

**Modelling socio-economic dynamics in a working class desegregation area in
post-industrial, post-Apartheid South Africa – the case of Danville-
Elandspoor, Pretoria**

By

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Modelling socio-economic dynamics in a working class desegregation area in post-industrial, post-Apartheid South Africa – the case of Danville-Elandspoor, Pretoria

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SUMMARY

Within post-Apartheid research there is little to no research into poor historically White areas which are experiencing rapid rates of desegregation. It is in these cases a researcher could pose a question to whether or not Apartheid's race-class divisions are still prevalent. A further gap in South African literature is a lack of a model on which to base socio-economic changes in a situation of post-Apartheid and post-industrial trends. This study addresses both of these short fallings of current academic literature.

This paper explores Socio Economic Transformation within a lower income urban area of Pretoria, South Africa. The area, which was previously White only under Apartheid legislation, has been experiencing changes due to factors including post-Apartheid legislation and post-industrialism. Desegregation and a decline in industry have created complicated racial and social patterns within a merging community. Two major trends within the study area include an influx of an upwardly mobile Black population and secondly a downward economic movement of White individuals.

The trends identified within the study area contradict many mainstream South African beliefs as the more traditional White-racist-empowered vs. Black-marginalized-oppressed binary is not absolutely valid. These newly emerging racial geographies are identified and explained with the use of personal interviews. The resulting classifications of local individuals are then utilized in a conceptual model to help explain the various socio-economic trends within the area.

The study is structured in three main components. Firstly, structural and contextual issues relating directly to the study site are addressed to provide a backdrop on which social issues can be analysed. Socio-economic changes with focus on racial and economic situation are identified and explained. Once the social, economic and spatial are well discussed a theoretical model is developed. The theoretical model is then utilized to plot the individual changes within the study area.

The individual trends, which were identified during field studies, are modelled and analysed within a South African context. The model developed from the study has the potential to base further community research upon, both within South Africa and international arenas. The model identifies and explains both the status of individuals which is an individuals socio-economic standing. Secondly trends are defined as an individuals change in socio-economic status through time.

Results from the study have shown that labelling the economic situation of varying racial groups on the historic Apartheid framework is no longer valid in all situations. Post-Apartheid racial hiring policies as well as a national de-industrialization trend has created a situation of an upwardly mobile Black middle class as well as a declining poor White economic classification.

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1 THE INTERSECTION OF ECONOMIC CHANGE AND DESEGREGATION - A NEGLECTED FIELD

1.1 Introduction

Apartheid can be described as one of the most ambitious contemporary exercises in applied geography (Adam & Moodley, 1986; Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994; Crampton, 2001). It was a policy aimed at segregating the various racial sectors of South African society at every possible level in order to preserve European or White political and economic domination of the country (Adam & Moodley, 1986; May & Rankin, 1991; Christopher, 1997).

Scholars agree that the contemporary South Africa city is still as structurally and socially fragmented as it was during Apartheid. The differences in opinion within contemporary literature stem from what the causing factors of post-Apartheid urban social fragmentation are. The prevalent view by, for example (Robinson, 1997; Lohnert *et al.* 1998; Van Beckhoven *et al.*, 2003), is that the fragmentation is the result of the continuation of the 'White empowered versus Black-marginalized' binary. Increasingly, other scholars are challenging this monolithic view on the continued fragmentation of the South African city. Schuermans and Visser has focused on White poverty whereas Horn has focused on the structural desegregation of the South African city (Visser, 2003a,b; Schuerman & Visser, 2005; Horn, 2004, 2005). Although not the main focus of the study, this debate provides the backdrop to the study.

The main consequence of the scholarly domination of the Apartheid continuity perspective is the current neglect of the relatively new phenomenon of White urban poverty in relation to rapid residential desegregation. During the first decade after Apartheid desegregation studies focused on the replacement of Whites by Blacks in the CBD (Donaldson *et al.*, 2003), on the limited extent of desegregation in middle and higher income areas (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002), and on the dynamics of new lower-income infill developments on green field areas in formerly White regions (Lemanski, 2005). Oldfield (2004) has also looked at desegregation but it was

focused on social dynamics within a low income mixed Coloured and Black area within Cape Town.

Very little is known about socio-economic dynamics in rapidly desegregating formerly White areas. The situation created is one where the Black residents moving to the area may be more economically well-off than the Whites currently in the area. One exploratory study by Horn and Ncgobo (2003) in the Orchards area of Pretoria showed some interesting developments of social integration but little other literature exists. Pre-Apartheid history has shown that multi-racial lower income areas in cities previously represented the forefront of White-Black social integration. The present reconstitution of rapidly desegregating formerly White lower income areas does not represent a mere imitation of similar areas in the pre-Apartheid era as the current process dynamics are substantially different. The current dynamics fall into two categories, namely post-Apartheid dynamics and post-industrialism. Post-Apartheid dynamics include desegregation, affirmative action and Black economic empowerment. Post-industrial dynamics are due to a decline in industrial production throughout South Africa.

The lack of understanding of socio-economic dynamics in rapidly desegregating formerly White lower income areas therefore represents a major problem. With desegregation increasing rapidly primarily within these lower income formerly White areas and a government push for social integration and equity there is a much needed demand for investigation.

1.2 Focus of the Study

This study will look within a historically low-income White residential area and identify and model socio-economic changes that have been occurring in a post-Apartheid area of urban South Africa. The study will focus on Danville and Elandspoort, located within Pretoria West which is now part of the city of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, as a research site. Pretoria West was historically a working class White area (Parnell & Mabin, 1995) and is now desegregating with an influx of Black residents (South Africa, 1991; Statistics SA, 1996; 2001).

The study will look at Blacks, which includes all non-Whites as a grouping, and Whites both as a communal group within a study area but will also acknowledge racial differences due to the fact that until the early 1990's the Apartheid government racially discriminated against the Blacks (Bahr & Jurgens, 1996; Christopher, 1995). Though this study in no way condones the segregationist policies of the past, in certain circumstances it will look at Whites and Blacks separately as the historic as well as current opportunities differ between the racial groups. The study area is only one location of many that has seen shifting racial, employment and residential patterns.

Research will identify socio-economic trends which will be represented visually in a model unique to the study and study area. An original model will be developed to represent changes in socio-economic status amongst the residents of the community.

1.3 General Dynamics

The study area has been experiencing some drastic and recent changes since the end of Apartheid. Two main dynamics are fuelling change in the study area. The two dynamics are post-Apartheid dynamics and post-industrialism.

Post-Apartheid dynamics include desegregation, affirmative action and Black economic empowerment. The combination of these factors has created a situation of an upwardly mobile Black group of individuals moving into previously White areas. The second dynamic is post-industrialism which is linked with the decline of heavy industry in South Africa. The decline in industry has led to job losses, especially amongst the lower educated White population. These dynamics are changing both the racial composition and the economic status of the residents within the study area.

Both of these dynamics will be covered in greater detail in chapter 3.

1.4 Aim

This study investigates the socio-economic dynamics in a lower income, desegregating White urban area on a micro scale, looking at a study area consisting of Danville and Elandspoor, which contain less than 15000 residents in total (Statistics SA, 2001). Within a post-Apartheid context the intersection of economic change and desegregation is understudied. By looking at a lower income, rapidly desegregating White area both these conditions can be studied and the results can then be modelled to visually represent these changes.

Socio-economic status and race is used as the primary identifiers to describe the area as well as to develop a model which aims to visually represent historic changes within the area and also try to predict future trends of individual groups. By using these variables, a theoretical model is constructed and then utilized to describe the site specific trends but could also provide a platform to assess other desegregating areas with similar histories. Changes in socio-economic situation is identified by a combination of interviews, census data, field observation and literature which has been suggested as a means of primary social research by Arksey & Knight (1999). The following list will provide a framework of how the report will be structured and address specific objectives.

1.5 Specific Objectives

Are:

- Survey, map and describe the area for context and a backdrop for the study (Chapter 2);
- Elaborate on post-Apartheid process and describe their impact on the study area, identify social groups, and describe dynamics amongst the social groups (Chapter 3);
- Model socio-economic dynamics found within the study area (Chapter 4); and
- Reconsider findings of the study in relation to the aim of the study (Chapter 5).

1.6 Study Site

After background research was completed, Pretoria West was identified as an ideal location as it was close to the CBD, as well as the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT), previously Technikon of Pretoria. The site is close to an industrial area which historically employed many White individuals in Pretoria West but is currently on the decline. Pretoria West is also located close to a large Black township which contributes upwardly mobile Blacks to racial transformation of the areas. Many areas within Pretoria West were typically a lower income White areas (Tshwane Beeld, 2003a) that are currently experiencing racial transformation due to Blacks moving into previous White housing (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002) and the study area is no exception (Figure 1).

Many factors make this site suitable for the purposes of this study.

The factors include:

- The area is considered the lowest socio economic area within formerly White areas of Pretoria West.
- The area is desegregating at a high rate but is still experiencing White immigration.
- The close proximity to Tshwane University Technology.
- The close proximity to Pretoria Industrial.
- The isolation from other communities by means of rivers, highways, ridges, and open spaces.
- The occurrence of low cost housing but few apartments.
- The two residential extensions and numerous infill sites.
- The wide composition of residents by means of race and economic status.
- The local low order shopping areas.
- The occurrence of informal business sectors, legal and informal.

Figure 1: Pretoria West and Study Site Location



The study area was traditionally a low-income White residential area with many ties to the industrial location within close proximity (Beeld, 1990a, Naidoo, 2005). With desegregation, these areas are experiencing an influx of non-White residents attracted by low housing prices and ideal location with regards to the Central Business District CBD (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002). Hence the study area has a convergence of upwardly mobile Blacks and economically declining Whites, a dynamic that may not be visible in other desegregating areas within South Africa. The potential clashes between racial and socio-economic groups of people could therefore provide a colourful study. It is this dynamic between these groups, which may provide insight to how communities adapt and regenerate in a multiracial and diverse socio-economic society, which is going through many transitions brought on by post-Apartheid desegregation.

1.7 Methodology

The methodology of this study is inductive utilizing a case study of an identified geographical area. The primary information for the study will be empirical and used in a descriptive manner. The descriptive material will include statistical data and qualitative data gained from time spent in the study area.

1.7.1 Sources

This study is based around social geography principles and utilizes a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Quantitative information is used to identify trends within census data and to provide numerical statistics. Qualitative information is important to social studies as it can identify socio-economic trends within an area and provides a description of residents and the lives they are living (Travers, 2001; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Qualitative sources for the study include structured interviews, business interviews and casual conversations. Institutional data from the police and town planning is used to better describe the study area. Finally, secondary sources including newspaper clippings are utilized to obtain popular opinion of the area. The following sub-sections better describe all sources of information and how it is obtained.

1.7.2 Quantitative Data Sources

Quantitative data are used to identify desegregation, provide age and economic conditions of the areas as well as support trends identified by the qualitative research. Census data from the last three censuses are used. The 1991 census still shows the country as a segregated state. 1996 information shows some desegregation trends but only in the 2001 census data does neighbourhood information truly show trends of desegregation. A post-2001 census data set was not included as no current census data is available. This lack of current census data is a problem as 2001 data is more than 5 years old in a community that has been desegregating very quickly and is likely to be outdated with what is truly happening with regards to racial transformation of the area. Observed trends and qualitative data are current and will be compared to the dated census information to try and bridge gaps in information.

Secondary quantitative data information come from different sources. Statistics provided by the homeless shelter as well as the food banks help support the poverty issues within the community. This information shows the amount of assistance being provided to the community and help estimate the amount of need within the area. Housing prices are compared to other areas of Pretoria to show that the area is a lower housing price area, and to also show that the house prices everywhere within the city are on the rise.

1.7.3 Qualitative Data Sources

Three types of qualitative data were gathered during the course of the fieldwork. Structured interviews were held with a set number of individuals to gain insight into many issues facing local residents following basic principles set out for qualitative research set by Dezin & Lincon (1994). Business owners were interviewed in an unstructured format to gain information on local demands. Finally, casual conversations were conducted in the area to get a proper feel for the area with people who do not have the time or inclination to conduct a full structured interview. The following sub-sections better explain all three types of interviews.

Structured Interviews

A total of 60 individual interviews were conducted amongst the population of Danville and Elandspoort. Interviews were electronically recorded and then transcribed. An example of the interview questions can be found in Appendix A. A summary of all structured interviews can be found in Appendix B.

