POST-APARTHEID DESEGREGATION IN VEREENIGING, 1991-1996

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is fondly dedicated to my late mother, Motshedisi, as well as to my uncle and aunt Masama and Malethoko respectively who passed on their profound love for education to me.

Lord, I ascribe it to thy grace
And not to chance as others do ...
Isaac Watts

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ABSTRACT

In 1923, when the concept of Black locations was introduced following the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act, the Blacks became segregated from the other racial groups and were forced to live on the peripheries of towns. Subsequently, the passing of the Group Areas Act of 1950 and 1966 ensured the maximisation of a geographical distance between the Whites, Coloureds, and Indians, thereby giving the South African towns and cities a racially demarcated character. However, in June 1991 the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (108/1991) was passed to herald a socio-political change. This reversion of policy by Government therefore gave rise to the current investigation into desegregated settlements.

The purpose of this survey study was to describe and explain the phenomenon of desegregation in the South African town of Vereeniging after the repeal of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950). Pertinently this study contemplated the following specific aims: First, to determine the extent of desegregation in terms of the number and spatial distribution of Black migrants in the former White residential areas in Vereeniging. Secondly to describe and explain the nature of desegregation in Vereeniging in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of the Black migrants.

It was first postulated that residential desegregation in Vereeniging was still of limited extent, and that residential areas in the town were unequally exposed to the process of desegregation. Secondly, that the spatial patterns of desegregation were modulated by the socio-economic characteristics of Black migrants. Therefore, the rating records that contained useful information about the property owners from the Vereeniging-Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure were used to develop a sampling frame. A total of 1 394 Black migrants was identified on the basis of unique African surnames. A sample of 326 randomly selected participants was identified. The questionnaires were distributed to the participants residential addresses.

The completed questionnaires were collected personally from the participants. The rationale for this was to, *inter alia*, maintain a good rapport with the participants. The Information Technology and Management (ITM) of the Vaal Triangle campus of the Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys was used to capture and analyse the data through the Statistical Analysis System (SAS) programme. The Index of Dissimilarity and Index of Segregation were calculated to determine the socio-spatial distribution of Black migrants in the town.

The cross tabulations were applied with respect to some items of the questionnaire in order to determine the degree of association between one variable and the other. It, however, became apparent from the subsequent analyses that the number of Blacks who lived in the White areas of Vereeniging was relatively small. This finding provided a support to the postulate that residential desegregation in Vereeniging was still of limited extent. Confirming this finding was the town's 0,3% to 19,0% desegregation range. Even so, highly desegregated scenarios manifested in the central business district (CBD) and in areas of the town that are continguous to the Black townships.

Finally, this study has recommended that urban geographers should investigate the liveability of White migrants who began to migrate to Black townships immediately after all residential areas, including the Black areas, were declared desegregated in terms of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act , 1991 (108/1991).

Key Words

Vereeniging	**Apartheid**	**Post-apartheid**
Segregation	**Desegregation**	**Sharpeville**
Sebokeng	**Group Areas**	**Mixed Areas**

OPSOMMING

In 1923 toe die konsep van Swart lokasies ingebring is volgens die Wet op Swart (Stadsgebied) was Swartes afgeskei van die ander rassegroepe en verplig om in die randgebiede van die dorpe te woon. Vervolgens, met die uitvaardiging van die Wet op Groepsgebiede van 1950 en 1966 is die maksimering van die afstand tussen Blankes, Kleurlinge en Indiërs verseker en sodoende aan die Suid-Afrikaanse dorpe en stede 'n kenmerk van rasseafbakening gegee. In Junie 1991 is die Wet op die Rassegebasserde Landmaatreëls, 1991 (108/1991) deurgevoer wat sosio-politiese verandering ingelui het. Hierdie omkering van die beleid deur die regering het tot die huidige ondersoek na desegregeerde woongebiede aanleiding gegee.

Die doel van hierdie oorsigtelike studie was om die verskynsel van desegregasie in die Suid- Afrikaanse dorp van Vereeniging na die herroeping van die Wet op die Groepsgebiede, 1950 (41/1950) te beskryf en te verduidelik. Hierdie studie het pertinent die volgende spesifieke doelwitte beoog: Eerstens om vas te stel wat die omvang van desegregasie van Swart trekkers was in die voormalige Blanke woongebiede van Vereeniging. Tweedens om die aard van desegregasie in Vereeniging te beskryf en te verduidelik in terme van die sosio-ekonomiese kenmerke van Swart trekkers.

Dit was eerstens veronderstel dat die desegregasie van die woongebiede in Vereeniging slegs van beperkte omvang was en dat die dorp se woongebiede oneweredig blootgestel was aan die proses van desegregasie. Tweedens dat die ruimtelike patrone van desegregasie beïnvloed word deur die sosio-ekonomiese kenmerke van Swart trekkers. Daarom is die tariefrekords, wat bruikbare inligting oor persone wat eiendom besit in die Vereeniging-Kopanong Metropolitaanse Substruktuur bevat, gebruik om 'n monsternemings raamwerk te ontwikkel. 'n Totaal van 1394 Swart trekkers is geïndentifiseer.

Hieruit is 'n ewekansige steekproef van 326 deelnemers geselekteer. Die vraelyste is aan die deelnemers uitgedeel by hulle woonadresse. Die voltooide vraelyste is persoonlik by die deelnemers afgehaal. Dit was ook onder andere die rasionaal om 'n goeie verhouding met die deelnemers te handhaaf. Die Inligtings Tegnologie en Bestuur (ITB) van die Vaal Driehoekse kampus van die Potchefstroomse Universiteit vir Christelike Hoër Onderwys is gebruik om die data in te voer en te verwerk met behulp van die Statistiese Analise Sisteem (SAS) program. Die Indeks van Andersheid en die Indeks van Segregasie is bereken om die sosio-ruimtelike verspreiding van die Swart trekkers in die dorp vas te stel.

Die kruistabelle is toegepas ten opsigte van sekere items van die vraelys om die mate van assosiasie tussen die een en die ander variante te bepaal. Dit het egter uit daaropvolgende ontleding duidelik geword dat die aantal Swartes wat in die Blanke woongebiede van Vereeniging woon relatief min is. Hierdie bevinding het die stelling gesteun dat woningsdesegregasie in Vereeniging nog steeds van beperkte mate is. Dit is bevestig deur die dorp se desegregasie telling van 0,3% tot 19,0%. Nieteenstande is daar hoë desegregasie senarios in die sentrale besigsheidsdistrik (SBD) en in areas van die dorp wat aan die Swart woongebiede grens.

Ten slotte het hierdie studie aanbeveel dat stedelike geograwe die lewensvatbaarheid van Blanke trekkers wat onmiddelik na die verklaring dat alle woongebiede insluitend die Swart woongebiede oop is in terme van die Afskaffing van die Wet op die Rassegebaseerde Landmaatreëls, 1991 (108/1991) na Swart woongebiede verhuis het.

Sleutelwoorde

Vereeniging	**Apartheid**	**Post-apartheid**
Segregasie	**Desegregasie**	**Sharpeville**
Sebokeng	**Groepsgebiede**	**Gemengde Gebiede**

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What we call the beginning is often the end and to make an end is to make a beginning. The end is where we start from.

- T.S. Eliot

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1 Introduction

Residential segregation is an international phenomenon and while it is experienced as a social problem in most cities of the world, it has become a central focus of contemporary social geography (Peach, 1983:105). It has been investigated in Europe; the Near East and North Africa (Daniel & Hopkinson, 1974); in North and South America (Kantrowitz, 1975); the United Kingdom (Boal, 1975); Australia (Jones, 1975); New Zealand (Rowland, 1975); and the West Indies (Clarke, 1975). Segregation refers to a situation where members of a population group, usually defined in terms of ethnicity, race, language, nationality, culture or socio-economic class are not evenly distributed in relation to the rest of the urban population (Knox, 1992:250, Van der Merwe, 1987:219). Residential segregation can occur under two sets of circumstances.

First, it occurs as a compulsory or discriminatory separation of a minority group from the broader community who regards the former as an undesirable element that poses a threat to its identity. Several external mechanisms and discriminatory actions have been used to force immigrants into a situation of spatial segregation. The most common strategy in American and European cities has been the application of housing obstructions by the broader host community to prevent the invasion of its neighbourhoods by other ethnic groups. This is done in an openly hostile attitude towards newcomers. Sometimes the host group shows obvious unwillingness to sell or rent houses to the immigrants. In the housing market the estate industry and financial institutions help the process of resistance by channelling different ethnic groups to different residential areas. Some countries have gone so far as to impose ethnic residential segregation by means of legislation (Van der Merwe, 1987:220; Yeates & Garner, 1976). In this regard a classic example is the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) in South Africa.

Second, it occurs by way of voluntary segregation. This occurs if the immigranting community experience living conditions that they are unaccustomed to in a new environment or if in their opinion the residential proximity of other ethnic groups is undesirable (Yeates & Garner, 1976; Van der Merwe, 1987). It also happens especially when the migrating minority groups feel threatened by the norms of the numerically stronger host groups. Consequently, the minority groups undertake to live together in a relatively homogenenous concentration separate from the host community on the basis of their common characteristics such as: language, religion, culture, sentiments and practices as a preservatory measure against abandoning their character in the course of their interaction with the host group. However, in the view of foreigners the resultant ethnic residence is seen as a temporary sanctuary in which they could adapt to new conditions and an urban way of life (Van der Merwe, 1987:221).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Special attention was given to residential segregation in South Africa where a policy of apartheid pursued by the Nationalist Party from 1948 profoundly affected the character of South African towns and cities. Although residential segregation characterised the pre-1948 era, the ensuing period was one of strictly legislated and enforced racial segregation, notably through the provisions of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950). In terms of this Act, every racial group was allowed residence only in their own racially proclaimed areas (Christopher, 1988; Nel, 1988).

During the past two decades many South African urban geographers have concentrated on the apartheid city, group areas and issues pertinent to Black townships (Smit & Booysen, 1981; Baines, 1989; Beavon, 1992; Christopher, 1987 and 1988; Davies, 1981; Krige, 1988; Lemon, 1991; Mabin, 1986; McCarthy, 1992; Nel, 1988; Olivier & Hattingh, 1985). From 1977, however, some of the main urban centres in South Africa started "greying". This was because Coloureds and Indians had begun to settle in the inner areas of the cities in contravention of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950). Consequently, such researchers as Maharaj and Mpungose (1994); Saff (1994); Hart (1989); Rule (1988); Elder (1990) and Pickard-Cambridge

(1988b) began to investigate this *de facto* desegregation[1]. When Mafikeng became incorporated in the then Republic of Bophuthatswana in 1980, Pickard-Cambridge (1988a) directed her investigations to its post-independence desegregation.

However, in June 1991, the South African government passed the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (108/1991) thereby making desegregation of former "White towns" possible. This led to the migration of some Black immigrants to former White residential areas whose character thus became more multi-racial. Since then the socio-political transformation in South Africa allowed researchers to re-direct their focus to *de jure* desegregation. Among the vanguards of this initiative are Rule (1996); Crankshaw and White (1995); Myburgh (1996); Ownhouse and Nel (1993); Kotze and Donaldson (1996); Donaldson (1996) and Donaldson and Van der Merwe (1999). However, most of their investigations have focused on towns and cities like Johannesburg that had previously been researched to determine the extent of their *de facto* desegregation, while many other areas still remain unexamined. On the basis of the foregoing argument it therefore appears that the need to describe and explain post-apartheid desegregation in Vereeniging deserves priority in order to fill in the gap of overlooked and yet equally important situations in this town.

The primary question that this study proposes to investigate is: What is the extent and nature of post-apartheid desegregation in Vereeniging since 1991? In doing this the study will aim to provide a better understanding of the desegregation patterns in a South African city, and provide a better insight into the restructuring of the South African city after apartheid.

1.3 Aims of the study

1.3.1 The general aim

The general aim of this study is to provide a description and explanation of the desegregation process in Vereeniging from June 1991 to 1996.

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[1] Desegregation is a process that characterises the moving into previously White-only neighbourhoods and in the central business districts of towns and cities by previously 'disqualified' racial groups whose income status equals to or remainded higher than those of the out-migrating Whites (Saff, 1994: 382).

1.3.2 Specific aims

(i) To determine the extent of desegregation in terms of the number and spatial distribution of Black immigrants in the former White residential areas in Vereeniging

(ii) To describe and explain the nature of desegregation in Vereeniging in terms of the following socio-economic or demographic characteristics of the Black immigrants in the former White residential areas, namely, language, marital status, educational level, occupation, income, type of dwelling, ownership of property, distance from work, transport, as well as the immigrants' perception towards their residential neighbourhoods

1.4 Central theoretical statement

(i) Residential desegregation in Vereeniging is still of limited extent, and residential areas in the town are unequally exposed to the process of desegregation.

(ii) The spatial patterns of desegregation are modulated by the socio-economic characteristics of the Black immigrants.

1.5 Chapter divisions

Chapter 1 is the introduction and statement of the problem. Chapter 2 provides a theoretical perspective on the housing market. Chapter 3 is a historical perspective of housing in Vereeniging from 1838 to 1996. Chapter 4 is a literature review on segregation and desegregation. Chapter 5 is the presentation of the method of research and data collection. Chapter 6 is the presentation and discussion of study results and Chapter 7 presents a summary of results, conclusion and future study.

In Chapter 2, the elements of the housing market will be examined and discussed.

A favorite theory is a possession for life
- William Hazlitt

CHAPTER 2

A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE HOUSING MARKET

2.1 Introduction

Accruing from the problem under investigation in Chapter 1 has been a need to imbed this study in the theory of the housing market. At the root of a market approach to housing lies 'partnership' of a tenant, community, business, and government as 'stakeholders' (Smith, 1997:176). The viability of the housing market is sustained by a housing policy. Therefore, the housing policy is an instrument which, *inter alia*, assists the housing market to meet the regulatory requirements in housing. In this chapter an attempt will first be made to examine key aspects of the housing policy and related activities that affect the housing market. Thus, the supply-oriented incentives will be sub-divided into, for example, housing type, housing value and institutional activities. Secondly, it will give details of demand-oriented subsidies, and explain the intra-urban mobility, search characteristics, and status-oriented distribution of social groups in the city. Thirdly, it will explain the importance of direct market intervention in the housing market.

2.2 The housing market

The housing market is the total housing stock occupied by households. This is divided into owner-occupied housing and privately rented housing. The owner-occupied sector, especially, is determined by the market forces of the demand and supply for the housing market. Demand for housing is allocated through the free choice of the individual from the available supply. Thus, individual buyers can choose to buy or rent whatever size of property they require, and in whatever location, subject only to the constraints imposed by their income and actual availability (Fordham, *et al*; 1998:158).

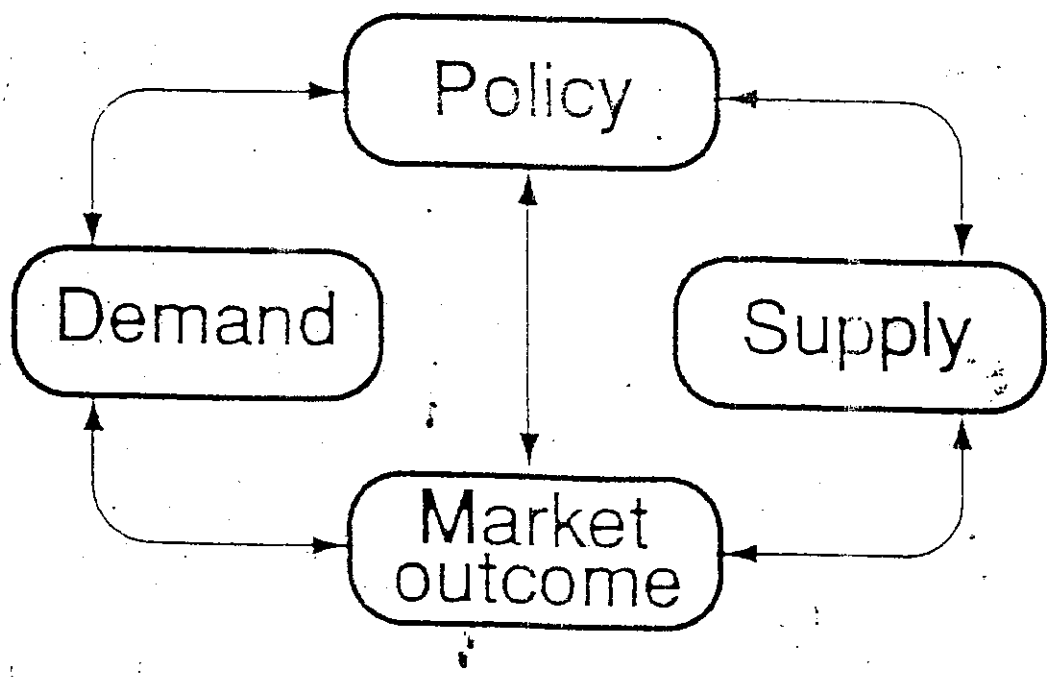
In nearly all countries the housing market is controlled by housing policies. These are pursued with explicit regulations. In addition, government in each country also exerts a substantial indirect influence on the housing market through fiscal and monetary policy,

social welfare policy, and in some cases regional development policy. The policy instruments vary among countries and over time. Therefore, the local governments play important policy roles and the local authorities in the metropolitan regions have become the innovators in the development of housing policy (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:20).

2.3 Housing policy and its characteristics

A housing policy as shown in Figure 2.1 is a non-integrated but broadly interpreted plan directed at households' needs, the condition of some types of housing, and the varying levels of intervention and subsidy in the process of providing new housing (Fordham, *et al*; 1998:207). The production, consumption, financing, distribution and location of dwellings are controlled, regulated, and subsidised in complex ways. Such housing policies have been adopted for a variety of economic, political, ideological, and historical reasons. Their execution influences the physical appearance and spatial development of the living areas, the economic welfare of households, and their social environments (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:1).

Figure 2.1 Housing Policy and the Delivery of Housing Services



Source: Hårsman and Quigley (1991: 22)

Housing policies are special. Firstly, because they affect all citizens in developed societies. In such developed societies housing is considered a necessity and occupies a large portion of a household budget. Through housing policy the distribution of housing becomes important for producers and consumers, and an important symbolic status for politicians and government officials (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:3).

Secondly, change in the direction of housing policy is slow, particularly when subsidies have been allocated to long-term housing programmes. The result is that housing subsidies tend to be uncontrolled in the government budget. Thirdly, housing policy is closely related to many other important objectives of economic and social policy. These include, for example, macro-economic stabilisation, social welfare, public health, appropriate land-use, economic development, and regional balance. It therefore, ensures co-ordination between these activities and policy initiatives (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:3).

2.3.1. South African housing policy

2.3.1.1 Background

In 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) undertook campaigns to, *inter alia*, popularise the right to housing as a priority for all South Africans. In the run-up to the democratic election on April 27 1994, the right to housing that the African National Council propagated became one of their principal agendas. In their manifesto they undertook to build one million houses in five years once they came into power. After the election in 1994 the Ministry of Housing in the Government of National Unity (GNU) initiated a new housing policy.

2.3.1.2 Policy features

The current South African housing policy has been conceived from its housing vision whose values include: sustainability, viability, integration, equality, reconstruction, holistic development and good governance (South Africa, 2000: 3). It has been fashioned around the establishment of various partnerships outside the civil service. These include the housing support institutions that deal with different types of risk in the housing delivery (Cobbett, 2001: 3). This is being achieved in terms of the subsidy programmes.

2.3.1.3 Relevance to the current study

Although the South African housing policy only became relevant to this study after April 27 1994, it was one important instrument that has directed the post-apartheid housing activities between 1994 and 1996. From 1994 the Ministry of Housing introduced the capital subsidy scheme to help persons who could not afford a house of their own. The various subsidy programmes that were introduced by Government's Housing Department in 1995 (South Africa, 2000: 5-7) ensured that many households qualified for assistance. All of these features constituted the supply-oriented incentives in the study. (This is discussed under 2.5.1 of this document.) These have helped to reduce the South African housing backlog that was estimated at over 480 000 in 1996 (Mashatile, 2001: 2).

2.4. Evaluation of the housing policy

2.4.1. Efficiency objectives

Brügge (1996:72) maintains that efficiency objectives ensure a move away from a purely substance orientation of the concept "house" to one of process, interaction and relationship between house and setting, individual, neighbourhood, community and society. Housing policy is adopted to promote allocative efficiency in the economy. This efficiency can be achieved through government regulation in the market for building, occupancy, financing or pricing of housing services.

This can be achieved in the following ways: Firstly, through the regulation of the aspects of the housing stock which are viewed by physical planners as "the public good aspects of housing" which consider a house as meant for all members of the household. Thus, the physical appearance of the building, its architecture, and its arrangement in relation to infrastructure and transport must satisfy the entire household. A well-designed building and planned urban landscape arising from the placement of a dwelling in relation to the facilities is one of the requirements of "public good". From this perspective, some government role through housing policy is needed to promote this economic efficiency (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4).

Secondly, through the enhancement of externalities that are associated with the housing stock, its design, arrangement, and external quality. The forms and locations in which housing is provided can fundamentally affect the efficiency with which the

urban system as a whole functions. These externalities may be social and fiscal as well as physical. For example, under a variety of tax arrangements, particularly property taxes, the occupants of large and desirable dwellings may decrease financial costs of public services to other residents. Conversely, small inexpensive dwellings may increase the financial costs of public services to others. These fiscal externalities provide a clear motive for government regulation and zoning (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4).

Thirdly, through accommodating the needs of all members of the households. Housing is durable and is expensive to alter therefore every care has to be taken to ensure that it meets the needs of the future as well as the current generations. Housing standards and norms like educational standards or medical standards need to meet the minimum requirements prescribed for captive consumers such as children, the elderly, the handicapped, and the future generations. There is a need, therefore, for a regulated market to guarantee a care of all the captive groups (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:5).

Fourthly, through the efficient use of scarce resources. This can be achieved by regulating the expectations of market behaviour. The enforcement of regulations could narrow the difference between the investments undertaken using individual discount rates and the appropriate investments using collective social discount rates. Because housing markets are also characterized by substantial transaction costs both for consumers and producers, some standardisation is required to reduce costs for both consumers and producers (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:5).

A set of common standards may facilitate negotiations and actions of intermediaries in construction, while uniform rules and codes may result in information economics and in consumption as well. Furthermore, the standardisation may reduce costs of information about alternative dwellings for potential housing consumers, the cost of inspection for health and safety and for the enforcement of police powers of the state. Furthermore, the promulgation of standards and norms for the housing market may encourage economies of scale in production. These economies of scale may arise because of the technical character of the production process (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:5).

In the fifth place, through intervention in the housing market to stabilise production. A view held is that the output per manhour in residential construction generally lags

behind other sectors and, therefore, affects the desired productivity in house building. The intervention of government in such a situation may foster substitution of capital for labour in the production of dwellings and also promote labour-saving innovation in the building activity (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:5-6).

Finally, efficiency in the housing market could benefit from government macro-economic intervention. The national expenditure, consumption, and investment in housing may benefit from the efficient handling by the government. Because housing is costly while new constructions are subject to currently applicable interest rates, this could affect housing demand. Therefore, explicit policies about the level of housing construction can provide an additional instrument for the regional and national income (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:6).

2.4.2. Equity objectives

Essentially a house provides a domestic base and a location from which the members of a household, individually or collectively, have more or less convenient and affordable access to the resources and opportunities presented by an urban system (Behrens *et al*; 1998:4). In most Western and socialist countries, governmental authorities articulate an explicit policy objective concerning the provision of housing. For example, in the USA every housing Bill since 1949 has articulated the goal of a "decent home and suitable living conditions for all citizens". In Sweden housing provision relates to an explicitly drawn objective. The government has made its housing policy an effective instrument that emphasizes the importance of housing among consumers (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:6).

Some European countries provide housing under "commodity egalitarianism" as a way of ensuring equality. Under this practice housing is redistributed in kind which has become more acceptable than redistribution in cash. This European approach to housing has been adopted by the ANC-led South African government (See, discussion under 2.3.1.) The visibility of sub-standard housing makes the situation salient to politicians, voters, and owners of property. For example, the quality of housing affects credibility of local politicians in the communities in which they work, while some owners of property may petition against the introduction of low-cost housing in their area. Since 1994 the affluent Whites in South African towns and cities have also been in the forefront petitioning against low income housing in their areas. Conversely, the

forethought given to housing may make housing an attractive vehicle for politicians in accomplishing egalitarianism in housing provision. From a paternalistic viewpoint, as government representatives, the politicians know that unsatisfactory housing could tarnish the image of government they represent (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:6-7).

In the 19th century some European countries enacted comprehensive legislation to assure minimum standards of health and safety in the residential areas. These measures were later extended to include measures to control overcrowding and to ensure effective systems of sewage and water supply. An additional objective of these measures was to control epidemics of cholera, tuberculosis, and many other contagious diseases. The passing of the Public Health Act of 1848 in Britain, for example, held local governments responsible for proper sanitation and for the enforcement of a variety of health and safety measures (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:7). The Swedish government passed the Health Code of 1874 which instructed the local authorities to control housing conditions and to prevent the occupancy by households of unsafe dwellings. A similar kind of legislation was introduced in Amsterdam by the end of the 19th century to ensure improved sanitary conditions (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:7).

After World War I, housing policies not only continued to ensure social requirements but also the prosperity of the newly created nations. For example, in 1946 the Swedish government proposed housing policies that served as an extension of broader social policy. They became complementary to their policy instruments such as child allowances and pension reforms. A revised Swedish housing policy of 1971 reflects an inclusion of an aspect of political motive. This holds a political view that housing should be regarded as a social right rather than a commodity (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:8).

A second political motive for adopting housing policies relates to the apportioning of windfall gains and losses among different economic actors. This occurs during periods of rapidly increasing housing demand when landlords make huge profits. Such huge profits, for example, necessitated a housing policy that ensured controlled rents in the housing stock in the Netherlands. The unearned profits are in the form of increased site values accruing to particular owners of residential or commercial properties, landlords, and owners of tracts of land. In practice the location of infrastructure, the type and routing of roads, public transport, hospitals, and other spatial aspects of

urban life greatly increased the unearned profits of the landlords. This is administered to benefit all groups (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:9).

A third set of political motives for housing policy embodies the process of democratic participation in the housing market. In Europe, for example, the housing policy allows the participation of all who live in a particular area in the overall development of their area. The housing policy is therefore an integrating instrument that allows the development of housing with other public functions in which all parties take part. The involvement of the town planners is, therefore, both an efficiency motive and a political motive. The expectation of this inclusive participation is that the process can foster and improve democracy. It is also considered useful in the promotion of some kind of consensus about the way a local area should develop. In the USA such a democratically-held view is embraced in the slogan "maximum feasible participation". It provided a rationale for community action programmes in the 1960's and 1970's (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:9). (This will be dealt with extensively under 2.5.3 in this document.)

A fourth political objective is related to the physical characteristics of real estate and its long life. This industry is in many instances manipulated by some politicians and political forces to carry out specific housing investments initiated by politicians themselves. The outcome of the politically initiated housing development can be a lasting monument to the far-sighted politician who facilitated the investment. The control over the spatial development of housing provides local politicians with some mechanism for affecting the socio-economic mix of the population in the area and allows for an opportunity to electioneer. The distribution of households of different economic classes within the metropolitan area as informed by housing policy can influence the constitution of the city councils and regional governments (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:10).

Finally, the political reason for housing programmes can be seen in the link between regional development policies, labour market policies, and a housing market. Housing investment is a stimulant to a local or regional economy. Therefore, it can be used politically as a tool for redistribution across all regions. These regional development programmes are inextricably linked to the political, social and economical aspects.

These aspects are not merely economic in scope but are especially embedded in a particular political or ideological dimension (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:10).

2.5. Features of the housing market

2.5.1. Supply-oriented incentives

Housing supply as shown in Figure 2.1 is a situation where housing accessibility depends on costs, affordability, availability of finance, ability to utilise individual's own labour and that of his family and it is based on the possibility of scheduling the construction of the building over an extended period of time, and the housing market (De Loor, 1992:206). The supply of market sale homes comes from two main sources: "second-hand" homes from existing housing stock, and new homes built for sale. The second-hand supply of homes is largely dependent on owner-occupier's selling and moving to another home (cf. 2.5.1.6). The new homes supply is almost entirely built by private sector developers. The balance of provision comes from other agencies, and from other types of initiative such as the self-built programmes (Fordham *et al*; 1998:161).

These two models of housing supply involve a process of activities such as planning, financing, material supply, construction, building codes and zoning, regulations and interest rate subsidies, as well as the home-owner, a local authority, a contractor, professionals and employers (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:23; De Loor, 1992:122). The supply-side subsidies are provided in the form of preferential loans. These are motivated by equity concerns and sometimes also by a belief that a free market simply cannot produce enough housing of reasonable quality (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:26).

In Western Europe, in countries such as Sweden, Finland, and the Netherlands, for example, use is made of subsidised state or government-sponsored loans to support new construction. This supply side subsidy is combined with controls concerning construction costs and some quality standards. The support is given in the form of below market interest rates or direct capital subsidies whereby housing subsidy is provided to the poor households for a maximum period of up to 50 years (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:26).

The housing assistance in the USA is less extensive. The subsidised dwellings are strictly allocated to households with special needs: for example, low-income

households, elderly people, and war veterans. The supply-oriented incentives in some European countries have assumed special programmes for rehabilitation and modernisation. In the UK the traditional role of council housing in Glasgow, for example, has been transformed by the transfer of ownership to associations of tenants (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:27). In the housing supply programmes, to minimise the risk, developers are drawn to building house types which are in short supply, or which sell at a premium. Their products are designed to complement available second-hand stock, rather than to compete directly with them (Fordham *et al*; 1998:162). In practice there are several elements in the housing market that structure, influence and misrepresent the supply (Van der Merwe, 1987:189) as shall be illustrated below.

2.5.1.1. Housing types

The housing market has a variety of housing types. This diversity of dwelling types characterise individuality such as personal housing needs, sophistication and circumstances. Once any of these considerations is satisfied, a prospective owner could either choose to have a permanent or temporary dwelling, even though such a decision could still be influenced by either of the categories of housing types.

Firstly, low-density housing that typifies single dwelling units. These are essentially detached dwelling housing types on a large site in low-, middle- and high-income areas (De Loor, 1992:123). They are invariably built on inidividual plots of varying surface areas. Wherever these types of dwellings are provided, the individual families are, impelled by their own taste, needs, and abilities to choose them (Van der Merwe, 1987:189). Secondly, medium density housing types. They are characteristically semi-detached dwelling units. While on the one hand these are types of connected units on a single level, on the other hand there are units of rows of more than two dwellings adjoining each other. Such duplex or maisonette structures are expressly designed to house sub-economic groups (Van der Merwe, 1987:189). Thirdly, high-density houses that also include apartments or flats. Because of large numbers of urban people, these housing types mainly accommodate the unmarried, the childless couples, and the elderly and retired persons (Van der Merwe, 1987:190).

Hostels constitute public rental housing within the housing market. The use of these facilities varies according to the purpose for which they have been established. Generally, hostels constitute the principal alternative housing for the "statutorily

homeless" – who are all people with nowhere else to go (Best, 1992:23). However, in South Africa they have been established for political or ideological reasons to provide housing to controlled migrant populations. Because of the system of migratory labour, hostel or compound accommodation for single men has always played an important role in South Africa. Some of these hostels are provided by Government institutions such as local authorities, while others were built and are run by employers in the private sector (Rubenstein & Otten, 1996:139).

