

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.