The questionnaire consists of 40 questions, which gather varying information of the local residents. The initial questions in the interview gather baseline information of the residents such as age, sex, gender, education, etc. Questions progress to detailed topics on which the residents provide their opinions on major issues from a local to a national level. The individual interviews were structured and follow the questionnaire, although the people interviewed were encouraged to express their opinions on each topic which is common place in qualitative research according to Arksey & Knight (1999).

Information gathered could easily be skewed to produce a result that is predetermined if care is not taken. Special consideration has to be implemented to assure the interviews provide a proper cross profile of the study area. The numbers of specific interviews gathered do not represent the actual amount of residents in each socio-economic classification or race. The interviews represent each racial group and socio-economic classification in the area though. It would be easy to skew the results by simply interviewing and consulting one racial or socio-economic group but a proper cross profile is needed to accurately represent the area. Information was gathered at different times and at varying locations. An example of skewing the information would be if an interviewer was to conduct interviews only during the day in the low income housing, the only respondents would be predominately unemployed poor citizens.

The information from these interviews is a basis on which generalized trends will be based. Though 60 interviews may not be a large source of community information as the study site contains over 13 000 people, they are representative of each racial as well as socio-economic group in the area. Trends are assessed using these 60 interviews as well as being supported by comments from the additional

unofficial conversations. The interviews provide an example to enrich the study by providing a critique of the community and support of any observed trends.

One major problem faced by the researcher is that being of Canadian descent, with no experience in the Afrikaans language, the interviews had to be in English or be translated by a bilingual assistant. The study area is predominantly Afrikaans speaking as a mother tongue (Statistics SA, 2001) yet many of the individuals approached had a working knowledge of English which benefited the researcher.

Most interviews were conducted between one individual and the interviewer in the home, although numerous group interviews were conducted. Two interviews were conducted at the homeless shelter using a translator and three participants. Not all individuals at the shelter were residents but rather there for the social programs. Another group interview was held between the interviewer and two resident business owners. The final group interview was held between three retirees at a local community centre. Similar to Cattell (2001) residents were identified through random participation, contacts and snowballing.

Unstructured Interviews for Business

Though there are a few retail stores in the area, interviews were focused on small scale business. These businesses included tuckshops, backyard mechanics, hairdressers, real estate agents and carpenters to name a few. Some larger businesses in the area are owned by people who do not live in the area and may not have the interest in local socio-economic dynamics that a local may have. By interviewing local owners a better understanding of communities shopping dynamics can be expressed (Travers, 2001).

Unstructured interviews with businesses gathers information on services offered and what demands the local residents have. Many of the businesses within the study area are informal and semi-legal. The importance and implications of these informal businesses are discussed and analysed in subsequent chapters.

Casual Conversations

Over the course of field work many conversations were conducted with local residents. Though not a formal interview, many residents expressed concerns and made comments, which are important to the study. All comments were recorded for future reference when applicable to the study. Individuals not willing to conduct interviews due to a lack of time or interest could participate in a short conversation describing the area. All of these comments were recorded to provide a more encompassing community profile. Residents may be more willing to express concerns if they know they are not being directly quoted or do not have to provide too much background information. When the comments were recorded a brief description of the respondent detailing race, general age, area, sex and a rough estimate of socio-economic status was noted.

1.7.4 Institutional Data Sources

Numerous Governmental officials and departments were consulted. The important two were the South African Police Service as well as the town planning office of the municipality of Tshwane. South Africa Police Services (SAPS) were contacted to determine crime rates and problems associated with the study area yet no official statistics or reports were given. Their comments though expand on the identified safety issues in the area. The town planning office of the municipality of Tshwane was approached with much more success. This office provided various frameworks and urban plans for the area. The information provided describes the historical development, as well as suggesting future plans for the area.

1.7.5 Secondary Sources

A number of secondary sources are used throughout the study. Newspaper clippings and news reports are used to support developing notions. Some modern trends and problems have not yet been adequately addressed in academic literature but modern popular press has been addressing and identifying some of these issues.

1.8 Summary

This chapter has laid a framework to how this study will progress. The study focuses on how socio-economic dynamics in post-Apartheid desegregating poor White areas are changing. Little literature focuses on this issue, yet it is occurring throughout South Africa and has huge implications on community building and social integration within a contemporary South Africa. Each subsequent chapter will address the aims of the study and within those chapters issues which have been briefly summarized in this chapter will be expanded upon. Chapter 2 will survey, map and describe the study area to provide a backdrop of the social conditions which will be addressed in chapter 3. The social issues addressed in chapter 3 will describe identifiable social groups and describe the dynamics these groups are going through. The chapter will also explain what post-Apartheid processes are fuelling the dynamics. Chapter 4 will model socio-economic dynamics and conditions described in chapter 3. Finally chapter 5 will reconsider the findings of the study in relation to the aim.

2 SITE CONTEXT, STRUCTURE AND SUPPORT FACILITIES

The objective of the second chapter is to provide a description of the structural aspects of the study area. Describing the study area serves two purposes, one it provides context for community dynamics. Secondly, changes within a post-Apartheid situation can be identified.

Structures which will be identified include housing, business infrastructure, public infrastructure and supportive facilities. These identifiable structures will be placed in context of the local area as well as Pretoria as a whole. Further, a time scale will show historical as well as current situations to show how the study area has changed from a historically White, lower income area to a rapidly desegregating mixed income area.

Within the study area the recent changes in racial and economic composition has shown some new and interesting trends. These trends suggest that a once White area has now some characteristics historically associated primarily with Black areas. Some examples include tuck shops, shebeens, informalized business and transportation routes. These types of trends were also identified by Horn and Ngcobo (2003) in Orchards, Pretoria which has also seen high levels of desegregation.

2.1 Context

The city of Pretoria was developed in 1855 and in 1910 become the administrative capital of South Africa. White areas of the city were established and developed surrounding a White Central Business District. As the city was a segregated Apartheid location the Whites were given control of the central areas and Blacks were allotted space at the periphery (Hattingh & Horn 1991). Initially only four main township areas were located within Pretoria, during the 1960's numerous other township areas were developed north of Pretoria within the Tshwana homeland. The homeland area was buffered from Pretoria by means of industrial areas and low density White farm holdings. In 2000 a process of agglomeration created the

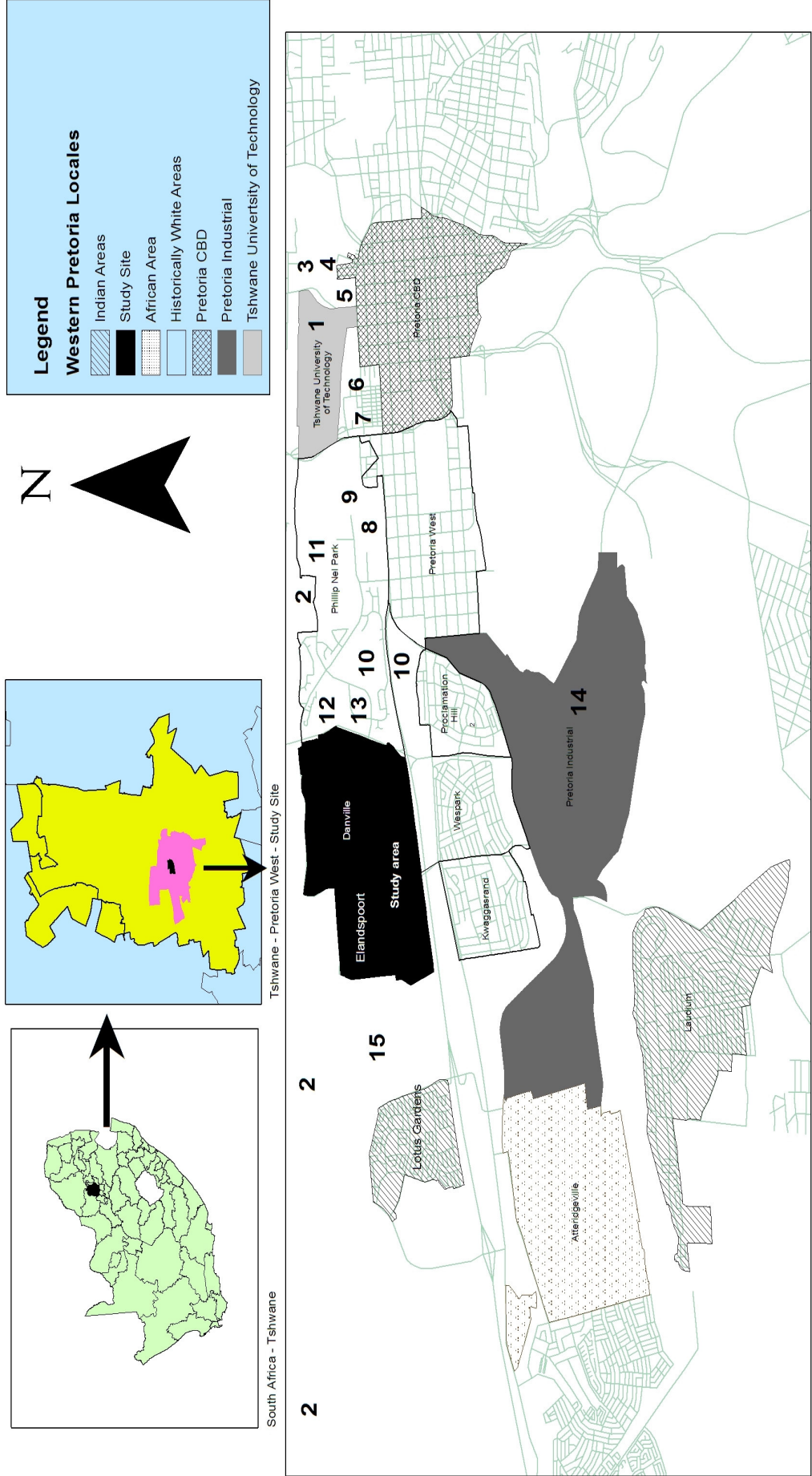
City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality in which Pretoria including the four township areas as well as the outlying township areas in the former Tswana homeland were incorporated under one municipality. The study area is located within Pretoria West and as such will utilize Pretoria as the city name rather than using Tshwane which encompasses all areas including Pretoria and all township areas under one metropolis.

Danville and Elandspoort has a history of being a lower income White area within Pretoria's urban structure (Hattingh & Horn, 1991; Naidoo, 2005). During Apartheid the area was a White dominated area with a primarily lower income blue collar working class (South Africa, 1991). Many of the locals worked within Pretoria Industrial which is a heavy industry area created as a reconstruction and economic boosting project stemming from World War 2 (Parnell & Mabin, 1995). The study site is located roughly 3km north of the Industrial Area. Danville and Elandspoort, as well as many other Western Pretoria suburbs, started developing and expanding in the 1950's, in part due to the demand for housing from the industrial workers, as well as employees of companies and government agencies in the CBD of Pretoria (Prinsloo & Cloete, 2002). Danville origins can be traced to a donation of land by General Dan Piennaar, the donation was done to help alleviate a White homeless problem in Pretoria after the Second World War. The neighbourhood name is designed to honour the said General. Elandspoort also originated as a farm which was passed through many owners till finally developing alongside Danville (Tshwane Beeld, 2003b; Patriot, 1993)

2.1.1 Location and Proximity

The study area is in close proximity to many services and is centrally located within greater Pretoria, yet it does have large buffer areas separating it from other neighbourhoods. To the East of Danville is TransOranje Road, which is a major route passing through the Daspoort Tunnel separating it from Phillip Nel Park. To the south of Danville and Elandspoort is the N4 highway, which is a major highway transecting northern South Africa in an East-West direction. Just south of the N4 is a greenbelt and the Quagga River (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Pretoria West Service Locations



List of Pretoria West Service Locales (Figure 2)

**note: numbers in brackets correspond to labels on Figure 2.*

- The Tshwane University of Technology **(1)** which is bordered by the southern slope of the Waterberg Ridge **(2)** and the Tshwane Ring Rail **(3)**.
- The Pretoria Fresh Produce Market **(4)** which is situated east of the study area immediately adjacent to the west of the fresh produce market is a woman's market.
- The Premos Municipal Training Centre **(5)** is situated to the south-east of the University of Technology.
- Immediately to the south of the University, is the Pretoria West Hoërskool **(6)** which is situated to the south of Staatsartillerie Drive and to the west of the Golf railway station **(7)**.
- Further towards the east, the most prominent feature is the Rebecca Street cemetery **(8)** and crematorium **(9)** which is located east of the study area.
- Another prominent feature is the Pretoria Golf Club **(10)** located east of the study area and extends across the N4-freeway into parts of Pretoria West and Proclamation Hill to the south. The Pretoria Golf Club is surrounded by the residential developments of Philip Nel Park **(11)**.
- The Pretoria West Hospital **(12)** is situated adjacent to the northwest of the Pretoria West Golf Club and just east of Danville.
- The regional fire brigade services **(13)** are situated along TransOranje Road to the south of the Pretoria West Hospital.
- To the south of the study site along TransOranje Road is Pretoria Industrial **(14)**.
- An abandoned Leper Hospital filled with squatters called West Fort directly west of the study site **(15)**.