The Government policy regarding hostel accommodation in South Africa, for example, has changed considerably (Rubenstein & Otten, 1996:142) because in terms of the housing policy of the Department of Housing (South Africa, 2000:52) they are being built in order to:

- promote humane living conditions;
- include hostel residents, the neighbouring community, relevant public authorities and any others affected by a project in the decision-making processes
- embody a development orientation, both in terms of empowerment and participation and in terms of promoting economic development and employment creation
- undertake, in the context of the development requirements, the needs of the broader neighbourhood
- promote social integration and ensure equity within hostel communities and also between hostels and the adjacent communities
- take into account the needs and affordability of the end-users, including those of women in hostels
- include plans for accommodating those who are displaced by the project of upgrading hostels
- ensure that residents acquire the skills necessary in order to participate in the ongoing management of the proposed complex, and

- initiate local institutions and administrative procedures in order to sustain physical improvements and undertake socio-economic development.

Fourthly, the squatter settlements. These are recurrent forms of housing types especially in Third World towns and cities. They constitute the unlawful creations of temporary structures. Because of their temporariness, they are invariably made up of scrap materials including any available odds and ends (Van der Merwe, 1987:190). The fifth group comprises mobile housing types. Included among these are pre-fabricated structures and trailer homes. Their advantage is that they can be moved with relative ease from one area to the other (Van der Merwe, 1987:190).

2.5.1.2. Tenure

Ownership of residence among especially the Western communities has become a norm. This is associated with the desire by the household to have a dwelling unit with more rooms and sufficient living space (Northam, 1979:335). This culture of ownership promotes a psycho-economical relationship between owner and property. For this reason, Van der Merwe (1987:190) maintains that, unlike in the case of tenancy, owner-occupancy tends to provide a greater sense of security, identity, and stability.

However, where individuals cannot provide their own dwellings and therefore rely on tenancy, the role is filled by the developers. They generally supply housing on a lease basis. In addition, the government housing agencies, where necessary, undertake the supply of housing to accommodate the poor. This government fulfils by means of low-cost housing programmes which the people let (Van der Merwe, 1987:190). The owner-occupied sector is mainly housed in the low density areas of the metropolitan areas. This is because the housing units in these areas are owned by middle- and lower-middle income groups. Conversely, leasing is fairly high in the medium- and high-density areas. The reason is that these are areas of communities who typify low socio-economic status (Northam, 1979:335).

2.5.1.3 Morphological housing characteristics

Each dwelling characterises specific physical features. In fact, the most common of these characteristics are: the size of the plot, floor area, number of rooms, facilities, age of house, condition, construction material, and architecture (Van der Merwe,

1987:191). Consequently, these features provide a variety of market opportunities from which a potential owner-occupier or tenant can choose.

2.5.1.4. Housing value

The value of a house is determined by a number of factors. First, capacity to provide shelter and to offer protection against natural and human disasters. Second, the amount of available space inside and outside of dwelling for the owner's use and convenience. Third, the location regarding accessibility to a transport network, place of work, shopping areas, family, friends, and social facilities such as schools, hospitals, parks and different types of recreation (Van der Merwe, 1987:191). Also important to the housing value is the positional distance of the dwelling in relation to negative externalities. They include, for example, sources of pollution, congestion of traffic, places of crime, noise, and obnoxious factors (Van der Merwe, 1987:191).

2.5.1.5. Institutional structures (gatekeepers)

The supply of housing is not without impediments. One of these obstructions include the so-called "gatekeepers". Among them are, for example, members of the real estate industry who are perceived to be an inhibitive factor in the acquisition of property. This is because in the US the National Association of Real Estate Brokers (NAREB), for example, has historically discriminated against the US Black housing aspirations (Hartshorn, 1980:272). Their restrictive methods to inhibit the supply of housing to US Blacks include the advertising of houses exclusively to the US White market (Hartshorn, 1980:272). Even then priority to acquire such housing was given to those Whites who could afford the market price (Van der Merwe, 1987:191) thereby discriminating against other consumers.

Further methods to ensure the inhibition of the Blacks from acquiring property embody "screening" the home-seekers. Otherwise, the industry engages in misrepresentivity in which the real estate agents could claim that either the house is no longer for sale, or that it has already been sold. In many other instances these estate industries resort to a negative selling approach. Their strategies range from deliberate failure to honour the appointments, overcharge of property, or withdrawal of their services (Hartshorn, 1980:272). The conduct of these real estate industries has resulted in the separation of neighbourhoods between the US Whites and Blacks. The real estate industries use

catch phrases such as an exclusive area, an executive neighbourhood, a country club and a separate school (Hartshorn, 1980:272). Conversely, the US Blacks who seek homes are steered to unfavourable areas adjacent to railroads, cemetries, parks and dead-end streets (Hartshorn, 1980:272).

These restrictive practices are used by the developers and real estate industries alike. For reasons of making substantial profits these bodies focus their commercial activities on the middle- and high-income market only. This is because these income groups are credit-worthy and are in a position to repay their mortgage loans. In some instances where in the opinion of mortgage banks particular areas of towns are considered old, decayed, and of low-economic character, such areas are immediately "red-lined". The potential buyers of these so-called high-risk areas are refused financial assistance (Hartshorn, 1980:272).

Similarly, the government institutions have been active players in the supply of housing. Their involvement is essentially twofold. First, the local authorities provide rental housing to low-income groups (De Loor, 1992:127). In 1983 the rental housing for Black communities in South Africa was, as a result of change in housing policy, sold to their occupiers. Apart from providing low-cost housing, the local authorities are involved in co-ordinating building regulations and standards. This includes the zoning of households, demarcation of residential areas, provision of services, control of density and authorisation of building material in housing (Van der Merwe, 1987:192).

Because the local authorities are expected to maintain high quality standards of property, they occasionally use their own funds to finance housing programmes. However, major portion of their housing finance is provided by the respective Housing Development Funds. They also obtain funds from Regional Services Councils, the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Local Authorities Loans Fund and the private capital market (De Loor, 1992:171). These sources of finance have resulted in especially the supply of housing for the low-income groups.

2.5.1.6. Filtering and vacancy chains

Filtering is yet another aspect that affects housing supply. (It has been touched on under 2.5.1.) It is a process whereby the low-status residents move in and occupy obsolescent dwellings (Knox, 1995:306) abandoned by those of high-income status.

Because of "functional" and "style" obsolescence, these high-income status residents sell their homes if they themselves can buy elsewhere (Fordham *et al*; 1998:161). The resultant exodus of these high-income groups creates opportunities of "second-hand" homes (Fordham *et al*; 1998:161).

The demand from the poor for housing is, therefore, met when these wealthier occupants leave their dwellings for others. The movement into higher-status dwellings that are thus created allows the upward filtering of the in-moving residents (Knox, 1995:306). The tendency is that once the socio-economic status of these in-migrants improve they also vacate these "downward filtered" dwellings. These are again occupied by in-migrating residents from the low-status groups in endless vacancy chains (Northam, 1979:337).

2.5.2 Demand-oriented subsidies

Housing demand as shown in Figure 2.1 involves the situation in the housing market when housing accessibility is determined by the standard and number of houses which can be bought by those who can afford to do so. Effective demand, therefore, refers to the consequences of a decision to buy a housing unit (De Loor, 1992:84). Thus, for most households who purchase a home, income represents a significant constraint. Almost all households who purchase their first home, and many who make subsequent purchases, buy at a price which is close to, or at the limit they can afford in terms of monthly expenditure (Fordham *et al*; 1998:158).

Except in respect of existing equity, savings do not usually represent a significant component of the house price decision. A nominal level of savings though may be needed to pay a deposit, or to cover the fees and other associated costs of moving house (Fordham *et al;* 1998:158). The owner-occupiers receive an effective subsidy on the costs of purchase from Government. (See, discussion under 2.3.1.) The size of the allowance a household obtains depends upon the quality standard of the dwelling occupied. In contrast, tax exemptions and other subsidies to home-ownership seem to be motivated by political reasons in many instances (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:23). A common feature of the European allowance programmes, for example, is that the recipient must meet certain qualifications concerning income, wealth and family size. The situation in the Netherlands for housing allowances is different. In this case

assistance is given to the lowest and average income earners who respectively spend under 10% and 17% of their net income on rental (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:23).

Most housing allowance systems, with the exception of Sweden, are restricted to certain parts of the housing market. In Austria, housing allowance is afforded only to low-income households in newly constructed or in recently modernised buildings. Although there is no housing allowance system in the USA, public assistance for single parent families with dependent children allows them the affordability of decent housing (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:24). Over time, as individual household's needs change, this could affect their attachment to the area. Consequently, the households could decide to move from one neighbourhood to another to reconcile this change to available housing supply. As a process, residential mobility is continuous and it is generated by cumulative housing needs of the inhabitants.

2.5.2.1 Intra-urban residential mobility

Residential mobility embodies the migratory process in which households change places of residence within towns and cities (Van der Merwe, 1987:193). It is a sub-system of the principle of housing demand. This is done following their demands for better and sometimes bigger housing requirements. It is driven by those who are capable of finding housing through the market (Fordham *et al*; 1998:193). Mobility within the city could either be voluntary of involuntary (Knox, 1995:293). Voluntary migration, therefore, occurs when individuals or households are prompted by their individualistic housing pressures to move house on their own volition. These pressures may be occasioned by the type of dwelling, garden space, housing and repair costs to the current dwelling.

Involuntary movement by individuals or households, however, may arise from such activities as the demolition of structures and evictions. It is also, in many cases, caused by breaks in marriages, divorces, retirements, ill-health, death in a family and long distance job changes. Similarly, factors such as: (i) unfavourable environment, (ii) pollution from factories, (iii) noisy children, (iv) litter, (v) garbage and (vi) pet dogs (Knox, 1995:293) are among the primary causes of forced migration. In some instances congestion, impersonality, water problems, overcrowding, sewerage

disposal, and high population densities have been found to be the cause of involuntary migration of households as well (Northam, 1979:60).

Through residential mobility the households strive to bring their dwellings in relation to their life-cycles (Van der Merwe, 1987:193). This means that neighbourhoods and their dwelling types tend to conform with the ages of the occupiers in the following stages propounded by Rossi (as quoted by Hartshorn, 1980:289):

(i) young single person;

(ii) young childless married couples with no dependants;

(iii) the child-bearing married couples;

(iv) the child-rearing married couples; and

(v) the child-launching married couples.

Among these life-cycle categories the mid-age households are the greatest migrants. Their mobility is the result of "growth in family size, an increase in income, and a desire for a larger or better housing unit in a better neighbourhood" (Northam, 1979:335). Therefore, improved wealth among these groups leads to a need for more space which in turn results in the selling of the existing dwelling (Northam, 1979:336).

Likewise, the individuals' lifestyle may result in migration. This could assume a family-directed or vocation-directed life-style (Van der Merwe, 1987:193). The family-directed life-style implies the need to have children raised in an environment that is conducive to favourable upbringing of children. The vocation-directed life-style, however, refers to a priority that a household gives to social and economic considerations when it decides on a residential area. And this includes a preference for suitable employment opportunities of home-owners.

These two sorts of activity that influence choice of residence cause the migrating households to choose from "commuter" and "bedroom" suburbs. The "commuter" suburbs lie towards the outer margin of the cities and beyond. They are peripheral areas that have been assimilated into the metropolitan complex whose residents travel extensively to and from work-places (Northam, 1979:178). These neighbourhoods

characterise modest family dwellings (Northam, 1979:326) which are ideal for maintaining family integrity (Van der Merwe, 1987:193).

However, "bedroom" suburbs are not intended to be populated only by commuters to and from workplaces in the inner-city centre. Although they are peripheral, they are, nevertheless, self-sufficient neighbourhoods. They have the capacity to employ local people and, therefore, remain independent in terms of physical, social and structural aspects from the parent city. Their land-use includes mixture of residential areas of different types, commercial centres, parks and other public facilities, office complexes, and suitable manufacturing concerns (Northam, 1979:480). These serve as favourable considerations in the migration of households.

The standard of living, also, exerts an influence on the migration of households. This aspect embodies issues of income, educational attainment, and occupation. Over time as the householders improve socio-economically and their standard of living changes, they could consider separate entities (Northam, 1979:335). In addition, such a change could suggest even a different workplace to off-set travelling costs (Van der Merwe, 1987:194).

Mobility can take various forms. The one form involves relatively long-distances from one city to another or from rural areas to the city. The other is short distance migration within the city itself. Mobility is generally higher in the urban areas. Owner-occupiers of houses are more inclined to migration than those who rent the properties they occupy (Fordham, *et al*; 1998:104). In general, though, the tendency is to move over relatively short distances. This is because of limitations of the households' action and search spaces (Van der Merwe, 1987:195).

2.5.2.2. Search characteristics

A purposive decision to change neighbourhood warrants a search process. It is in essence a three-staged search that involves the following:

(i) The aspiration region that emanates from a strong desire by the household to achieve its highest possible housing satisfaction. It is a stage that helps the households to set reasonable limits to find alternative accommodation (Knox, 1995:298). At the beginning of the search for a dwelling, the households evaluate the dwellings and the residential areas within the framework of what is

possible. The selection of a new dwelling is made when features of the dwelling and its residential area fall within the critical aspiration region of the households' needs (Van der Merwe, 1987:194).

(ii) The action space which directs the search pattern of a new dwelling. The action space and search space refer to parts of the city about which a home-seeker has knowledge and for which he can provide a specific perceptual image created by himself (Van der Merwe, 1987:194). Invariably, their search is concentrated in familiar and accessible areas of which they have personal knowledge of the spaces being searched (Knox, 1995:300). Such an action space is built through activity space. The actual search space for a new dwelling falls mainly within the household's action space. These home-seekers do not easily search in the unknown parts of the city about which they have little knowledge (Van der Merwe, 1987:194). Because the action space of different individuals and groups differs, their search space would naturally also vary from one case to another. Therefore, a potential mover in the city has to first decide on a dwelling and then make an intensified effort to acquire a suitable dwelling in the favoured residential area (Van der Merwe, 1987:195).

(iii) The information sources to facilitate the action space and search space. These action spaces and search spaces of the home-seekers vary as a result of the equally varying potential to assemble and to process housing information. The selective utilisation of these information channels is thus justified because the sources of information differ as do the type and quality of information they present. Such information channels are based on the home-seekers own direct contact and indirect secondary information sources (Knox, 1995:300). These in the order of priority include: friends and family; advertisements that are distributed to properties; real estate agencies and newspaper advertisements (Van der Merwe, 1987:195).

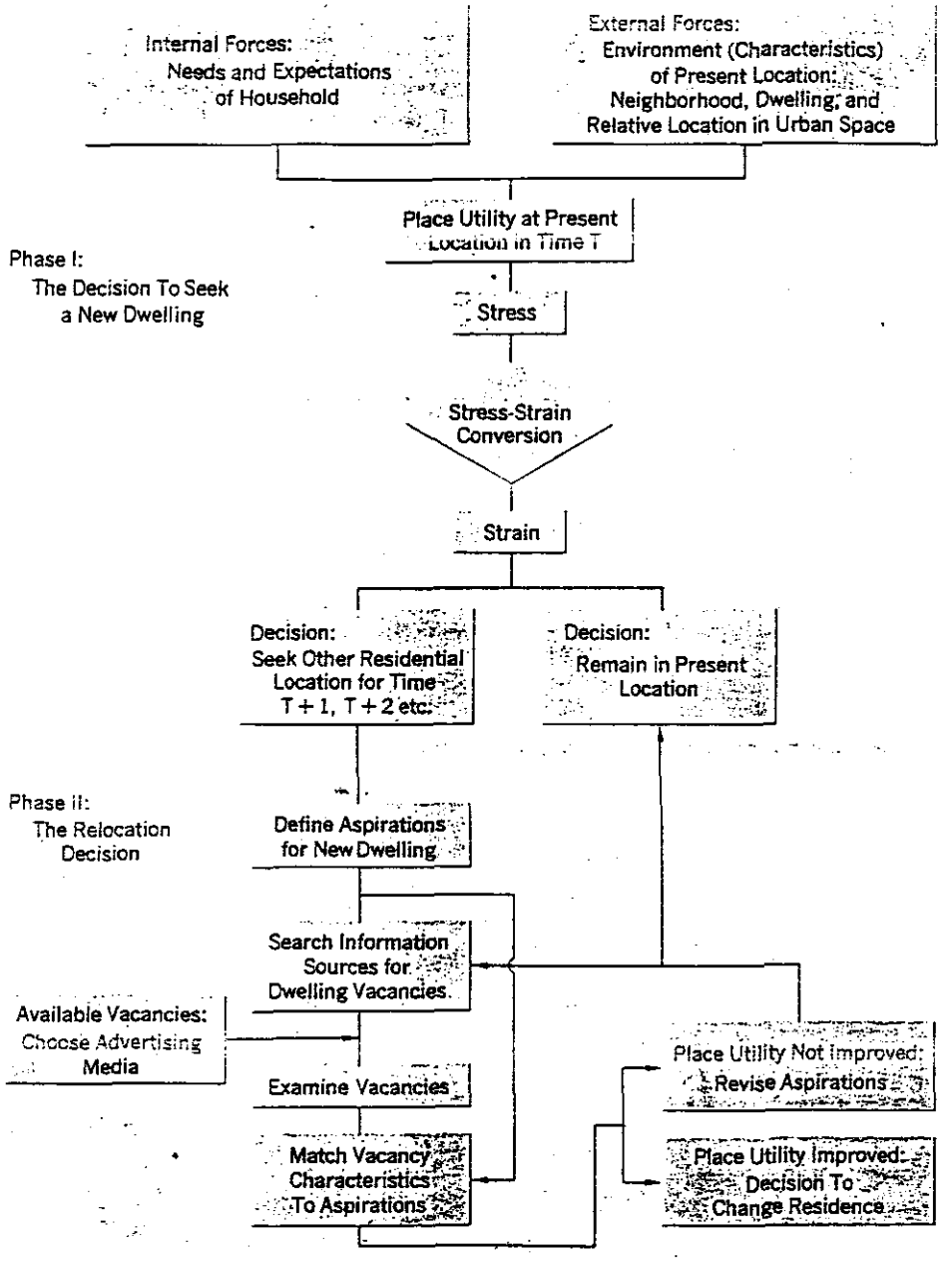
2.5.2.3. Models of residential mobility

The potential migrant household is influenced by two categories of forces (Van der Merwe, 1987:195). They are, on the one hand, the prevailing external environmental characteristics and on the other hand, the internal household characteristics (Knox, 1995:295; Northam, 1979:314) as shown in Figure 2.4. Once these sets of

characteristics change, the household starts to experience the difference between what it aspires to and the actual environment life (Van der Merwe, 1987:195). It thus experiences stress and eventually decides to migrate.

However, the decision to move house by an individual or household depends upon the intensity of its stress. Should the stress exceed a certain threshold value and, therefore, become intolerable, the result could be one of three options. First, to consider environmental improvement. This may involve the enlargement of the dwelling, the installation of the heating facilities, the installation of double glazing and wall cavity insulation, re-wiring the dwelling, and the re-decoration of the dwelling. Furthermore, the situational stressors of inaccessibility that involve long distances from work to home may be compensated through the purchase of a private car (Knox, 1995:297). Second, household may engage in a search for an alternative residence. In this case household would have an opportunity to compare available houses in the market with its own aspirations. This would give it a choice to stop the search if it finds a suitable dwelling (Van der Merwe, 1995:195). Third, if the household fails to identify a suitable dwelling during its search, it may consider the alternatives to either compromise or alter the existing dwelling (Van der Merwe, 1987:195). These may be caused by pressure of time, diversity of opinion among members of the family, or even a failure to find an acceptable alternative (Hartshorn, 1980:303).

Figure 2.2 A Model of the residential location decision process



Source: Northam (1979: 315)

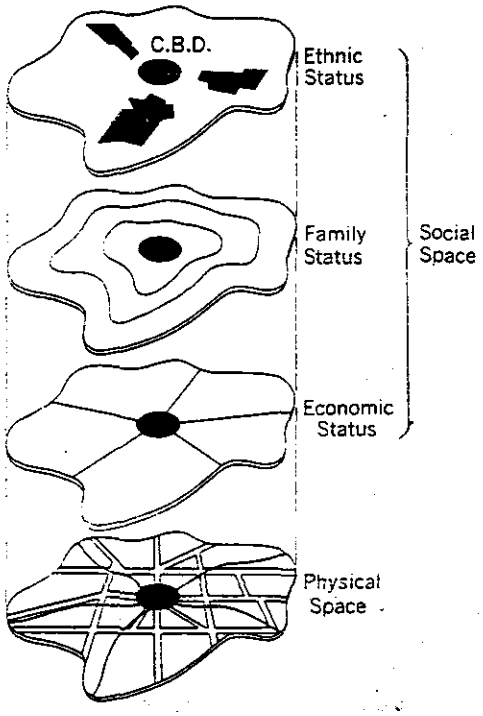
2.5.2.4. Social areas in the cities

The model of urban ecological structure as given in Figure 2.5 represents the relationships between the people's individual behaviour towards residential mobility and the identification of their group characteristics. In this model it is hypothesised that spatial patterns (Van der Merwe, 1987:199; Northam, 1979:296) involve the following:

(i) A sectoral pattern based on socio-economic rank. It characterises the individual household's occupance of a specific position within the social space. Such a position is determined by two dimensions, namely, socio-economic status that comprises the variables of educational levels, occupation, and income and life-cycle stages which are represented by a variable of family size.

(ii) A concentric pattern based on variations in family structure or status. Accordingly, each dwelling declares a position within the housing space. This also characterises two dimensions. These are housing type and housing density as well as their value and quality.

Figure 2.3 Model of urban ecological structure and change



Source: Northam (1979: 290)

(iii) A pattern of localised clusters of neighbourhoods based on segregation of certain ethnic groups. This is the community space that is distinguishable into two factors of socio-economic status and family status by means of a multivariate analysis. Regarding this social segregation, individuals exhibit a natural tendency to establish themselves within the framework of the socio-economic stratification. Therefore, groups of people with corresponding economic, social and cultural levels choose to live together (Van der Merwe,

1987:199). This voluntary grouping (Northam, 1979:292) in which people with similar features and behavioural patterns naturally associate with one another contribute to a relative homogeneity of social classes and areas within the urban residential structure.

(iv) In some instances, spatial segregation is imposed by corporate policy. For example, in the USA some copper companies provide different social groups with housing of different quality levels and in different locations of the company town. The distinctive aspect of this situation is that spatial segregation is not spontaneous or evolutionary, the result of natural social processes, but is imposed by those in positions of authority. In South Africa, for example, spatial segregation has been the result of the government policy (Northam, 1979:292). This policy forced the Blacks to live in isolation from the Whites.

(v) A composite physical space in which the household's dwelling is located in the urban structure. It characterises the combination of features from each of the individual patterns. This element declares that a household may occupy space in each of the four social space contexts.

2.5.3 Direct market intervention

In the housing market the concept of market outcome, also know as direct market intervention as shown in Figure 2.1, anticipates the involvement of tenants as individual consumers or a collective of citizens who are entitled to decision-making (Cooper & Hawtin. 1997:2). It is a concept that conveys a sense of 'participation' and 'community development' (Harris, as quoted in Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:5) that is defined as:

> *crucially concerned with the issues of powerlessness and disadvantages: as such it should involve all members of society, and offers of social change. Community Development is about the active involvement of people in the issues which affect their lives. It is a process which affects their lives. It is a process based on the sharing of power, skills, knowledge, and experience.*

In essence the concept of community involvement emphasises individual as well as collective responsibility and freedom from government in decision-making. The implication is that beneficiaries of state-sponsored services such as consumers (Lusk, 1997:69) have "rights over their expenditures, to translate purchasing power into

'demand' for alternative goods and services and force producers to adjust the mix of supply to match that demand'.

In Britain, for example, the local authorities provided "homes fit for heroes" after World War 1 (Best, 1992: 25). This was in fulfilment of the 'demand' aspect. Similarly, after World War 2 the government contracted municipalities for the production of rented houses for consumers who could not afford owner-occupied dwellings. This involvement of the municipality occurred after 1945 when the profit – oriented landlords sold all their rent housing without providing any new renting accommodation (Best, 1992:26). Tenant security manifests itself in the UK. As a significant indication of indispensability of the role of renters, the political rights on the ownership of council housing have been transferred to tenant associations in Glasgow. In an equally important direction the consumers were allowed direct involvement in the regulation of housing prices and the control of rent imposition in Vienna between 1914 and 1981 (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:27).

There have been notable expressions of institutional support for community involvement in various social and economic development projects (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:273). In Britain, there is a growing belief in the potential of commumity involvement to assist in the physical, social and economic renewal of run-down housing estates (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:273). Similarly, from 1994 the ANC – led government in South Africa has introduced the concept of 'partnership' which has become a recurrent feature in the National Housing Code. It is seen as a process which is destined to develop the people's confidence and abilities, focusing more on achieving concrete changes in an area (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:6). It enables individuals and communities to grow and change according to their own needs and priorities, and at their own pace.

Community participation can assume different approaches. First, radical community work in which local problems could be dealt with using social relationships as a fundamental feature of community development. The community itself could approach the problem and solve it using 'bottom-up' non-directive approaches. The paid 'professional' in the process would be regarded an advocate or facilitator while the unpaid activists in the community would direct the community action. In this case use is made of social planning in which a community worker would adopt a 'top-down' directive approach, working largely to facilitate an agenda set by the service provider.

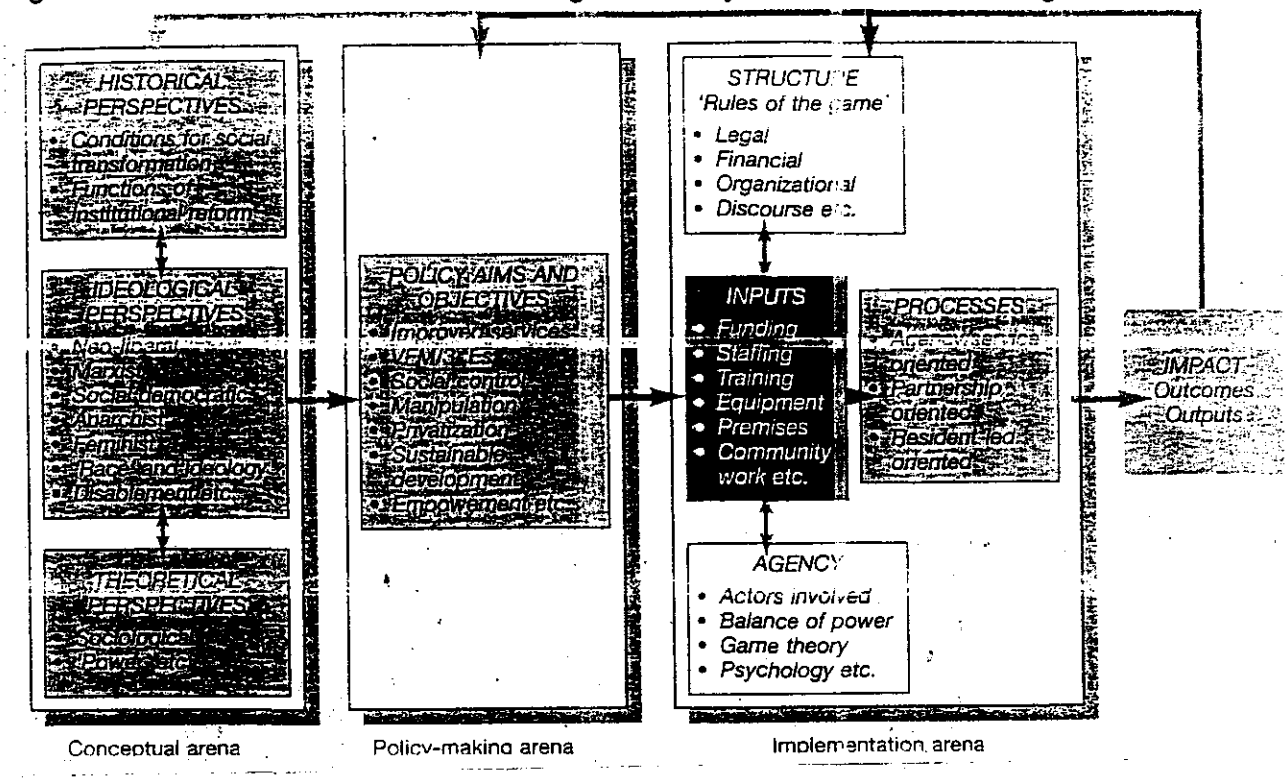
Professional community work is a widespread approach especially in housing departments. Its danger is that it could impose the professional community worker's ideologies or methods of work and deny the community the opportunity to speak for itself (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:4).

Thirdly, strategic approaches. These include self-help strategies that embody the use of existing resources within the community such as local skills, time resource, knowledge, labour and finance (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:5). The present South African government for example, embraces support to the people's housing process as a housing policy strategy. (See under 2.3.1.2.)

Arnstein (as quoted in Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:84) discusses different forms of community participation. They range from 'manipulation' and 'therapy' where there is little or no redistribution of power to 'delegated power', and 'citizen control' where there is some redistribution of power. As recently as the 1990s the concept of community involvement was criticised for its marginalisation of some groups on the basis of race, class, gender, disability, age and sexuality (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:4). As a result it was attacked from various ideological sources including neo-liberalism, traditional marxism, social democracy, anarchism and feminism. These sources viewed participation as a tokenistic means of controlling, placating, treating, manipulating and incorporating discontented groups merely to achieve the legitimation of state. With the help of Figure 2.4 Cooper and Hawtin (1997:267) have developed a framework for developing a broader understanding of the implementation of community involvement in housing.

According to Cooper and Hawtin in order for "partnership" to be complete it must permeate three arenas. First, the conceptual arena in which ideas about tenant involvement are formed. It is the dominant level at which the rules for tenant participation are sustained. This is a sphere in which the 'common sense' for tenant participation activity is formulated and refined in terms of values, customs, language and ways of behaving. In this field the moral and political leadership dominating the discourse shaping tenant participation process is constructed. However, the participation of history-aligned and theoretical perspectives of power will inform ideology. Furthermore, this level is considered to be the seedbed of 'hegemony' (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:280-281).

Figure 2.4 A Framework for understanding community involvement in Housing



Source: Cooper and Hawtin (1997: 276)

Secondly, the policy-making arena in which policy aims and objectives are negotiated. Such policy aims and objectives and the notion of power are influenced by ideology. Specifically, negotiations within the 'policy-making arena' will be strongly influenced by key political and economic interest groupings. This gives them an opportunity to influence the 'rules of the game' played out at estate level. In Britain, policy discussions largely mirror the interests of elitist bodies seeking to enforce their common concerns. As a result tenant participation policy-making in Britain is regarded as 'elitist' (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:281).

Thirdly, the implementation arena in which tenant participation practices are implemented. Indications are that an ideological position taken by key actors involved in policy-making will strongly influence the policy aims and objectives for tenant participation. In turn, policies will largely dictate ideology-oriented discourse and the legal, financial and organisation structures, also known as the 'rules of the game', in which tenant participation activities will be discussed and subsequently implemented (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997: 278). Furthermore, the 'rules of the game' will largely determine the key 'actors' to be involved and the balance of power between them, as

well as the availability of 'inputs' and permissible 'processes' of involvement. The implementation arena is viewed to be 'pluralist' because of the differential access to the participation process (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:281).

