Black populations from the first 10 years, they would likely find that many have stabilized within the second 10 year period.

5   CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter has four sections. The summary section will recap and summarize each chapter, the conclusion section will conclude how the objectives of the study have been met. A third section suggests recommendations on how improvements in the area can be made. A few final thoughts are presented at the end of the chapter.

5.1   Summary

Each chapter within the study had a specific goal.   The chapters progressed logically from an introduction though to a model of identified dynamics.

The first chapter is titled 'The Intersection of Economic Change and Desegregation - A Neglected Field'.   Within this chapter a research niche was identified as being a lack of research into socio-economic dynamics within rapidly desegregating, historically White areas.   Though some desegregation research has been completed in South Africa there is still a large gap in literature especially when it comes to upwardly mobile Blacks and impoverished Whites together with the dynamics between them and this study aimed to address that specific gap in information. Chapter 1 also introduces the study area and the two dynamics which are fuelling change within it, the two dynamics being post-Apartheid and post-industrialism. The chapter finishes by outlining a set of objectives which determine the structure of the remaining study. To meet the objectives the methodology is set to include qualitative, quantitative, institutional and secondary sources.

The second chapter titled 'Site Context, Structure and Support Facilities' provided a description and analysis of the structural aspects of the community. Describing the study area serves two purposes, the first is to provide a context for community dynamics and the second is to identify any post-Apartheid changes in the community situation. The three issues identified in the title of the chapter each play a role in setting a backdrop for the study, site context places the study area within a South African, Pretoria as well as a localized situation. The structural aspect within

the community describes the various housing types located within the identified study site and also identifies the types of business and public infrastructure. Finally support facilities identify and explain the various poverty alleviation schemes within Danville and Elandspoort. These factors all provide the basis for socio-economic dynamics found within chapter 3.

The third chapter addresses socio-economic groups and the dynamics of the study site and the processes which influence them. The chapter starts by addressing the two main processes at play within the study. The first being post-industrialism which is the decline of heavy industry within South Africa. The second is post-Apartheid processes including desegregation, BEE/affirmative action. These two processes have major impacts on the study area and as such required a proper explanation. The next major component of the chapter is the identification of distinguishable groups. The groups identified include the Whites, Blacks, tertiary students and the homeless. Each group is addressed separately and socio-economic dynamics are introduced. Finally, the chapter shows how the groups are interacting within a section titled 'Community Dynamics'. The socio-economic groupings and dynamics provide a basis for the model created in chapter 4.

Chapter 4 has two aspects. Firstly, a conceptual model is created to visually represent socio-economic dynamics within the study area. The dynamics are complicated and the creation of a model aids in the explanation and is thus justified. The conceptual Socio-Economic Transition Model is a generalized model that can be utilized in any community that has seen socio-economic changes. For the purposes of the study the Model is then applied to the socio-economic dynamics of the Black and White residents within the study area. Blacks and Whites were modelled separately due to the fact that they have separate levels of advantage and disadvantage, historically and currently.

The final chapter of this study provides a summary and a conclusion. Recommendations are offered on how certain identified problems within the study area can be addressed and a few final thoughts are stated.

5.2 Conclusion

Numerous objectives in the study were outlined as a means to provide an answer to the research question. The first objective was to survey, map and describe the area for context and a backdrop for the study. Chapter 2 has addressed this objective and utilized Danville/Elandspoort as a suitable context for the study.

The second objective was to elaborate on post-Apartheid processes and describe their impact on the study area, identify social groups and describe dynamics amongst the groups. Post-Apartheid and post-industrialism variables were addressed in chapter 3. The chapter also identified Blacks, Whites, tertiary students and the homeless as being important social groupings and then described the socio-economic dynamics of the groups.

The final objective was to take the identified structural and social information and base a model of socio-economic transitions upon the information. A new conceptual model titled the Socio-Economic Transition Model was created to portray socio-economic dynamics though time. The model was then utilized to model the socio-economic dynamics identified and described in Chapter 3.

To this point no researcher has looked at desegregation within a poor White urban area and additionally no model of socio-economic transitions in a post-Apartheid situation has yet to be presented. This project has addressed both voids in research.

This report has provided an insight into the changing socio-economic conditions within a previous working class White area of Pretoria. The specific area has seen numerous changes in the post-Apartheid situation. It has been desegregating with an upwardly mobile Black group as well as becoming a destination for economically declining White individuals. The research and findings of this study has provided a new insight to desegregation and the social mobility of some South Africans citizens.

As stressed in the report the study contradicts some dated information of the White empowered vs. Black oppressed situation that many researchers have pushed for so long. Though the study may be unique to the certain area, the researcher believes that a new geography of a Black middle class and an impoverished White grouping are becoming more apparent all though South Africa and warrant more study. But as with any research that goes against the accepted norm, it likely to be criticized. The researcher hopes though, that the research can open eyes to a fact that poverty is not linked to a particular race within South Africa and a more colour blind approach to poverty alleviation is suggested.