To the immediate west of Elandspoort and Danville Extension 3, is an open undeveloped area, an abandoned leper hospital with a squatter settlement, a cemetery and a museum. This area is partly wooded with low population density. To the north of the study area, is Waterberg ridge comprising of natural vegetation, but no housing or infrastructure.

The study area is well situated in terms of services. As many of the local residents are of a lower income, the proximity to services is important. Many of the lower income residents encountered did not have a personal private vehicle and thus

were reliant on public transport for longer trips or walking to local service locations. As all forms of public transport have a user fee many people with limited incomes are forced to walk and will only utilize services within a limited radius.

2.1.2 Subdivisions

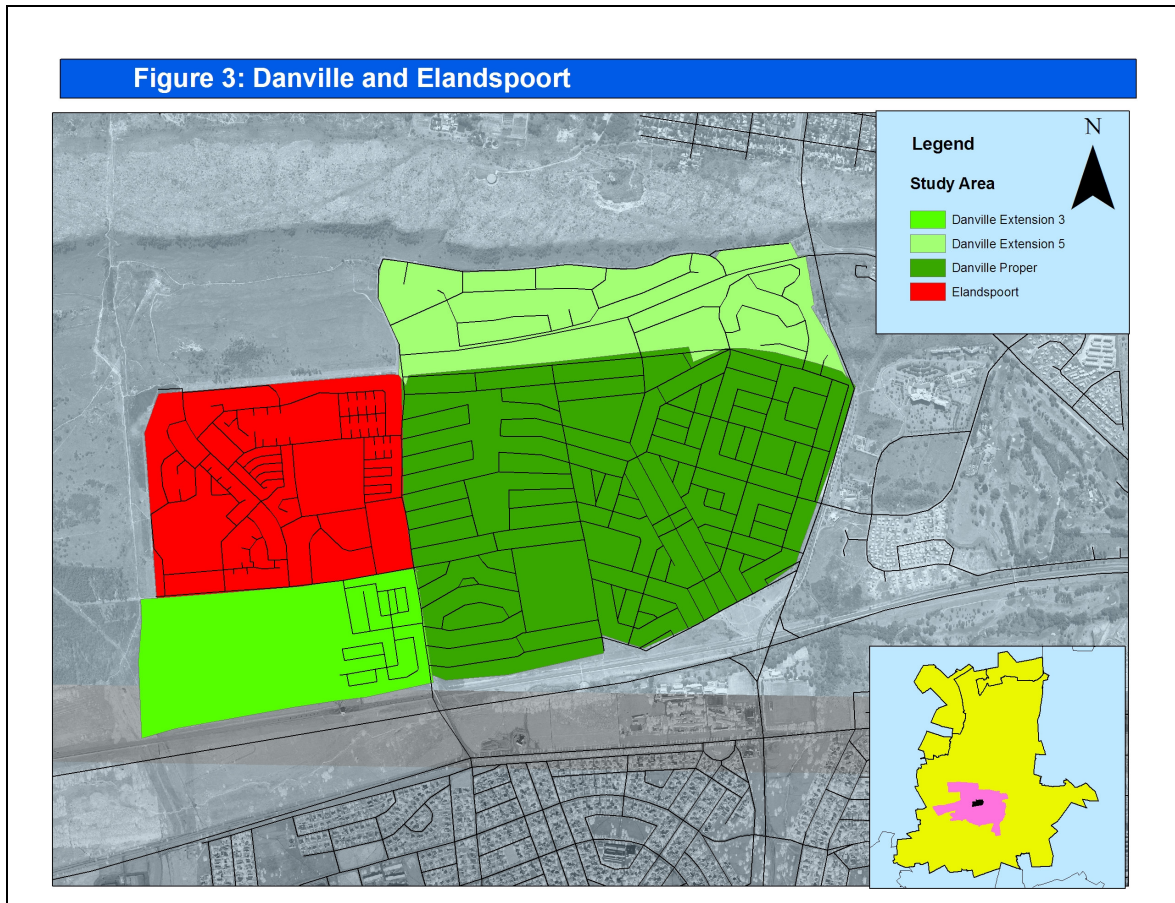
Danville and Elandspoort are two communities, which neighbour each other and are separated from other neighbourhoods through natural and structural boundaries. Elandspoort is located to the northwest of Danville Proper and share a common border. Danville and its extensions border two sides of Elandspoort and are separated by two small roads named Strachan Street and Van den Berg road. For the purpose of the study, both neighbourhoods will be assessed as a single unit of study. Figure 3 indicates that Danville, Danville Extensions and Elandspoort are conjoined and these neighbourhoods have a similar social and racial composition as shown by census data (Statistics SA, 2001) and as such will therefore be studied as a single unit.

Three forms of growth occur within the study site. Extensions refer to the outward expansion of a residential area. Infill is the construction of houses in previously vacant open spaces (greenfields) within a developed area and densification implies the subdivision of an existing stand or the erection of a second formal or informal dwelling on and already existing stand.

Danville has been experiencing expansion in two main areas. Growth to the south is limited because of the N4 highway, and to the east is the TransOranje Road which is a major connection route running north through the Daspoort tunnel. Danville Extension 3 is located south of Elandspoort and southwest of Danville Proper. The second Extension, Danville Extension 5, is to the north of Danville Proper and south of the Waterberg Ridge. These two extensions are both expanding, although the housing types and population structure differ.

Elandspoort has not to this point has not grown because of expansion, but it is experiencing infill with low income housing. Numerous open areas within Elandspoort have been developed with high density, low cost housing which is in

contrast to the original structures which are lower density and larger. Both Danville Proper and Elandspoort are experiencing densification in which smaller buildings are being constructed on established stands typically to house extended families. Processes of extension, infill and densification receive more attention in the next section of this chapter.



2.2 Structure

Structure within the study area is addressed by describing various housing types, business both informal and formal, churches as well as parks and community spaces within the study area.

2.2.1 Varying Housing Types

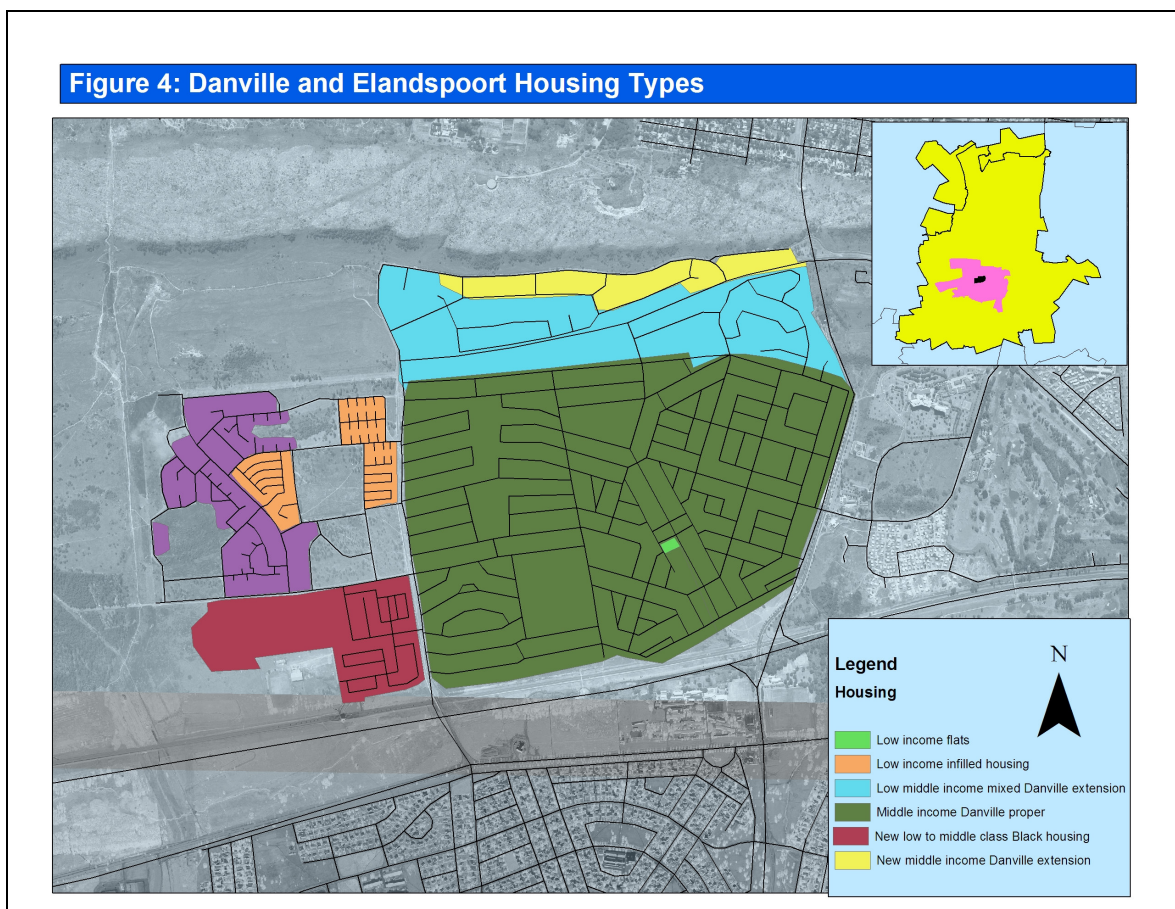
Danville and Elandspoort are both residential areas with medium to high housing density (Figure 4). Between the two areas there is only one building with flats, which is located in central Danville. These flats are located on top of the local business infrastructure. On the first two floors there are numerous businesses and low rent apartments are on the upper floor. The majority of Danville residences are single family dwellings on individual stands. Danville Proper is a community which is approximately 50 years old. Within the last ten years there have been two prominent extensions added to Danville as the original area of Danville had little open space for infilling. All additional houses had to be placed at the periphery, namely the northern and south western edges.

Danville

Danville was initially developed in the 1950's as a White working class neighbourhood. The area was established close to the ISCOR industrial area as well as being close to the city centre and its services. During Apartheid, Danville was a White area dominated by Afrikaans speaking people (South Africa, 1991). Because of Apartheid's social controls, no permanent Black residents lived in the area until the Apartheid exclusion regulations changed in the late 1980's (South Africa, 1991; Jurgens *et al.*, 2003).

Many of the houses within Danville Proper are aging 2-4 bedroom single storey brick buildings (see Picture 1). All houses have a medium to large lot size that is typical of the housing construction of the past. Initial houses in the area were constructed according to a community blueprint, which had eight variations of single storey houses as per 1950's community housing blueprints. Danville Proper has reached a point where it is saturated with housing and there are few spaces which have development potential. Open spaces are parks or school yards, neither of which have the potential to be developed.

Danville Extension 3 located in the south west of the study site has been developed as a medium density area, with lot sizes smaller than Danville Proper and Elandspoor Proper, yet the lots are larger than the infilled areas within Elandspoor. Danville Extension 3 is primary occupied by Black residents as discovered during frequent site visits as well as conversations with numerous local residents and businesses. The expansion in Extension 3 is limited by roads and housing on three sides, the west is the only direction in which expansion can take place. Land use in the direction of expansion is unused open land (Figure 5).