As Castells (quoted in Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:84) noted, community involvement as a force for social change provides disadvantaged people with armoury to challenge and confront the leadership of the capitalist state. It is a means of redistributing power and resources in society. Involving communities in service delivery can provide decision-makers with a deeper understanding of what people want from a service and , consequently, allowing involvement in service delivery can lead to greater consumer satisfaction because people feel a sense of control in their activities (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:84).

2.6 Summary

The housing market is a socio-economic opportunity that embodies the total housing stock occupied by households and is essentially owner-occupied and privately-rented. It is managed by various agencies of government through housing policies designed in relation to such other instruments as the fiscal and monetary policy, social welfare policy, and regional development policy because of their bearing on the housing market. The housing policy emphasises the need for housing the people and is used as an instrument to evaluate the efficiency, equity, and social and political objectives in housing.

Housing policy constitutes the components of (i) supply, (ii) demand, and (iii) direct market intervention. Supply involves the provision of access to housing for those who are relatively well-resourced in terms of material needs and can best afford the acquisition of housing as a resource. It determines type of houses, tenure, morphological housing characteristics, and housing value. In addition, it creates opportunity for property developers and players like financial institutions and real estate industries to participate meaningfully. The outcome of housing supply is the process of filtering and vacancy chains.

The demand for housing, however, is still regarded as the accessibility of housing though defined in terms of the standard and number of units that people can afford. It is the prime cause of intra-urban mobility in which households that can afford

alternative housing tend to change their dwelling and residential areas. Such intra-urban movements are either voluntary or involuntary, and are related to the household's life-cycle. The household's process of acquiring an alternative dwelling in urban space involves the aspiration region, action space, and information-gathering activities. The searching for a house depends, among other things, on the stress level of the households that are engaged in the process. Therefore, at the dictate of the stress, household could consider improvements to their existing dwelling, engage in a search for alternative accommodation, or contemplate a change of life-style.

Depending on the socio-economic status and the life-cycle of the household that occupies the urban environment, the spatial distribution of groups may be sectoral, concentric, or even segregational. Such voluntary social segregation occurs when groups of people with corresponding economic, social and cultural levels decide to live together. However, in instances where either corporate body or government initiates spatial distinction among the people or groups of people, this becomes imposed and therefore involuntary segregation.

Direct market intervention is one of the three complementary elements of housing policy. It emphasises the indispensability and, therefore, the need to include the consumer as an equal partner in the decision-making in all matters pertaining to the housing market. It is a useful instrument especially for purposes of rent control, normalisation of role-relations between parties in the housing market and in protection of consumers against possible evictions.

From the theory of the housing market that has been examined in this chapter, this study will proceed to Chapter 3 to review a historic perspective of housing in Vereeniging.

The only good histories are those written by those who had command in the events they describe

- *Montaigne*

CHAPTER 3

A HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE OF HOUSING IN VEREENIGING, 1838-1996

3.1 Introduction

Settlements developed in response to the specific biological, social and economic needs of their creators (Van der Merwe, 1987:8). In the course of time, initial needs and functions may change and thus create room for other functions. One such function is housing that is regulated by housing policy which has been dealt with theoretically in Chapter 2. As a follow-up to the previous theme, this chapter will focus on the origin and in the first instance, examine the town's past as a Voortrekker settlement and subsequently as an industrial town. Thereafter, attention will be directed to the effect of post-World War 1 and 2 government policies and laws in South Africa and how these strategies affected the residential character of the town regarding the housing of its White and Black communities.

3.2 The location of Vereeniging

Vereeniging extends along the Vaal River in Gauteng, South Africa, as shown in Figure 3.1. in Appendix C. It is situated at 26° 40' South and 27° 55' East, approximately 50 km south of Johannesburg.

3.3 Origin and development

Vereeniging started as a Voortrekker settlement under the aegis of Andries Potgieter the Voortrekker leader. After the battle of Italeni in April 1838, Potgieter and his followers decided to occupy an area between the Vet and the Vaal Rivers (Prinsloo, 1992:53). It was only after 1848 that an area of Suikerboschrand, Klip and Blesbok Rivers that had been inhabited by the Potgieter and Jacobs groups became a permanent agricultural settlement.

In 1878, however, George William Stow, a geologist, discovered coal deposits at the confluence of the Taaiboschspruit and the Vaal River. This discovery caused the area

to change its character from being mainly agricultural to agro-industrial. It was this economic development that triggered off the ideal of proclaiming it as a town with full local authority status (Prinsloo, 1992:59).

TABLE 3.1

Population figures and composition in Vereeniging, 1904-1991

Population Groups					
Year	Whites	Asians	Coloureds	Blacks	Total
1904	446 49,4%	-	76[1] 8,4%	380 42,1%	902 100,0%
1911	594 31,1%	-	191[1] 10,0%	1 126 59,0%	1 911 100,0%
1921	1 836 34,2%	117 2,2%	171 3,2%	3 242 60,4%	5 366 100.0%
1936	5 487 27,9%	391 2,0%	382 1,9%	13 414 68,2%	19 674 100,0%
1946	11 742 29,0%	525 1,3%	500 1,2%	27 723 68,5%	40 490 100,0%
1951	17 322 29,0%	694 1,2%	707 1,2%	41 155 68,7%	59 878 100,0%
1960	24 564 31,2%	833 1,1%	1 024 1,3%	52 424 66,5%	78 845 100.0%
1970	34 934 41,0%	1 996 2,3%	2 000 2,3%	46 342 54,0%	85 272 100,0%
1980	43 420 39,0%	4 220 3,8%	3 760 3,3%	60 920 54.2%	112 320 100,0%
1985	72 740 43,4%	4 427 2,6%	13 589 8,1%	76 926 45,9%	167 682 100,0%
1991	83 869 33,5%	7 921 3,2%	23 238 9,3%	135 483 54,1%	250 511 100,0%
1996†	66 988 19,7%	4 908 1,4%	16 212 4,8%	252 253 74,1%	340 361 100,0%

Source: Compiled from Prinsloo (1992:123)

Note[1] Coloureds and Asians were grouped together for the 1904 and 1911 census

† South Africa (1996)

In July 1882 the Executive Council of the Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek (ZAR) approved an application for the establishment of a town on Klipplaatdrift as shown in Figure 3.2. In Appendix C.

It was named after the mining company, the Zuid Afrikaansche en Oranje Vrystaatsche Steenkool en Minerale Mijn Vereeniging (Die Afrikaanse Kultuurraad van Vereeniging, 1993:3). On 24 December 1889 it became known as Vereeniging (Prinsloo, 1992:61) designated from the last word of the name of the company (Die Afrikaanse Kultuurraad van Vereeniging, 1993:3). It was officially proclaimed a town on 29 June 1891 (Prinsloo, 1992:61).

From as early as 1880, long before the area became a town, the activities in Vereeniging had become predominantly industrial. This was because the discovery and subsequent mining of coal led to the birth of a number of industries such as the Victoria Falls and Transvaal Power Company, Lewis and Marks Brickworks, Union Steel Corporation (USCO), Epol Mills and Stewarts and Lloyds (Die Afrikaanse Kultuurraad van Vereeniging, 1993:5). These became the pull factors which led to the increasing population growth in the town as shown in Table 3.1.

By 1904 the policy of territorial segregation that was introduced and enforced by the Native Affairs Commission had an impact on the population of Blacks in Vereeniging. This was because it had set up Reserves as parts exclusively for occupation by Blacks who were not regarded part of White South Africa. The introduction of the Natives Land Act of 1913 which prohibited any form of land sale owned by Whites to Blacks and *vice versa* saw the accommodation of Blacks in hostels and compounds on the mine and industrial premises (Prinsloo, 1992:64). In 1920 South Africa experienced a severe economic slump which followed immediately after World War I.

This depression which lasted from 1920 to 1923, followed the same pattern as other South African depressions, with falling prices, shrinking profits, bankruptcies, budget deficits, unemployment and wage cuts (Liebenberg, 1969:353). It became a situation that particularly disadvantaged the skilled White mineworkers who had to give way to Black unskilled labourer who performed the mining functions at low wages compared to Whites. As a result, the situation in the South African mines and in particular the coal mines in Vereeniging could have been the cause for the low population of Whites and a slightly higher Black population in 1921.

After the end of World War 2 in 1945 the town's White population increased apparently because the returning soldiers were provided with employment in the post-war industries. In 1955 the production of petrol from coal started at Sasolburg. This became a milestone in South Africa's industrial expansion that attracted large numbers of White artisans. Because the petrol-from-coal industry relied on the supply of coal, the Vereeniging coal mines provided it with the required amounts. In 1960 following the Sasol invention, both the Black and White population in Vereeniging remained high. It was only in 1970 that census data showed a drop in the town's Black population. The reason for this decrease was probably the enforcement of the Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970. In terms of this Act the South African ministry of the then Bantu Administration could prohibit the migration of Blacks to, and their employment in, any job category in the urban areas of South Africa that was reserved for exclusive occupation by Whites (Davenport, 1977:298).

In terms of Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, 1945 (25/1945) government classified urban Blacks into "permanent" urban Blacks and "migrant" workers. The latter category of Blacks was allowed entrance to South African urban areas on a year contract for purposes of employment only. At the end of their contract they had to return to their 'homelands' (Jardine, 1985: 75). This situation whereby disqualified Blacks were denied presence in the urban areas gave rise to illegal urban populations in most towns and cities (Muller, 1985: 55).

Such an illegal presence could have caused the increase in the population of Blacks in Vereeniging between 1946 and 1960. However, between 1960 and 1970 the population of Blacks in Vereeniging dropped by 11,6%. Their decrease could be attributed to the concept of self development and political independence that the South African government introduced after the passing of the Promotion of Black Self Government Act, 1959 (46/1959). As a consequence of this Act the Blacks in the TBVC – countries (Olivier & Hattingh, 1985: 13) were expected to live in their 'countries' and were therefore denied entrance into "White" South Africa.

The most likely cause of this substantial growth in the number of Blacks in the town, in the 1980s, was the recommendations of the Riekert Commission of Inquiry into legislation affecting the utilisation of manpower (South Africa, 1984: 60). In 1979 the Riekert Commission recommended the removal of unjustifiable discrimination against the urban Blacks. The Commission's recommendation encouraged the utilisation of

Black labour resources, and as such a greater mobility for Black manpower was allowed after the existing control measures were relaxed (South Africa, 1984: 220). On the basis of the recommendation by the Riekert Commission that the entrance of Blacks into the White urban areas should be considered against the availability of jobs and houses, it is reasonable to argue that a large number of Blacks could have taken advantage of the innovation to enter and live in Vereeniging as shown in Table 3.1.

3.4 Residential development and housing provision for Whites in Vereeniging, 1940-1996

3.4.1 The period 1940-1950

The developments of housing provision mentioned in this chapter remain aligned to some key aspects of housing policy that have been dealt with in Chapter 2. After World War 1 the responsibility for housing the urban poor was placed upon the municipalities under the Housing Act of 1920 (Christopher, 1988:7) representing an equity objective. (See paragraph 2.4.2.) Such a programme in Vereeniging became the responsibility of the Vereeniging municipality (Prinsloo, 1992:68). Its involvement endorsed the responsibility of the local government in the provisioning of housing. However, as Christopher (1988:7) has noted, in order to qualify for central government loans towards acquiring either economic or sub-economic housing the municipalities were obliged to build separate estates for each of the different racial groups. This was, however, another equity objective that was manipulated politically as an election instrument.

Following the end of World War 2 a wave of industrial expansion in Vereeniging attracted skilled workers. Among these were mainly White technicians, artisans, machine operators, engineers and administrative personnel (Roodt, 1982:12). This development created a need for housing. This characteristic of housing policy (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:3) was viewed to be important in advancing the growth of the emerging industry. This is because the newly established industrial operations tend to have the capacity of attracting work seekers thus creating a need for employers to provide housing for thier employees. This appeared to have been the case in Vereeniging when areas of Peacehaven (1942), Three Rivers (1946), Unitas Park (1946), Vereeniging (1947) and Homer (1949) were proclaimed to meet the increasing

need in housing the towns's Whites (Roodt, 1982:12) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix B.

3.4.2 The period 1950-1960

The housing need for the increasing population of Whites occurred as a result of the construction of heavy-industries in Duncanville, the light-industries in Dickensonville and the expansion of the light-industries in Powerville. As a result, the following residential areas were proclaimed: Duncanville (1950), Steelpark (1951), Rissiville (1956), Arcon Park (1956) and Leeuhof (1959) (Roodt, 1982:13) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C.

In 1950 a total of 150 housing units with a further 11 units in 1958 and another 14 units in 1961 were provided in Duncanville (Roodt, 1982:64). This housing policy (Fordham, *et al*; 1998:207) was adopted with an aim in mind of sustaining the town's economy. In 1964, through the aid of the Department of Community Development, 22 economic housing units and an additional 72 units were erected in Leeuhof (Roodt, 1982:65). This was an efficiency objective of housing policy (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:6) in which government contributed towards the housing development.

3.4.3 The period 1960-1970

During this decade a further number of White suburbs were proclaimed. These were Sonland Park (1969) and Springcol (1970) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C. A total of 503 economic housing units were progressively released. The Vereeniging municipality built 100 housing units each year between 1966 and 1970. However, in 1973 the number of housing units provided were 103 (Roodt, 1982:64) in order to fulfil the demand.

3.4.4 The period 1970-1980

Within this decade, the number of Whites reached 43 420 and the persistent need for housing necessitated the municipality of Vereeniging to proclaim a further number of suburbs. As a result of this situation the following residential areas were proclaimed: Bedworth Park (1972), Waldrift (1973) and Falcon Ridge (1978) (Roodt, 1982:15) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C.

3.4.5 The Period 1980 - 1985

In 1980, there were 9 721 White dwellings in Vereeniging. In the following year the White dwellings increased by 5,9% to 10 296. Between 1982 and 1983 a total of 584 new houses were built in the suburbs of Vereeniging. The number was increased by 300 new housing units for the year 1983 and 1984 and by a further 250 units between 1984 and 1985 (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992). The increase in housing units in the town accounted to an average of 3,3% between 1982 and 1985.

3.4.6 The Period 1986 – 1991

Beginning in 1986, fewer dwellings were provided by the Town Council of Vereeniging or built by owners themselves than in the previous period. In 1986 the White dwellings were 11 987. An increase of 233(1,9%) dwellings brought the number to 12 220 in 1987. In 1988 only 11 (0,1%) new houses were built and in 1989 the number of dwellings in Vereeniging was 12 439. From 1989 the population growth rate of Whites in Vereeniging started to drop to below 1% (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992). It would seem that this situation affected the later production of housing in the town. For example, in 1990 there were 31 (0,2%) new houses built while in 1991 only 42 (0,3%) new houses were provided. This brought the number of White dwellings in Vereeniging to 12 512 (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992).

3.4.7 The Period 1992 – 1996

In the section above, this study alluded to the drastic drop in the population growth rate of Whites in Vereeniging from 1989. From that period onwards the number of newly-built White dwellings also started to decrease. Between 1991 and 1992 provision was made for the erection of 79 (0,6%) new houses in Vereeniging. Records of the municipality show that from 1993 until 1996 there were no new dwellings provided for Whites in the town (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1996).

3.5 Residential development and housing provision for Black Groups in Vereeniging, 1904-1996

3.5.1 Vereeniging location

At the beginning of 1905 the municipality of Vereeniging had begun to provide Blacks with erected houses on a small scale. Such a supply orientated approach (De Loor, 1992:206) was, however, subjected to a number of activities. Among them was a programme to build housing on a separate piece of land away from the one occupied by Whites in the town as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C. Similar to Whites, this was done on politico-ideological grounds that were the buttress of housing policy of the apartheid years. In this regard the municipality of Vereeniging acted as "gatekeeper" (De Loor, 1992:127) providing housing subject to demarcation of areas on the basis of race. Prinsloo (1992:93) maintains that this was done by the municipality of Vereeniging in aid of Blacks whose employers could not provide them with any form of housing. Following a need for more housing, the housing policy in Vereeniging then allowed the participation of entrepreneurs to provide housing for their employees. This represented 'partnership' as described in Chapter 2. (See paragraph 2.5.3.)

The Vereeniging Estates transferred right of use of one of their pieces of land to the Vereeniging municipality. This was used by employers for the accommodation of their Black employees. Indications in 1910 are that the land acquired from the Vereeniging Estates had been used for general settlement of Blacks (Prinsloo, 1992:93). From 1914, this area was proclaimed a Black "location". The municipality of Vereeniging made stands available for the erection of Black houses on which the occupants built their houses at random (Prinsloo, 1992:93). Although the Black housing programme in Vereeniging was not subsidised, it gave attention to other areas of housing. Among other things it ensured the objective of using the land appropriately to house the Blacks. In 1923 the municipality of Vereeniging increased the existing 188 stands with a further 111 stands to meet the need for Black housing in Vereeniging "location" (Prinsloo, 1992:94) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C.

3.5.2 Private location

From 1919 Vereeniging started to experience a wave of industrial expansion. It became imperative for the industrial concerns to provide housing with every in-take of labourers. As a result the Vereeniging industries of Cornelia Collieries, Union Steel Corporation and Stewarts and Lloyds began to house them in single-quarters on the

business premises (Prinsloo, 1992:94). These were like semi-detached dwelling housing types (Van der Merwe, 1987:189) outlined in paragraph 2.5.1.1. This situation in which housing was provided by the private sector represented the supply-orientated incentives (De Loor, 1992:206) through which housing was provided by sectors other than the local government agencies. (For a detailed discussion on partnership see paragraph 2.5.3.)

However, the Brick and Tile Company provided its Black married workforce with housing facilities. This facility was introduced by the company to supplement its existing single quarters for all unmarried workers. This development represented the equity objective which has been discussed in paragraph 2.4.2 in which housing maintains a link between labour market policies, housing market and local economy. The involvement of the industry typically represented a housing policy that was influenced by its profit-making persuasion. This innovation of providing the married workers with private dwellings gave rise to a so-called private location of Mafube. This could be described as one of the characteristics of the urban housing market in which a large number of people are accommodated in hostels. This practice was also adopted by Union Steel Corporation to accommodate its married administrative personnel only. It was named Masoheng (Prinsloo, 1992:94) and was built on the industrial land of the Union Steel Corporation in the town's industrial area. (Figure 3.3.4 in Appendix C.)

3.5.3 Top location

A number of Blacks in Vereeniging were housed in Top location as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C. This was a settlement that was initially identified by the municipality of Vereeniging to accommodate Blacks. It lay approximately two kilometres north of the central business district of Vereeniging. The area's close contiguity with Indians, Chinese and Coloureds (Prinsloo, 1992:102) created an opportunity for desegregation. The municipality of Vereeniging had provided only the stands on which the Blacks could erect their dwellings (Prinsloo, 1992:94). Each person had to supply materials to put up a structure, thereby becoming involved in one way or the other in the provisioning of housing. Materials varied from corrugated iron and timber, to stone and brick houses (Prinsloo, 1992:96). This was in contrast to the efficiency objective (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4) that emphasises good architectural taste. However this exemplified direct market intervention (that has been dealt with under 2.5.3 and will be further dealt with towards the end of paragraph 3.6.2.3).

In terms of the location regulations of the municipality of Vereeniging, Blacks were allowed a one-year rental term subject to renewal of permit. This characteristic of housing policy did not encourage physical improvement by the end of the period. The municipality provided a bucket-toilet sewage system and the residents used a communal water tap. This was done to comply with equity objectives as described in Chapter 2 in which measures of health and activities to ensure effective systems of sewage and water supply (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:7) were given priority. The evaluation of housing policy, especially with regard to these facilities, showed that the municipality of Vereeniging failed in its efficiency objective (cf. Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4).

Because of the general deterioration of health standards among Blacks in South African locations, the government set up a Native Affairs Commission to investigate the appalling conditions of the locations (Prinsloo, 1992:93). In 1919 the Commission recommended that the municipalities provide decent areas for Blacks in accordance with the Black (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (21/1923). This was another equity objective and was designed to control epidemics of influenza and many other contagious diseases (Hårsman and Quigley, 1991:7). In terms of the housing policy's equity objective (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:7), legislation allowed for acceptable health standards which were only observed nearly five years after the establishment of Top Location, as the municipality of Vereeniging was forced to suspend the re-housing of Blacks as required by the Commission. As a result, Blacks were allowed to continue their livelihood in Top location well into the late 1930's.

Meantime, in an attempt to meet the terms of the Black (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (21/1923), the municipalities introduced the Native Revenue Account (Prinsloo, 1992:98) to finance the locations. In Chapter 2 of this study, one of the efficiency objectives that has been touched on is the efficient use of scarce resources (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:5). The regulation that enforced the sale of sorghum beer to contribute to financing housing for the town's Blacks was a measure to meet consumption costs. In order to ensure another equity objective (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:10) the municipality of Vereeniging provided a link between labour, consumption and housing markets. Between 1927 and 1932 the municipality of Vereeniging provided a total of 807 housing units in Top location. In addition, it provided street lighting, water taps and public ablution facilities (Prinsloo, 1992:100). This was

another efficiency objective through which the municipality of Vereeniging aimed at creating efficiency in the township.

Because of shortage of funds (Prinsloo, 1992:99) the municipality of Vereeniging could not continue with the provision of its services, particularly housing, to Blacks in Top location in the way it wanted. From 1933 the municipality of Vereeniging began to allow owners to provide themselves with "self-help" housing. This not only exemplified a further aspect of direct market intervention but also of an efficiency objective. As a result permit-holders began to use stones, bricks and corrugated iron to erect their houses. Use was made of stones because they could be picked up anywhere without any cost being incurred. Furthermore, they resorted to a tendency of creating a large number of dwellings on their stands so that they could let them out for extra revenue. This opportunity soon created overpopulation in the area because it encouraged more than one family to use the same boarding room (Prinsloo, 1992:101).

The nature of the houses in Top Location affected the efficiency objectives of the housing policy negatively (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4). They cost the neighbouring White residents the financial burden of ensuring the viability of the area. Following the earlier government directive (Prinsloo, 1992:23) for a *cordon sanitaire* between the White and Black residences, the municipality of Vereeniging announced in 1932 its intention to outlaw the Blacks in Top location (Prinsloo, 1992:100). Meanwhile, in 1935 the municipality provided six three-roomed and 36 two-roomed houses in Top Location (Prinsloo, 1992:101) in spite of the directive to end housing provision in the area. Furthermore, in 1937 the Native Revenue Account was used by the municipality of Vereeniging to build six hostels for unmarried women.

In the course of World War 2, the steel industries in Vereeniging experienced large scale expansion and, therefore, an increased demand for labour. However, these industries were only able to provide a few houses to accommodate some of the recruited labour (Prinsloo, 1992:103). Many of the Blacks that could not be housed on the industrial premises resorted to boarding in Top location. The high in-take of these new boarders and the fact that no new houses were provided led to the immediate physical deterioration of the area (Prinsloo, 1992:103) and the area subsequently became a slum. Meanwhile, the municipality of Vereeniging had begun negotiations with the Vereeniging Estates for purchase of vacant land south-west of Vereeniging.

Consequently, this land was made available to start a new settlement that would accommodate the re-settled Blacks from Top location.

3.6 The Blacks (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 21/1923 and the establishment of townships, 1921-1996

3.6.1 Sharpeville

In July 1921, after the outbreak of the 1918 influenza epidemic, the distressing conditions in which Black South Africans lived in the "locations" and the health threat posed by these areas (Lemon, 1989:305) prompted the government to introduce *sanitary cordons* as precautionary measures between Whites and Black residences. Its position was in line with the equity objective as discussed in Chapter 2. Passing of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (21/1923) enforced the separation between the urban Blacks and the rest of the racial groups. The motive for this zoning has been provided in Chapter 2 of this study as the enhancement of social, fiscal and physical externalities (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4).

3.6.1.1 The period 1940-1950

In 1942 Sharpeville (Figure 3.3 Appendix C) was established in terms of section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (21/1923) which stated that Blacks were sojourners in White areas (Davenport, 1977:347) because, as Lipton (1986:26) asserts:

> *"the Bantu have no claim to permanency in the European areas, they are in these areas as workers, and therefore have no real estate ... outside of Bantu reserves".*

Indeed, the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act, (21/1923 as amended) prohibited them from acquiring property rights on urban land (Prinsloo, 1992:105). The houses they occupied in Sharpeville were rented out to them (Van der Westhuizen, 1997:6). These inexpensive dwellings, as alluded to in Chapter 2, may have increased the financial costs of public services to Whites in the town (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4). These were low-density housing types that were a feature of the urban housing market in the low-income areas in South Africa (De Loor, 1992:123). By June 1945 a total of 766 housing units had been built in the township. In spite of the erection of a total of 2 000 housing units in 1947 (Van der Westhuizen, 1997:5), it had become evident late in

1947 that Sharpeville would not be in any position to meet the housing needs of the towns' Black masses (Prinsloo, 1992:109). Because of financial difficulties, the municipality of Vereeniging was forced to delay the re-location programme of a further number of Blacks to Sharpeville between 1940 and 1952.

3.6.1.2 The period 1950-1960

In 1950 it was reported to the community of Sharpeville that money would be made available for the undertaking of various housing projects in the township. This project would include, *inter alia*, the establishment of an old age home (Prinsloo, 1992: 116). Responding to the aggravated financial position of the municipality of Vereeniging, government established the Mentz Commission to provide the alternative solution to the housing crisis in Sharpeville. In 1952 the Mentz Commision visited the Vaal Complex. It recommended that the re-location programme should be suspended. It advocated instead the amalgamation of all Black townships in the Vaal Complex. In the ensuing years between 1957 and 1959, however, a further total of 2 500 Black households were allocated housing in the township (Van der Westhuizen, 1997:7).

3.6.1.3 The period 1960-1970

In 1966 the municipality of Vereeniging provided 344 housing units thereby ending its supply of Council housing for Blacks in Sharpeville (Leigh, 1968:107). This was a final delivery and, thereafter, no further housing units were provided by the municipality (Roodt, 1982:65) because from 1966 the municipality of Vereeniging ceased to provide any public housing to Blacks in Sharpeville. This development affected the inhabitants of Sharpeville in different ways. Subsequent thereto, houses in Sharpeville were built by their owners on land provided by the municipality. In some instances those inhabitants who could not afford to build themselves houses resorted to sub-letting or even putting up backyard structures. The discontinuation of housing supply in Sharpeville overlooked the equity objective or direct market intervention because the Blacks were not consulted in the decision taken by officials.

By 1967, population in the township had risen to 42 500 (Anon; 1967: 12). The dwellings in the area consisted mainly of rented houses that were owned by the municipality of Vereeniging. These houses were let to Black residents at a monthly rental that was determined by the occupants' income. At the time when the construction of housing came to a halt, there were already 6 000 houses in the

township of which 400 were owner-occupied. The municipality of Vereeniging also built a male hostel to accommodate the township's surplus population of 1720 unmarried men (Anon; 1967: 12).

The development of Sharpeville in the late 1960s was greatly affected by the new concept of regional townships for industrial areas which started in the Vaal Complex with the development of Sebokeng. (Details in paragraph 3.6.2.) The establishment of Sebokeng was initially planned to accommodate Blacks from all the townships in the Vaal including those from Sharpeville. As a result of the government plan to re-settle Blacks from Sharpeville to Sebokeng, the municipality of Vereeniging would not provide residents of Sharpeville with water-borne sewerage and electricity (Nkabinde, 1980: 11).

3.6.1.4 The period 1970-1980

In 1976 the plan to remove the residents of Sharpeville to Sebokeng was, however, postponed indefinitely subject to consent by the residents of Sharpeville to pay for the capital investment needed to finance the improvement of the township. This arrangement was caused by the fact that the municipality of Vereeniging had used all its resources to help in the provision of essential services like roads, water, sewerage, housing and hostel accommodation in Sebokeng (Nkabinde, 1980: 11).

As an alternative to the proposal of financing of basic services by the residents of Sharpeville that is mentioned above, the government wanted to resettle them in Zone 10, Sebokeng. This would have been a costly programme involving a large-scale provisioning of new housing and bulk supply of basic needs. However, in 1979 the Vaal Community Council and the Orange Vaal Administration Board (OVAB) agreed to upgrade Sharpeville rather than to remove its residents. This was done by providing essential services like water-borne sewerage, an improved water supply network and an enlarged electricity network. This had been necessary as the number of dwellings had risen to 6 130 in the township in 1980. Among these houses, 5 202 were leased by their occupants from the municipality of Vereeniging and the remaining 928 were owner – occupied (Nkabinde, 1980 : 11). Until 1987 a number of families in Sharpeville were still homeless.

3.6.1.5 The period 1980-1990

Beginning in 1988, the continued plight of homelessness in Sharpeville forced some of the affected families to invade land to the west of Sharpeville. They did this to pressurise the Lekoa Town Council to grant them land on which to build their homes. After a period of intense differences between the Lekoa Town Council and the squatters over their illegal occupation of land a settlement was finally reached. The squatters were allowed the occupation of the land which became known as Tshepiso (see Figure 3.3). The early residents in this township built their houses from their own resources. In 1989 the township of Tshepiso had 6 000 dwellings (Anon; 1989: 23).

3.6.1.6 The period 1990-1996

At the beginning of 1995 some of the homeless residents in Tshepiso began to utilise a capital subsidy scheme. This was in the form of financial assistance funded by National Department of Housing and administered by the Provincial Department of Housing to build new houses for the homeless. Under this scheme, individuals were given grants up to R15 000 by the Government of National Unity (GNU) to help them to acquire their own dwellings (Anon; 2001: 1). The provision of these so-called Reconstruction and Development Project (RDP) houses in Tshepiso was undertaken by Vanderbijlpark Estate Company (Vesco) whose programme was interrupted by protesters who had complained that the houses were too small (Raboroko, 1997a: 8). As a result the construction of these housing units was delayed. It was only in 1996 that nearly 600 of the planned 1334 houses were built in Tshepiso (Laurie, 1997: 6).

3.6.2 Sebokeng

From 1960 the Nationalist government had begun with the concept of "regional townships" in which Black areas within the highly industrialised regions were amalgamated in order to provide housing for the unskilled labour force (Nkabinde, 1980:11). This could have resulted from a political motive (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:10) as a tool for redistribution of available resources across the regions. In compliance with this concept, the N-3 industrial area between the Iscor-plant in the south-east of Vanderbijlpark and Evaton in the north was identified for the programme as shown in Figure 3.3. In 1965 the full-scale development started under the

Sebokeng Management Board to ensure the re-location of Blacks from the neighbouring township of Sharpeville (Nkabinde, 1980:11). This action overlooked the importance of direct market intervention (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:2). The Black tenants were removed without having participated in the decision to re-locate. The names Phulaneng, Sedibeng and Sebokeng were submitted by the Native Advisory Council for consideration in the designation of the area and the latter was adopted (Prinsloo, 1992:120).