Some Black poverty has been alleviated by transformation motivated hiring policies, but the result has become a White underclass. A new trend can start to be seen in which a historically impoverished group (Blacks) has been replaced in poverty, by the workers they replaced (Whites). Stable populations will likely manage to maintain a satisfactory lifestyle and provide their children enough benefits to give them a chance in modern South Africa.   Upwardly mobile individuals in South Africa offer a situation in which the country is changing and historically disadvantaged individuals are now benefiting and breaking away from historical classifications.

It is clear after this study that Apartheid's racial and economic distinctions no longer are absolutely valid when trying to describe socio-economic patterns within urban areas especially those which are desegregating on economic rather then political influences. All Whites are not wealthy and advantaged and not all Blacks are poor and disadvantaged and this trend is going to become ever more present in a post-Apartheid South Africa. With an increasing number of multiracial communities developing with numerous levels of socio-economic condition future desegregation and economic research will have to take into account more then just race as a study variable.

 To conclude the study, certain recommendations are offered for identified conditions within the study area.

5.3 Recommendations

Various groups within the study area have been identified and modelled. These groups have different needs for the future and all have had numerous suggestions on how to improve their futures. Binns *et al.* (1997) have pointed out that many programs and problems can be better addressed with the assistance and input from the local people. The following is a set of recommendations as to how the study area can improve and what the current positive and negative aspects of the community are, based on local input as well as academic field work.

5.3.1 Security

The biggest concern of all the residents, regardless of socio-economic status or race, was security and crime issues within the immediate area. All interviewed residents were fearful of local crime and security issues, some of which have stemmed from poverty, alcohol and drug use. It was suggested that police presence or response time might not be as thorough or as quick as more exclusive communities within Pretoria. With the police force all over South Africa struggling from lack of funding in comparison to the exploding crime rates, this area is suffering along with many other areas within the country. The area could use a stronger and more regular police presence, but until the police are better funded or crime rates drastically drop, it is unlikely that this will happen. The area could benefit from a police station within the community, but it is a lack of police finances that prevents this from happening.

Without a regular official police presence, the community could benefit from a community based block watch program. In the late 1980's there was a push to start a neighbourhood watch (Rekord, 1989) but with the change in government and the rapid social changes in the area one never materialized. If residents in the area could now take the security issues into their own hands and be more vigilant at preventing and deterring crime a better level of security could be reached. An increase in social capital may get the residents working together to a mutual benefit (Subramanian *et al.*, 2003). Vigilantly justice is not the answer nor is it being suggested, but what may work is an increased awareness by the residents in the

area. If residents unified and applied pressure to criminal behaviour in the area, a decrease in crime may occur. Residents need to identify the problem areas and apply pressure to the police force and to the criminals to correct the situation. A unified community standing against crime will be much more successful than individuals complaining to the police on a regular basis. With unification and higher levels of social capital, cohesion within the community will increase, creating a more interactive and positive area for residents, regardless of race or socio-economic status. A community concern for security might be enough of a catalyst to develop such unification and higher levels of social capital.

NOTE: Since the interviews were completed in 2003-2004 a local police outpost has been added to the area in late 2006. It is located within the business area of Danville Proper. The station does have a regular car but its hours of operation are limited. It is linked with the large Pretoria West station and the outpost keeps daytime hours to report crime and other police matters. A stronger police presence could still benefit the area, though this outpost is a step in the right direction.

5.3.2 Community Integration

Desegregation, community integration and social capital have all increased since the abolition of Apartheid, although there is still room for improvement. The area is rapidly changing from a historically stable White working class area to an area that is quickly growing into a multiracial population with various economic levels. Many Blacks are moving to the area and successfully integrating within the community. Individual economic situations within the community are currently ranging in a hierarchy from a Fallen Status group with increasing numbers of homeless individuals and low future potential on the bottom to a Rising Status group with high future potential at the top. Racial acceptance is better than what was initially expected with little open discrimination along racial lines. Economic discrimination though, is more common and is openly expressed by many community members. It seems that historical racial barriers that kept the country fragmented have been abolished and are being replaced with a racially merged society which is now discriminating along economic lines.

What is working

Age seems to be a factor in the openness of racial prejudices. Older population groups tend to have more individuals who are openly racist. Older White individuals do seem to accept Black neighbours after some interaction occurs but are initially hesitant of Blacks in the area. It may be assumed that as the older populations have more contact with the differing races as peers, they loose some of their preconceived notions that the Apartheid system instilled. Younger populations are much more accepting of differing racial groups which has also been seen in De Wet (2001). Many of the younger populations of South Africa have been exposed to other races in school or social activities over the past 10 years (De Wet, 2001). Being associated with 'other' kids in school and interacting within school activities and sports, many of the racist ideologies of the past may be negated with time (Wood, 1996) yet there is still many discrepancies between the schools themselves (Gilmour, 2001).