Many of the houses in the Danville Extension 3 area are recently constructed (Picture 2). The houses are typically smaller, single storey housing with no facilities for a vehicle such as a carports or garages. Many of the residents in the area own their own home and the maintenance is better than in some of the low rent areas of Elandspoor, which are just a few blocks away. Many of the Black residents interviewed in the area (Interviews 1-13) are employed and have moved away from

townships which confirm the statements made by Prinsloo & Cloete (2002) in which they describe an outflow of upwardly mobile Blacks from historically Black areas. One individual stated that “We left the Atteridgeville and moved to this White area to get away from high crime rates and give our children a better school” (Interviewee 2). Krysan & Farley (2002) suggest that many Blacks remain in township areas as they prefer to live in areas of like kind but this study shows that not all have the same inclination. Of 60 interviews conducted in the area, 22 respondents were Black and all were happy with their life’s situation of living within a historically White area. Of those 22 Blacks interviewed half indicated they did not want to leave the area and the remaining individuals who wanted to leave the area were planning more affluent White areas.

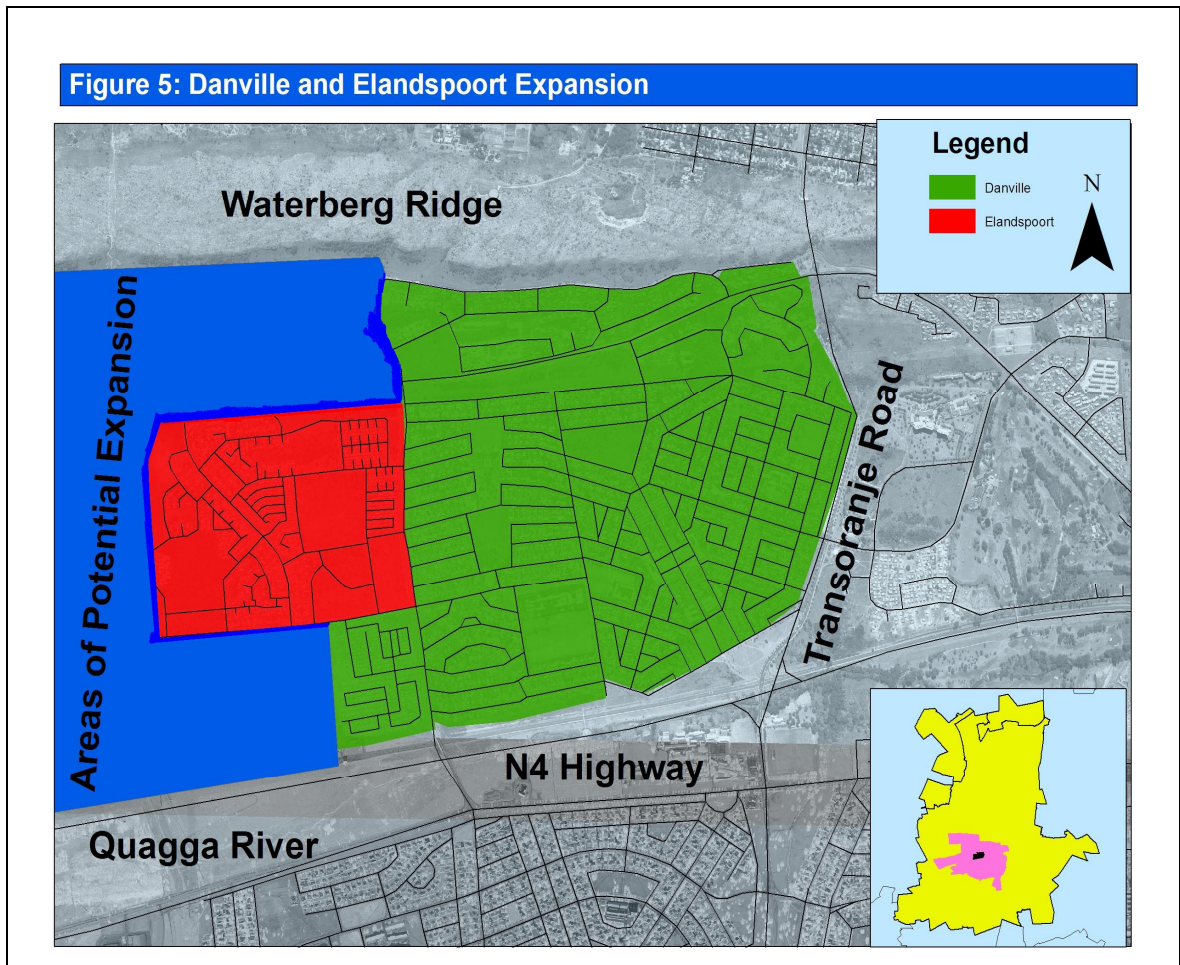
Picture 1: Danville Proper House

Picture 2: Danville Extension 3 Housing



Danville Extension 5 is to the north of Danville Proper. The houses in this area vary from simple two bedroom, single storey residences on smaller lots, to large multi-storey upper middle class homes (Picture 3). The racial composition of this Extension 5 area also differs from Extension 3, Danville Proper and Elandspoor Proper. Extension 5 has a range of population from employed lower middle income Blacks to an upper middle class, comprising of both Black and White families. Housing prices within this extension vary as well, according to the house. Some of the smaller stands and house are currently worth R 200,000-300,000 with the larger homes in excess of one million Rand. The interesting aspect of this area is the lack

of separation between the housing types. In some cases a small house is a direct neighbour of a large dwelling within Danville Extension 5 (Picture 4).



Picture 3: Danville Ext. 5 Housing



Picture 4: Danville Ext. 5 Houses



Elandspoort

Elandspoort is a sister community to Danville and initially had similar housing that was constructed during Apartheid. Unlike Danville, Elandspoort has many open areas which are not classified as parks. Within the last ten years there have been large scale infilling projects within Elandspoort (Picture 5). Much of the infilling though has been the construction of low cost, high density housing. Thus, Elandspoort has been infilling with housing, whereas Danville has been extending.

A large central area of Elandspoort is still open space, yet the area is heavily polluted by illegal dumping of household waste (Picture 6). These areas are not well maintained and are not desirable to use as a park. In the future, they could be turned into functional parks, but it is likely that many of the open spaces will be infilled with more low income housing. There are no current plans from the city of to rehabilitate any of the areas into parks (City of Tshwane, 2005)

Picture 5: Elandspoort Infill Housing

Picture 6: Elandspoort Illegal Dumping



Western Elandspoort is where middle income houses were constructed before any infilled areas were developed. The original houses are of a similar standard than most of the traditional Danville houses. West of Elandspoort there is large open areas and a few farm houses settled on the base of the ridge unseen from the more

densely populated areas. Initially these houses would have been middle income homes, but the infilling has brought the status of the area down, as the low rent homes has brought in poor residents and social issues relating to poverty, similar to examples in Cape Town provided by Lohnert *et al.* (1998). Construction of middle income homes has ceased in Elandspoord when low income housing developments started.

In Elandspoord over the last ten years, there has been infilling within two open spaces. The locations of these infilled areas are to the south east and central Elandspoord (see Figure 5). The infilling is not the same housing type as the existing neighbourhood, but rather low-income housing. The lot sizes within the infilled areas are drastically smaller than the existing housing lots. The houses are small, simple two bedroom houses with no outbuildings or attached garages/carports. These infilled houses are different from the original houses within Elandspoord and Danville which tend to be medium sized houses with medium sized lots, many of which have a carport, garage and/or out buildings. Many of the residents in the infilled area are poor White residents who rent from a private landlord. Housing rent is cheap with the average rent in the infilled area less than R 500 a month (Interviews 51,53,54,57). Though poor Whites are the primary residents in the infilled areas of Elandspoord, there is a growing number of Black residents who are leaving traditional township areas and moving into low rent areas in previously White areas which has been shown in other areas of Pretoria by Jurgens *et al.* (2003).

Many of the houses within infilled areas are in poor condition as the landlords do not fix the housing adequately and the renters are not able to afford costly repairs (Interviews 51,53,54,57). Many of the people living within these areas could be described as a low or underclass situation as per discussion from Knox (1987), as many have lost or are of low status in regards to their position in life. They have had to move into low rent areas to avoid being homeless which has also been described within South Africa by Huchzermeyer (2001). Generally most residents living in these areas are without full time employment or are engaged in jobs paying poorly (Interviews 51-60).

Infill of low income housing has been limited to the two previously open areas within Elandspoot. Another large open area in the South East of Elandspoot is considered for similar infill housing, yet the development has not yet been scheduled as per a local development company called Cosmopolitan Projects.

2.2.2 Business Infrastructure

Two types of business exist within the study area, namely, the presence of formal and informal businesses. Formal business consists of shops and businesses which operate from a legitimate location and have all required licenses to operate legally. Informal businesses in the area operate from residential locations rather than retail centres. Within the Informal business sector some are semi-legitimate with an operating license but most are illegitimate with no formal paperwork and may even conduct illegal activities.

Formal

The formal sector within the area consists of businesses that operate from retail stalls which are not located on a residential property. There are two main retail areas within Danville (Picture 7 and 8) and two small retail buildings, one in Elandspoot and the other in Danville.

Picture 7: Danville Formal Business A Picture 8: Danville Formal Business B



There is a varying infrastructure of businesses within the area, yet all are low order products. Being a lower income area, the demand in the area is for lower order goods (Interview 63). Abbott (1996) has discussed small business and the demands and services related to them and locally all businesses have a small threshold and cater to the local demand which matches his findings. If people need more than basic items they will travel to larger shopping or market centres (Interviews 22,30,33).

The area has many small grocers and liquor stores within the location and the quantity and condition of these stores is linked to the generally low income status of the entire area which is reinforced by Knox (1987) which describes similar situations of small scale basic needs in other areas. Local businesses to back up this notion of low income markets are the occurrence of numerous pawn shops and second-hand stores.

Informal

Informal businesses are common within the study area (Pictures 9 and 10). These businesses range from legitimate home business to illegal operations that have no official existence. Many of these businesses exist because job losses have forced people to become entrepreneurs in order to provide income for themselves (Interviews 26,27,30,45). It has been suggested that in some instances legitimate business are selling legal products at the front counter but also illegal goods out the back of the store (Interviews 27,63).

It is commonplace when a person has lost their technical job, to start up a business on their property, doing the same trade in which they were previously employed. One local electrician stated “When I lost my job at ISCOR I started doing odd jobs around the neighbourhood, it does not pay as well but what else is there for me to do” (Interviewee 45). Other examples of people working from home include auto mechanics, jewellers, hair dressers and other service-orientated jobs. The actual number of these informal business change, during the fieldwork for the project in excess of 30 advertised businesses were represented within the study area. Some of the low income residents suggested they were producing products to sell to

supplement their pensions (Interviews 56,60). With many unemployed residents reliant on welfare, any additional income to these households makes a substantial difference in the quality of life; the theory of supplemental incomes can be seen in Rogerson (1999).

Picture 9: Informal Business A



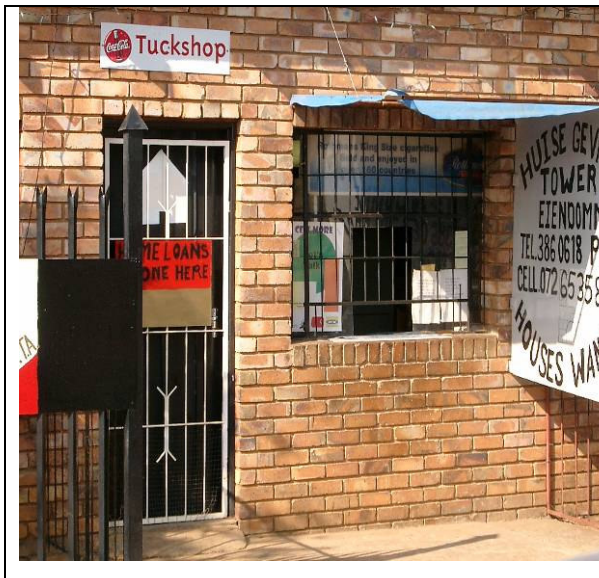
Picture 10: Informal Business B



Tuckshops are not common in historically White residential neighbourhoods (Donaldson *et al.*, 2003), but within the study area they are becoming more abundant (Pictures 11 and 12). A tuckshop is a small home based shop which typically sells basic products to the local residents. More than 75% of the tuckshops in the area are owned and run by White residents, although a few have part-time employees of varying ethnicity, who assist in busy times or as needed (Interviews 26,30,57,63). These tuckshops typically sell basic supplies and candy. An issue that came up during interviews was that tuckshops were also selling marijuana and other drugs (Interviews 53,54,60). People would comment on this occurrence and many others were aware that the problem exists. One tuckshop owner who is a resident of the area stated “I operate legally and don’t sell alcohol or drugs but many of the other tuckshops are illegal and sell the stuff, they make their big profits from the illegal products” (Interviewee 30). Tuckshops are located throughout the study area, but with higher concentrations in the infilled areas of Elandspoot and at the periphery of the entire study area, where it is a greater distance to any of the established formal businesses located centrally in Danville. Many tuckshops keep

late hours especially on weekends and though the shops do not have liquor licenses, most sell alcohol (Interviews 26,30,57,63). As most legitimate bottle stores are required to close at 20:00 on weekends, the demand for alcohol typically increases after this time. Bootlegger is a coined term used to describe an illegal business which sells alcohol after hours. Many of these businesses fall within this description.