3.6.2.1 The period 1965-1975

Because the population of Sebokeng had exceeded 180 000 in 1974, the housing shortage began to be a problem again. A total of 519 housing units were put up in Zone 14 (Anon; 1974:20). This was provided by the Orange Vaal Administration Board with aid from the Department of Community Development. The right of occupancy was restricted to married Black families only. This position represented the married as captive consumers (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:5) and also reflected another efficiency objective (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:5). The population of almost 24 000 unmarried Blacks in the township was accommodated in the Sebokeng hostels (Anon., 1974:20).

The most important function of the Vaal Triangle Administration Board was the provision of housing for the labour force in its area of jurisdiction (Davenport, 1977:281). As its equity objective (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:10), the Administration Board as government agency had this as its own political agenda. It upheld a policy to limit the supply of housing in the township subject to the availability of adequate housing in the "homelands" of which the affected groups were citizens. In order to qualify for housing, candidates were expected to carry a certificate of citizenship as was required by the Homeland Citizenship Act , 1971 (21/1971).

However, in 1974 the South African government, after consultation with the then "homeland" leaders agreed to re-instate the 30 year lease which had been discontinued in 1968 (Davenport, 1977:342). This was subject to a condition that the new leaseholders accepted homeland citizenship first. This 30 year scheme was in fact a right of occupancy granted for 30 years (Anon., 1980a:8). On the basis of this political dispensation the Vaal Triangle Administration Board was able to provide 4 372 housing units (Lekoa Town Council, 1990). This was a politically exclusive

development in which Blacks never participated, as is the practice in democratisation, in the housing market.

3.6.2.2 The period 1975-1985

The government continued to bring changes into urban Black housing. Through the promulgation of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Amendment, 1978 (97/1978) ushered in the 99-year leasehold scheme for the urban Blacks (Anon; 1980 b: 7). This legislation gave Blacks an opportunity to home-ownership rights (Knoetze, 1986:171). Following this concession, urban Blacks were given the right to lease vacant plots, to build their own houses and to also purchase housing units that belonged to the councils under a 99-year leasehold - scheme (Nkabinde, 1978:2). This development was in accordance with the demand oriented subsidies (De Loor, 1992:84) which have been discussed in paragraph 2.5.2. This arrangement implied that Blacks could only exercise ownership of houses and other structures on the plot. The ground, however, remained the property of the Orange Vaal Administration Board.

In mid-1978 the Orange Vaal Administration Board formed a partnership with the private sector. (Details of partnership have been given paragraph 2.5.3.) It provided 1 000 vacant plots which were developed as the "higher-income" clusters of seven houses each in Zone 14. The participating entrepreneurs were: Vaal Transport Corporation, Noordberg, Vaal Bottlers, Vecor, Massey Ferguson, Stewarts and Lloyds, Irvin Chapman, McKinnon Chain, Cape Gate and Broderick Engineering (Anon; 1978b:16). As shown in Chapter 2, involvement of business in the housing supply is desirable. This supply-oriented subsidy (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:26) helped to reduce homelessness among Blacks in the area. Those who did not qualify for the acquisition of the "higher-income" housing units had an alternative to purchase any of the 17 254 houses that were rented by the Orange Vaal Administration Board for which it made financing available (Anon; 1978c:13). As illustrated in Chapter 2, the supply – oriented incentives are one of the features of the housing policy.

Throughout 1979 the Orange Vaal Administration Board continued its supply of housing to the Blacks in Sebokeng. It provided 1 750 housing units and 25 semi-detached units (Mayekiso, 1979:6) in Zone 14. In addition, it provided 1 150 housing units in Zone 12, 500 in Zone 8, 100 in Zone 11, 25 in Zone 7 (Anon; 1979a:4) and 4 300 in Zone 3 (Anon; 1979c:26).

In order to off-set housing shortage of 3 500 units (Anon., 1979c:26) the Vaal Community Council recommended to the Orange Vaal Administration Board to convert part of the Sebokeng hostel into family units (Anon., 1979b:2). The introduction of the 99-year leasehold had encouraged participation of financial institutions in the housing supply programmes. This aspect of housing policy endorsed the process of democratic participation in the housing markets (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:9) that has been considered in detail in Chapter 2 (Cooper & Hawtin, 1997:4-6; 27; 273; 276; 281). The participation of the institutional structures in the provisioning of housing (Hartshorn, 1980:272) involved the 'screening' of the candidates to determine their creditworthiness. These institutions included, for example, the Natal Building Society which made housing loans available at the initial 11,0% interest rate for 20 years (Anon., 1978:12). The other stakeholders in housing provision were United Building Society and the South African Permanent Building Society. Each built 48 housing units (Anon., 1980a: 6; Anon., 1980b: 12) in Sebokeng. This activity represented a supply – oriented incentive in which planning, financing, construction, building codes and zoning and interest rate subsidies were considered.

In 1980 the company of Stewarts and Lloyds built a hostel complex of 33 units to house some of its single employees (Anon; 1981b: 8). This complex constituted one of the characteristics of the urban housing market (Rubenstein & Otten, 1996:142). In 1980, the Orange Vaal Administration Board provided 2 000 housing units in Zone 11 (Mtimkulu, 1980:16) with sources from the Department of Community Development (Mayekiso, 1992:13). This exemplified the equity objective because provisioning of housing was initiated from a politically oriented perspective. Shortly after the promulgation of the Black Local Authorities Act (102/1982) the National Council of Local Authorities announced the "Great Sale" of 500 000 housing units that had previously been leased (Sacks, 1983:13; De Loor, 1992:127). This supply oriented incentive (Fordham, *et al;* 1998:161) hinged upon the power that the local authorities wielded. The Orange Vaal Administration Board sold 65 000 units (Mayekiso, 1992:13) to residents who had been their occupants over the years.

In a further attempt by the corporate institutions to alleviate the housing shortage, in 1982 the Electricity Supply Commission provided 1 500 housing units for its employees in Zone 10 (Jensen, 1982:5). In the same year focus was placed on home improvement programmes. With the assistance of the Urban Foundation home improvement for the "middle to high-income" categories was started. Their involvement

also facilitated financing of mortgages for Blacks in Sebokeng by all building societies (Anon; 1982:12). This represented the partnership aspect of housing supply. (See paragraph 2.5.3.)

In 1983 the Orange Vaal Administration Board was able to provide 4 650 dwelling units to lessees (Anon; 1983:6). Following the Sebokeng riots that were caused by rent increases in 1984, a number of rent defaulters suffered evictions (Kumalo, 1989:2; Mapisa, 1991:2). In spite of the riots the financiers among whom were the building societies loaned money to home-seekers to build their own houses (Anon., 1986b: 51).

3.6.2.3 The period 1985-1996

In the aftermath of the Sebokeng riots the National Housing Commission granted the Lekoa Town Council the right to dispose of all the remaining council houses. This was done in an attempt to restore stability and normality in the area (Meyer; 1987:2). From 1983 to 1986 the Orange Vaal Administration Board and the entrepreneurs made a significant contribution to the housing of Blacks (Table 3.3).

TABLE 3.2

Orange Vaal Administration Board and private enterprise housing provision, 1983-1986

(Source: Lekoa Town Council, 1990)

Developer	Type of project	Period	Quantity
Lekoa Town Council	Medium cost housing units	1983	800
Lekoa Town Council	Medium cost housing units	1984	400
Lekoa Town Council	Medium cost housing units	1985	100
Lekoa Town Council	High cost housing units	1985	900
SA Housing Trust	Low cost housing units	1983	1 100
SA Housing Trust	Low cost housing units	1984	1 800
SA Housing Trust	Low cost housing units	1985	2 200
Theaco	Medium cost housing units	1983	450
Vesco	Medium cost housing units	1983	5 300
Zamdela Projects	Medium cost housing units	1984	600
Cissvaal	Medium cost housing units	1985	500
Dupla Homes	Medium cost housing units	1986	200
Total			14 500

After 1986 delivery of housing in Sebokeng, which had become the third largest township in urban South Africa (Anon., 1980d:14), stagnated. The result was the mushrooming of a squatter settlement in Eatonside to the east of Zone 7 along the Vereeniging-Lenasia railway line (Anon., 1986c:1) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C. This housing type was unlawful. The area did not have sufficient water supply and in many instances its water resources were unsuitable for human use (Anon., 1986c:2). As a result a number of the pioneering inhabitants were re-settled to Rust-ter-Vaal where the Family Housing Association under the Urban Foundation provided them with skills in "self-help" building programmes. This was the forerunner of the current strategy of supporting the people's housing process (South Africa, 2000:55) which has been discussed in Chapter 2.

In 1989 the Orange Vaal Administration Board initiated housing provision in Zone 21, also known as Westside Park. It availed 1 624 erven along the Golden Highway and the Fochville Road (Anon., 1989a: 26) to private developers. In addition, it made 4 000 other erven available in Zone 17 and Zone 16 respectively. These areas were developed in 1990 by private developers as well. They started with an initial number of 1 500 housing units (Anon., 1989b: 3) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C.

Because of an unabating need for more housing the local authority was compelled in 1993 to provide service land in Zone 18, Boitumelo. This was used for the development of low-cost housing in which an initial number of 700 erven (Mafuna, 1993:7) were made available. It became increasingly important in the post-1994 period to provide more housing following the ANC-manifesto. As in Sweden in 1946, government housing policy served as an extension of broader social policy (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:8) and reflected an inclusion of an aspect of political motive. The local housing shortage was estimated at 80 000 in the late 1980's (Raboroko, 1993:28). Therefore, another 7 000 erven were made available west of Zone 13 in 1990 along the Golden Highway (Raboroko, 1993:28) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C.

Because the local authorities could not provide housing for every need, the emerging shortage had become chronic after 1994. This immediately led to the emergence of an informal "self-help" programme in the squatter settlement to the north-west of Zone 12 along the old Golden Highway as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C. It was yet another strategy of supporting the people's housing process (as described in greater detail in Chapter 2). These squatters had invaded land that belonged partly to the then Transvaal Provinical Administration and partly to a private company, RG and MG Property Holdings. The pioneering community of this area – Kanana, which has been ironically named after the Promised Land of the Israelites (Harvey, 1994:3) lacked the basic facilities like water and sanitation.

However, the community of Kanana relied on "uTshani" a community savings scheme (Haffajee, 1997:32) to provide itself with a community-based infrastructure. The squatting community decided to set up a Committee of Thirteen that became responsible for planning the infrastructure, demarcating plots, laying makeshift streets, and apportioning land to new community members. This was a strategy aimed at supporting the people's housing process.

In 1991 open land in which Zone 20, Sebokeng was built was also acquired from the Transvaal Provincial Administration. More than 1 000 Black homeseekers in the Vaal Complex who applied for low - cost housing subsequently refused to occupy finished houses. They claimed that the houses were too small and had insufficient space for future expansion and electricity (Raboroko, 1997a: 8). These houses were built by Vanderbijlpark Estate Company, a subsidiary company established by Iscor as a non-profit organisation under Section 21 of the Companies Act, 1973 (61/1973) (Raboroko, 1997b: 8). In 1996, nearly five years after the programme started, the community began to occupy the first 640 houses that had been completed whilst the others were in the process of being completed (Raboroko, 1997b: 8).

3.7 The Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) and the establishment of the Coloured and Indian residential areas, 1950-1996

3.7.1 Rust-ter-Vaal

3.7.1.1 The period 1950-1960

In the years after the Nationalist government had introduced strict measures to maximise the geographical distance between Whites and the groups of Coloureds and Indians through the Group Areas Act (41/1950), a Commission was set up to investigate the relocation of Coloureds and Indians. At the recommendation of the Murray Commission of 1952 the Coloureds were moved to their proclaimed area (Van Zyl, 1993:100) as shown in Figure 3.3 in Appendix C. This represented not only the supply oriented incentives (De Loor, 1992:122) in which the area was planned, financed and zoned for the Coloured population but also the effect of ideology in the housing market (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:10).

Between 1957 and 1959, therefore, the Coloureds, as a group "disqualified" to live in Vereeniging, were gradually re-located from Top location as well as from areas outside the municipal boundaries of Vereeniging like Evaton, Residensia, Vanderbijlpark and Meyerton.

3.7.1.2 The period 1960-1970

In 1967 a Coloured township of Rust-ter-Vaal was started approximately 16 km to the north of town (Leigh, 1968:107) in which they were re-settled. (Roodt, 1982:66) (Figure 3.3)

From 1968 to 1978 the city council of Vereeniging with the help of the National Housing Commission was able to raise funds to start the financing of housing in Rust-ter-Vaal. This was used to construct 223 economic housing units of which 209 were sold and 14 were subsequently rented. Thereafter, a total of 129 sub-economic residential units were erected and 39 erven were sold for owner-occupancy purposes (Roodt, 1982:67).

3.7.1.3 The period 1970-1980

In 1978 the provision of housing for the Coloured population in Rust-Ter-Vaal started to decline. This could be attributed to two important factors. The one was the Coloureds' low population increase which was below 0,7% (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992). Another was a planned development of a new site in Ennerdale within the jurisdiction of Vereeniging for the housing of between 250 000 and 300 000 Coloured families. (Anon; 1978d: 12). This programme most probably retarded the provision of housing in Rust-Ter- Vaal. However, when the lack of housing in the area became worse, in 1979 the Town Council of Vereeniging built 57 rental houses (Anon; 1979c: 16).

The worsening lack of housing for Coloureds necessitated the Town Council of Vereeniging to consider the extension of Rust-Ter-Vaal. In 1980 the Town Council of Vereeniging provided 225 rental houses (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1994). This development led to the number of dwellings in the township growing from 342 in 1983 to 414 in 1986 (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Substructure, 1992). In 1987 the area experienced a high population increase of 29,9% (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992). As a result more than 50 Coloured families were homeless (Anon; 1987: 9). Therefore, the Town Council of Vereeniging had to build 92 sub-economic houses of two-bedrooms and three-bedrooms each. This housing project was financed by the Department of Local Authority, Housing and Agriculture. The prospective Coloured buyers had to apply for a loan from the Town Council of Vereeniging at a rate that was commensurate with

their incomes. In the same year the Town Council of Vereeniging made 203 erven available for the development of owner-occupied housing (Anon; 1987: 9).

3.7.1.4 The period 1980-1990

Beginning in 1987 the private developers started to build 70 owner-occupied houses. A need to extend the area forced the Town Council of Vereeniging to acquire a further portion of land. In 1988 new land for self-built housing was proclaimed. This housing programme was especially intended for the low-income groups and the squatter communities that lived in Eatonside. (See 3.6.2.3.) These groups were granted loans to buy building materials (Anon; 1987: 9). The housing programmes that were undertaken by the Town Council in providing council housing and those that the owner –occupiers built totalled 549 between 1987 and 1990 (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992). Further additional land to accommodate Coloureds in owner-occupation and rental housing was acquired.

3.7.1.5 The period 1990-1996

Between 1992 and 1993 the Town Council of Vereeniging made 501 erven available (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992). In 1994, the new govenment of South Africa adopted a new housing policy which sought to provide housing to the poorest sectors of the population. A new housing 'partnership' was introduced countrywide. By the end of 1994, government had provided 43 low-income houses for the homeless Coloureds. At the beginning of 1995 there was a general increase in the delivery of these so-called Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses. In 1996 these government housing subsidies were used to build 246 low-cost houses in Rust-Ter-Vaal (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1998).

3.7.2 Roshnee

3.7.2.1 The period 1960-1970

The Indians who in 1903 already lived in Vereeniging's so-called Asiatic Bazaar which was situated close to Top Location, were allowed to continue to live in this area when the re-settlement of "disqualified" groups of Coloureds in the town was effected in 1935. Unlike Coloureds who, from 1935, were subjected to the same laws of segregation in Vereeniging as Blacks (Prinsloo, 1992:102), Indians were temporarily

exempted from the re-settlement programme of disqualified groups in Vereeniging. They continued to live in the inner area of Vereeniging until 1966 when they were provided with a separate land on which they could have their housing.

In 1967 the provincial Administrator granted permission to house Indians in Roshnee (Leigh, 1968:107) as shown in Figure 3.3. In 1973 the Town Council of Vereeniging had built 178 rental houses in the area. At the same time 355 erven were made available to owner-occupiers to erect privately owned dwellings (Anon. 1973: 10). At the end of that year only five houses were built. The cost of housing, when it is made available, is often at a level that many people cannot afford (Northam, 1979: 500) and this was the case with Indian residents in Roshnee. The development of housing in Roshnee had been generally slow in the early 1970s and affected mostly by lack of money among individual Indians as well as inadequate funding by the Department of Community Development (Anon. 1973: 10).

From the inception of the township until 1976 the city council of Vereeniging made 385 erven available to erect 200 residential units and allocated the remaining 185 for the development of owner-occupied housing. Between 1968 and 1979 the National Housing Commission provided assistance to the city council of Vereeniging to erect 264 economic units. In addition, it erected five sub-economic housing units for renting and made 298 erven available for the purpose of owner-occupant development (Roodt, 1982:68).

3.7.2.2 The period 1970-1980

The housing problem that the Indians experienced created a necessity for the Dadabhay family to apply for the establishment of a private Indian township. This was approved by the Town Council of Vereeniging in 1975 almost 30 years after the first application was submitted (Anon; 1976: 13). The approval for this privately-run township however took almost another ten years, before the township was proclaimed. In the meantime 378 erven were made available for development. Subsequently, the Department of Community Development acquired more land for the development of Indian housing. In 1979 a total of 299 erven were allocated for owner-occupied housing development by the Town Council of Vereeniging (Anon; 1979d: 10).

3.7.2.3 The period 1980-1990

In 1980, there were 458 Indian dwellings in Roshnee. In studies on the occupancy of housing units, the number of persons per room gives a good approximation of crowdedness of the dwelling unit (Northam, 1979: 303). In 1981, for example, over 400 Indian families awaited accommodation (Anon; 1981a:6). This critical shortage of rental housing forced four to five families to share a dwelling. By 1983 all land that was previously allocated for Indian housing had been fully occupied. This situation necessitated the Town Council of Vereeniging to make more land available for housing.

In 1984 the Indian township of Roshnee began to experience high rates of population increase. The rate of population increase that year was 11,2% bringing the total population to 5 050 (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992). This tremendous increase in population figures necessitated the acquisition of more space and the Town Council subsequently made 396 erven available for owner-occupied housing (Anon; 1984b: 19). During the same year the private Indian township of Dadaville, north of Roshnee (Figure 3.3) was proclaimed (Anon; 1984b: 19). This proclamation allowed the Dadabhay Estates to release 215 erven that were meant for the development of the township's Phase 1 to 3, for Phases 4 and 5. More than half of the available erven for the first two phases were immediately sold out (Anon; 1984a: 6).

In 1986 work to develop Phase 3 of Dadaville began (Anon; 1986a: 21) with the developers targeting young couples. The reason for their concentrating mainly on the young homeseekers was that being first-time buyers of a new house of less than an amount of R40 000 entitled an applicant to government subsidy of 33% on the bond rate (Anon; 1986d: 14). In 1988 and 1989 the rate of the Indian population increase was respectively 8, 0% and 6, 0% (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Substructure, 1992). During this time the number of Indian dwellings steadily increased from 756 in 1988 to 828 in 1989 (Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992).

3.7.2.4 The period 1990-1996

With the rate of Indian population decreasing from 6,0% in 1989 to 1,5% in 1992 it would seem that they were out of danger of crowdedness that is closely related to housing shortage (Northam, 1979: 500). From 1992 onwards there had not been any

new land acquired for housing. This included provision of sub-economic houses that were built through any of the government subsidies that became effective in 1994.

3.8 Summary

Vereeniging as a town was started in 1838 by the Voortrekkers in the Klipplaatdirft area. From its origins as a predominantly agricultural settlement, it soon became an agro-industrial centre. This stage, however, was only achieved after Stow's discoveries of coal deposits in the nearby Taaiboschspruit and the Vaal River. It earned its status as a town in 1883 and was designated Vereeniging.

From 1940 to 1980 the municipality of Vereeniging provided housing for the town's Whites. The participation of the entrepreneurs in the provision of housing began towards the end of the 1970s in partnership with the Vereeniging municipality. Population increase and subsequent need for housing was the result of the ever-growing industry. At the beginning of 1940 it also remained responsible for providing the town's Blacks with stands to erect their houses. These Blacks were, therefore, housed in the "locations" which adjoined the Asiatic Bazaar, a residential area for Indians and Coloureds.

In response to the Native Affairs Commission's report of 1919 about the national health-status of Blacks, the municipality of Vereeniging was assigned duty to accommodate Blacks in decent areas. Therefore, it introduced the Native Revenue Account through which the local Blacks contributed towards the financing of their locational development. However, it delayed the re-location of Blacks to a more hospitable place and instead used the revenue to continue to provide service in Top location.

Because of industrial expansion during World War 2 many Blacks flooded the area in search of work. This led to the expansion of Top location which remained the choice of the boarding families. With the passage of time Top Location deteriorated into a slum. At the beginning of the 1940's the municipality of Vereeniging on realising the appalling conditions began negotiations with the Vereeniging Estate for the purchasing of its vacant land west of Vereeniging. The land was, therefore, granted to enable the creation of Sharpeville in 1942.

The passing of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) ensured the physical distance between Whites and the "disqualified" groups of Coloureds and Indians. At the recommendation of the Murray Commission, the municipality of Vereeniging implemented the programme to have these groups physically separated. Thus, these groups were displaced respectively to Rust-ter-Vaal and Roshnee, approximately 16 km to the north of Vereeniging.

This situation created an opportunity for the authorities to give even more thought to its re-location programme concerning Blacks. It instituted the Mentz Commission of 1952 to explore the alternative programme of re-settling the Blacks. Following the national approach by government to establish "regional areas" in the highly industrial regional complexes, a new township between the south-east of Vanderbijlpark and Evaton in the north emerged and it was named Sebokeng.

During the formative years of the township, the Vaal Triangle Administration Board provided housing under the 30-year leasehold to holders of Homeland Citizenship only. From 1978 the Orange Vaal Administration Board granted housing under the 99-year leasehold. This led to the inclusion of private entrepreneurs in the provision of housing. The promulgation of the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 sanctioned the "Great Sale" of 500 000 housing units of which the Oranje Vaal Administration sold 65 000 in Sebokeng.

Despite the Sebokeng riots of 1984, the joint venture between the Orange Vaal Administration Board and the corporate element continued with the supply of housing. After 1986 the stagnation of housing delivery in Sebokeng caused the emergence of a squatter settlement in Eatonside, east of Sebokeng. In 1989 the Orange Vaal Administration Board ensured the development of Zone 21, Westside Park and in 1993 housed more people in Zones 16, 17 and 18. Still, this did not help to house all the Blacks who needed dwellings. The result was the emergence of another squatter settlement – Kanana, to the north of Zone 12.

In Chapter 4 the literature on segregation and desegregation in the US and South Africa will be reviewed.

Behold, how good and how pleasant
it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!
- Psalms 133: 1

CHAPTER 4

THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION

4.1 Introduction

Although segregation has been an international manifestation, controversy of race relations became an almost global theme of interest in a number of social sciences. In South Africa it became an issue in 1905 after it was formalised by the Lagden Commission in which the mandatory separation of Blacks and Whites was spelt out. From 1923 Blacks and Whites occupied different areas of land for their residences. However, the urban Blacks were circumscribed to the so-called "locations" (Davenport, 1977:152). In terms of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) the already existing policy of racial residential separation between urban Blacks and Whites was extended to include Coloureds and Indians. The enforcement of this Act ensured the maximisation of geographical distance between all four racial groups in South Africa until June 1991 when it was discontinued. Following from a history of housing supply in Vereeniging presented in Chapter 3, this chapter will explore housing demand in areas that have been desegregated internationally and in Southern Africa.

4.2 The United States of America

4.2.1 Historical background

North America is a continent with a large Black minority with significant levels of segregation between Blacks and Whites. It was "discovered" by Columbus in 1492 and was subsequently colonised by the English from the 1600s (Jensen, 1968:21; Beard & Beard, 1960:32). It was only from the 1620s that the other European nationalities began to occupy it. In 1776 thirteen of the English colonies in North America became independent. Following the independence of these colonies, North America became the United States of America (Jensen, 1968:22). Between 1776 and 1830 the United States of America undertook immigration programmes (Higham, 1967:107). As result of these programmes nationalities from all over Europe migrated to America. In addition, from

1790 the USA government began to import Africans to work in North America as slaves (Jensen, 1968:26). From the time of their arrival, these Africans were subjected to residential segregation. In 1836 more colonists from England settled in a number of areas including Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Georgia (Beard & Beard, 1960:35-36).

4.2.2 Segregation

According to Warner and Burke (as quoted in Taylor, 1979:1408) at the beginning of 1860 there was already a strong clustering of Blacks in cities such as Philadelphia and New York. In 1896 the US government introduced the so-called Jim Crow laws which were designed to discriminate against Blacks. Between 1910 and 1915 several southern states in the US passed ordinances based on these laws (Fredrickson, as quoted in Saff, 1995:9) in order to prohibit Blacks and Whites from living together on the same block. Consequently, between 1910 and 1930 there was a large-scale migration of the US Blacks from the south to the northern industrial cities (Taeuber & Taeuber, 1975:122). This resulted in the development and growth of a relatively large homogeneous areas of Black settlements in the northern metropolitan regions (Taylor, 1979:1408). These areas were highly segregated within the central cities (Taeuber & Taeuber, 1974:122).

From the 1930's the US Blacks were forced to live in ghettoes – the distinctive dwellings in the inner city areas (Saff, 1991:61). Among these were, for example, those in the northern cities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit; the border cities of Washington, D.C., Baltimore and St. Louis and southern cities of New Orleans, Memphis, Birmingham and Atlanta (Frazier, 1949:230). In order to ensure continued segregation in the US settlement structure, Blacks were denied both rental housing and home-buying opportunities in areas occupied by the Whites. The housing segregation persisted because there were always some all-White neighbourhoods to which the displeased Whites could move. This reflected a new kind of suburbia in eight of the US largest metropolitan areas of New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, San Francisco-Oakland, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Dallas-Fort Worth (Bashi & Hughes, 1997:2). In this regard it appeared that the housing market was influenced by the US regional development policy (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:20) which has been discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

Consequently, in metropolitan Chicago alone, for example, the central cities were 36,3% Black while the suburbs were 5,6% Black (Bashi & Hughes, 1997:2). In every one of these eight largest US metropolitan areas, the percentage of the central city population that was Black was at least twice as high as in other areas. Still, in other areas the percentage of the inner city Blacks was four times as high as the suburban Blacks. This resulted in the creation of a distinct pattern of Black city and White suburbs (Bashi & Hughes, 1997:3). In South Africa, the only situation that exhibits a pattern similar to the US inner city Black concentration is inner city of Johannesburg (Saff, 1995:8). This will be discussed fully in the latter part of this Chapter under paragraph 4.5.3 and 4.5.5).

As Saltman (as quoted in Saff, 1995:10) noted, the four major factors in the US segregation have been (1) government policies that related primarily to urban renewal, public housing, and suburban development; (2) the inadequate supply of low- and moderate-income housing throughout the metropolitan areas; (3) suburban zoning regulations; and (4) racial discrimination in the housing industry. In terms of Hårsman and Quigley (1991:10) this represented the political objective. (See Chapter 2 paragraph 2.4.2.) For example, the National Association of Real Estate Brokers (NAREB) stated in their code of ethics that:

> *'... the realtor should not be instrumental in introducing into a neighbourhood members of any race group ... whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in the neighbourhoods (Hartshorn, 1980:272).*

4.2.3 Desegregation

In 1909 Blacks in the United States of America established the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) to fight all forms of segregation. This programme that the US Blacks undertook was different from those followed by some southern African states. For example, shortly after desegregation of Zimbabwe the concept of Africanisation was used as a post-independence instrument through which Africans were given employment in the country's public sector (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:14-15; Saff, 1995:7). Their employment status allowed them to purchase property, for example, in the formely White areas in Harare. In 1911 the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) challenged residential segregation through the court under the provisions of the country's Constitution. As a result, in 1917 the US Supreme Court ruled against *de jure* residential segregation in the

country. Despite the ruling, the practice of segregation persisted and the decline in residential desegregation became stronger.

The fact that the US Blacks suffer from collective injustices and deprivations is an objective fact, and it was even more so in the 1930s and 1940s when the Civil Rights Movement began (Goode, 1984: 504). In 1945 when World War 2 ended, it gave momentum to the civil rights of the US Blacks. The returning Black component of the US Army began to develop a strong opinion of themselves (Heese, 1989:45). In 1948 the US Supreme Court ruled against the restrictive practices that were used by the real estate industry to deny Blacks access to the housing market (Berry, 1975:200). Beginning in the late 1950s, a series of boycotts and sit-ins broke out in the southern and border states. Blacks demanded to be served in hitherto all-White stores and restaurants and refused to sit only at the back of public buses (Goode, 1984: 504). These activities were used to challenge the wide ranging discriminatory practices and in particular the housing discrimination.

However, Hartshorn (as quoted in Saff, 1995:7) states that of the 223 845 new houses that were built in the 1960's in Chicago, for example, only 4 188 were sold to Blacks. This indicated an effective demand as outlined in Chapter 2. From 1960 a coalition of US Blacks and liberal Whites initiated a more aggressive approach to put an end to, especially, housing segregation. They challenged the country's slow pace of social change, increasing unemployment, urban decay, decline in education standards, increasing rate of crime, drug abuse and problems associated with the ghettoes and the paternalism of White liberals (Heese, 1989:46).

Their discontentment intensified the sense of nationalism of the US Blacks that was embraced in the philosophy of Black Consciousness which instilled in them a sense of pride. It was also used as an instrument that promoted Afro-Americanism in American campuses by which they promoted their culture and embraced themselves equal to the Whites (Heese, 1989:46). They intensified their challenge to segregation in housing. The result of the Bill of Rights was the inclusion of Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 that outlawed the deed restrictions and prohibited discrimination by real estate brokers, builders, and mortgage lenders (Saff, 1995:10). Subsequently, the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) initiated programmes to precipitate US residential desegregation. These included (1) urban renewal of cities and older suburbs;

(2) the concept of model cities; (3) a range of housing subsidy programmes; (4) water and sewer grants; and (5) the open space programme (Bonastia, 2000:7).

In order to achieve the ideal of desegregation the US government undertook the following approaches (1) site selection of public or subsidised housing in predominantly White or racially-mixed neighbourhoods; (2) government funds in housing to foster integration in their advertising strategies and tenant selection; (3) the real estate industry was required to inform clients of all residential options rather than showing them houses in different neighbourhoods according to their race; and (4) government funds were withheld from localities whose actions promoted segregation (Bonastia, 2000:7). Similar approaches have been adopted by the current South African government in its strategy of co-ordinating state investment in development.

In spite of these aggressive mechanisms to promote desegregation, the Civil Rights Act remained mostly unenforced (Feagin, 1997:3) and therefore the provisions of the Fair Housing Act continued to be overlooked by realtors, banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions (Saff, 1995:10). This situation which has been discussed in Chapter 2 in greater detail has retarded desegregation in the US. This resulted in negligible declines in residential segregation (Farley; Massey & Denton, as quoted in Saff, 1995:2) as seen in Kansas City, New Haven, Washington, D.C., Milwaukee and Chicago (Briggs, *et al*; 1994:4). In 1970 the US mean index of dissimilarity[1] was 93,7% and 72,3% respectively for the first 25 and the last 25 of the 109 cities that were researched (Sorenson, Taeuber & Hollingsworth, as quoted in Saff, 1991:62). These indices represented a high-level of segregation.