Current trends which show softening of the racial divide with time is good news for South Africa. With Apartheid principles based on dividing all groups both socially and spatially, the past ten years have seen successful instances of integration with racial groups accepting each other. As more time passes it is likely that the social and structural racial divides will become even less apparent. People will, in the future, be associated more with socio-economic status and less with racial identifiers.

What needs work

Negative racial identifiers have been replaced with class distinctions as a basis for discrimination. The ANC government is working hard to incorporate all racial groups within society by providing Blacks with opportunities that never existed in the past. An issue that is not being addressed is the class differences within the society. It is likely that in the future the underclass of poverty will grow and many individuals experiencing a Downward Tend into this impoverished level will be under-educated Whites. The government needs to focus on poverty in its entirety rather than on just one racial group within society. Rather than focusing on the

individual, if the government is to succeed with uplifting the country it must look at entire communities and projects that are government funded and community based. Many of the poor White individuals are capable of working and are keen to find jobs but go without work because of affirmative acation. If the individuals are offered a hand up rather than a hand out, they have the potential to become economically viable citizens again.

Crime is such a significant problem in South Africa that it affects all individuals regardless of age, race or status. Crime is even more problematic for the poor as they can not afford any losses and can not afford the preventative security measures that some of the higher classes can. Crime has so many influencing factors that the government will have their hands full for a long time trying to address the causing factors.

5.3.3 *Group Specific Recommendations*

The upwardly mobile members of the area do not need economic support. These individuals are normally younger and have current gainful employment or have high future potential of obtaining meaningful careers. Some immigrant individuals have moved to the area to establish roots, while others are simply there as a stepping stone to a better area. These individuals are beneficial for the area and the social capital of the community as they provide economic support in the area though the utilization of local businesses and have the potential to support local initiatives according to theories suggested by Lochner *et al.* (1999) and Subramanian *et al.* (2003). If an excess of these middle-class individuals move to the area, the market values will increase and the possibility of excluding some low income individuals in the area increases. The local residents who own houses will benefit from the increased market prices if they sell, but renters may face rent increases if the prices rise too drastically which could exclude them from renting if they are unable to afford the increased rents.

The Poor

The poor residents in the area are labelled within the Fallen and the Falling/Low Condition in the socio-economic model. These residents have the lowest future potential with regards to a positive or a rising socio-economic status. Typically the lowest socio-economic individual within the study area are White middle-aged Afrikaans-speaking individuals. These residents are poor because of unemployment, which is primarily due to a low education and affirmative action. As the government will likely not change the countries hiring policy within the near future some measures may help ease some of the suffering within the area. Education, skills transfer and entrepreneur businesses are all possible solutions to some unemployment issues.

Local uplift initiatives are operating privately in the area, supplying the most desperate individuals with basic products and food to maintain existence. The government has major issues with poverty throughout South Africa. Within this national trend White poverty is on the increase, yet it is only a very small percentage of the countries poverty as a whole (SABC, 2006a,b). The study area only represents a small fraction of poverty in South Africa and to alleviate it the government needs to continue addressing the countries general poverty issues but also appreciate that poverty is not only a Black African issue. Until the government is able to meet the needs for all its citizens regardless of race, age or gender, the privately funded food banks and shelters will need to continue operating within the area. Poverty is an issue that will never be completely eradicated within southern Africa, but to work towards a lower poverty rate, private and governmental institutions need to work together to create upliftment projects for individuals, rather than simply providing assistance for them in the short term (Oldewage-Theron *et al.*, 2005). A bottom up planning approach will be the best suited to this type of project to cater assistance to actual community needs (Lyons *et al.*, 2002; Ndung'u, 2002).

One major financial constraint leading to homelessness is unaffordable housing prices and high rents. Individuals who are unable to find employment are forced to

live off savings and when the money runs out they must turn to aid, both private and governmental. If individuals do not obtain enough money to afford rent they eventually find themselves without shelter (Zuern, 2001) and this is what will likely happen to the individuals at risk in the study area. Though the area does have some low rent housing within the infilled areas of Elandspoort, the demand for this type of housing exceeds the supply. Homelessness in the area is on the rise and with only one small shelter to accommodate the needy, many are left shelterless. Building low cost housing is not profitable for developers, so the government must focus more funds on building this type of infrastructure (Wilkinson, 1998). More privately funded shelters would be an asset to the area, though finding the financial backers of such projects might prove to be a difficult task.

5.4   Final Thoughts

One thing that became apparent during the study was that there is a lack of research into what is happening in historically poor White residential areas. Desegregation is happening quickly in these lower priced areas and many issues pertaining to racial integration can be addressed by future research in these areas. Future research should focus on desegregation and the differences between economically driven desegregation rather then politically motivated desegregation. If economically driven desegregation is analysed the resulting information may show a South Africa in which race is becoming independent of class. Community integration in these desegregating areas will likely be positive in the future and will provide insight to how future community building can be addressed.