Picture 11: Tuckshop A



Picture 12: Tuckshop B



Shebeens are known as a Black drinking establishment, which are informal and do not necessarily follow government regulations. Typically shebeens are only found within predominantly Black areas, such as townships or homelands. Within the study site there are a rising number of Black shebeens being developed. There are also White localized drinking establishments, which are similar to a Black shebeens, being established in the predominantly White sections of the study area. Though these businesses are not advertised or legal, many exist within the area operating outside of the law. The exact number of shebeens in the area can not be determined as they are illegal and therefore difficult to find by outsiders. By talking to residents the researcher found 4 drinking establishments but was unable to find others operating in the area due to the secretive nature of the business. Most of these places are located in converted outbuildings or garages and service the needs and thirst of local residents. The atmosphere is informal within these

shebeens and the bar is limited in product variety. One could almost consider these shebeens as a communal gathering location with a cash bar.

The customers during the week in the White establishments are mostly males from 40 years of age and upwards who are unemployed (Interview 64). Most of the patrons are familiar with each other and see each other numerous times during the course of the week. One patron said “I am here a few times a week during the day and always know everyone here” (Interviewee 51). This could relate to the close community ties amongst the local residents which might suggest higher levels of social capital amongst the varying racial groups but not across the racial divides, social capital being a community cohesion discussed by Lochner *et al.* (1999), Thomas (2002) and Subramanian *et al.* (2003) to name but a few.

Shebeens which were also present within the primarily Black area of Danville Extension 3 had a different schedule and atmosphere than the White establishments. As many of the Blacks in the area were employed, the busy times were in the evenings as the people only can partake after work hours, unlike the White shebeens where most of the patrons are unemployed and are free during the day. The Black shebeen is more a communal nodal point with many local community members partaking in a party atmosphere. The area has a large number of upwardly mobile Blacks and it is likely these individuals who are frequenting the shebeens in the evenings and on the weekends. Weekends were times in which Black drinking establishments become very popular. Music is played louder and alcohol consumption significantly increases compared to the week nights (Interview 65). The loud music is not a concern as the shebeen is in a primarily Black area and the people do not have concerns of the music level. One resident stated “The shebeen is a place where we can all go and have a good time, if we do not go it does not mean the others should not have a good time” (Interviewee 12). At the White establishments, music is quiet if at all present and the patrons normally sit and drink where the Black locations are much livelier with dancing, games and music (Interviews 64,65). The White and Black shebeens are typically located within areas that are dominated by one race which may be why the patrons of each establishment are race specific with little to no mixing.

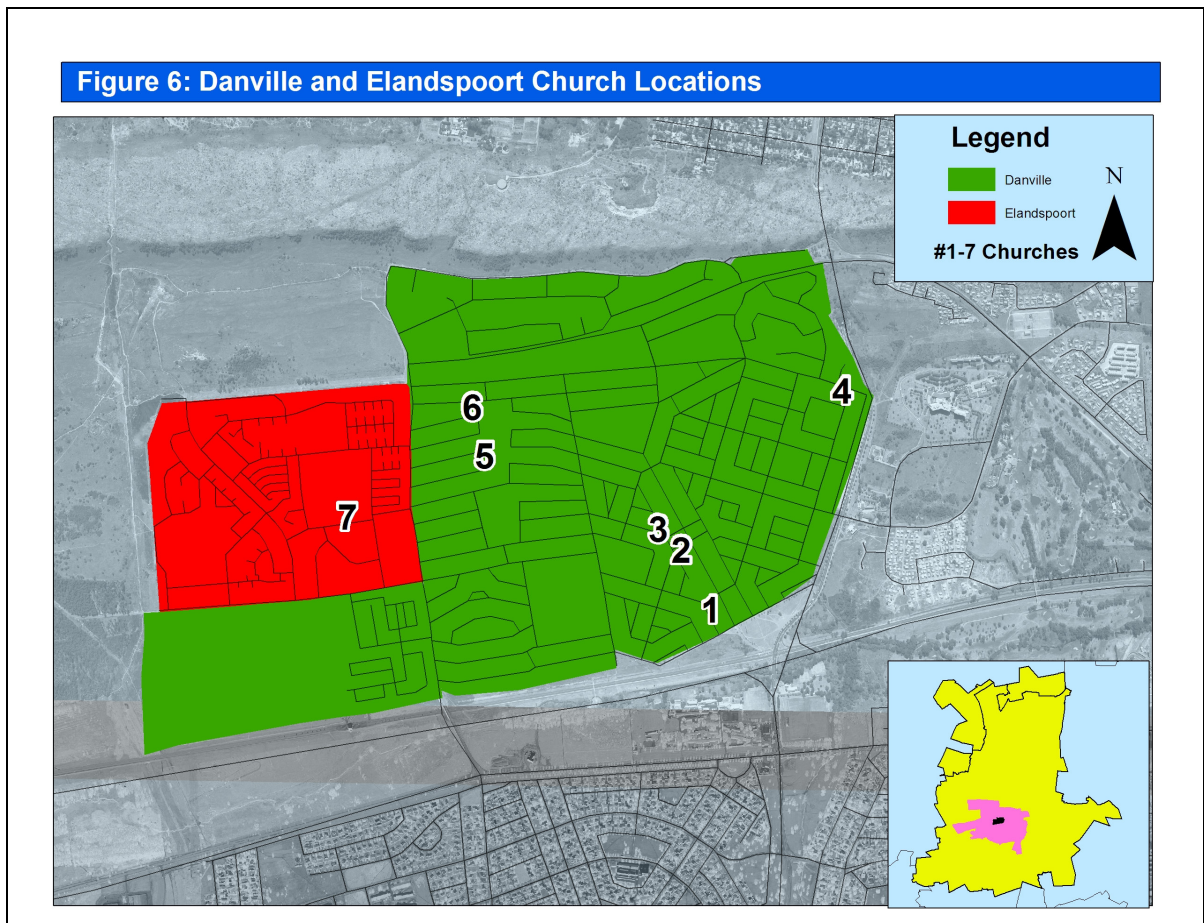
2.2.3 Public Infrastructure

Churches and parks are both leisure areas open to anyone wishing to use the facilities. The areas may not be owned by the people but rather by the government (parks) or privately (churches), yet people are welcome and these places can be a place of positive community interaction.

There are seven churches in the study area which are all well established. These churches are located within Danville and Elandspoot Proper and none have been established in the relatively new extensions (Figure 6). The majority of the churches are located in the older community of Danville Proper which is much larger than Elandspoot. All churches in the area are Afrikaans speaking with a White majority congregation. From the interviews with individuals as well as the churches it was found that many people in the area are religious and attend church regularly (see Appendix B under religion column). One recently developed church in Elandspoot is a large permanent tent which is set up on an empty lot beside the low income infilled housing.

Many of the White residents attend churches within the study area as the local church location is convenient to access and some poor residents do not have easy access to transportation which would make travel to churches in other areas a problem (Interviews 51-56,58-60). The church congregations are primarily local residents with some additional people from nearby communities within Pretoria West (Interview 61). Black residents also acknowledged being religious, though most interviewed preferred to go to churches outside the community in churches with a higher Black representation (Interviews 2,4,5,9,10,12,13,16,17,19,20). One resident stated “We like the area but our family still goes to church in Atteridgeville so we can see our relatives on Sunday” (Interviewee 13). The Blacks interviewed still have ties within previous communities as many are recent residents within the study area (Interviews 1-13,16-21,36-38). One Black individual still is active in his old community even though he owns a house in Danville “We still have our parents and brothers and sisters in Brits but we now work in Pretoria, we still go out to Brits often to help out the family and visit” (Interviewee 7). Another Black student says “I am from a rural area that does not have a University, I live here to go to school but

my family is still up north. I try to see them as much as possible but it is hard” (Interviewee 8).



Churches in the area are responsible for many programs which help the disadvantaged poor residents. Donations of money, food and useable items are regularly collected and distributed to the needy. Much of the community assistance comes from the various religious groups, but the recipients are expected to attend and participate in religious orientated services (Interviews 61,62). In many ways this aid is tied to religion, but as many of the people are already religious they benefit from utilization of the programs (See appendix B for religious standings of interviewed individuals).

Within the study area there are numerous parks, communal areas, recreation sites and open space (Picture 13 and 14). Danville Proper, being the oldest and most established, has the majority of the groomed and well-maintained areas.

Elandspoort has many open areas, though the lack of maintenance and abundance of public dumping have made these areas undesirable and not aesthetically pleasing. Within Western Elandspoort where the housing is more upmarket than the infilled areas, there is a well-established park, which is well-groomed and utilized by local families.

Within Danville there are numerous parks of varying infrastructure. Most parks offer a simple jungle gym for the children, park benches, picnic tables and areas suitable for braai's. One park though has a large public pool and open space. On weekends many of these parks are sites which experience much community interactions. Parks are utilized by residents from varying racial and economic backgrounds.

Picture 13: Elandspoort Park



Picture 14: Danville Football Pitch



Within the area there are numerous means of transportation. Many household own their own vehicles and the households without there is a few options. Many of the Whites without vehicles stated they relied on friends with vehicles to give them rides or they walked. Many Blacks in the area utilize combi-taxis which have a well established route along Church Street and the N4, both south of the study site connecting the CBD with Atteridgeville. There has been an increasing number of taxi routes through the study site as well, primarily to Danville Extension 3 in the South West which is a primarily Black area.

2.3 Supportive Facilities and Services

Up to this point in the chapter the focus has been on the context and structural dimensions of the study area with limited focus on the individuals. The descriptions were such that all socio-economic groupings were included. For the remainder of the chapter the focus shifts to a socio-spatial aspect of the community. The following will look at features of the community which target the impoverished individuals and explain the assistance which is available to them.

Within the study area there are numerous community outreach programs that provide assistance to the locals who are in need. Programs include such things as soup kitchens, homeless shelters, food banks, and other community based donation distribution organizations that include food, clothing and other in-demand items. These programs have been in the area for some time and are run by both churches and local organizations and rely heavily on public donations (Beeld, 1990a; Metro, 1993). Priority in these programs is given to children and some of the programs are catered specifically for the children. Government support for these enterprises is limited (Interviews 61,62). In most cases the organizations do not discriminate against colour creed or age, but there are a few examples of racial discrimination. The coordinator of the Homeless shelter stated “We at the shelter would not discriminate, except that the people who donate money for the programs to run have expressly stated that they only want Whites in the area to benefit from their contributions” (Interviewee 62). In these cases it is external pressure from benefactors determining who is served, rather than internal prejudices from the organizations (Interview 62). Academically, little research with regards to White poverty in South Africa has been done, but some newspapers have dealt with some of the popular stories (Sunday Tribune, 2005). The following newspaper clipping (Picture 15) is one example of popular media exposing social problems in the area.

Countrywide, many of the Blacks moving into historically White-only areas are self sufficient and do not rely on community assistance for basic needs (Lemanski, 2005). This can also be seen within the study area as all Blacks interviewed were

economically viable (Interviews 1-13, 16-21, 36-38). From the 60 interviews conducted, all 22 Blacks who responded were employed and did not partake in any assistance programs. Therefore the people reliant on these services are primarily the low income Whites who are without employment and struggling to maintain the basics of existence which is a sure sign of a serious poverty issue (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970; Goldberg, 1998). This idea of a White under-class has been suggested locally by Gustav Visser though he adds there is a “disappearance” of White geographies with particular reference to poverty research in South Africa (Visser, 2003b, p 235).