As a result of unabating levels of segregation in the US, in 1971 the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCADH) was established as an umbrella organisation of 50 affiliated religious, civil rights, labour and civic groups. Here use was made of direct market intervention, to mobilise all members of the community. It mounted a more aggressive action to ensure housing desegregation. Because of oppressive laws in South Africa no national organization was formed to fight residential apartheid. Such an organisation would probably have been banned as was the case with many anti-apartheid organisations of the time. Still, only a few US Blacks migrated to the predominantly White areas where they remained disproportionate to host groups (Monti,

[1] The Index of Dissimilarity essentially measures the percentage of the one occupational group which would have to move to make its distribution identical with another occupational group (Carter, 1976: 263; Christopher, 1993: 122)

1990; Galster, 1988; Yeates & Garner, 1971). As Taeuber (quoted in Johnston, 1971:30) noted, segregation in the US was not influenced by socio-economic status only, hence the comment that:

> *'If income were the only factor at work in determining where Whites and Negro families live, there would be little segregation.'*

The inference from the statement above is that Blacks were never allowed occupancy alongside the US Whites irrespective of their good social station. This view is corroborated by Galster (1987:88) who ascribes the denying of Black occupancy in White neighbourhoods to "self-segregation" by Whites. This is a practice they achieve by offering a higher bid than the Black competitors when buying property especially in areas that they plan to keep exclusively White. In the view of Simkus (1978:90) the persistence of segregation in the US is the result of "colour factor". He points out that prospective Black home-seekers receive poor treatment from the estate industry. Likewise, Muth (1971:107) ascribes the US segregation to the "preferency hypothesis" and "collusion hypothesis" in dealing with the Black housing market.

4.3 Zimbabwe

4.3.1 Historical background

Unlike in the United States of America where Whites constitute the majority of the population, in Zimbabwe the Blacks are in the majority. It is important to investigate the pre- and post- independence residential character in Zimbabwe and compare it with other areas that have been identified for this study.

From the fifteenth century Zimbabwe was occupied by the Shona tribes. When the Portuguese arrived in Mashonaland in 1502, the Shona people had begun to divide themselves ethnically and in smaller dynasties. This division among the Shonas was ended when Shaka amalgamated them into the Zulu nation (Swaney & Shackley, 1992:45) in 1780 soon after he killed Dingiswayo who fled from Shaka's chain attacks on the neighbouring small tribes in Zululand and started to live across the Limpopo in the then Rhodesia. In 1888 Cecil John Rhodes' British South African Company was "allowed" the mining rights in Matebeleland by chief Lobengula (Swaney & Shackley, 1992:47). Rhodes waged a war against Lobengula and his Matebele followers in 1893 and defeated them. After his victory over the Matebele, he re-named the territory

Rhodesia after himself (Swaney & Shackley, 1992:48). His new administration ensured that segregation was practised between Blacks and Whites in line with worldwide colonial policies of the time.

4.3.2 Segregation

Residential land in Rhodesia was owned and occupied along racial lines. This was because the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 and 1941, as well as the Land Tenure Act of 1969 (Davies, 1992:303) divided the living environment into separate African, European and national land categories (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a: 9). Kay and Smout (as quoted in O'Connor, 1993:216) maintained that in the 1970's Salisbury and Bulawayo were rigidly segregated along racial lines. The country's Blacks lived in townships near all towns and cities, and in trust lands[2] in the rural areas. As in South Africa, (Saff, 1995:7) the process of urbanisation of Blacks in Zimbabwe is still occurring, while in the United States of America the process had been an almost accomplished phenomenon. The minority groups of Asians and Coloureds occupied the residential areas in the central business districts of most cities and towns.

Following the engagement of Black nationalists in guerilla warfare against the colonial White minority government from 1976, Whites finally agreed to hand over power to Blacks by means of a universal suffrage democratic election. In 1978 the transitional Government of Zimbabwe – Rhodesia took control. In 1979 the Land Tenure Act was repealed to bring to an end the residential segregation (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a: 12). From 1980 when Black majority rule took control under the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Frond (ZANU-PF) it ended segregation and this introduced an "open opportunity surface" (Davies, 1992:304). At this point Rhodesia was renamed Zimbabwe, along with some of its towns and cities.

4.3.3 Desegregation

The settlement of Africans in the formerly Whites-only suburbs of Zimbabwe occurred in two processes. These were "invasion" and "succession", by which Blacks moved into White neighbourhoods after the departure of Whites to occupy the houses that were left by them for political, economic or security reasons(Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:10).They aslo moved out to new neighbourhoods over time as their status improved leaving their

[2] Trust lands were tribal enclaves within which the Black people had a limited degree of self governance.

previous houses to be occupied by new owners of lesser socio-economic status to effect the process of "uccession". Between 1979 and 1985 Zimbabwe experienced a massive out migration of the White population. This situation let to what Van der Merwe (1987: 137) refers to as a phase of general invasion by immigrants.

This invasion of White areas by Black middle-class was encouraged by a number of factors. Among these were the theory of Africanisation – the replacement of White personnel in the public sector by Africans; the affordability of the housing market, (outlined under effective demand in Chapter 2), overcrowding in the townships; integration of social amenities and the proximity of some suburbs to the townships (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:14-15). This, however, occurred once a democratic government had been elected. A study on the desegregation in Harare reveals that a number of previously disqualified Blacks had been living in the city before independence (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:10). These findings are upheld by Lemon (1989:306) and Wills, *et al*; (as quoted in Hart, 1989:85) who confirm that in 1979 already 330 and 1 560 Blacks respectively lived in the southern and south-western suburbs of the city. This could have been as a result of the vacancy created by the emigration of 2880 Whites in 1979 (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:11).

The pace of desegregation in Harare was attributed to some general factors. Among these was the relative surplus of properties which were created when 32 000 Whites left Zimbabwe between April 1980 and October 1981. The concept of Africanisation ensured that many government officials obtained 100% housing loans after two years of service. Between 1976 and 1980, before and shortly after independence Zimbabwe experienced a depressed housing market. And, together with rapid integration of social amenities, overcrowding in the townships, proximity of suburbs to townships, access to shopping and entertainment infra-structure and the introduction of embassies (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988(a):14-15), the process of desegregation was speeded up.

4.4 Namibia

4.4.1 Historical background

The Black population in Namibia is larger than that of Whites, the latter group forming less than six percent of the total. This situation resembles that of Zimbabwe and South Africa. Until 1500 the only inhabitants of Namibia were the San communities

(Cockram,1976:3; Swaney & Shackley, 1992:362). From the1600s various Black groups from south central Africa came to settle in the territory.Among these were the Herero who lived on the northern bank of the Swakop River and the largest tribal group, the Ovambo, who occupied the northern part towards the Kunene River (Goldblatt, 1971:11). The Damaras inhabited the area along the Namib Desert, the central and the northern parts of Namibia (Goldblatt, 1971:12) while the Basters of the Rehoboth area (Cockram, 1976:6) settled between Damaraland and Tswanaland.

In 1867 and 1878 respectively, British immigrants annexed the guano islands and Walvis Bay and its surrounding hinterland. Soon after the German trader, Adolf Luderitz, had bought part of Luderitz in 1883, Germans began to occupy the entire territory (Swaney & Shackley, 1992:363). However, their colonisation of Namibia ended during World War I in 1914. From 1915 the League of Nations declared Namibia a mandatory country under South African rule (Davenport, 1977:188). The South African government continued with racial segregation in Namibia.

4.4.2 Segregation

In 1915 the South African government was mandated to govern the then South West Africa, presently called Namibia. In 1925 it passed the Blacks (Urban Areas) Proclamation, no. 34 of 1924 that enabled the separation of Blacks from Whites (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:22). Although this was suspended because "black settlement in White-designated areas was virtually non-existent", in 1951 the South African government introduced the Blacks (Urban Areas) Proclamation (56/1951) (Simon, 1986:293) to enforce segregation.

In terms of this proclamation that was analogous to the South African Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950), the Blacks in Namibia were regarded as temporary sojourners in the White areas (Simon, 1983:100). Therefore, they could only be allowed to live in the urban areas providing that they "ministered to the White man's needs" (Simon, 1983:104). With the aid of the South African government the Namibian administration established the Coloured township of Khomasdal near Windhoek in Namibia (Levinson, 1978:95). The other part of the financial aid was used to establish an exclusively Black township close to Windhoek. Between 1958 and 1959 the Blacks were relocated to

Katutura (Levinson, 1978:95) which is a Herero designation that implies "a place where we do not want to live" (Du Toit, 1991:114).

In 1960 the Black Namibians began resisting the continued rule by Whites. They formed the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) to persuade the South African government to grant independence to Namibians. It was only in the mid-1960s that they resorted to guerilla tactics to further their goals. In 1977 the South African government repealed all segregatory laws and, importantly, issued proclamation AG 12 in 1977 to allow Blacks acquisition of all housing in formerly segregated areas of Namibia (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:23).

4.4.3 Desegregation

From 1978 the Blacks began migrating to the desegregated neighbourhoods of Windhoek (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:24). This was as a result of the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference which opened discussions for the de-racialisation of Namibia (Celliers, 1990:24). They initially used a "nominee system" in which the disqualified groups involved Whites as surrogates to acquire property on their behalf in the White areas (Simon, 1986:297). In 1979 the Blacks (Urban Areas) Proclamation (56/1951) was replaced by the Abolishment of Racial Discrimination (Urban Residential Areas and Public Amenities) Act of 1979 (Lemon, 1989:307; Celliers, 1990:25). This development stimulated desegregation research by a number of researchers. Simon investigated the nature and impact of desegregation in Windhoek. From his study it emerged that the low-income Blacks mainly inhabited the central areas of the town (Simon, 1986:297). These are areas of old housing units, flats and hostel dwellings. It was largely in these areas that a few Blacks were concentrated (Simon, 1986:300). Differential rates of desegregation thus occurred in that smaller numbers of middle-income Black households who settled in the suburbs.

In the years that immediately followed the end of apartheid in Namibia, the migration of Blacks into the formerly White areas of Windhoek was slow (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:24). In 1985 the Blacks who migrated to formerly White suburbs accounted for 12,7% (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:25). By April 1, 1986 only 5% of the houses in the middle-income suburbs of Windhoek West were occupied by Blacks (Gresse, as quoted in Human, 1986:160). The presence of Blacks later increased in the central business district and Windhoek West to 28% and 22% respectively (Pickard-Cambridge,

1988(a):25) while in the high-income suburb of Klein Windhoek they represented 14% of its population. The main reason for the smaller number of migrants was the high cost of accommodation in the living in the desegregated neighbourhoods (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988(a):33). Other reasons were that Black migrants preferred residence in neighbourhoods close to high-density areas were they have families with whom they would want to remain in contact (Harvey, 1982). Thus, their search characteristics, were inclined towards action and search space (See paragraph 2.5.2.2), discussed in Chapter 2. Their presence in Windhoek has been the result of the increase in salaries for Blacks and Coloureds in the public sector; the policy of de-racialisation of financial institutions on housing loans and the under-supply of low-cost housing in the townships (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:33).

What emerges from the housing pattern of Blacks in Windhoek has helped to determine which factors played a significant role in the desegregation of the town. The pattern of Black settlement in Windhoek was found by Simon (1986:302-304) to have been determined by the need for larger homes; for dwellings closer to work-places; and owing to the shortage of suitable accommodation especially in areas that were designated for exclusive settlement by Black groups. Notwithstanding the racial mixing in Windhoek, Simon (1986:302-304) views the level of social interaction between Blacks and Whites to have been low and indistinct. This has been the result of the development of elite housing that was underway close to the townships (Pickard-Cambridge, 1986a:33). Human (1986:162) concluded that the vacancies in Windhoek would create an abundance of housing opportunities. These would be filled by Blacks to reduce their homelessness.

4.5 South Africa

4.5.1 Historical background

As in Zimbabwe and Namibia, Blacks in South Africa form the majority (77%) and Whites comprise only 11% of the total population. In 1652 the Dutch arrived in the Cape to start a fresh produce station for their East-bound ships. Because of financial considerations, the Dutch East Indian Company decided in 1657 to release its surplus workers from its food-producing service (Van den Berghe, 1967:21). The released workers who became the "free burghers" started livestock-farming which led them into continuous clashes with the Khoi groups over the ownership of livestock (Davenport, 1977:23). On arrival on the

Eastern border they were again frustrated by the Xhosas over the question of land ownership. Their dissatisfaction with the British administration forced them to leave the Eastern Cape and to embark on a Great Trek in 1836. They established the first Boer Republic in Natal in 1837. In 1852 and 1854 respectively they established the South African Republic (ZAR) and the Republic of the Orange Free State. After the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 the Uitlanders[3] allegation of discrimination by the Boers led to the Anglo-Boer War of 1899 to 1902. At the end of the war, the South African Native Commission introduced territorial segregation between Blacks and Whites (Davenport, 1977:152) which became the precursor of several pieces of legislation that divided the country along racial lines.

4.5.2 Segregation

Segregation between Blacks and Whites in South Africa was conceived by some races shortly after the arrival of Van Riebeeck in the Cape Colony (Davenport, 1977: 331). These races showed a desire to live apart from others. This inclination, however, exposed itself more fully in the nineteenth century. In 1846, West, the head of state in Natal appointed a Commission to define locations for exclusive occupation by the territory's Blacks (Davenport, 1977: 86; 331-332). This measure prevented spatial contact between Blacks and Whites. Until 1900 there had been various forms of segregation as part of a colonial rule. A formalised segregation became prevalent from then on. Between 1901 and 1904 the government of South Africa segregated Blacks from Whites (Lester, 1996:54). This was shortly after the outbreak of bubonic plague. Subsequently, the Blacks were confined to the compounds. In 1918 the locations in which the Blacks lived became infested with the influenza epidemic and, therefore, posed a health threat (Lemon, 1989:305). This caused the government to introduce the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act 1923 (21/1923) using the pretext of influenza as one of the political motives. (See discussion under 2.4.2.)

The Blacks (Urban Areas) Act,1923 (21/1923) enabled the urban authorities to set aside land in South African cities for Black occupation only. Apart from the *prima facie* objective of the housing policy to maintain standards of health, the introduction of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (21/1923) by government also showed a political motive. These locations included: Greenpoint (Pirie, 1991:122), Klipspruit (Parnell & Pirie,

[3] Uitlander is a historical designation that was used in the late 1800s which originally referred to a foreigner of especially British origin who came to settle in the mining towns of the then Zuid Afrikaanse Republiek.

1991:130), Orlando, the Western Native township; Sophiatown and Alexandra (Parnell & Pirie, 1991:131), Ndabeni and New Brighton (Davenport & Hunt, 1974:68), Clermont and Cato Manor (Davies, 1981:78), Batho (Morris, as quoted in Krige, 1991:107), Marabastad, Schoolplaats, Bantule and Atteridgeville (Hattingh & Horn, 1991:149).

With the advent of formalised apartheid in 1948 (Van den Berghe, 1967:119) the South African government introduced the third phase of even greater separation (Smit & Booysen, 1981:24). The already existing geographical separation between Blacks and Whites was maximised and a compulsory physical distance was introduced between Whites, Coloureds and Indians (Gilliomee & Schlemmer, 1989:86). In 1954 residential segregation was further strengthened through the Resettlement of Blacks Act. It resulted in the developments after 1950 (Smit & Booysen, 1981:74-75) that saw the demise of a number of multi-racial sttlements in the main towns and cities of South Africa such as, for example, Lady Selborne (Pretoria), Cato Manor (Durban), Sophiatown (Johannesburg) and Duncan Village (East London). These situations were not limited to South African main urban centres, since similar situations to those found in the cities prevailed all over South Africa.

At the beginning of 1950 in Cape Town, for example, certain parts of the city like Goodwood, Milnerton, Bellville, Parow, Pinelands, Thornton and Epping (Cook, 1991:32) were designated as White areas. Coloured people were accommodated in Cape Flats, District 6 (Gilliomee & Schlemmer, 1983:89), Walmer, Bo-Kaap, Belhar, Hanover Park and Bonteheuwel (Cook, 1991:33). Meanwhile, the Blacks were accommodated in Langa and Nyanga (Smit & Booysen, 1981:22). In Durban the Whites were also kept separate from the other racial groups. For example, Indians were provided with residential land in Verulam and Chatsworth while the town's Blacks were housed in Umlazi and Kwa-Mashu (Soni, 1992:41) to relieve the pressure of overcrowding in especially Lamontville and Chesterville in 1946 and 1947 respectively (Davies, 1981:78). Similarly, developments of segregation occurred in Johannesburg (Lupton, 1992:67). Here Coloureds were housed in Newclare, Westbury, Bosmont, Coronationville, Riverlea, Klipspruit West, Nancefield and Eldorado Park. The areas that were designated as Black areas included Meadowlands and Diepkloof (Parnell & Pirie, 1991:134).

In Kimberley the Indians were re-located to Mint township and Moghal Park, the Coloureds to Colville, Floors, Gemdene, Homestead and Homevale and the Blacks to Galeshewe (Pirie, 1991:124). Segregation in Port Elizabeth saw the Blacks restricted to

New Brighton and Walmer. Later, because of housing needs the township of New Brighton was extended and it gave birth to Zwide, Kwa-Magxaki and Kwa-Desi (Christopher, 1991:48). Meantime the Coloureds were restricted to Korsten, Gelvandale and Bethelsdorp, Indians in Malabas and Chinese in Kabega Park. The remainder of the central, western and southern part of the city became a White area (Nel, 1989:333).

4.5.3 De facto desegregation, 1977-1991 .

In this section, events in certain cities only are discussed as representative of the total situation in South Africa. By the end of 1977 the Group Areas Act, (41/1950) became ineffective. This was partly due to the Soweto and other uprisings of 1976. From then onwards most of the large towns and cities (Elder, 1990; Hart, 1989; Beavon, 1992; Simon, 1989; De Coning, *et al*; 1986) and in particular Johannesburg became increasingly desegregated (Morris, 1994:82; Morris, 1998:55). Owing to the occupancy of these areas designated for Whites by disqualified groups in contravention of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) they became known as "grey areas" (Beavon, as quoted in Ownhouse & Nel, 1995:81).

Johannesburg

From the mid-1970s the racial composition of Johannesburg inner city altered considerably (Morris, 1994:821). In 1980, for example, Hillbrow had 50 000 residents of which between 8 000 and 10 000 were Blacks who had lived there since 1955 (Morris,1994:821). In 1985, the Coloured population in Hillbrow was estimated at approximately 9 000, Indians 6 000 and Blacks 5 000 (Lemon,1989:309). His estimates were confirmed by both Saff (1994:384) and De Coning (1986:62).

Since the mid-1970s various postulations as to why the inner city area of Hillbrow became desegregated have been provided. Morris (1998:60) maintains that desegregation intensified after the Supreme Court ruling in favour of Govender in *The State versus Govender* case. In terms of the Supreme Court ruling the government could only evict the "disqualified" groups if there was sufficient proof that alternative accommodation existed for the evictees (Saff, 1994:381). As a result of the judgement the Coloureds and Indians remained in Hilbrow. It also hastened further migration of Coloured and Indian groups into central areas of the city where they had previously been hesitant to settle (Morris, 1998:60). It was also linked to the continued incapacity of the

government to provide housing for the disqualified groups (Morris, 1998:61). The aggravated housing shortage, therefore, encouraged the disqualified groups to acquire alternative residence in the inner areas of Johannesburg (Morris, 1998:64).

Inner city Blacks considered Johannesburg's central business district as representing improved status. It was also a convenient place to live in because of the variety of facilities, proximity to work-places and its good transport infrastructure. Some Blacks regarded ownership of a dwelling in the prescribed White areas of Johannesburg as an investment. Many Blacks also moved in to ensure their children access to better schooling opportunities (Saff, 1994:384). Between 1986 and 1987, Rule monitored the process of desegregation in Bertrams. He observed that 18 of the 23 units he investigated were occupied by Whites, two by Chinese, two by Coloureds and one by Indians. These results led to his speculative comment that:

> *"... it is possible that the processes observed here are representative of those occurring in similar environments in the central Witwatersrand at this juncture." (Rule, 1988: 70)*

His study on the *de facto* desegregation in Betrams in the later stages of 1986 and 1987 showed that the number of Indians who occupied the formerly White houses increased from one to four, and those occupied by Coloureds from two to four. At the same time the number of White occupants he monitored decreased from 18 to 11. In 1988 three of the 18 houses that had previously been occupied by Whites were vacated and were subsequently used by immigrants from "disqualified" groups (Rule, 1989:199) to bring the number of units occupied by such groups to eight. As this study has shown in Chapter 2, intra-urban residential mobility is a feature of housing demand. This spectacle of "grey areas" in Johannesburg's inner areas particularly evoked interest among sociologists who wanted to determine the attitude of Whites towards the process of racial mixture.

The findings of De Coning (1986), Mynhardt (1989) and Fick, *et al*; (1987) were that the broadly unfavourable political situation prompted the government into a new strategy. This was because it subsequently approved in principle the opening of formerly segregated residential areas (Anon., 1987:3) and designated them Free Settlement Areas. This symbolised social areas in the cities. (See paragraph 2.5.2.4.) However, this proposition was opposed by the Urban Foundation (Anon., 1990:12) and the Johannesburg City Council (Elder, 1990:264). The reason for their opposition was that

the process of Free Settlement Areas was regarded the broadly unfavourable (Cloete, 1991:99) as well as inherently "flawed and unworkable" (Anon., 1990:12).

Studies on *de facto* desegregation have led to important conclusions. Morris (1998:74) maintains that the activists failed to persuade the government to enforce the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950). This left the law-enforcing agents helpless and, therefore, incapable of containing the "greying" of Johannesburg. Saff (1994:388) concluded that the pattern of desegregation in the "White suburbs" would continue in the future.

Durban

A study on the desegregation of Albert Park in Durban shows that already in the 1980s there was *de facto* desegregation (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:19). They aimed at showing the role of the estate industry in the promotion of desegregation, as well as determining the factors that influenced the migration of Blacks and the reaction of law-enforcing agents to migrants. This was a survey that involved a systematic sample of an elite group of 30 Blacks (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:21) representing *de facto* desegregation in Albert Park since the mid-1980s.

The socio-economic characteristics of the respondents showed that 57% were female and 43% males. Among them 60% were unmarried, 60% held secondary school qualifications and 40% had attained a tertiary level of education. A fairly high percentage of 40% among migrants were professionals, 10% clerks and 13% technicians. The respondents' average income per month was R800 while professionals earned more than R1 200 per month (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:21). Details of their residential status show that 93% previously lived in the townships around the city and 6,7% were from the rural areas in KwaZulu. What emerged from the study was that 37% migrated to Albert Park because they were homeless, 20% came in to use its educational facilities while 17% did so to remain closer to their work-places (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:23). On the level of sociability the results showed that 80% of the respondents preferred demographic integration in which Blacks and Whites lived together in specified proportions rather than with their own groups only. However, 60% of them displayed transracial solidarity (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:24) which would allow them unimpeded interaction with Whites.

Regarding their attitude towards the Group Areas Act and the Free Settlement Areas Act, the study showed that 93% were defiant of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) while 57% indicated that they supported the Free Settlement Areas Act. Because 50% of them had previously been evicted and 40% convicted for the contravention of the Group Areas Act (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:24), all the respondents supported the repeal of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950). Similar to Morris (1998:61; 1994:825-834), Saff (1994:384) and Cloete (1991:93), this study also postulated the causes of in-migration to White areas. The main causes of the Black occupancy of Albert Park were (i) the availability of vacant dwellings in the former prescribed White areas because of the suburbanisation of Whites, and (ii) the ambition among the Black elite to improve their socio-economic status (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:30).

4.5.4 Post independence desegregation of Bophuthatswana

This section of the study will focus on Mafikeng as the main town that represented the state of desegregation in the entire region. Bophuthatswana was the homeland of the Batswana people in the now defunct Republic of Bophuthatswana that lay in South African territory. It consisted of six "enclaves" in the then Cape Province, Transvaal and Orange Free State. Its various racial groups were subjected to the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) like all other Blacks in the country. In Mafikeng area Blacks lived in Montshiwa, Coloureds in Danville, Indians immediately north of Danville and Whites in Mafikeng. However, in 1977 Bophuthatswana opted for independence (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a :35). Negotiations were conducted between the South African government, the government of Bophuthatswana and the Mafikeng representative council regarding the incorporation of Mafikeng into Bophuthatswana (Cowley, 1985:49). After the incorporation of the town, the government of Bophuthatswana ended all statutory race discrimination including the repeal of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a :35). This created a desegregated environment in the whole "state".

Mafikeng

After the incorporation of Mafikeng in Bophuthatswana in 1980, the movement of Black people into Mafikeng began (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988(a):36). However, "the most notable feature ... has been the relative absence of an influx of elite Africans" (Parnell, 1986:207). As evidence of low desegregation the ratio of Black to White remained one to six in the town (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988(a):44). In Mafikeng some Blacks chose to live

in nearby non-racial Mmabatho, the capital of the then Republic of Bophuthatswana (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988(a):45). The choice of Mmabatho by elite Blacks was influenced by a number of factors. Among them were the developments of desegregation in the entire Bophuthatswana.

Such developments in Mafikeng synchronised with the socio-economic developments that included the provision of better housing, road infra-structure and a shopping complex in Mmabatho. Many Blacks viewed the interaction with seconded government officials as an opportunity for personal growth. A great number of them wanted to take advantage of the presence of the then University of Bophuthatswana (now University of North-West). Many Black professionals, academics and civil servants chose to settle in Mmabatho because it was closer to their work places. Apart from that its medium and low-cost housing opportunities were comparatively more affordable than those in Mafikeng (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988a:37).

The desegregation in Mafikeng was investigated by Badenhorst and Louw (as quoted in Human, 1986) and De Coning (1986) who focused on the attitude of Whites and Coloureds respectively towards desegregation. The results of the studies by Louw (1985), Badenhorst and Louw (as quoted in Human, 1986) and by Picakard-Cambridge (1988a:40) showed that a relationship existed between a sustained property market and the process of desegregation in the state. Louw (1985:12-13) concluded that desegregation in Mafikeng was promoted by the healthy relations that existed among Black and White groups. Similar situations of peaceful co-existence have been found in most South African cities.

4.5.5 *De jure* desegregation in South Africa

In June 1991 the South African government promulgated the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (108/1991). It brought to an end the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) (Kotze & Donaldson, 1998:467; Kotze & Donaldson, 1996:119; Saff, 1994:377). This gave Blacks the right to own and occupy houses in areas that were previously reserved for Whites. The following discussion will review studies performed in the main centres in South Africa as representative of similar developments countrywide.

Johannesburg

In 1991 Crankshaw and White (1995:623) undertook a study to determine the relationship between racial desegregation and inner city decay in Johannesburg. This research helped to provide information regarding the "greying" of Hillbrow. Concerning the socio-economic variables of the respondents, the study revealed that the occupational profiles across the races were equal. The residents in Hillbrow were employed in the professional, semi-professional, administrative, clerical and sales sectors. Some Black residents, though, were employed in menial activities (Crankshaw & White, 1995:623). This model of group identity has been well illustrated by Van der Merwe (1987:199) and Northam (1979:296). (See paragraph 2.5.2.4.) They used the income variable to determine the earnings among all respondents and found that 28% of Blacks, 16% of Coloureds, 14% of Whites and 8% of Indians in Hillbrow earned up to R1 000 a month. They concluded that monthly income among Blacks especially, afforded them means to pay for rental and other services in the area (Crankshaw & White, 1995:631).

Crankshaw and White (1995:628-629) like Morris (1998:60) and Saff (1994:384) in their study of *de facto* desegregation also made assumptions regarding the origin of desegregation in Hillbrow. However, their assumptions appear to have been tenancy-related. Property owners in the inner city allowed the disqualified groups to use their rental facilities in the face of the owners' loss in rental after the White tenants vacated their property (Crankshaw & White, 1995:628) due to inner city decay. In this regard, Hårsman and Quigley (1991:9) have demostrated that rent collection was required in a housing policy to protect customers from malpractices of the property owners. (See paragraph 2.4.2.)

In 1995 Rule undertook a follow-up study to the 1986-1987 investigation to assess the nature and extent of desegregation in Bertrams between 1991 and 1995, shortly after the abolition of the apartheid laws. He used ethnic indices of linguistic groups of the Bertrams Primary School as criteria of desegregation in the entire suburb. Rule (1996:212) showed that among 75 newly registered learners in Bertrams Primary School in 1993, 14 (18,7%) were Black and 9 (12,0%) were Indians. Like in other central areas in Johannesburg, Bertrams also represented *de facto* desegregation in which 82% were Whites, 12% were Indians, 6% were Blacks and a sprinkling (less than 1%) were Coloureds (Rule, 1996: 214:). Similarly, to the east of the central business district of

Johannesburg that includes New Doornfontein, 72% of the population was Black in 1991. During the same period the east-lying suburbs of Bezuidenhout Valley, Cyrildene and Bruma, which were also former White areas, were minimally desegregated (Rule, 1996:214).

The vacancies in Hillbrow that were subsequently occupied by Blacks resulted from the "First Time Homeowner's Scheme" that the government used to lure the White tenants from the inner city to the suburbs of Johannesburg. This initiative was based on the quality of housing in the inner city. (See paragraph 2.4.2.) The long term effect of the Soweto-uprisings in 1976 onwards and the incidents of rent boycotts in 1984 in Sebokeng and its spillovers in Soweto and other adjacents townships around Johannesburg caused foreign-born White tenants to vacate their inner city dwellings and this created another opportunity for statutory homeless Blacks – who basically had no other options of housing – to start to occupy them.

Finally, more housing became available in 1979 after the government lifted a moratorium on rent control in the decaying areas of the city. This was a political motive in which fortune and misfortune were shared irrespectively among stakeholders as highlighted in Chapter 2. This gave the landlords an opportunity to allow the homeless Blacks occupancy (Crankshaw & White, 1995:628-629). The conclusion was that desegregation of Hillbrow originated from the abundance of housing opportunities (Crankshaw & White, 1995:636).

Cape Town

A 1991 study by Myburgh (1996) on desegregation in Cape Town was based on Tygerberg. This is an area that encompasses the previous municipal areas of Bellville, Durbanville and Parow (Myburgh, 1996:200). Its population of 59,3% Whites, 32,9% Coloureds, 7,3% Blacks and 0,5% Asians lived in their segregated areas before 1950 (Myburgh, 1996:200). Following the abolition of Group Areas legislation in 1991, Black and Coloured migrants began to occupy some areas of the suburbs that had hitherto been the exclusive domain of White residents. A particular attraction was the proximity to educational institutions perceived by Black migrants to be of a higher standard than those located in the townships (Myburgh, 1996:206). He concluded on the basis of his findings that desegregation in Tygerberg was the result of the migration of Coloureds to the White areas. This was caused by the dissatisfaction of Coloureds with the services they were

given in areas designated for them. In addition, the desegregation in the area was advanced by the market forces of demand and supply (Myburgh, 1996:208). The vacant Coloured houses were subsequently occupied by Blacks from the neighbouring townships as an act of "succession" (Van der Merwe, 1987: 137).

Port Elizabeth

Ownhouse and Nel (1993) focused on the post-apartheid desegregation in Port Elizabeth between 1991 and 1992. Their aims were (i) to provide information about residents in the central city and how certain factors influenced their migrating to town, (ii) to identify the socio-economic features and spatial patterns in the mixed area of Central and (iii) to provide a comparision of the neighbourhood of Central with other desegregated suburbs (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993:81-83). Central to their study was the hypothesis that desegregated areas lie close to the central business districts. This is because housing in the central business district is almost invariably old, affordable and appropriate for both the middle and high-income groups (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993:83).

The results showed that in the five subjectively identified blocks, Blacks constitute 58% (Ownhouse & Nel 1993: 85). In areas that adjoin the subjectively selected area, 8% were Black while another 7% of Blacks lived in the eight randomly selected target blocks (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993:88). Important, also, is that 44% of migrants in the suburb of Central were middle-income groups with a monthly salary range of R2 000 to R3 000 which has allowed 85% of migrants owner-occupant status in the area (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993:89). According to Hårsman and Quigley, (1991:4) the location of residence, including other considerations, enhances efficiency objectives. (See paragraph 2.4.1.) The conclusion, therefore, was that Port Elizabeth's suburb of Central was distinctly desegregated by 1992 (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993:91).

Pietersburg

Kotze and Donaldson (1996) like Simon (1986) used a survey questionnaire to gather data from their sample in a study on the post-apartheid settlement patterns of Black migrants in Pietersburg (Kotze & Donaldson, 1996:121). This has also been used by Donaldson (1996) in examining and comparing reasons and structural forces that promote both integration and segregation in five towns in the Northern Province (Donaldson, 1996:189). Unlike the other cities studied here, Pietersburg had been a

border town, with all Blacks zoned in Seshego township of the now-defunct Lebowa homeland leaving Pietersburg totally White up to the end of apartheid in 1991. Whereas other cities had always had Black, Indian and Coloured areas as enclaves, this was eliminated in Pietersburg. The town's White local government of extreme conservatives enforced a strict implementation of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950), hence the strict segregation similar to that of Rustenburg and Nelspruit. This meant that there was effectively zero desegregation to serve as a base level in 1991 when apartheid was ended.

Studies on desegregation of Pietersburg by Kotze and Donaldson (1996), Donaldson (1996), Donaldson and Van der Merwe (1999) and Kotze and Donaldson (1998) appear to be the most exhaustive post-apartheid studies on desegregated space. In their study that focused only on the settlement patterns of Pietersburg's new Black home-owners, Kotze and Donaldson (1996:121) monitored Black desegregation patterns in September 1992 and May 1993. By September 1992 the home-ownership of Blacks in Pietersburg ranged from 0% to 2,0%. Their study showed that in May 1993 the number of Black home-owners had increased from 52 (1%) to 169 (3,1%) in relation to the White home-owners in the town (Kotze & Donaldson, 1996:121). By December 1995, 10,8% of home-owners in the former White suburbs of Pietersburg were Black (Kotze & Donaldson, 1998:472). Moreover, the entire 100% of the respondents held a tertiary qualification. Among them 71,4% were economically active of which 50% were employed in education and 3,6% in the technical sector. Those who indicated the need for infrastructure as a reason for settling in Pietersburg made up 43% while 7% stated their reasons for migrating as a need for housing (Kotze & Donaldson, 1996:124).

In yet another study on desegregation of Pietersburg in 1997, Donaldson and Van der Merwe (1999:70) collated data for the studies conducted 1993 and 1997. The result was that the number of Black home owners in Pietersburg had risen from 169 (3,1%) in 1993 to 1 286 (10,6%) in 1997 which still reflected the low migration rate. The reason for this low rate of desegregation included: the perceptions, attitude, conflict consciousness and property purchasing trends of Blacks. However, 41% of all respondents accepted the reality of desegregation, 32% accepted it totally and only 2% rejected it. Their perception about it was 15,5% positive and 29,2% negative (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999:75).

According to Donaldson (1996:191) and Donaldson and Van der Merwe (1999:75) the migration of Blacks to de-racialised space in Pietersburg is a one-directional process.

Donaldson and Van der Merwe (1999:75) attributed this unilateral desegregation to lack of infra-structure facilities and the underdeveloped position of Seshego, the primary urban Black source area, which as a result did not attract Whites. Another is the level of racism and the negative attitute that local Whites have towards Blacks. Donaldson and Van der Merwe (1999) involved all groups to provide reasons for their unilateral desegregation in the area. They attributed this situation to a number of factors. Among them, 26% of the respondents stated that Seshego was underdeveloped and therefore lacked attraction for potential White migrants. These are social and physical externalities that Hårsman and Quigley (1991:4) consider a burden to affluent groups that can afford paying rates and taxes (as demonstrated in Chapter 2). Eighteen percent of the respondents perceived Pietersburg to be a racist town and thus unable to lure a greater number of Black migrants. One-directional desegregation was attributed to violence in the townships by 4% of respondents (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999:70).

Among the respondents 14% of Coloureds and Indian explained the cause of unreciprocal desegregation as the unfamiliarity with the concept of desegregation in the general South African way of life. A further 6% of them ascribed it to the Black style of living in traditional clustering while 3% and 7% of Coloured and Indian respondents respectively gave the reason for unilateral desegregation as differing socio-economic status and consideration of distance in travelling between home and work-place (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999:80).

On the basis of their findings, Donaldson and Van der Merwe (1999:81) concluded that the one-directional migration of Blacks in the formerly White towns was the result of (i) the stigmatisation that some areas are racist, (ii) the differing socio-economic status among and within the groups, (iii) fears to explore new challenges and opportunities and rumours of ill-treatment of immigrants, (iv) the affordability of the housing market, (v) closed communities and (vi) the manipulation of the housing market by real estate industries.

4.6 Summary

The settlement in America by the English in the 1600s subsequently led to the massive immigration of Britain's surplus population. In 1776 the United States of America declared its independence. The subsequent arrival of Blacks from North Africa in 1790 saw the opening of exclusively Black living areas to accommodate Black immigrants.

This situation led to many years of *de jure* segregation between US Blacks and Whites. Similar developments of residential separation between Blacks and Whites also occured in parts of Southern Africa. In the colonial Rhodesia, for example, the Shona and Matebele tribes were forced by the British South African Company's government to live in the trust lands while the Whites lived in towns. In both South West Africa and South Africa the Blacks lived in the so-called "locations" some kilometres away from areas occupied by Whites.

The review of literature reported in this chapter has led to some conclusions. In the US use was made of the Jim Crow laws and in South Africa the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act, 1923 (21/1923) and the Groups Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) to enforce segregation between Blacks and Whites. These laws were introduced at almost the same time (Saff, 1995: 9). The National Association of Real Estate Brokers (NAREB) in the US laid rules that Blacks should not be allowed to either buy of rent property alongside Whites. A similar situation also took place in South Africa where Blacks who lived illegally in the flats in the central business districts in the major towns and cities were raided by police and subsequently charged.

The financial institutions in the US advanced discriminatory lending practices (Saff, 1995: 10). As a result the US Blacks who could not be loaned money money had to live in the ghettoes. This practice was followed in South Africa until April 1994 when lending institutions refused to give credit to Blacks who earned low salaries. The redlining tactic of denying assistance in the form of mortgages or home improvement loan to Blacks generally exarcebated the plight of the homeless. Both in South Africa and Zimbabwe the Blacks have left the township to live in the central business districts and suburbs of formely White towns.

Many of the features of desegregation in this chapter point to differences. In the US the Whites are the majority (Saff, 1995:6) while the US Blacks are the minority group. This study has noted that the dominance factor of the US Whites could be attributed, *inter alia,* to the persistence of segregation. Concerning the demographics in Southern Africa the evidence is that the Blacks are the majority compared to Whites. The implication of this information is that Blacks in South Africa used their numerical position to bring an end to segregation. The review also showed that in South Africa some Blacks in desegregated areas live in squatter homes, informal settlements and backyard shacks (Saff, 1995: 7).

This bears little resemblance to the situation in the US where the US Blacks live in the ghettoes.

The housing shortage in the major towns and cities of South Africa, especially among Coloureds and Indians in the 1970s, forced these groups to occupy flats and single housing units in the central business districts. This led to the creation of *de facto* desegregation in which economically identical groups of Coloureds, Indians and Whites lived. A conclusion reached about this phenomenon was that it ushered in the gradual collapse of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950). The introduction of the Free Settlement Areas, 1988 (102 /1988) was an admission by government that the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) had become ineffective as an instrument to enforce segregation.

As Saff (1995:10) sought to demonstrate, the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) in June 1991 has speeded up the migration of the affluenct Blacks from the townships into former "Whites" areas. Finally, on the evidence of the review it would seem that the historical legacy of segregation in South Africa, like that of segregation in the US is deeply anchored (Saff, 1995: 13). A great deal of time will be needed to allow socio-political reform in South Africa. The criticisms of Saff (1995: 7) about the desegregation in South Africa was that a significant number of Blacks already lived in White suburbs in the mid - 1970s. Since the new government came into power in 1994, a new housing policy was designed to chiefly address homelessness. In spite of having outlawed segregation in the US in 1917 the country's government has done little to accommodate the homeless through the public housing programmes as it is the case in South Africa (Saff, 1995: 7) as exemplified by the so-called Reconstruction and Development Programme housing. Based on the data on desegregation in South Africa, it can be argued that Johannesburg was the only area that exhibited a pattern of increasing desegregation where Blacks, Coloureds, Whites and Indians live alongside each other. As such, far from being comparable to a racial ghetto in the US, Johannesburg remains racially representative (Saff, 1995: 8).

In Chapter 5 this study will deal with method of research and data collection.

Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't

- *William Shakespeare*

CHAPTER 5

METHOD OF RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, research studies on the effects of racial change and the influence of subsidised housing on property values in desegregated US cities were assessed. Research studies on the effects of racial change and the influence of subsidised housing on property values in desegregated US after the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 used two types of data. These were (i) real estate sales and home owner-reported attitudes and expectations and (ii) the telephone survey (Briggs, *et al*; 1999:3). However, in the first ever empirical analysis of price effects, as well as the first study to consider both financial and non-financial effects on homeowners' investments in the neighbourhoods that received subsidised housing in Yonkers, New York, Briggs, *et al;* (1999) used both random and purposive telephone samples.

Unlike Briggs, *et al*; (1999) the likes of Crankshaw and White (1995), Maharaj and Mpungose (1994), Ownhouse and Nel (1999) and Oelofse (1999) used questionnaires. Their questionnaires contained, *inter alia*, items about occupation, education and income. These are derived from the index of Nam-Powers Sociometric Status Scores (Miller, 1991:338). The other items about the sense of community and attitude of the respondents towards their current situations are derivatives of the index of the Bosworth's Community Attitude Scale (Miller,1991:416). The approaches of these researchers formed the foundation for the method of research and data collection adopted in this study.

5.2 Survey design

The survey design for this study was selected on the basis of the following considerations:

- Relevance to the objectives of the study and its central theoretical statement.
- Relevance to the research question
- Cause and effect relationship of the variables in the study;
- Comprehensiveness, customariness, versatility and efficiency (Alreck & Settle, 1985:6-7).

5.2.1 Statement of objectives

Empirical research in this study is conducted in such a way as to achieve the objectives as given in Chapter 1, being to:

(i) determine the extent of desegregation in terms of the number and spatial distribution of Black migrants in the former White residential areas in Vereeniging;

(ii) describe and explain the nature of desegregation in Vereeniging in terms of the socio-economic characteristics of the Black migrants.

5.2.2 Central theoretical statement

(i) Residential desegregation in Vereeniging is still of limited extent, and residential areas in town are unequally exposed to the process of desegregation.

(ii) The spatial patterns of desegregation are modulated by the socio-economic characteristics of the Black migrants.

5.2.3 Instrumentation

This was preceded by a short cover letter that provided the status of the researcher. The other details of the questionnaire referred to the purpose for which the research was undertaken and ended with the names of the researcher and his signature. A copy of this document has been provided in Appendix A.

Section A of the questionnaire contained fifteen (15) questions on General Household Characteristics. These questions were intended to establish the respondents' place of origin and destination, gender, language groups, marital status, level of education, employment status, occupational sector, income, type of dwelling, tenure and reasons for re-location. Except for item fifteen (15) all other questions were close-ended requiring a nominal measurement in which a cross symbol (x) was used.

Section B contained five (5) questions. These related chiefly to Employment Activities of the participants. They also were close-ended. However, Section C of the survey contained eleven (11) questions. These were fixed-alternative questions of a four-point Likert-scale type. They were primarily designed to measure the respondents' perceptions towards their new neighbourhoods.

5.2.3.1 Validity

The term validity refers to the general correctness of the fact or evidence used in understanding and studying behaviour (Adams & Schvaneveldt, 1985:79). Therefore, a survey is valid if it really measures what it is designed to measure (Alreck & Settle, 1985:64; Simon & Burstein, 1985: 18).

First, the face validity (Coolican, 1995:50) of the instrument was determined. The contents of the instrument were inspected at face value to ascertain whether the questions really measured what they were intended to measure. Second, the content validity (Coolican, 1995:50) was measured. This was to ensure that the questions actually measured the content. Third, the expert-jury validity (Du Plooy, 1995:75) in which experts reviewed the instrument was measured.

5.2.3.2 Reliability

Reliability is an important aspect of validity (Simon & Burnstein, 1985:19). It means the freedom from random error. Its most fundamental feature is repeatability which is the ability to get the same data values from repeated measurements made in a similar manner (Alreck & Settle, 1985:64).

Such a test of consistency was made to ensure the proper administration and scoring of the instrument. This was important because the research

instrument of the study contained sub-scales from established indices. Therefore, to establish its reliability, it was necessary to first eliminate the sources of unreliability. These included, *inter alia,* the omission of technically incorrect and ambiguous items and the elimination of the irregularities in responses that are given unchanged to the same questions.

5.2.3.3 Stability

This involves the need for the same result to occur on different measuring occasions (Vockell, 1983:32). It was necessary to assure this stability in the measuring instrument and to rule out any possible fluctuation of results after different administration of the instrument to the same participants.

Test-retest reliability (Coolican, 1995:49; Vockell, 1983:32) was used in which ten volunteers participated. They took part twice and were allowed a lapse of two weeks between the date of the first and the second test. The scores of the two tests were then correlated to establish the stability. The result was a high correlation coefficient (r=0,85) as shown in Table 5.1. This indicated that the respondents performed about the same on both tests and it also showed that there was a stable characteristic that both tests were measuring.

The split-half reliability test (Du Plooy, 1995:72; Bailey, 1987:71) was also used. This was to determine the extent to which the questions of the instrument measured the same feature. A group of ten volunteers was divided into two groups of five members each. The one group was tested on the even questions and the other on odd questions once only. Afterwards a correlation between the two halves was calculated. The result was a high correlation coefficient (r=0,90) as presented in Table 5.1, which gave an indication of a strong relation between the two events of measurement.

Finally, the interscores reliability test (Vockell, 1983:37) was used, as shown in Table 5.1. This was intended to determine the extent to which the results of the instrument were objective. In order to assure this, two different persons were asked to manage the scores of the participants. Their scores were compared and the result was a high correlation coefficent (r=0,70) that indicated that both persons scored the test similarly.

TABLE 5.1

Statistical methods of estimating reliability

Type of reliability	Correlation value	Statistic
Test-retest	.85	Correlation coefficient
Split-half	.90	Correlation coefficient
Inter-scorer	.70	Correlation coefficient

Having decided on the nature and scope of the investigation a pilot study was administered two weeks before the actual study. The questionnaire was administered in one sitting to twenty volunteering educators from five different schools in Evaton township simultaneously. Subjects were instructed to work independently and to be honest with their responses. Each completed questionnaire was assessed. On the basis of the responses from the subjects, some improvements were made on the face validity and some questions, to enhance the understanding of the questions.

5.2.4 Data-gathering

Data were collected on a fairly big group in regard to such variables as sex, ethnicity, income, employment and education in the cross-sectional study (Bailey, 1987:34; Adams & Schvaneveldt, 1985: 115). Access to names and street addresses from the rating records of the Vereeniging-Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure allowed direct contact with the participants. Apart from assuring delivery of materials to participants, the visits also provided personal contacts with the participants, which were used to build a rapport with them.

The programme of data gathering followed the dates as given in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.2

Programme for distribution and gathering of data in Vereeniging, 1998

Date	Activities	Area
15-18 March	Distribution of questionnaires	South, south-west and west of Vereeniging
12-15 April	Distribution of questionnaires	North-west and north of Vereeniging
3-16 May	Distribution of questionnares	North-east and east of Vereeniging
28 June - 11 July	Distribution of questionnaires	South and south-east of Vereeniging
26 July - 8 August	Distribution of questionnaires	Inner city areas

The collection of questionnaires in each area was done on two occasions in a week after a lapse of approximately eight days between distributions. Regardless of all efforts to ensure a 100% response, this was not achieved. This included 0,94% of the participants who did not fill in the questionnaires and whose attitude ranged from unwillingness to suspicion. As much as 0,58% were willing and yet claimed not to have time to participate. Those who claimed to have either lost or misplaced their questionnaire constituted 0,65%, Among the potential participants, 0,43% had changed residences on being visited and 0,79% deliberately made themselves inaccessible. The shortfall amounted to 3,39% of the sample.

5.2.5 Sampling strategy

This study was based on 1 394 Black immigrants who were all indentified from the ethnic names provided in the rating records of the Vereeniging – Kopanong Metropolitan Sub–structure. Information about the immigrants was obtained from the Vereeniging-Kopanong Metroplitan Sub-structure's data-base for 1992, 1994 and 1996. It contained information about the particulars of the households, suburbs, (as shown in Figure 3.3) street addresses of properties, and the municipal valuations of each property.

From the rating records that contained the entire population in Vereeniging, a sampling frame of exclusively Black households was drawn. Distinctly African surnames were used as a clue to ethnicity. An estimation of population means (Walpole, 1982:257) was used to calculate the sample of participation as shown in the formula below:

$$N = \frac{(za\ /2a)}{e}$$

Where a = population standard deviation

za = standard score

e = predetermined error margin

The reason for this calculation was to ensure that the sample was consistent with the population. Therefore, based on a 95% confidence level, a predetermined error margin was put at 4.6 in order to have no less than one-fifth inclusion of the participants from the population. The result was a sample of 326 (23,4%) participants.

After the sample size was determined, a stratified random sampling technique was used to decide on a sampling unit. It was therefore essential to have a complete list of all registered Black households in Vereeniging. This would allow inclusive participation of Black migrants of varying socio-economic characteristics as indicated in 5.2.3. This proved a suitable method, especially where distribution of a variety of variables that are common to a large population is identified (Burgess, 1984:57). Furthermore, a random sampling technique would allow the division of the population into strata according to some characteristics from which respondents would be chosen (Adams & Schvaneveldt, 1985: 181).

This strategy provided the following advantages: (i) homogeneous data within each stratum, (ii) the logistics of collecting data within the specified strata reducing the cost of the sample, and (iii) since data was collected within each of the separate neighbourhoods comprising of individuals with varying status sets it was possible to obtain separate estimates of population characteristics from each stratum (Adams & Schvaneveldt, 1985:181).

TABLE 5.3 Proportionate sampling units of Black households in Vereeniging

Areas	Number of participants
Arcon Park	11
Bedworth Park	62
Dickensonville	1
Duncanville	8
Falcon Ridge	9
Homer	15
Leeuhof	12
Peacehaven	11
Rissiville	1
Sonland Park	68
Springcol	7
Steelpark	60
Three Rivers	15
Unitas Park	19
Vereeniging	51
Waldrift	29
Total	326

Source: Vereeniging-Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1996

The probability proportional to size sampling (Baker, 1985:151) was used. The results are summarised in Table 5.3. The process experienced some restrictive factors. These were financial implications that were incurred in the distribution and retrieval of the research materials. The other factor involved the varying distances and the expanse of the suburbs that were visited. These restrictive factors had an impact on the programme of delivery and retrieval of the research materials in that the researcher had to experience

long and sometimes repeated journeys to and from the identified participants which delayed the study.

5.2.6 Data analysis

The gathered information was prepared for computerised scoring and analysis. The numerical code to each question was given by hand by the researcher. Thereafter, the completed questionnaires were analysed by the Information Technology and Management Division of the Vaal Triangle Campus of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education using the SAS computer package.

It was necessary to use information from the rating records of the Vereeniging-Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure on Blacks to establish the spatial distribution of the migrants of which information has been provided in Appendix B. Furthermore, the Index of Dissimilarity was used to measure intra-group segregation (Carter, 1976: 263; Christopher, 1993:122) using pairs of occupational categories regarding Black migrants. The formula was applied as follows:

$$ID_{xy} = \sum_{i=1}^{n} \frac{(x_i / \sum x_j) - (y_i / \sum y_i) \cdot 100}{2}$$

Where

ID_{xy} represents the Index of Dissimilarity between x occupation and y occupation.

X_i represents the percentage of the x occupational group residing in zone *i* of the town.

Y_i represents the percentage of the y occupational group residing in zone *i* of the town.

n represents the total percentage of the occupational group in the town.

The given formula above was also used to calculate the Index of segregation (Carter, 1976: 263) by comparing one occupational group and all other occupational groups combined. For example, a calculation was done between professionals (*x*) and entrepreneurs (*y*); administration (*x*) and

service (*y*) and professionals (*x*) and service workers (*y*). (The results have been given in Table 6.3)

The indices of dissimilarity and segregation are expressed on a numerical scale that ranges from values of 0 to 100. The value of 0 represents complete integration[1] whereas 100 represents total segregation (Christopher, 1993: 122; Marston, 1988: 420). At an index range of between 0 and 29 it is implied that the level of segregation of the population is minimal, there being high levels of integration. A level of 30 to 69 means that the population is segregated while an index range of between 70 and 89 implies a high level of segregation or structural (legalised) segregation. The hyper-segregation level is found in a range of between 90 and 100 (Christopher 2001: 252). A summary of the indices of dissimilarity and segregation is presented in Appendix B. Data relating to the socio-economic characteristics of Black immigrants and their perceptions towards their new neighbourhoods were calculated by means of contingency tables. The results of the contingency tables are also reproduced in Appendix B.

5.3 Summary

Features of the survey design in this chapter were, *inter alia*, based on the central theoretical statement of the study. The questionnaire was put to tests of validity, reliability and stability with respective scores of 0,70; 0,85 and 0,90. A predetermined programme of distribution and retrieval of the questionnaire was followed. A return rate of 96,61% and 3,39% non-response rate of questionnaire was achieved. From a population of 1394 Black migrants, an estimation of population means was used to select a sample of 326 participants. The Information Technology Management (ITM) of the Vaal Triangle Campus of the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education was used to analyse the data.

It can be concluded that this study was largely descriptive and explanatory; that is, the perspective with which it was concerned was to describe and

[1] Integration embodies the unification of diverse cultures into a community entity (See, Oelofse, 1996: 276) which,however, could still reflect the communities' backgrounds of stereotypes, class consciousness and racial barriers. It can assume either form of demographic integration, bi-racial interaction or even transracial solidarity (Molotch, as quoted in Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994: 23).

explain geographical patterns. From the perspective of describing and explaining desegregation as a phenomenon, this survey design was able to elicit answers to the research question of the study. The publicity that Harvey (1982) and Simon (1986) gave to the use of rating records from the local authority offices in practical research influenced the *modus operandi* of the current study. An advantage that emerged from the use of the rating records was that the survey participants were representative of the towns Black migrants. The following were the outcomes of the strategy for the study: (i) The selection of the socio-economically diversified participants, (ii) randomly selected representative sample, and (iii) the identification of geographically diversified participants.

The questionnaire was not only used to focus on acquiring data on the socio-economic characteristics of the Black migrants but also included a range of questions on the perceptions of the new residents about their areas. The questionnaire enabled this study to acquire insights into the desegregated neighbourhoods.

In Chapter 6, the results of the study will be presented and discussed.

The great tragedy of Science –
the slaying of a beautiful hypothesis
by an ugly fact

\- *T.H. Huxley*

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF STUDY RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter builds upon the study method that has been discussed in Chapter 5. On this foundation, this chapter focuses on desegregation in Vereeniging after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act,1950 (41/1950) in 1991. The purpose was to investigate the extent of desegregation in terms of the number and spatial distribution of Black migrants in the former White residential areas in Vereeniging and to describe and explain the nature of desegregation in the town on the basis of the demographic characteristics of Blacks. From the data records of the Vereeniging-Kopanong Metropolitan sub-structure in which details of the property owners were recorded, distinct indigenous African surnames were identified and used as sampling units of Black migrants who lived in the town from June 1991 to December 1996.

A total of 1 394 migrants who were identified made a sample frame. Approximately 20% of the migrants in each of the 16 residential areas in Vereeniging served as a sampling stratum. A total of 326 migrants were finally selected randomly as the sample for the study. Using the town's street map, the questionnaires were distributed door-by-door to the households. Return rate of the questionnaires was 96.61% and the refusal rate was 3,39%. The Statistical Analysis System (SAS) computer software programme was used to calculate the indices of dissimilarity and segregation and contingency tables, through all of which the data was analysed.

6.2 State of residential desegregation and the demographic characteristics of Black migrants in Vereeniging, 1991-1996

6.2.1 Desegregation state in Vereeniging

The state of desegregation in Vereeniging (Table 6.1 Appendix B[1]) shows that only three of the town's residential areas recorded sub-populations of Black migrants higher than 10% of the total population of the residential area. The most desegregated areas were Bedworth Park (19,0%); Steelpark (18,4%) and Vereeniging's central business district (15,6%). The rest of the areas in the town typified relatively low settlement figures of Blacks, for example, Homer (4,6%), Sonland Park (4,9%) and Three Rivers (4,6%). Still others showed settlement figures of Black migrants below 1% and these were Dickensonville and Risiville (0,3%).

This pattern of Black migrants in general is akin to that of Mafikeng in 1987 (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988(a)); Pietersburg in 1992 and 1993 (Kotze & Donaldson, 1996) and in 1993 and 1997 (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999); and in Bertrams, Johannesburg in 1986 (Rule, 1989). This was because it characterised a generally low presence of Black migrants. Furthermore, desegregation compared favourably with the research findings by Taeuber and Taeuber (1965) which confirmed that the segregation index in some US cities was as high as 93,7% which indicates the existence of a high level of segregation.

The property values in Vereeniging are reproduced in Table 6.2. In relating Table 6.1 to Table 6.2 it would appear that property prices could have affected the population sizes of Black migrants in the new neighbourhoods. Until 1996 the Black migrants in Bedworth Park (19,0%); Steelpark (18,4%) and Vereeniging (15,6%) lived where property values were respectively lower than R140 000, R100 000 and R80 000. This might have prompted them to acquire housing in those areas in greater numbers. In contrast there was a low percentage of Black residents in Three Rivers (4,6%); Falcon Ridge (2,7%) and Duncanville (2,4%), where property values were respectively in excess of R180 000; R170 000 and R160 000. Property values thus had an impact on the residential pattern of migrants in those areas. In the case of

[1] All tables from this chapter are in Appendix B

migrants in Homer (4,6%); Leeuhof (3,7%); Peacehaven (3,4%) and Springcol (2,1%) where property prices were comparable with the income of the majority of Blacks, (see Table 6.8) there was a low inflow of migrants. The reason could have been a wide-ranging dissatisfaction with the neighbourhoods (Knox, 1995:293), or other causes.

In order to determine the extent of segregation among Black migrants in Vereeniging, the occupational group *(x)* of Black migrants who live in each of the sixteen suburbs was compared with another occupational group *(y)*. The Index of Dissimilarity with a scale of values ranging from 0, indicating complete integration, to 100, representing complete segregation, (Christopher, 1993: 122) was used. The Black migrants in one occupational group *(x)* were compared with another occupational group *(y)* as a pair. The values of the dissimilarity index as shown in Table 6.3 ranged from 0,29 implying a high level of integration to 91,2 which confirmed the existence of hyper-segregation.

The results of the comparison between a pair of occupational groups *(x)* and *(y)* in Leeuhof, for example, showed the index range to be between 0,29 and 15,0. This meant that the distribution of Black migrants in the neighbourhood was evenly spread and that there was no segregation among them. In Falcon Ridge, another of Vereeniging's suburbs, the index values of the paired occupational groups of Black migrants ranged between 7,5 and 75,6. This scenario represented complete integration among Black migrants on the one hand and a high level of segregation on the other. Similar distribution scenarios were also found in Peacehaven, Springcol and Unitas Park where the index values ranged between 7,7 and 30,0; 7,7 and 31,5 and 14,9 and 36,0 respectively. However, in Bedworth Park the distribution of Black migrants appeared to be even (24,8) on the one hand (as was the case in most other suburbs) but high (72,0) on the other.

In a second instance the Index of Segregation was calculated using the Index of Dissimilarity as the basis (see paragraph 5.2.6). As shown in Table 6.4 the values of this index varied between 0 and 69. In Arcon Park, for example, the corresponding value implied that 34% of the Black migrants would have to move to a different dwelling within the same suburb (Carter, 1976: 263,

Christopher, 1993: 122) in order to make their distribution identical with Black migrants in the area of destination.

6.2.2 Demographic characteristics of Black migrants

6.2.2.1 Home language

As shown in Table 6.5, Sesotho-speakers (62,5%) were the largest ethnic group in Vereeniging. The Isizulu- (17,1%); Setswana- (8,5%); Isixhosa- (5,8%) and Isindebele-speakers (0,3%) combined did not equal Sesotho-speakers. Although data show the dominance of Sesotho this in no way implied that the predominance of this language-speakers induced the in-migration of Blacks. This is despite Murdie's assertion (as quoted by Carter, 1976:276) that in situations of voluntary segregation the ethnic groups cluster together within the city. The Black migrants in Vereeniging came from a wide-range of linguistic backgrounds and have been ethnically distributed in the town unevenly.

The Sesotho-speaking Black migrants were 80,6% of the migrants whose sample size (*n*) was 62 in Bedworth Park; 75,0% in Leeuhof; 74% in Springcol and 70,0% in Unitas Park comprised samples size (*n*) of seven and nineteen respectively. However, moderate figures in the suburbs were recorded among the Isizulu-speaking migrants in Falcon Ridge (33,3%) with a sample size (*n*) of nine in Springcol (28,5%) where a sample size (*n*) was seven; Duncanville (25,0%) with a sample size (*n*) of eight and Waldrift (24,1%) calculated from a sample size (*n*) of twenty nine. The Setswana-speaking Black migrants comprised 20,0% in Three Rivers where sample size (*n*) was fifteen; 12,5% in Sonland Park embraced a sample size (*n*) was sixty eight; 12,1% in Duncanville that comprised sample size (*n*) of eight; and 11,1% in Falcon Ridge where a sample size (*n*) was nine. The rest of the other language speakers in the remaining areas were usually less than a quarter. In many instance the settlement of migrants in the new neighbourhoods tended to assume the clustering of ethnic groups (Van der Merwe, 1987:199). The variable of language which has been used in the study of desegregation in Johannesburg (Rule 1996), to which reference has been made in Chapter 4, was used in this study.