Picture 15: Newspaper Clipping on Poverty



Dishing out food and care
 Elandsport residents step in to bring relief to the homeless and the hungry

Elize Jacobs
 STAFF REPORTER

Community organisations and volunteers in Elandsport are hoping that their efforts to help the people in the neighbourhood will alleviate poverty and decrease crime in the area.

Many of the households in the area are headed by people who are unemployed and cannot afford basic food, clothing or to send their children to school.

There are more than five feeding schemes in the area.

They run on different days to sustain residents with nutritious meals and try to help them with other basics.

Lyn and David Soar run the Church Street Outreach project and hand out over 4 800 meals a week, along with truckloads of clothes.

They said they were hoping their efforts would help the community and reduce theft and other crime in the area.

They also teach the youngsters table manners and etiquette, as well as biblical teachings.

The organisation originally started feeding, entertaining and giving biblical studies to about 20 youths in a coffee bar more than eight years ago.

They realised that the community was in need of many basics, such as food, clothing and school supplies.

“We have repaired rundown houses, ensured that there was a water supply and

different organisations in the same street, Pelsers Street.

The women minister and try to “teach the children about God and life decisions”.

Another feeding scheme is the Oasis soup kitchen run by Niekie and Chris Oosthuizen from 286 Maxim Street.

The couple make soup on Monday, Friday and Sunday afternoons with vegetables donated by local farmers each week.

The soup kitchen serves about 150 people and has been running for the past five years.

The Oosthuizens also run a gospel ministry on Sundays.

Liefdes Diens, which is situated in Wonderboom South, also offers help to many homeless residents.

“We offer those who might have landed in some kind of trouble and lost their house a shelter until they can get back on their feet,” said Pastor Peet Blignaut, who runs the centre.

The shelter is divided into two sections: the first is a foster care home for children and the other is accommodation for the homeless.

Blignaut said they tried to encourage the current 44 residents to challenge themselves and achieve their potential and return to mainstream society.

“We open files for them and try to walk the road with them until they feel strong enough to stand on their own,” he said.

where at all possible, electricity meters.

“We have uplifted families who were living in the veld underneath or in trees. Some families still have as many as 10 living in a one-roomed house, while there are a few who live in Wendy houses.

“We have been blessed with the ability to help these people and thank God that it has not only been a flash in the pan effort,” he said.

Petro Maritz, Tannie Annetjie and Ferdie van Wyk run soup kitchens for

Children wait in queues before getting their daily ration of food at the Church Street Outreach feeding scheme in Elandsport. PICTURE: ELIZE JACOBS

2.3.1 Food Banks

Within the study area there are in excess of five food banks, which on a weekly basis provide basic services for hundreds of people. These food banks provide the most basic foods for the local people and on a weekly basis, hand out food on scheduled days. These food banks work together with a set list of individuals, so

the recipients do not take advantage of the system, by receiving more than the allocated amount from any one distributor (Interviews 62,66). The programs also run on alternating days to ensure the sustainability of each distribution point. Many of the people who frequent these programs are the desperately poor or disabled (Interview 66). Research by Chen *et al.* (2006) has shown that these types of individuals in this situation have difficulty meeting basic human requirements (Chen *et al.*, 2006). These food banks are able to exist through donations from the local community and religious organizations (Interview 62). Many of the food banks are directly run by churches and encourage the users to accept the faith of the denomination (Interview 61).

A major concern that has risen from the interviews is peoples' concern about children and their family's responsibilities regarding food banks (Interviews 51, 53). It has been suggested that "Some families are regularly sending their children to pick up donations and asking for more than their allotted amount, which is unfair because the donations people have a hard time saying no to children" (Interviewee 53). The food banks have confirmed that children frequently pick up the food rather than the adults within the household (Interview 66). Food bank employees have stressed that adults should be picking up their food rather than children (Interviews 66-68). Some residents feel the children are sent because employees of a food bank will not refuse a child, even if they want more than their allotted amount (Interviews 53,54,57,59). The workers at the food banks feel this is setting a bad precedent for the young and impressionable children (Interviews 66-68).

2.3.2 Soup Kitchens

Soup kitchens are tied to the food banks although the regularity of distribution is more frequent. The varying groups of providers have established a schedule, so everyday there is a location providing a basic meal for the needy (Interview 62). The locations vary according to who is hosting the daily meal. Normally one meal is provided, per person, per day to maintain the people's basic nutritional needs. "We are trying to provide enough food to give people a basic nutritional allowance, but we encourage them to find alternative means of nutrition such as raising their own gardens" (Interviewee 66). These soup kitchens are not discriminative though

they encourage members to try to find means to provide for themselves. There is a meal distribution location that caters strictly for children (Picture 17). This location provides a simple breakfast for the children in the area and sends them out with an after school snack if necessary (Interview 68). Adults are excluded from this location. The children are only provided food during the week. On weekends their parents must provide for them. The purpose of this service is to prevent children from going hungry at school which is an important factor in performance which has been suggested by Oldewage-Theron *et al.* (2005). The organizers of this service feel that a child who has eaten breakfast is better able to cope with concentrating in school (Interview 68).

Picture 16: Homeless Shelter



Picture 17: Children Outreach Program



Soup kitchens, as well as the food banks in the area are all interrelated and rely heavily on donations and volunteer employees to function (Interviews 62,68). Relevant community members suggest that government funding for these programs is low and they could use more subsidies to make the services more available and sustainable (Interviews 61,62,65-68). Other areas within South Africa have government-sponsored community uplift projects, which look towards sustainable food and housing developments, but at this point none are available in this area.

2.3.3 Homeless Shelter

There are two main shelters within the study area, though only one is a true homeless village or shelter. The second is a low income subsidised retirement

centre. The retirement home is a primarily White centre with many elders living within its walls (Tshwane Beeld, 2003a). The retirement centre charges its residents a reduced amount, due to partial subsidies by the government. This centre is well established and has been in the community since the Apartheid days (Interview 69).

The second centre is a more unique service. The following description comes from both a site visit and discussion with the manager of the Homeless centre (Interview 62). It is a homeless community in which there is a central building producing low order goods (see Picture 16). In the rear of the central complex is housing for fifty homeless individuals and couples. The shelter provides single room buildings roughly eight square meters in size to single people as well as couples. These buildings do not have running water or toilet facilities. The buildings are rough wood constructions with a single door and one window. Most middle class citizens would consider these buildings as a simple garden shed or wendy house, but for the desperate, such buildings are better than living on the street (Bourdieu, 2000). Many of these homeless residents are thankful that they are able to stay in this shelter as they are without options and they are too poor to afford regular housing.

Of all the uplift projects in the area this homeless shelter has the greatest positive impact. Initially one family started the centre as a small scale temporary project to help a few local residents, but the project has grown in size as the need for a homeless shelter has grown in the area. The shelter is more than just a short stay flop house. It has many internal programs which provide the opportunity to uplift and educate the residents. There is a strict no alcohol and drugs policy to stem any problems from the inhabitants. The residents are required to work around the site ranging from simple gardening tasks to more complex projects. There is a well equipped shop in the back in which the manager provides the males with training in automotive, electrical and carpentry skills. Many of the residents complete this informal course and are able to find basic jobs with the training and network contacts they establish. The shop also produces goods and services which are sold and these proceeds help pay for the housing and feeding costs of the individuals living within the centre

The centre has a large two storey building which hosts numerous activities. Everyone that lives in the complex is required to help in the kitchen, which provides two daily meals for the residents. In one large room there is a sewing area in which local women utilize five sewing machines and numerous other pieces of equipment to produce clothing and textile goods which are then sold to fund the shelter. Most of the materials used in textile production and in the shop are donated by local patrons. This project is a self sustaining, privately owned development which is dedicated to uplifting people in absolute desperation. Future plans at this centre look at providing residents with a basic knowledge in computers to give them a marketable skill and help them with their job search. The centre is being used as a stepping stone back into society by the individuals, rather than staying in an impoverished way of life.

The centre does discriminate in who is allowed to live in the complex. None of the out buildings are large enough to house families, so no families with children are allowed. Alcohol and drugs are not permitted, so this excludes anyone who has an addiction to any product. Within this complex, there is also racial discrimination, as no Blacks are allowed. Initially the complex was open to everyone, but racial tensions led to problems in the early days of the complex which lead to a White-only policy.

Another reason given for the racial bias is that all the donations for the complex come from the local communities and White patrons. It was suggested that these patrons threatened to pull funding if the site became multi-racial. At this site was one of the few instances in which open prejudice and racism was displayed in the regulations and policies. Regardless of the racial issues at this centre, it is one of the most successful and helpful establishments in the area for the White poverty stricken community members. Though the centre houses upwards of 100 people at any given time, the soup kitchen and community education programs help many more within the area with survival and training.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has addressed the structural and socio-spatial aspects of the study area. At this point an understanding of the size, context and structure of the community should be clear. The area was historically a poor White area but has been changing both racially and structurally. The transformation has taken various forms including gentrification by means of extension, renewal and renewed energy imposed by the immigration of upwardly mobile Blacks. Secondly, there is decay and the increasing concentration of poverty amongst Whites. The area has seen a cultural re-orientation, activities once exclusively associated with Blacks such as shebeens, tuckshops, informalized backyard industry and taxis are taking hold within the White community. Today, Danville and Elandspoor provides a context that is dramatically different from the apartheid structure. Next, chapter 3 will address socio-economic matters within the area stemming from a varying racial and economic condition in the area.

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 led 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			
			<i>Af+Col+In</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>Coloured</i>	<i>Indian</i>
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 Elandspoor and the desegregation trends are more prominent (Table 3). While Danville and Elandspoor 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 Elandspoor 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 (Laloo, 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	<i>Total Pop. Increase</i>
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 its 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 following 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 than 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 Elandspoor, 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 kept 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 than 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 than 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 Elandspoor 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 Elandspoor 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 be 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 than 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 than 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.

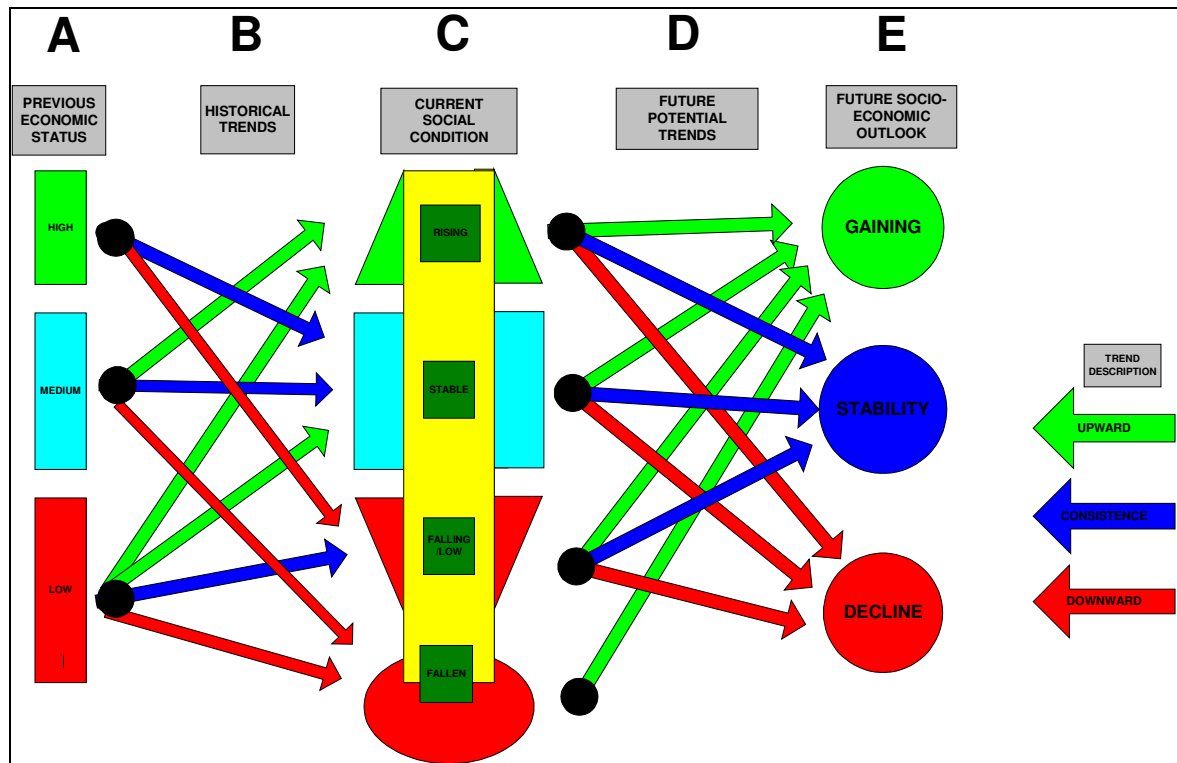
4.1 Conceptual Framework

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.