6.2.2.2 Marital status

Table 6.6 in Appendix B, shows the responses regarding the marital status of Black migrants as a premise for their migration to Vereeniging. Data showed that 92,0% in Steelpark with a sample size (*n*) of sixty; 89,0% in Falcon Ridge where sample size (*n*) was nine; 86,0% in Springcol contained sample size (*n*) of seven; and 85,0% in Unitas Park where sample size (*n*) was nineteen were married. Those among the migrants who never married, in Sonland Park were 13,3% calculated from a sample size (*n*) of sixty eight; in Duncanville 12,5% where sample size (*n*) was eight; in Homer 12,5%, in Peacehaven 9,0% the sample size (*n*) was eleven and in Leeuhof 8,3% was drawn from a sample size (*n*) of twelve. Those who were either divorced or separated constituted 20,0% that was calculated from a sample size (*n*) of fifteen in Three Rivers, 16,7% in Arcon Park whose sample size (*n*) was eleven; 14,2% in Springcol was derived from a sample size (*n*) of seven; 13,3% in Sonland Park was drawn from a sample size (*n*) of sixty eight and 12,5% in Duncanville was calculated from a sample size (*n*) of eight.

In total the married (79,3%) constituted the highest number followed by the divorced or separated (8,9%), the never-married (6,1%), and the widowed (1,5%). It was not possible to gauge the extent to which the marital status actually influenced the migrants' families or individuals to relocate to Vereeniging. As with Knox (1995:293), this study concluded that either situation in which migrants were married or unmarried could have been responsible. This is because migration is influenced by stages of life-cycle. A consideration such as ensuring the migrants' off-spring a better environment could have been used by married families especially in deciding to move to new neighbourhoods. In the study of desegregation regarding Albert Park in Durban (Maharaj & Mpungose, 1994:19), marital status was used as one of the items of questionnaire. (For more information see Chapter 4.)

6.2.2.3 The migrants' qualifications

In both Arcon Park and Falcon Ridge, as shown in Table 6.7 in Appendix B, 66,6% of Black migrants held technical training qualifications. A high number of university graduates among the Black migrants lived in Three Rivers (46,7%) was derived from a sample size (*n*) of fifteen; Steelpark (36,7%)

comprised a sample size (*n*) of sixty and Waldrift (32,1%) was calculated from a sample size (*n*) of twenty nine. The lowest qualified Black migrants with a qualification below std 10 were found in Leeuhof (63,6%) whose sample size (*n*) was twelve. In Springcol 57,1% where a sample size (*n*) of seven was calculated held teaching qualifications. Similarly, 43,7% of the migrants in Homer that involved a sample size (*n*) of fifteen; 36,4% in Peacehaven was calculated from a sample size (*n*) of eleven and 33,3% in Three Rivers the sample size (*n*) was fifteen showed that they also were qualified teachers. An overall 30,7% of the Black migrants in Vereeniging held technical qualifications while 25,8% were university graduates. Data further revealed that 21,2% were trained as teachers. The remainder of the migrants (19,6%) held std 10 and lower qualifications. The presented data provides a criterion to authenticate whether education, which is widely viewed as an investment, has had an influence or not in their decision to migrate.

Because 80,4% of the migrants held tertiary qualification, it is reasonable to argue that their educational attainment would enable them to afford more expensive housing in Vereeniging. As Mings (1983:309) asserts evidence shows that the more educated the people, the higher the productivity as well as their life-time earnings, and the higher their socio-economic status in general. Because education is inseparable from income and occupation (Van der Merwe, 1987:174) it allows the individuals and households access to improved opportunities such as housing. It has been found that education with other socio-economic characteristics (Northam, 1979:296; Van der Merwe, 1987:199) is responsible for a particular sectoral settlement of migrants in the neighbourhoods. As regards qualifications of the migrants in Albert Park in Durban, for example, Maharaj and Mpungose (1994:21) in Chapter 4 have found that more respondents held a qualification from Std 10 and upwards.

6.2.2.4 Employment status of Black migrants

Table 6.8, contains data about employment to corroborate whether this aspect had influenced the intra-urban movement of Blacks to their present neighbourhoods. The figures showed that altogether 92,5% of the Black migrants were employed while 6,7% were unemployed. From the table,

indications are that Black migrants in Arcon Park (100%) who made up a sample size (*n*) of eleven; Duncanville (100%) that was calculated from a sample size (*n*) of eight; Waldrift (100%) based on a sample size (*n*) of twenty nine; Sonlandpark (93,8%) whose sample size (*n*) was sixty eight and Homer (93,8%) where the sample size (*n*) was fifteen were employed. However, 25,0% of Black migrants in Leeuhof where findings were based on a sample size (*n*) of twelve; 14,2% in Springcol with a sample size (*n*) of seven; 13,3% in Vereeniging was calculated on a sample size (*n*) of fifty one; and 11,1% in Falcon Ridge was based on a sample size of nine were unemployed.

Because of their employment status, the Black migrants in Vereeniging would be in a position to afford discretionary expenditures like housing re-payment, insurance, utility bills and rates and taxes which the unemployed would find difficult to afford. Therefore, employment most likely was a factor in their decision to relocate to Vereeniging. The state of employment could have greatly assisted the households in acquiring their home in affording them construction and interest rates in the event of mortgage repayments (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:6). (This has been touched on in Chapter 2.)

6.2.2.5 Social and spatial distance among Black migrants

Among the Black migrants in Vereeniging, data in Table 6.3 shows evidence of social stratification that was based on the type of occupation they performed. The Index of Dissimilarity values between professionals and entrepreneurs in Peacehaven (25,0%) consisted of eleven respondents and Unitas Park (27,0%) embraced nineteen respondents; administration and service[2] in Waldrift (26,0%) comprised twenty nine respondents and Springcol (23,0%) included seven respondents; service and self-employment[3] in Peacehaven (30,0%) was constituted of eleven respondents and Steelpark (27,5%) contained sixty respondents and unemployment and service in Vereeniging (25,0%) the composition embraced fifty one respondents and Leeuhof (23,7%), represent absence of segregation but an uneven distribution of Black migrants. The higher values of the Index of Dissimilarity

[2] Service sector includes workers who render their labour in, for example, domestic places (except private households (Carter, 1976 : 263), cleaning industry, filling stations, landscape architecture, catering industry, hospitality and tourism and hotel industry.
[3] Self employment refers to a situation when a person works and receives a salary but is not formally employed as in the case of an employer and employee relationship.

that were found between the professionals and entrepreneurs in Arcon Park (91,2%) the result was derived from the participation of eleven respondents and Bedworth Park (69,9%) included sixty two respondents whose results suggested higher levels of Black residential concentration. However, a low Index of Dissimilarity that was calculated between service and unemployment in Steelpark (5,5%) included sixty respondents and Vereeniging (1,5%) where fifty one respondents took part and service and entrepreneur in Springcol (6,0%) involved seven respondents; Bedworth Park (5,0%) resulted from the participation of sixty two respondents and Leeuhof (1,5%) consisted of twelve respondents whose results indicated an intra-group integration. (See paragraph 6.2.1.)

Using an employment variable in this study (results that have been obtained by means of the Index of Dissimilarity in Table 6.3) showed Black migrants in Vereeniging to be integrated. While Lieberson and Fuguitt (1967: 195) maintain that there is a relationship between education and occupation, examination of the educational, occupational and income compositions of Black migrants in Table 6.7, 6.8 and 6.9 respectively support their findings. Because occupations of Blacks in Vereeniging do not vary and incomes are similar, this probably indicates an absence of segregation in residential areas.

6.2.2.6 Gross income of Black migrants

The data on gross income of Black migrants in Vereeniging is presented in Table 6.9. Almost a fifth (18,4%) of the migrants earned between R3 001 and R4 500. Approximately another fifth (19,0%) earned between R6 001 and R8 000. Those who earned in excess of R8 001 totalled 16,8% whereas 8,2% earned less than R1 500. Slightly more than seven out of every ten (78,6%) of the respondents earned R3 000 and above per month. This study revealed that in Falcon Ridge 50,0% of Black migrants who made up a sample size (*n*) of nine; earned more than R8 000 per month. In Bedworth Park and Unitas Park 30,0% of Black migrants whose sample size (*n*) was sixty two and nineteen respectively earned from R6 001 to R8 000 per month. In Waldrift where a sample size (*n*) was twenty nine earned from R4 501 to R6 000 made up 41,4%, while 57,1% in Springcol with a sample size (*n*) of seven; 30,3% in Leeuhof that embraced a sample size (*n*) of twelve and 22,2% in

Peacehaven whose sample size (*n*) earned less than R1 500 per month. Their income categories could be linked to prices of houses they bought (cf. 6.2). As a result of their income levels, the Black migrants were in a better socio-economic position to afford a living in Vereeniging. Furthermore, in linking their income to variables of migrants' qualifications (cf. 6.7) and migrants' employment status (cf. 6.8), it would appear that the three were related. This was because their incomes more or less reflected the positions they held.

In the studies by Ownhouse and Nel (1993:88) and Crankshaw and White (1995:623) the variable of income was used to determine the monthly salaries of migrants. (This was discussed in Chapter 2.) Together with the other socio-economic variables, income has been found to cause a sectoral pattern of settlement (Van der Merwe, 1987:199; Northam, 1979:296) to which reference has been made previously. During the democratisation of South Africa in 1994, the principle of capital subsidy became central in the provisioning of housing to the poor. (See Chapter 2.)

6.2.2.7 Present type of dwelling occupied by Black migrants

Table 6.10, shows the type of dwelling units that Black migrants presently occupy in Vereeniging. Three-quarters (74,2%) of the migrants in Vereeniging lived in single dwelling units. Less than a quarter (22,0%) lived in duplex/townhouses. Less than one percent (0,9%) lived in other types of dwellings. The responses showed that 90,0% of the Black migrants in Peacehaven where a sample size (*n*) was eleven; 89,7% in Waldrift that was made up of a sample size (*n*) of twenty nine and 84,5% in Steelpark where calculations were based on a sample size (*n*) of sixty lived in single dwelling units. As many as 58,3% of the respondents in Leeuhof where a sample size (*n*) was twelve; 48,7% in Three Rivers that consisted of a sample size (*n*) of fifteen and 37,5% in Duncanville where sample size (*n*) was eight occupied duplex/townhouses.

From the perspective of the housing policy, a house has to meet the needs of every member of the family (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:4). It is also emphasised that a house should be of high quality as this is one of the primary considerations for home-seekers (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:6-7) .

Depending on the social station (De Loor, 1992:123) the households might choose among single dwellings, semi-detached and even apartments or flats (Van der Merwe, 1987:189-190). However the poorest groups among Blacks especially in the developing countries are invariably limited to the informal housing types. The undersupply of low-and moderate income housing in the US was found to have been one of the causes of the unremitting segregation (Saff, 1995:10). During the desegregation in Windhoek, the size of housing played a prominent role among the migrants (Simon, 1986:302).

6.2.2.8 Previous type of dwelling occupied by Black migrants

Evidence about the type of dwelling that the Black migrants in Vereeniging previously occupied is shown in Table 6.11. The migrants who originally came from Sebokeng (81,4%) composed of one hundred and sixty two respondents; Sharpeville (79,5%) embraced thirty one respondents and Evaton (65,4%) which was represented by seventeen respondents lived in single dwelling units. Among 20% of the migrants who previously lived in Vanderbijlpark and Vereeniging consisted of a single respondent and two respondents respectively occupied the flat dwellings. Another 20% from Vanderbijlpark that embraced a single respondent and 14% from Sebokeng that was made up of twenty eight respondents lived in duplex/townhouses. Slightly more than three quarters (78,5%) of the respondents lived in single dwelling/housing units. One out of every ten (11,3%) of the Black migrants lived in duplex/townhouses, while 1,3% lived in other types of dwellings.

In comparing data between the present and previous types of dwellings the Black migrants occupied, the data seem not to support findings by Van der Merwe (1987:189) that dwelling type was influential in a decision by individuals or households to move house. This is because these sets of data showed no significant difference between the Blacks' present and previous dwelling types. Therefore, it was in no way possible that the Black migrants could have been influenced by preference of a particular dwelling type to migrate to Vereeniging, What seemed common, however, was that in both situations of their areas of origin and destination, the migrants were in a child-rearing phase. As a result this could have necessitated most of them to acquire single dwelling/housing units.

6.2.2.9 Present property ownership by Black migrants

Table 6.12, shows the present property ownership by Black migrants in Vereeniging. In this regard an overwhelming number of Black migrants in Arcon Park (100%) who constituted a sample size (*n*) of eleven; Peacehaven (100%) drawn from a sample size (*n*) of eleven; Unitas Park (100%) where calculations were based on a sample size (*n*) of nineteen and Bedworth Park (98,4%) that resulted from a sample size (*n*) of sixty two revealed that they owned the properties they occupied. In Leeuhof (25,0%) derived from a sample size (*n*) of twelve and Homer (12,5%) where a sample size (*n*) was fifteen showed that they rented the properties in which they lived. Slightly more than ten percent (12,5%) of Blacks in Duncanville that contained a sample size (*n*) of eight and 11,1% in Falcon Ridge comprising a sample size (*n*) of nine; 6,6% in Three Rivers that constituted a sample size (*n*) of fifteen and 6,3% in Sonland Park that was derived from a sample size (*n*) of sixty eight lived in dwellings which were flats they rented. Only 3,4% in Waldrift lived in properties they occupied as free occupants. In general, 93,2% were owner-occupiers, 3,3% were renters, while the sectional titleholders and free-occupiers were respectively 2,8% and 0,3%.

6.2.2.10 Previous property ownership by Black migrants

Table 6.13, gives data on the type of dwelling occupied by Blacks prior to their migration to Vereeniging. More than three quarters (76,7%) comprising one hundred and fifty five respondents in Sebokeng, 57,9% in Sharpeville that was made up of twenty two respondents and 50,0% in Boipatong that constituted five respondents were found to have owned properties they occupied before they migrated. Among those who came from Evaton (30,7%) that involved eight respondents and Boipatong (20,0%) that contained two respondents had been renters. A tenth (10%) from Boipatong and Vereeniging which involved only one respondent in each area had been sectional titleholders whereas 15,3% from Evaton which contained four respondents and 13,2% from Sharpeville that involved five respondents confimed that migrants occupied their previous houses as free-occupiers. Nearly seven out of every ten (66,2%) of the Black migrants owned property, 14, 4% were renters, while 7,3% among migrants were free-occupiers. A

comparison between the present (Table 6.10) and previous type of dwellings (Table 6.11) among the Black migrants showed a 25,8% increase in property ownership. This suggested that property ownership was a priority and therefore a likely cause of their migration to Vereeniging.

6.2.2.11 Present travelling distance by Black migrants

Responses of present travelling distance to and from work by Black migrants in Vereeniging are shown in Table 6.14. In Three Rivers 64,2% that composed of nine respondents and in Bedworth Park 17,5% or ten people travelled 30 to 39 kilometres. Approximately six out of ten (58,3%) in Arcon Park that involved seven migrants travelled 20 to 29 km. Overall, 11,9% of the Black migrants travelled between 30 km and 39 km. Those in Falcon Ridge (100%) comprising eight respondents; Steelpark (50,0%) that consisted of twenty eight respondents; Unitas Park (47,0%) in which respondents were eight, Waldrift (46,0%) with twelve respondents and Homer (42,8%) in which six respondents paticipated were found to have travelled 10-19 km. A summary of distance travelled by Black migrants showed that 17,4% of them travelled between 0 km and 9 km; 33,7% travelled between 10 km and 19 km; and 16,2% between 20 km and 29 km. Only 11,1% travelled more than 40 km to and from work, however.

Travelling distance by migrants is generally higher in the urban areas and can either be short or long (Fordham *et al*; 1998:104). For example, for Black migrants who travel in a range of not more than 10 km to and from work the distance could be regarded as short whereas for those who traveled between 10 km and 40 km could be assumed to be long. The decision by migrants to migrate depends on the extent of their frustrations (Knox, 1995:297). However, the choice of dwellings closer to work-places has been one of the findings on desegregation in Windhoek (Simon, 1986:302), Harare (Pickard-Cambridge, 1988:(a):12) and Port Elizabeth (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993:83). Distance did not seem to influence the decision of migrants to migrate to Vereeniging.

6.2.2.12 Previous travelling distance by Black migrants

In response to previous travelling distance which is represented in Table 6.15, just over three fifths (62,5%) that invoved fifteen respondents who originally came from Evaton indicated that they travelled between 0 km and 9 km. Those from Zamdela (60%) were represented by three respondents, Sebokeng (45,0%) with eighty four respondents, Boipatong (44,4%) with two respondents and Sharpeville (35,4%) that was made up of eleven respondents also stated that they travelled between 0 km and 9 km. Just above three fifths (63,0%) which involved five respondents of Black migrants who previously lived in Vereeniging, 32,2% which represented ten Black migrants in Sharpeville and 16,7% that was made up of four migrants in Evaton said that they travelled between 10 km and 19 km. A quarter (25,0%) that consisted of only one migrant who came from Vanderbijlpark indicated that they travelled between 20 km and 29 km. Slightly less than a quarter (22,2%) that involved two Black migrants in Boipatong and 13,0% that included only one migrant in Vereeniging were among those who travelled between 30 km and 39 km. However, 20,0% that involved one respondent who was a former residents of Zamdela and 5,6% another one migrant were among those who lived outside the Vaal area pointed out they had travelled between 40 km and 49 km.

A summary of data showed that 39,6% of Black migrants travelled between 0 km and 9 km, 21,7% between 10 km and 19 km and 20,0% between 20 km and 29 km to and from work. Because 56,3% of Black migrants previously travelled within 20 km from their homes to work, the implications were that they actually worked within closer distances from their residences. However, from the data it is evident that 21,4% of them lived reasonably far from their workplaces. A comparison of data between present (Table 6.14) and previous (Table 6.15) distances that Blacks travelled, showed that before change of residence 68,6% travelled within 20 km as against 56,3% currently.

The difference between the previous and current distances, was 12,3% and this demonstrated that distance had little or no effect on the decision by migrants to move to Vereeniging. This is because the number of those who travelled short distances had shrunk. Also, unlike previously, only 11,1% of

Black migrants currently travelled beyond 40 km to and from work. This was, however, contrary to the findings of Simon (1986:300) who found that Black migrants in Windhoek preferred to live closer to their workplaces according to Table 6.15. These findings have not corroborated the impact of travelling distance on the decision by households to migrate.

6.2.2.13 Type of transport used by Black migrants

The responses to the type of transport that Black migrants used to and from work are shown in Table 6.16 in Appendix B. Indications were that a private car (51,8%) was the primary mode of transport. Only 23,3% used minibuses, 5,5% trains and 1,5% buses. The respondents in Falcon Ridge (88,8%) comprising eight migrants; Arcon Park (83,3%) that was made up of ten Black migrants, Bedworth Park (69,4%) with fourty one migrants, Unitas Park (68,4%) in which thirteen migrants were involved, Steelpark (60,3%) that constituted of thirty five migrants and Waldrift (57,1%) in which sixteen respondents participated showed that they mostly used their own motorcars for transport. In Peacehaven (50%) which consisted of five migrants, Sonland Park (38,0%) contained six migrants and Waldrift (36,0%) that included ten migrants mostly used minibus transport to travel between their residences and workplaces. More than ten percent (14,2%) was made up of one migrant in Springcol, 10,0% in Leeuhof that embraced one migrant and 9,5% involving four migrants in Vereeniging walked to their workplaces.

Among the Black migrants, 27,0% that composed of four migrants in Three Rivers, 20,0% which contained two migrants in Leeuhof, 14,2% that consisted of only one migrant in Springcol and 13,0% that included eight migrants in Duncanville stated that they relied on the train to travel between their homes and workplaces. Among the respondents, those in Springcol (14,2%) which represented a single migrant used motorcycle transport while in Falcon Ridge (11,1%) also embraced a single migrant, Sonland Park and Homer (6,2%) and Unitas Park (5,2%) were represented by one migrant each used bus transport. However, in Leeuhof (20,0%) that included two migrants; Sonland Park (19,0%) with two migrants Vereeniging (17,0%) that involved seven migrants, Springcol (14,2%) with a single migrant and Duncanville and Homer

(13,0%) that were represented by one and two respondents respectively used other types of transport.

Northam (1979:59) maintains that using a private automobile is convenient because it is flexible. Furthermore, unlike trains, for example, motorcar transport could help in cutting costs in travelling time. On the basis of these assertions it could be assumed that the majority of Black migrants who travelled longer distances found automobile transport more suitable for them than any other available mode of transport. It could however not be established whether the availability of transport influenced the migration of the Black migrants to their present neighbourhoods in Vereeniging.

A further indication from the data was that 30,3% used public transport. They could have been motivated by a number of reasons as well. Firstly, they might have been unable to afford private transport. Secondly, to avoid congestion in streets and during peak hours which invariably leads to extended hours in travelling, fuel costs, costs arising from lack of parking, incidents of car theft, road accidents, and pollution nuisance (Van der Merwe, 1987:229). Thirdly, because public transport is a collective good that is supplied and subsidised by Government (Mings, 1983:145) and made available especially to lower income groups it was generally used by migrants who found it suitable for them.

Abundance of transport and especially when the household owns its transport could encourage an inclination to "bedroom" suburbs (Northam, 1979:480). However, findings of studies on some of the Black migrants who live in desegregated areas in the central business districts of cities like Port Elizabeth (Ownhouse & Nel, 1993:83) and Johannesburg have shown that good transport infrastructure (Saff, 1994:384) is an important consideration for Black migrants in deciding to live in the inner city areas. (This was alluded to in Chapter 4.) Moreover, the location regarding accessibility to a transport infrastructure adds value to housing (Van der Merwe, 1987:191) and therefore a variable of type of transport served as a necessary inclusion in this study.

6.2.2.14 The liveability of Blacks in Vereeniging

As shown in Table 6.17 in Appendix B the respondents in Springcol (28,5%) stated their strong dissatisfaction in response to the question of the liveability of their residence. Above a quarter (28,5%) in Springcol embraced two respondents and more than one out of every ten in Vereeniging (12,8%) comprised six respondents, Duncanville (12,5%) that was made up of a single respondent, Sonland Park (12,5%) consisted of two respondents and Waldrift (10,3%) that involved two respondents confirmed their dissatisfaction with the liveability in their new areas. Three quarters of the Black migrants in Leeuhof (75,0%) that embraced nine respondents and three-fifths and above of the respondents in Homer (68,7%) in which eleven respondents were involved, Arcon Park and Steelpark (66,7%) that involved eight and fourty respondents respectively, Unitas Park (65,0%) comprised thirteen respondents, Vereeniging (63,9%) was represented by thirty respondents and Peacehaven (63,7%) that embraced eight respondents indicated that they were satisfied. The responses for strong satisfaction[4] were recorded in Three Rivers (66,7%), Waldrift (48,2%), Falcon Ridge (44,4%), Bedworth Park (43,5%) and Duncanville (37,5%). With reference to liveability it could be assumed that Black migrants had in mind a number of yardsticks.

First, the amount and diversity of employment opportunities from which they would make a choice. Second, a firm security of income to guarantee the individuals' and households' high standard of living. Third, a wide choice of confortable living areas with essential services and modern facilities such as: street networks, water, electricity, sewage, drainage disposal and postal delivery. Fourth, public service facilities that include recreation, education, health, protection, and transport. And, fifth, social acceptance that typifies the individuals' ability to express themselves fully and to accomplish their fullest potential (Van der Merwe, 1987:228).

Overall, more than half (56,1%) of the respondents replied that they were satisfied, while 34,0% indicated their strong satisfaction. In contrast 7,9% were generally dissatisfied and 1,8% regarded their areas as strongly unsatisfactory. In the case of the latter the causes of their dissatisfaction

could have emanated from a variety of negative situations (Northam, 1979:60; Knox, 1995:293). Because an overwhelming 90,1% of the Black migrants were impressed with the conditions in their respective neighbourhoods, it could be concluded that the migration of Black migrants to their new area was greatly influenced by their pre-migratory consideration of liveability in Vereeniging.

The liveability in the desegregated areas accrues from the tradition of distributing the financial resources that are collected from property taxes to benefit its residents (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:9). The extent to which a neighbourhood is devoid of pollution, traffic congestion, crime, and obnoxious factors (Van der Merwe, 1987:191; Knox, 1995:293) could enhance the liveableness in the neighbourhoods.

6.2.2.15 Migrants' responses regarding the attitude of their neighbours

Indications of how Black migrants considered the attitude of their neighbours are included in Table 6.18. An overall 61,3% of Black migrants were satisfied with the attitude of their neighbours and 22,0% were strongly satisfied. However, 11,9% of migrants were dissatisfied while 4,2% were strongly dissatisfied. The overwhelming 83,6% satisfactory response by migrants therefore concurred with the findings of Mynhardt (1987:7) and Fick *et al*; (1998:16) that the Whites accepted the Blacks as neighbours. Among the respondents 28,5% in Springcol included two respondents felt strongly dissatisfied with their neighbours, while in Waldrift (13,8%) that consisted of four respondents, Duncanville (12,5%) contained one migrant and Falcon Ridge (11,1%) also involved a single respondent who felt strongly dissatisfied. More than a third of the respondents in Sonland Park (37,5%) in which six respondents were involved and less than a third in Unitas Park (30,0%) that included six respondents and slightly less than a quarter in Falcon Ridge (22,2%) involving two respondents indicated that they were dissatisfied. Most respondents in Homer (81,2%) were represented by thirteen respondents, Arcon Park (75,0%) that embraced nine respondents, Bedworth Park

[4] The Black migrants expression that they were either satisfied or strongly satisfied could be understood as implying that the prevailing conditions or facilities in Vereeniging fulfillled their needs and expectations.

(69,3%) consisted of fourty three respondents, Falcon Ridge (66,7%) was made up of six respondents, Vereeniging (66,0%) was represented by thirty one respondents and Waldrift (62,0%) included eighteen respondents who were satisfied. Moreover, other migrants replied that they were strongly satisfied. These included those in Peacehaven (54,5%), Leeuhof and Three Rivers (33,3%) and Springcol (28,5%).

Thus, a healthy across the colour line attitude, especially between Blacks and Whites in town, unlike in most neighbourhoods in the USA, (Galster, 1987:88; Simkus, 1978:90; Muth, 1971:107) could be assumed to have been instrumental in the decision of Blacks to migrate to Vereeniging. The negative attitude of neighbours towards the desegregated neighbourhoods in the USA has been as a result of the role that was played by real estate industries in denying Blacks housing alongside Whites (Hartshorn, 1980:272). Among the mechanisms they used was 'steering ', through which US Blacks were channelled into buying property in particular areas and the 'red-lining' process whereby the so-called high-risk neighbourhoods would not be financed by banks. The attitude that the Whites showed in assisting the Blacks to acquire property in Windhoek through the 'nominee system' (Simon, 1986:297) was an indication of their accepting desegregation in the town . A similar attitude was shown by some Whites in South Africa who supported the repeal of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) in Mafikeng. (See Chapter 4.) It is reasonable to assume that the preconceived attitude of the neighbours generally and those of Whites particularly influenced the migration of Blacks to Vereeniging.

6.2.2.16 Migrants' perception regarding quality of law and order in Vereeniging

As statistics of Table 6.19 show, in Springcol (42,8%) the respondents composed of three migrants, Peacehaven (36,3%) involved four respondents, Bedworth Park (13,0%) consisted of eight respondents and Homer (12,5%) included two respondents who indicated that they were strongly dissatisfied with the quality of law and order. In Peacehaven (27,2%) comprised three respondents, Homer and Sonland Park (25,0%) contained four respondents each, Steelpark (18,3%) embraced eleven respondents, Vereeniging (17,0%)

was made up of eight respondents and Leeuhof (17,0%) included two respondents migrants revealed that they were dissatisfied. Slightly more than a third of Black migrants in Leeuhof (33,3%) representation included four respondents, Sonland Park (37,5%) embraced six respondents and Unitas Park (35,0%) was represented by nineteen respondents who indicated that they were satisfied. Satisfaction was also recorded among respondents in Falcon Ridge (66,7%) that involved six respondents, Arcon Park (58,3%) contained seven respondents, Bedworth Park (58,0%) was represented by thirty six respondents, Waldrift (52,0%) by fifteen respondents and Homer (50,0%) by eight respondents.

Situations in which migrants were strongly satisfied were evident in Three Rivers (66,7%) in which ten respondents were involved, Duncanville (62,5%) with its five respondents, Leeuhof (50,0%) whose responses came from eight respondents, Arcon Park and Falcon Ridge (33,3%) were composed of four and three respondents respectively. Aggregate statistics show that 46,9% of migrants were satisfied and 26,6% strongly satisfied. Against this, 15% were dissatisfied and 11,3% strongly dissatisfied. On the basis of an 83,6% response rate in confirmation of the migrants' satisfaction, it would be reasonable to conclude that the perception of quality of law and order played a positive role in influencing migration of Blacks to Vereeniging.

6.2.2.17 Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of educational resources in Vereeniging

Responses regarding the availability of educational resources in Vereeniging varied according to neighbourhoods, as shown in Table 6.20. More than half of the respondents in Springcol (57,1%) and Peacehaven (54,5%) whose compositions of respondents were four and six respectively replied that they were strongly dissatisfied with the availability of educational resources in their areas. Those in Springcol (42,8%) involved three respondents, Steelpark (36,6%) consisted of twenty two respondents, Falcon Ridge (33,3%) contained three respondents, Unitas Park (30,0%) with six respondents and Duncanville and Sonland Park (25,0%) consisting of two and four respondents respectively regarded the available educational resources as unsatisfactory. As high as 63,8% that composed of thirty respondents in

Vereeniging, 44,4% that consisted of four respondents in Falcon Ridge, 42,0% in Arcon Park and Leeuhof that included five respondents each stated that they were satisfied. However, in Three Rivers (66,6%) that was made up of ten respondents; Duncanville (37,5%) consisted of three respondents; Arcon Park (33,3%) involved four migrants and Vereeniging (27,6%) embraced thirteen respondents that indicated a strong satisfaction with the educational resources in the town. In all, 29,4% Black migrants were satisfied and 23,3% were strongly satisfied. On the other hand, 22,0% were dissatisfied while 25,1% were strongly dissatisfied. In view of this balanced response rate, it is difficult to uphold the proposition that educational facilities in the town influenced the Blacks to migrate to neighbourhoods in which they live.

The post World War II provision of housing in Sweden (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:8) acknowledged the importance of social facilities such as schools. Similarly in the study of desegregation in Cape Town in 1991 by Myburgh (1996:206) one of the factors that attracted the Black migrants into the city was the availability of good schools. As such the learning institutions appear to have been one of the important considerations that migrants gave priority to when deciding on their migration to the new neighbourhoods in the town.

6.2.2.18 Black migrants' perception regarding the standard of health services in Vereeniging

Table 6.21 presents the perceptions of Black migrants concerning the standard of health services in Vereeniging. This showed that in Springcol (71,4%) which included seven respondents; Peacehaven (5,5%) involved eleven respondents; Sonland Park (43,7%) embraced sixty eight respondents and Leeuhof (33,3%) involved twelve respondence who stated that they were strongly dissatisfied with health services in their neighbourhoods. In Homer (37,5%) participation included fifteen respondents; Unitas Park (20,0%) comprised nineteen respondents; Steelpark (18,3%) included sixty respondents and Bedworth Park (16,1%) was made up of sixty two respondents who regarded the standard of health services unsatisfactory. Those in Falcon Ridge (77,7%) embraced nine respondents; Vereeniging (57,4%) consisted of fifty one respondents; Waldrift (55,1%) involved twenty

nine respondents; Arcon Park and Duncanville (50,0%) comprised eleven and eight respondents respectively and Homer (43,8%) whose respondents were fifteen described the health services as satisfactory.