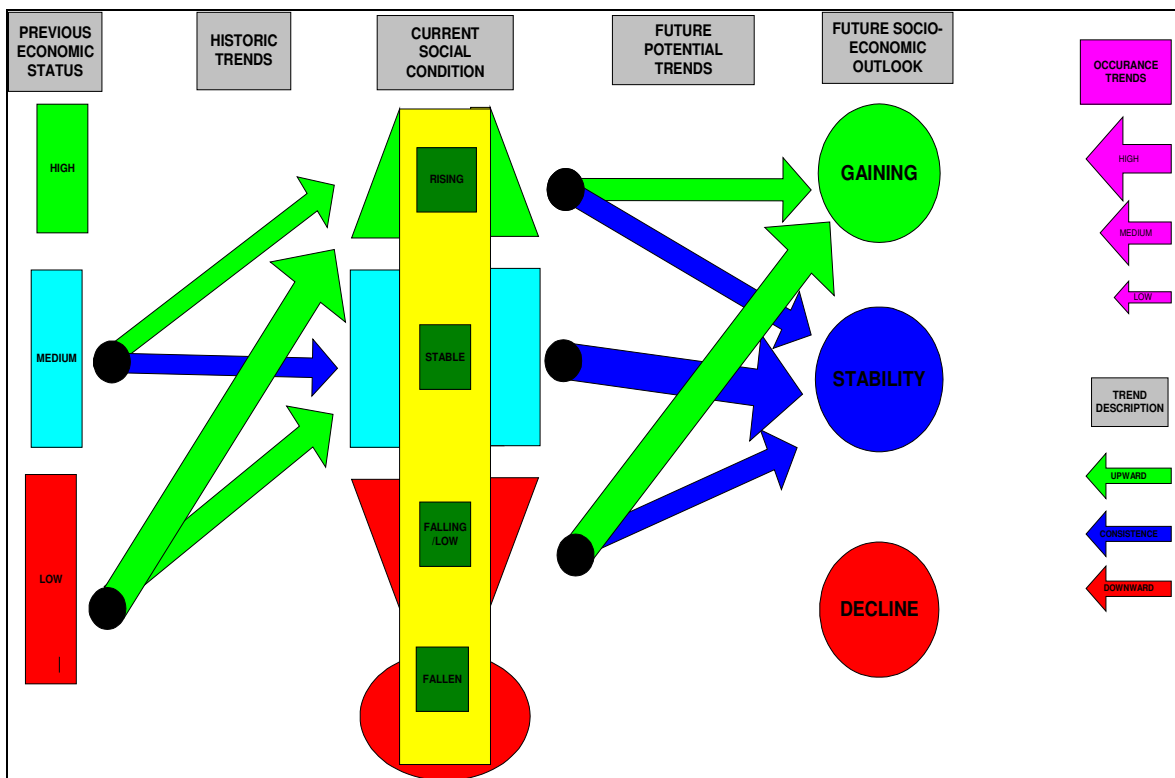
These two differing models are presented as the historic as well as future trends for the individuals in the two racial groups differ drastically. Within these models the frequency of trends will be represented by three weights of trend lines. The three weights will be a thick trend line for high occurrences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

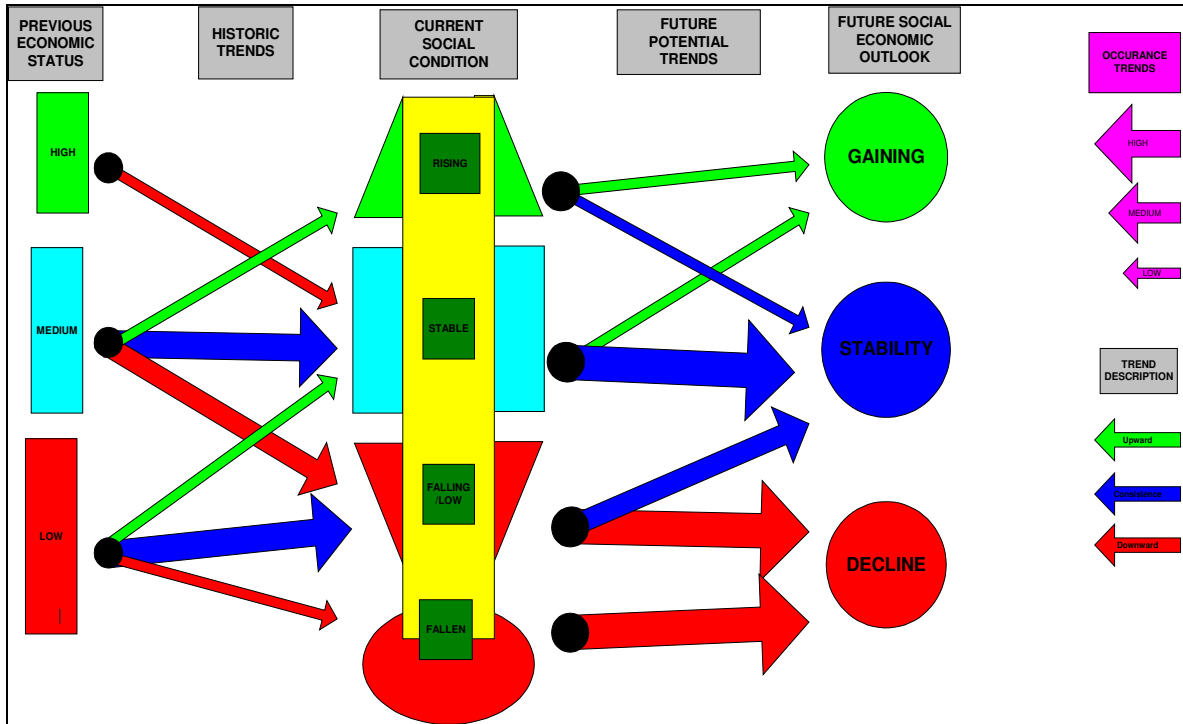
The general trend for both the historic and future sections of the Model show Consistence Trends to Upward Trends from the lower socio-economic status in the past and continued upward mobility for some as well as stabilization in the future for others. There was no decline in levels from the past and 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 through 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 through 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 African 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 than 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 than 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 lose 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 Trend 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 action. 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 through 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 Elandspoor, 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 than 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.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Survey Questions

1. How long have you been residing or working in the neighbourhood?
2. How old are you?
3. What is your home language and ethnicity?
English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, ect.
4. Marital status? Single/ Married/ Divorced/ Widowed/ Separated
5. What is your level of education?
6. How many people live at this address?
 - What are the relationships between the people?
 - How many are economically active?
 - How many dependents?
7. How many bedrooms in the house?
8. Any out buildings being rented out?
9. Do you rent or own your home?
10. What is the combined monthly household income?
What are the main sources of house hold income?
11. Did anyone in the household in the last ten years
 - Loose their job?
 - Take an early retirement?
 - Take a package due to company restructuring or changes at the work place?
12. Did the general decline in industrial work or the decline of ISCOR have any affect on you or any household members?
13. What is your profession? Previous professions or occupations?
14. Do you know of increased economic hardship in the community over the previous decade?

15. Does anyone in the household, including yourself, have a second source of income?
16. Is there any form of economic activity on the premises used for additional income, such as a shop or repair facility?
17. Do you know about anyone in the area who is involved in illegal activities for a source of income?
18. Do you know the levels of alcohol and drug use in the area?
The levels of child abuse and family violence?
In your opinion have these problems been rising in the area over the last decade?
19. Do you shop locally?
20. What do you do for transportation?
Does the household own a car?
What are the main sources of travel?
21. Are you part of any community organizations?
22. Did you attend any of the local schools?
23. Do you have children?
 - a. Do they go to a local school?
 - b. Are they part of any school clubs?
 - c. Are they friends with children from other cultures?
 - d. Any complaints about the school or school system?
24. How do you feel about the local schools?
 - a. Class size
 - b. Teachers
 - c. Extracurricular activities?
 - d. Quality of education?
25. Why did you move to Danville/Elandspoort?
 - a. Did you know people in the area?
 - b. Was housing reasonably priced?

26. What is your view on how the community has changed since you have lived in the area?
- Conditions of housing, businesses, infrastructure?
 - People moving into and out of community?
 - How outsiders view community?
27. How do you feel about the condition of your house?
28. Do you think that the metropolitan council is attending to the needs of your area?
What are they doing right and wrong in your opinion?
29. Do you know your neighbours?
- Do you interact with them on a regular basis?
 - What is the level of interaction?
30. Do you have regular interactions with people from other cultures?
- In what circumstances?
 - At work, at home, at the shopping centres?
 - Do you consider any of them good friends?
31. Do you have connections with other communities?
- Family?
 - Shopping?
 - Church?
 - Business?
 - Social?
32. Are you a religious person?
- How often do you attend church?
 - What form of religion do you practice?
 - Are you part of any church organizations?
33. What are your futures plans dealing with the community?
- Participation in Groups
 - Community Organization?
34. How do you feel about desegregation?
- In South Africa?
 - In your neighbourhood?
 - What are your positive and negative views regarding desegregation?
35. How do you feel about affirmative action in the workplace as a principle?
36. Do you feel you still have a role to play in society?

Do you think your opinion still counts in the present form of South African democracy?

37. Is crime a problem in the neighbourhood?

- a. What are the most common crimes?
- b. What can/should be done in your opinion to improve policing?
- c. Does crime cause tensions between any ethnic groups in the area?
- d. Do the police provide adequate service to the area?

38. If you could change any aspects of the community what would those changes be?

39. Do you plan on leaving the neighbourhood?

- a. If so why?
- b. Where is your destination of preference?
- c. When do you plan to leave?

40. Do you feel discriminated against by the new government?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Informal Interviews Summary

In addition to the set Interviews 1 – 60 numerous impromptu conversations were held. This sheet will describe the individuals and what the comments that were relevant to the study. The entire conversation will not be recorded but rather just the important aspects of it. These following are summarizations of the informal interviews.

- 61- Interview was held with the dominee of a local church.
Issues discussed with the church leader were who comes to the church, with particular focus on the race and socio-economic status of the members.
- 62- Interview with the director of the local homeless shelter.
A lengthy conversation with the director was based on the shelter and all of its facilities. Focus was placed on the needs of the residents and how the shelter tries to meet them. Once the interview was over a site investigation identified the general demographic of the residents including; race, age and economic status.
- 63- Interview with a tuck shop owner.
Items discussed with the tuck shop owner was the demand for product, hours of operation, competition between informal business and general economic condition of community.
- 64- Interview with White sheebeen owner.
While completing field work, a conversation was held at a local white sheebeen with the patrons. The conversation was primarily with the owner who described the informal drinking establishment and the daily operation.
- 65- Interview with Black sheebeens bartender.
The owner of the sheebeen was not available so a conversation with the bartender was conducted in its place. Similar to the White sheebeen questions focused on the operation and atmosphere of the establishment.
- 66, 67, 68- Interview with food banks.
Numerous food banks were approached and all were interviewed to gain insight on the cliental and funding for the food bank. Since the food banks operate in cooperation all of the answers were similar and as such will be grouped together.
- 69- Old age retirement home in Danville.
Conversation with staff members at the old age retirement home identified the profile of the residents. Additional questions regarding funding and costs were conducted.
- 70, 71- Tshwane University of Technology(TUT) students.
Two students from TUT described their history within the area and their impressions of the area. The two individuals had limited experience with the area but provided useful information on the attitudes of students who did not grow up in the area.

- 72- Pretoria North resident.
Conversation with a non-local resident from Pretoria North gave insight on how a Pretoria local with limited knowledge of Danville and Elandspoor viewed the area. This conversation brought to light many of the stigmas associated with the area by non-residents.
- 73- Individual at an informal car sales business.
An individual running a local business selling used cars was approached. This individual would admit that he worked there and lived in the house for more than a year but suggested he was not a Danville resident. He rather identified himself as a resident of his previous location (Centurion) even though he had not lived there in over a year.
- 74- Individual not willing to admit to being a resident of the area.
One individual approached would not partake in a conversation and suggested this was because he did not live in the area and had no knowledge. Immediately after this the neighbour of his property was engaged in an interview and identified the individual as a resident. The interviewee suggested that the man did not like the area and does not admit to being a resident.

APPENDIX C: CENSUS DATA SUMMARY

Classification	Interview	Ethnicity	Language	Sex	Age	Education	Kids	Employment	Location	Time in Area	Content with area	Own or Rent	Plans to leave area	Happy with life situation	How is crime in the area	Religious	Used Food bank
Rising	1	African	Eng	F	33	Tertiary	N	GOV	Dan Ext 3	4	Y	O	Y	Y	Decent	N	N
	2	African	Eng	M	38	Tertiary	Y	Business	Dan Prop	6	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	3	African	Eng	F	21	Tertiary	N	Student	Dan Prop	1	Y	R	Y	Y	Decent	N	N
	4	African	Eng	F	41	Tertiary	Y	Gov	Dan Ext 5	5	Y	O	Y	Y	Low	Y	N
	5	African	Eng	M	34	Matric	Y	Private Comp.	Dan Prop	1	Y	R	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	6	African	Eng	M	25	Tertiary	N	Medical	Dan Ext 3	2	N	R	Y	Y	Decent	N	N
	7	African	Eng	M	33	Matric	N	Gov	Dan Ext 3	1	Y	O	N	Y	Low	N	N
	8	African	Eng	F	21	Tertiary	N	Student	Dan Prop	1	N	R	Y	Y	Decent	N	N
	9	African	Eng	F	34	Matric	Y	Gov	Dan Ext 5	3	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	10	African	Eng	M	30	Tertiary	N	Business	Elands	4	Y	O	Y	Y	Low	Y	N
	11	African	Eng	M	36	Tertiary	Y	Business	Dan Ext 5	6	Y	O	Y	Y	Low	N	N
	12	African	Eng	F	27	Matric	N	Gov	Dan Ext 3	3	Y	O	Y	Y	Decent	Y	N
	13	African	Eng	M	32	Tertiary	Y	Gov	Dan Ext 5	1	Y	O	Y	Y	Low	Y	N
	14	White	Afrikaans	F	20	Tertiary	N	Student	Dan Prop	2	N	R	Y	N	High	Y	N
	15	White	Afrikaans	M	21	Tertiary	N	Student	Elands	2	N	R	Y	N	Poor	Y	N
Classification	Interview	Ethnicity	Language	Sex	Age	Education	Kids	Employment	Location	Time in Area	Content with area	Own or Rent	Plans to leave area	Happy with life situation	How is crime in the area	Religious	Used Food bank
Stable	16	African	Eng	M	43	Tertiary	Y	Government	Dan Ext 5	6	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	17	African	Eng	F	36	Matric	Y	Government	Dan Prop	2	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	18	African	Eng	M	28	Tertiary	Y	Government	Dan Ext 3	3	Y	O	N	Y	Low	N	N
	19	African	Eng	M	42	Matric	Y	Industry	Dan Prop	5	Y	O	N	Y	Decent	Y	N
	20	African	Eng	F	32	Matric	N	Secretary	Elands	2	Y	R	Y	Y	Decent	Y	N
	21	African	Eng	M	36	Tertiary	Y	Government	Dan Ext 3	3	Y	R	Y	Y	Low	N	N
	22	White	Eng	M	39	Matric	Y	Trades	Elands	7	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	23	White	Eng	F	34	Matric	Y	Government	Dan ext 5	5	Y	R	Y	Y	Decent	Y	N
	24	White	Afrikaans	M	70	Matric	Y	Retired	Dan Prop	40	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	25	White	Afrikaans	M	65	Std8	Y	Trades/ Ret	Dan Prop	37	Y	O	N	Y	Decent	Y	N
	26	White	Afrikaans	F	46	Matric	Y	Tuks shop	Elands	21	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	27	White	Afrikaans	M	48	Matric	Y	Own Business	Elands	16	Y	O	N	Y	Decent	N	N
	28	White	Afrikaans	F	29	Matric	Y	Government	Dan Ext 5	8	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	29	White	Afrikaans	M	32	Matric	Y	Trades	Dan Prop	9	Y	R	N	Y	Decent	N	N
	30	White	Afrikaans	M	47	Matric	Y	Own Business	Dan Prop	28	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	31	White	Afrikaans	M	72	Std 6	Y	Military/ Ret	Dan Prop	50	Y	O	N	Y	High	Y	N
	32	White	Afrikaans	F	42	Matric	Y	Housewife	Dan Prop	18	Y	O	Y	Y	Low	Y	N
	33	White	Afrikaans	F	48	Matric	Y	Housewife/ Cra	Dan Prop	12	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N
	34	White	Afrikaans	M	67	Std 8	Y	Trades/ Ret	Elands	40	Y	O	N	Y	Decent	Y	N
	35	White	Afrikaans	F	62	Std 7	Y	Housewife/ Ret	Dan Prop	32	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	N

Classification	Interview	Ethnicity	Language	Sex	Age	Education	Kids	Employment	Location	Time in Area	Content with area	Own or Rent	Plans to leave area	Happy with life situation	How is crime in the area	Religious	Used Food bank
Low/ Falling	36	African	English	F	55	Std 9	Y	office	Elands	1	Y	R	N	Y	Low	Y	Y
	37	African	English	F	61	Matric	Y	office	Dan Ext 3	4	Y	O	N	Y	Low	Y	Y
	38	African	English	M	48	Std 7	Y	Industrial	Dan Ext 3	2	Y	R	N	Y	Low	Y	Y
	39	White	English	M	46	Matric	N	Trades	Elands	22	Y	R	N	N	Low	N	Y
	40	White	English	F	43	Matric	Y	Sales	Elands	2	N	R	Y	N	Low	Y	Y
	41	White	Afrikaans	M	40	Matric	Y	Bus driver	Dan Prop	22	Y	O	N	N	Decent	Y	N
	42	White	Afrikaans	M	36	Matric	Y	Trades	Dan Prop	10	Y	O	N	N	Low	Y	N
	43	White	Afrikaans	F	27	Matric	N	Secretary	Elands	4	N	R	Y	N	Decent	N	N
	44	White	Afrikaans	M	32	Matric	Y	Sales	Dan Prop	3	N	R	Y	N	Decent	Y	N
	45	White	Afrikaans	M	55	Matric	Y	Trades	Elands	12	Y	O	N	N	Low	Y	N
	46	White	Afrikaans	F	22	Matric	N	Sales	Elands	18	Y	R	Y	N	Decent	Y	Y
	47	White	Afrikaans	M	34	Matric	Y	Sales	Dan Prop	18	Y	O	N	N	Decent	Y	N
	48	White	Afrikaans	F	28	Matric	Y	Sales	Elands	1	N	R	Y	N	High	N	N
	49	White	Afrikaans	M	33	Matric	N	Trades	Dan Prop	2	Y	O	N	N	Decent	Y	N
	50	White	Afrikaans	M	54	Matric	Y	Trades	Dan Prop	9	N	R	Y	N	Decent	Y	N
Classification	Interview	Ethnicity	Language	Sex	Age	Education	Kids	Employment	Location	Time in Area	Content with area	Own or Rent	Plans to leave area	Happy with life situation	How is crime in the area	Religious	Used Food bank
Fallen	51	White	Afrikaans	M	54	Std 8	Y	Unemployed	Elands	25	Y	R	N	N	High	y	Y
	52	White	Afrikaans	M	60	Matric	Y	Unemployed	Dan Prop	31	Y	Shelter	N	N	High	y	Y
	53	White	Afrikaans	F	48	Std 7	Y	Unemployed	Elands	3	N	R	N	N	High	y	Y
	54	White	English	F	46	Matric	Y	Unemployed	Elands	2	N	R	Y	N	decent	y	Y
	55	White	Afrikaans	M	42	Matric	N	Unemployed	Dan Prop	14	N	Shelter	N	N	High	y	Y
	56	White	Afrikaans	F	37	Std 9	N	Unemployed	Elands	7	N	R	N	N	High	y	Y
	57	White	Afrikaans	M	44	Std 9	Y	Tuks Shop	Elands	12	N	R	N	N	High	n	N
	58	White	Afrikaans	M	65	Matric	Y	H. Shelter	Dan Prop	40	Y	Shelter	Y	N	decent	y	Y
	59	White	Afrikaans	M	48	Std 7	Y	Unemployed	Elands	22	Y	R	N	N	decent	y	Y
	60	White	Afrikaans	F	53	Std 6	Y	Unemployed	Dan Prop	16	N	Shelter	N	N	High	y	N

Statistics

Populaton	Study Area						Ward 7		Gauteng		
	1991		1996		2001 %		2001 %		2001 %		
Persons											
African	532	7.1	610	7.7	5695	35.3		33516	67.8	6522792	73.8
Coloured	17	0.2	36	0.5	186	1.2		477	1.0	337974	3.8
Indian	0	0.0	5	0.1	370	2.3		2506	5.1	218015	2.5
White	6904	92.6	7308	91.8	9878	61.2		12929	26.2	1758398	19.9
Total	7453		7959		16129			49428		8837179	

AGE	Study Area						Ward 7		Gauteng		
	1991		1996		2001 %		%	%	%		
0 to 4	768	10.3	626	7.9	1149	7.1		4056	8.2	725796	8.2
5 to 14	1475	19.8	1482	18.6	2723	16.9		7722	15.6	1361155	15.4
15 to 34	2224	29.8	2723	34.2	6405	39.7		20415	41.3	3651882	41.3
35 to 64	2448	32.8	2623	33.0	5074	31.5		15837	32.0	2748604	31.1
over 65	538	7.2	505	6.3	778	4.8		1395	2.8	349741	4.0
Total	7453		7959		16129			49425		8837178	

note: 1991 0-6, 7-17, 18-35, 35-65, 66+

Labour Force	Study Area						Ward 7		Gauteng		
	1991		1996		2001 %						
Employed	3432	46.0			6555	48.4		17685	67.4	2894777	63.6
Unemployed					1278	9.4		8562	32.6	1659612	36.4
Not Econ. Active	4022	54.0			3710	27.4		10146	38.7	1877665	41.2
Total Labour Force	7454				13544			26247		4554389	

note: 15-65

Highest Education 20+	Study Area						Ward 7		Guateng	
	1991		1996		2001	%		%		%
No Schooling	1043	14.2	628	8.9	391	3.6	2589	7.7	504619	8.4
Some Primary	1943	26.5	555	7.8	316	2.9	3660	10.9	673283	11.2
Complete Primary		0.0	601	8.5	204	1.9	1845	5.5	328519	5.5
Secondary	4166	56.7	3945	55.8	4637	42.9	13554	40.5	2055955	34.3
Grade 12		0.0	1111	15.7	3977	36.8	9594	28.7	1678906	28.0
Higher	189	2.6	233	3.3	1290	11.9	2208	6.6	756706	12.6
Total	7341		7073		10815		33450		5997988	

2001

Industry	Study Area		Ward 7	
Persons				
Agriculture/Forestry/Fishing	68	1.0	741	4.9
Community/Social/Prsonal	2307	35.2	3858	25.7
Construction	212	3.2	1035	6.9
Electricity/Gas Water	48	0.7	90	0.6
Financial/Insurance/Real				
Estate/ Business	899	13.7	1815	12.1
Manufaturing	666	10.2	2865	19.1
Mining/ Quarrying	16	0.2	48	0.3
Other	7	0.1	12	0.1
Private Households	336	5.1	1911	12.7
Transport/Storage/Communi				
cation	503	7.7	954	6.3
Undetermined	665	10.1	1701	11.3
Wholesale/ Retail trade	828	12.6		0.0
totals	6555		15030	

Occupation	Study Area		Ward 7	
Craft/Trade	693	14.0	2625	14.7
Elementary	468	9.4	4641	26.1
Legislators/ Senior officials	306	6.2	735	4.1
Plant/ Machine Operators	223	4.5	1368	7.7
Professionals	345	6.9	747	4.2
Service Workers	666	13.4	2190	12.3
Agricultural/ Fisheries	23	0.5	270	1.5
Technicians	635	12.8	1365	7.7
Undetermined	352	7.1	1245	7.0
Clerks	1256	25.3	2628	14.8
total	4967		17814	