An overwhelming 80,0% of the respondents in Three Rivers, 41,7% in Arcon Park and 37,5% in Duncanville were strongly satisfied. A total of 42,0% among Black migrants were satisfied whereas 22,6% were strongly satisfied. On the other hand, 14,1% were dissatisfied while 21,1% were strongly dissatisfied. The relatively high positive response of 66,6% among Black migrants could have been caused by the accessibility of health resources in the town. For example, after the democratisation of the country in 1994, some of the historically White hospitals were changed into primary health-care centres and became more accessible. This has heightened the confidence of Black migrants in the standard of these health resources. Also, a number of pharmacies in the town provided emergency health services such as, for example, over-the-counter medicines. These could be assumed to have had an impact on the migration of Black migrants to Vereeniging.

6.2.2.19 Black migrants' perception concerning the recreational facilities in Vereeniging

The varied response of Black migrants' regarding recreation in Vereeniging is given in Table 6.22. An overwhelming number of Blacks in Springcol (85,7%) and Duncanville (75,0%) that composed of six respondents each and nearly two-thirds in Unitas Park that composed of thirteen respondents and Waldrift (65,0%) embraced nineteen respondents who considered the recreational facilities strongly unsatisfactory. Slightly above a third of the migrants in Vereeniging (39,1%) involved eight respondents, Steelpark (36,7%) was made up of twenty two respondents; Arcon Park (36,3%) consisted of four respondents and Falcon Ridge (33,3%) that embraced three respondents viewed the recreational facilities in their new neighbourhoods as unsatisfactory. Only Black migrants in Three Rivers (53,3%) that consisted of eight respondents; Steelpark (48,3%) consisting of twenty nine respondents; Vereeniging (39,1%) that included eighteen respondents; Homer (37,5%) with six respondents and Arcon Park (36,4%) that included four respondents felt satisfied with the recreational facilities. Similarly, less than a quarter of the

Black migrants who expressed their strong satisfaction were from Falcon Ridge (22,2%) which consisted of two respondents; Three Rivers (20,0%) that was made up of three respondents; Leeuhof (18,1%) that involved two respondents; Vereeniging (15,2%) that consisted of seven respondents and Duncanville and Sonland Park (12,5%) that composed of one and two respondents respectively.

Altogether, the data shows that 28,2% respondents were satisfied while 8,0% of them were highly satisfied. Among the respondents 30,0% were dissatisfied and the remaining 32,8% strongly dissatisfied. Just less than two-thirds were presumably dissatisfied with the number and conditions of sportsgrounds, golf courses, swimming pools, parks and theatres. The absence of these and many other types of recreational facilities did not seem to have affected the Blacks' migration. This is because they opted to acquire their homes despite the general perception that recreational facilities were inadequate.

6.2.2.20 Black migrants' responses regarding shopping services in Vereeniging

As demonstrated in Table 6.23 the responses of Blacks regarding shopping facilities in Homer (43,8%) included seven respondents, Peacehaven (36,3%) embraced four respondents; Steelpark (33,9%) consisted of twenty respondents and Leeuhof (33,3%) included four respondents who indicated that they were strongly dissatisfied. Approximately two-fifths of the migrants in Springcol (42,9%) that composed of three respondents and Homer (37,5%) contained fifteen respondents and slightly more than a third in Steelpark (35,6%) where the respondents were sixty, less than a third in Unitas Park (30,0%) with nineteen respondents; Duncanville (25,0%) that embraced eight respondents; Falcon Ridge (22,2%) included nine respondents and Vereeniging (19,1%) that was composed of fifty one respondents deemed their shopping facilities to be unsatisfactory. Nearly two-fifths of Black migrants in Springcol (42,8%), Leeuhof (41,6%), Vereeniging (42,6%) and Unitas Park (40,0%) considered the shopping amenities satisfactory.

Among Blacks in Arcon Park and Three Rivers (66,7%) that involved eight and ten respondents respectively, Bedworth Park (57,3%) was made up of

thirty five respondents; Duncanville (50,0%) embraced four respondents and Waldrift (44,8%) included thirteen respondents who confirmed that they were strongly satisfied with shopping facilities in their neighbourhoods. In the general response to the availability of shopping facilities, the data showed that 32,5% Black migrants were satisfied while 31,3% were strongly satisfied. However, 19,6% were dissatisfied and 16,0% were strongly dissatisfied. On the basis of an overall 64,1% satisfactory responses, a conclusion that the availability of shopping facilities contributed towards attracting migration to new neighbourhoods was reached and this confirmed Van der Merwe's (1987:194) premise that shopping facilities are one of the attraction forces for migration. (See Chapter 2 for full details.)

6.2.2.21 Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of housing in Vereeniging

Table 6.24 presents the responses to the item of housing availability in Vereeniging. Except in Duncanville (37,5%) that was composed of three respondents, the responses of Blacks in Springcol (28,5%) included two respondents; Homer and Sonland Park (18,7%) consisted of three respondents each and Leeuhof (16,6%) embraced two respondents that reflected the respondents' strong dissatisfaction with the availability of housing were lower than a third. Approximately a quarter of the respondents in Peacehaven (27,2%) that consisted of two respondents; Homer and Leeuhof (25,0%) consisted of four and three respondents respectively and Falcon Ridge (22,2%) that embraced two respondents expressed their dissatisfaction with housing. In contrast, in Arcon Park (75,0%) that consisted of nine respondents, Unitas Park (68,4%) in which thirteen respondents participated, Falcon Ridge (66,6%) that composed of six respondents, Steelpark (59,3%) included thirty five respondents, Bedworth Park (58,0%) involved thirty six respondents and Vereeniging (57,4%) was represented by twenty seven respondents who declared that they were satisfied with the availability of housing opportunities.

Some of the Black migrants in Three Rivers (73,3%) in which eleven respondents were involved; Waldrift (48,2%) was made up of fourteen respondents and Bedworth Park (24,1%) that embraced fifteen respondents

indicated that they were strongly satisfied. Those who stated that they were satisfied totalled 55,5% while 22,4% expressed their strong satisfaction. However, 14,4% stipulated their dissatisfaction with the availability of housing opportunities and the remaining 7,4% stated that they were strongly dissatisfied. Because 78,0% of Black migrants expressed their satisfaction with the availability of housing in the town, it was concluded that housing was in fact an attraction and, therefore, a factor in the decision by Blacks to migrate into Vereeniging's White neighbourhoods.

The approach of politicians is that of ensuring the supply of housing based on the social positions of the households (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:10). Some Western Europeans countries make housing available through goverment funded loans to initiate their construction while lending institutions give support to housing availability through below market interest rates for the poor (Hårsman & Quigley, 1991:26). For other sectors of the communities, however, the availability of housing is essentially a process in which use is made of some market forces (Fordham *et al*; 1998:193). In the landmark case of *Govender versus the State* the ruling of the Supreme Court was to seek proof that alternative housing was available to households before evicting the 'disqualified' groups from the areas designated for Whites (Saff, 1994:381). The fact that more housing opportunities existed in Johannesburg's inner areas encouraged Coloureds and Indians to rent the available properties in greater numbers.

6.2.2.22 Black migrants' responses concerning the effectiveness of the local authority in Vereeniging

Included in Table 6.25 are responses of Black migrants regarding the effectiveness of the local authority. They showed that in Duncanville (62,5%) that was made up of five respondents; Springcol (57,1%) that consisted of four respondents; Homer (43,8%) that was derived from seven respondents; Peacehaven (36,3%) that consisted of four respondents; Bedworth Park (27,9%) included seventeen respondents and Waldrift (27,6%) that included twenty nine respondents stated that they were strongly dissatisfied with the local authority services. More than two-fifths of Black migrants in Springcol (42,9%) comprised of three respondents and Steelpark (41,6%) that was

made up of twenty five respondents were satisfied while slightly less than a third of them were dissatisfied. In Three Rivers (73,3%) was made up of eleven resondents; Falcon Ridge (55,6%) contained five respondents; Vereeniging (47,8%) embraced twenty two respondents and Peacehaven (36,3%) consisted of four respondents who indicated their satisfaction. The respondents' strong satisfaction was shown in Sonland Park (26,7%) that composed of four respondents; Arcon Park (25,0%) embraced three respondents; Three Rivers (20,0%) that was calculated from fifteen respondents and Leeuhof (16,6%) that was derived from two respondents.

The manifestation, however, was that on the whole 34,9% of the respondents were satisfied and 10,4% strongly satisfied. On the contrary, 26,6% apiece were dissatisfied and strongly dissatisfied. Their dissatisfaction may have arisen from poor service delivery of water, sanitation, transport infrastructure, electricity, recreation, health-services and public security which form the core functions of the municipalities (Van der Waldt & Du Toit, 1997:146). As a result of 8,5% difference between the satisfied and the dissatisfied Black migrants with the services provided by the local authority, it appeared that the municipal administration did not influence their decision to migrate. In order for the housing policy to be sound it should create room for the participation of all stakeholders to bolster democracy (Hårsman & Quigley,1991:9). Furthermore, the local authorities are charged with zoning of areas, demarcation of residential areas and the provision of physical infrastructure (Van der Merwe, 1987:192). Regarding the variable of local authority it is sound to assume that its perceived ineffectiveness did little to dissuade migrants from acquiring property in Vereeniging.

6.2.2.23 Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of transport in Vereeniging

Table 6.26 contains data that shows the responses of Black migrants regarding the availability of transport in Vereeniging. Less than three-fifths of Black migrants in Falcon Ridge (55,5%) that comprised of five respondents; Sonland Park (40,0%) involved six respondents; Duncanville (37,5%) was made up of three respondents and Peacehaven (36,3%) included four respondents who stated that transport in Vereeniging strongly dissatisfied

them. Similarly, in Homer (56,2%) that consisted of nine respondents; Bedworth Park (42,6%) embraced twenty six respondents; Sonland Park (33,3%) was made up of five respondents and Unitas Park (25,0%) came from five respondents who were dissatisfied. However, nearly one in every two migrants in Springcol (50,0%) that involved three respondents; Waldrift (48,2%) encompassed fourteen respondents; Steelpark (46,6%) included twenty eight respondents; Peacehaven (45,4%) composed of five respondents and Unitas Park (45,0%) comprised nine respondents who stated that they were satisfied. In Three Rivers (60,0%) the involved respondents were nine; Leeuhof (33,3%) included four respondents and Vereeniging (29,7%) embraced fourteen respondents who were strongly satisfied. Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of transport in Vereeniging, could also be linked to the type of transport they used (Table 6.16). Data on transport revealed that 36,5% of migrants were satisfied while 17,1% were highly satisfied. However, owing to a 25,1% rate of dissatisfied migrants as against 22,2% of those who strongly expresed their dissatisfaction, the availability of transport implies access to as wide as possible a choice of modes such as shown in Table 6.16. These types would help the users of transport to meet such requirements as speed, costs, adaptability, reliability and regularity. Against the background of the smallness of figures that have been given above, it is debatable that availability of transport was instrumental in the decision by migrants to migrate.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter the results of the study have been discussed and the evaluation of the central theoretical statements presented in Chapter 1 was made. Regarding the proposition that residential desegregation in Vereeniging is still of limited extent, data from the rating records of the Vereeniging-Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure were used and have confirmed the proposition because only three of the 16 residential areas recorded a relatively high number of migrants. This situation in which the Black migrants have been found to concentrate in some areas and are only sparsely distributed in others can be attributed mainly to two factors. These are, on the one hand, prohibitive property prices such as in Three Rivers,

Duncanville, Falcon Ridge and Rissiville as shown in Table 6.2, and on the other hand, a wide ranging dissatisfaction with some neighbourhoods and conditions of some properties such as in Springcol, Leeuhof and Dickensonville. The use of the Index of Dissimilarity (Table 6.4) revealed that Black migrants occupied particular neighbourhoods in accordance with the types of occupations they held. As a result, the suburbs in Vereeniging revealed a small degree of segregation among Black migrants.

Furthermore, the analysis of results through cross-tabulations utilised the migrants' present addresses and variables of home language, marital status, highest educational qualification, employment, gross income, type of dwelling, ownership of property, travelling distance, mode of transport and a variety of perceptual indices to evaluate the hypothesis that the spatial patterns of desegregation are modulated by the socio-economic characteristics of Black migrants. Among the socio-economic characteristics, home language, type of dwelling, travelling distance and perceptions towards educational and recreational facilities, effectiveness of local authority and availability of transport were found to have very little or no effect on migration of Black migrants to Vereeniging. The remaining variables could have influenced their migration. Among them, the desire for ownership of property, employment status, educational qualification and marital status have been dominant.

In Chapter 7 a summary of results, conclusions and direction for future research are presented.

Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter

- Ecclesiastes 12: 13

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

7.1 Aims of the study

In Chapter 1 the following specific aims were given:

(i) To determine the extent of desegregation in terms of the number and spatial distribution of Black migrants in the former White residential ares in Vereeniging.

(ii) To describe and explain the nature of desegregation in Vereeniging in terms of the following socio-economic or demographic characteristics of the Black migrants in the former White residential areas, namely, language, marital status, educational level, occupation, income, type of dwelling, ownership of property, distance from work transport as well as the migrants' perception of their residential neighbourhoods.

7.2 Extent of desegregation

7.2.1. This study determined the extent of desegregation in terms of the number and spatial distribution of Black migrants in the former White residential areas in Vereeninging. The following findings have been made:

- The rate of desegregation in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.1) showed that the town was minimally desegregated. Among the sixteen suburbs in Vereeniging, only Bedworth Park (19,0%), Steelpark (15,6%) and Vereeniging (18,7%) recorded a Black population proportion exceeding 10%. Most of the suburbs were in the range of 0,9% to 9% Black residents. Among those that had fewer Black migrants were:

Dickensonville (0,3%), Rissiville (0,3%), Springcol (2,1%), Duncanville (2,4%) and Falcon Ridge (2,7%).

- In terms of spatial distribution of Black migrants, this study showed that the migrants were mainly concentrated in the former White areas in the central business district of the town; those adjoining the townships; as well as those White areas that were built along the roads leading to townships whose prices ranged between R80 000 and R140 000 (cf. 6.2.1). These include, for example, suburbs in central Vereeniging, Bedworth Park, Steelpark and Waldrift (See Figure 3.3).

- The lowest spatial distribution of Black migrants was found in the former White areas which are far from the town's central business district and were not easily accessible through public transport or those areas in which property prices were comparatively high (cf. 6.2.1). These included, for example, Three Rivers, Falcon Ridge, Duncanville and Rissiville (See Figure 3.3).

- Some of the areas that were sparsely occupied by Black migrants like Leeuhof, Springcol and Peacehaven were the result of a cause other than property prices or accessibility, namely the physical obsolescence that characterised these areas. (cf. 6.2.1)

- The Index of Dissimilarity (cf. 6.2.1) showed that the measurement of professional occupations and all others combined resulted in an Index of Segregation of between 0 and 69. The majority of suburbs (75%) recorded an index range of between 0,0 and 28 which indicated that the Black migrants in those areas were integrated. However, 25% of the suburbs with an index range between 34 and 69 suggested that Black migrants were segregated.

- The Index of Desegregation (cf. 6.2.1) varied between 0,29 and 91,2. In each of the suburbs in which the values were below 30 indications were that the distribution of Black migrants was even. However, in all other suburbs in which the values ranged between 30 and 69, the implication was that the Black migrants in those suburbs were segregated.

7.3 The nature of desegregation

7.3.1 This study described and explained the nature of desegregation in Vereeniging in terms of the following socio-economic or demographic characteristics of the Black migrants in the former White residential areas, namely, language, marital status, educational level, occupation, income, type of dwelling, ownership of property, distance from work, transport as well as the migrants' perception of their residential neighbourhoods. The following findings have been made:

- Home languages of Black migrants in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.1) included Sesotho, Isizulu, Setwana, Isixhosa, Isindebele, Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Sepedi and Siswati.

- The majority of the migrants in the town (cf. 6.2.2.2) were married.

- Regarding the migrants' qualifications (cf. 6.2.2.3), this study showed that most of the Black migrants held post-school qualifications.

- As far as Black migrants' employment was concerned (cf. 6.2.2.4), most of them were employed.

- In terms of social and spatial distance among Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.5) there seemed to be integration among them in most neighbourhoods.

- Gross income of Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.6) ranged from R1 500 to more than R8 000 per month.

- Present types of dwellings occupied by Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.7) were predominantly single dwelling units.

- Similarly, previous types of dwellings occupied by Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.8) were predominantly single dwelling units.

- Regarding the present property ownership by Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.9), this study revealed that the largest number of them owned the properties they occupied.

- As regards previous property ownership by Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.10), this study revealed that the majority of Black migrants actually owned the property they occupied.

- With regard to present travelling distance, (cf. 6.2.2.11) this investigation showed that the majority of Black migrants travelled within a 39 km zone.

- This study also revealed that in terms of previous travelling distance of Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.12), they do not seem to have travelled long distances. Slightly more than three-quarters of them travelled within a 40 km zone.

- Types of transport used by Black migrants (cf. 6.2.2.13) included private cars, minibuses, trains and buses. A few of the migrants, however, walked to and from their workplaces.

- As far as the liveability of Blacks in Vereeniging was concerned (cf. 6.2.2.14) a majority of them were satisfied.

- Migrants' responses regarding the attitude of their neighbours (cf. 6.2.2.15) showed that they had positive perceptions in this regard.

- Concerning the migrants' perception regarding quality of law and order in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.16), it was found that the migrants were satisfied in a larger number of neighbourhoods.

- Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of educational resources in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.17) showed an approximately even split between those satisfied and those dissatisfied.

- Black migrants' responses regarding the standard of health services in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.18) revealed that the majority of the migrants were satisfied.

- Similarly, Black migrants' perception concerning the recreational facilities in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.19) showed about two-thirds of them to be dissatisfied.

- As far as Black migrants' responses regarding shopping services in Vereeniging were concerned (cf. 6.2.2.20), indications were that a large number of the migrants were satisfied.

- Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of housing in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.21) confirmed that more than three-quarters were satisfied with the extent of housing opportunities.

- Black migrants' responses concerning the effectiveness of the local authority in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.22) revealed an even split between migrants who were satisfied with the service and those who were not.

- Finally, Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of transport in Vereeniging (cf. 6.2.2.23) revealed that slightly more than half of the migrants were satisfied with available transport while less than half of them were dissatisfied.

7.4 Conclusion

Before the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950), different racial groups in Vereeniging were accommodated along racial lines in their proclaimed areas. As a result the town was highly segregated. It was only after the passing of the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (108/1991) that the social character of the town started to change. Current Black residents migrated to former "White" suburbs and their presence has resulted in limited social integration similar to that of most post-apartheid South African towns and cities.

Conclusions that this study drew from the trends showed that a small-scale movement of Blacks from the townships to former White areas occurred. Desegregation in Vereeniging was limited to the centrally located suburbs and in areas that were contiguous to the Black townships. These so-called twilight zones (Hart, 1989:84) in which Black and White groups interacted served as the entry points of most Black migrants. They clustered in these areas mainly

because they fulfilled most of their immediate needs. As Christopher (1993:126) noted, almost total segregation continued to be the general trend in the outer suburbs of most South African towns and cities. Similar patterns were experienced in Vereeniging after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, 1950(41/1950). Similar to Hart (1989:85), this study showed that little change in terms of desegregation occurred in the high-income former White neighbourhoods, unlike in the low- and middle-income areas, where higher levels of desegregation occurred.

The cause of this universal clustering of Blacks in the desegregated neighbourhoods was given by Tait (as cited in Kotze & Donaldson, 1996:125) as the generally low incomes among Black communities. Only Black migrants who were more affluent bought or rented property in the town. Because of financial constraints and the ties that they had with their areas of origin (Hart, 1989:84), the majority of Blacks in Vereeniging were still residing in the townships outside the town. Therefore, their numbers in the townships still remain high in comparison with those who migrated to the White suburbs. From this scenario it can be concluded that the migration of Blacks into White suburbs has had little impact on overall social and racial stratification in the town. These trends are consistent with the postulations of this study.

This study, nevertheless, unmasked some outcomes. The most important was the social outcome (Van der Merwe, 1987:210). The desegregation in the town exhibited the one-directional migration of Blacks from the townships to the former White areas (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999:81) with no movement in the reverse direction. These migrants bought their houses among Whites with whom they shared equal status. This made the affected suburbs more racially integrated. The choice and occupation of such neighbourhooods were influenced by the quality of dwellings and physical environment.

The Whites in Vereeniging accepted the Black migrants as their neighbours. Unlike in Pietersburg where the town's conservative Whites ensured residential segregation through intimidation and acts of violence (Donaldson & Van der Merwe, 1999:81), the Blacks in Vereeniging were never exposed to acts of intimidation and racial abuse.

Although Saff (1994:388) prognosticated continued and accelerated desegregation after the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950), the situation in Vereeniging has not confirmed this prognosis. The likelihood, however, is that the pattern of Black migration in the town will decline considerably with time. The reason being that available housing in Vereeniging appears expensive and therefore out of reach for Blacks who generally fall in low-income bracket. The probable decline will hamper the integration in cities as one of the key programmes of the Urban Development Framework (Department of Housing, 2001:74). Important also is that the situation of homelessness as was experienced during the apartheid era still continues despite subsidy assistance given by government to needy families.

An assessment of the South African housing policy which has influenced the focus of this study showed that before 1994 priority was given to equity objectives especially in the White urban spaces. Similar objectives, however, are apparently being accorded even more attention to integration in South African urban spaces. Whereas the Nationalist Party government mainly provided housing opportunities to Whites, the current ANC-led government has taken a different approach to housing. Through its housing policy strategies and principles of which the Reconstruction and Development Programme constitutes the starting point, the South African government is able to focus on the needs of the homeless and the development of all areas more evenly. In addition to this more equitable approach, the housing policy also allows for inclusive participation of the stakeholders in the housing market. As a result it can be presumed that with time this partnership could develop into a more effective approach to integration in South African urban spaces.

As Kotze and Donaldson (1996: 125) and Hart (1989: 85) have sought to demonstrate, the spatial effects of the repeal of the Group Areas Act, 1950 (41/1950) are still in the early stages. Most South African towns and cities are in transition towards racially integrated suburbs. There are, however, many remaining areas of doubt. One such area, for example, is that it is not yet clear what part the local governments play to encourage people to move voluntarily and independently into previously segregated neighbourhoods.

7.5 Future research

Past studies by Ownhouse and Nel (1995), Hart (1989), Morris (1998) and Myburgh (1996) and this study have all been largely confined to the unilateral desegregation (Donaldson & Van der Merwe,1999: 75) that typified the migration of Blacks from the townships to formerly White areas. However, current indications are that Whites have begun to migrate to the Black townships (Dikeni, 1992; Amupadhi & Mtshali, 1998). It would appear, though, that thise migration of Whites into formerly Black-only residential areas is not prevalent. The reasons for their migration are at this stage unclear although this situation has opened possibilities that deserve appropriate research.

APPENDIX A

POTCHEFSTROOMSE UNIVERSITEIT VIR CHRISTELIKE HOËR ONDERWYS

QUESTIONNAIRE: POST-APARTHEID DESEGREGATION IN VEREENIGING, 1991-1996

The undersigned is a registered Master of Arts (MA) student in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the Potchefstroom University for CHE. The attached questionnaire is for academic purposes and it is designed to determine the extent and nature of post-apartheid desegregation in Vereeniging from 1991 to 1996.

You are therefore humbly requested to fill in the questionnaire because in doing so, the study will contribute to the broadening of the present horizon of settlement geography in South Africa by providing a better understanding of the desegregation patterns in South African cities in general and in Vereeniging in particular. It will also provide a better insight into the restructuring of the South African post-apartheid city.

As a result of the actuality of this research in the future restructuring of the South African post-apartheid city, it is important that you answer each question as honestly and as uninfluenced as possible. All information gained from the questionnaire will be treated in the strictest confidence and used for academic purpose only.

Thank you in anticipation of your co-operation.

Yours faithfully,

_____

S.S. Hatane
(Researcher)

Office use only:
Record number: _____ Area number: _____

The questionnaire should please be completed by the head of the house. Please

8. **Occupational Category**

Professional (e.g. teacher, doctor)	☐	Technical (e.g. technician)	☐
Managerial (e.g. bank manager)	☐	Clerical (e.g. secretary, clerk)	☐
Sales (e.g. estate agent, salesperson)	☐	Artisan (e.g. boilermaker, fitter)	☐
Public service (e.g. policeman)	☐	Production (e.g. mine, factory worker)	☐

Other (Specify) _____

9. **Gross Income of Household per month (Before tax and other deductions)**

Below R1 500	☐	R 1 501 – R 3 000	☐	R 3 001 – R 4 500	☐
R 4 501 – R 6 000	☐	R 6 001 – R 8 000	☐	Above R 8 001	☐

10. **Present type of dwelling**

Farmstead / Small Holding	☐	Single Dwelling / House	☐
Duplex / Townhouse	☐	Flat	☐
Shack	☐		

Other (Specify) _____

11. **Previous type of dwelling**

Farmstead / Small Holding	☐	Single Dwelling / House	☐
Duplex / Townhouse	☐	Flat	☐
Shack	☐		

Other (Specify) _____

12. **Ownership of present dwelling**

Owner	☐	Sectional Title Holder	☐
Tenant	☐	Free Occupation	☐

Other (Specify) _____

13.

Owner	☐	Sectional Title Holder	☐
Tenant	☐	Free Occupation	☐

Other (Specify) _____

14. Arrival in New Neighbourhood

Month: _____ Year: _____

15. Reasons for settling in New Neighbourhood

(i) _____

(ii) _____

(iii) _____

(iv) _____

SECTION B

EMPLOYMENT ACTIVITIES

16. In which town or suburb are you employed? _____

17. Who is your employer? (Give the full name of either a business of institution.) _____

18. What is the approximate travelling distance in kilometers (km) spent between your present home and place of work? _____

19. What was the approximate travelling distance in kilometers (km) spent between your previous home and place of work? _____

20. What mode of transport do you normally use in travelling between your present home an place of work?

Motorcar	☐	Train	☐	Bus	☐
Minibus	☐	Motorcycle		Bicycle	☐
Walking	☐	Other (Specify)	_____		

SECTION C

PERCEPTION TOWARDS NEW NEIGHBOURHOOD

21. Give your personal attitude with regard to each of the following aspects by placing 'X' in **one** number code from the list 1 – 4 given below.

1 = strongly dissatisfied

2 = dissatisfied

3 = satisfied

4 = strongly satisfied

21.1	Your new residential area as a place to live in.	1 2 3 4
21.2	The attitude of the neighbours in your new residential area.	1 2 3 4
21.3	The attitude of the different cultural groups in your area.	1 2 3 4
21.4	Quality of law and order in your residential area.	1 2 3 4
21.5	Educational services in your new area.	1 2 3 4
21.6	Standard of health services	1 2 3 4
21.7	Quality of recreational services.	1 2 3 4
21.8	Service provide by shopping facilities.	1 2 3 4
21.9	Availability of housing opportunities in your area.	1 2 3 4
21.10	Effectiveness of the local authority in your neighbourhood.	1 2 3 4
21.11	Availability of transport.	1 2 3 4

Thank you for your time and co-operation!

APPENDIX B

Table 6.1: The rate of desegregation in Vereeniging, 1996

Areas	Black Households	%
Arcon Park	47	3,4
Bedworth Park	265	19,0
Dickensonville	4	0,3
Duncanville	34	2,4
Falcon Ridge	38	2,7
Homer	64	4,6
Leeuhof	51	3,7
Peacehaven	47	3,4
Rissiville	4	0,3
Sonland Park	68	4,9
Springcol	29	2,1
Steelpark	256	18,4
Three Rivers	64	4,6
Unitas Park	81	5,8
Vereeniging	218	15,6
Waldrift	124	8,9
Total	1394	100,0

Source : Vereeniging Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1996

Table 6.2 Property prices in Vereeniging's residential areas, 1992-1996

Areas	Average property price (R 1000)		
	1992	1994	1996
Arcon Park	120 650	140 860	145 360
Bedworth Park	112 430	120 720	137 210
Dickensonville	80 720	85 130	87 240
Duncanville	150 370	162 160	168 230
Falcon Ridge	165 220	170 2000	175 110
Homer	90 540	93 170	96 120
Leeuhof	70 210	74 120	79 230
Peacehaven	71 000	75 450	79 210
Rissiville	142 320	147 620	162 300
Sonland Park	90 670	94 400	110 420
Springcol	60 180	64 350	70 500
Steelpark	80 120	85 420	94 610
Three Rivers	160 290	166 550	180 670
Unitas Park	85 170	87 420	110 340
Vereeniging	70 220	74 370	76 520
Waldrift	90 110	93 000	112 700

Source : Vereeniging – Kopanong Metropolitan Sub-structure, 1992; 1994; 1996

Table 6.3. Indices of Segregation among Black migrants in Vereeniging, 1996

Neighbourhoods	Professional: x Entrepreneur: y	Administration: x Service : y	Unemployment: x Professional : y	Professionals : x Service : y
Arcon Park	91,2%	§	§	45,8%
Bedworth Park	69,9%	24,8%	72,0%	49,5%
Dickensonville	7,6%	§	§	50,0%
Duncanville	§	§	7,1%	33,3%
Falcon Ridge	19,2%	7,5%	19,2%	75,6%
Homer	49,7%	14,3%	40,2%	12,5%
Leeuhof	15,00%	6,7%	0,29%	5,00%
Peacehaven	25,00%	10,00%	30,00%	7,7%
Rissiville	7,6%	§	7,6%	32,7%
Sonland Park	40,00%	14,3%	45,5%	6,9%
Springcol	31,5%	23,00%	7,7%	17,7%
Steelpark	22,5%	19,9%	52,00%	46,4%
Three Rivers	20,00%	56,9%	62,2%	8,9%
Unitas Park	27,00%	36,00%	14,9%	16,7%
Vereeniging	23,6%	26,00%	66,3%	15,7%
Waldrift	59%	§	66,6%	8,0%

§ Response rate too small to warrant inclusion

Source : Calculated by author

Table 6.4. Index of Dissimilarity of Black migrants in Vereeniging, 1996

Neighbourhoods	Percentage
Arcon Park	34%
Bedworth Park	25%
Dickensonville	47%
Duncanville	47%
Falcon Ridge	18,2%
Homer	10,7%
Leeuhof	10,2%
Peacehaven	10,2%
Rissiville	0,0%
Sonland Park	69%
Springcol	14,5%
Steelpark	28%
Three Rivers	20,9%
Unitas Park	18,7%
Vereeniging	7,9%
Waldrift	4,0%

Source : Calculated by author

Table 6.5 Linguistic distribution of Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Home Language									Total
	Sesotho	Tshivenda	Setswana	Xitsonga	Isizulu	Isindebele	Isixhosa	Siswati	Sepedi	
Arcon Park	8	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	12
	66,7%	0,0%	8,3%	0,0%	8,3%	0,0%	8,3%	8,3%	0,0%	
Bedworth Park	50	0	3	0	7	0	1	0	1	62
	80,6%	0,0%	4,8%	0,0%	11,2%	0,0%	1,6%	0,0%	1,6%	
Dickensonville	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Duncanville	4	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	8
	50,0%	0,0%	12,1%	0,0%	25,0%	12,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Falcon Ridge	3	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	2	9
	33,3%	0,0%	11,1%	0,0%	333,%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	22,2%	
Homer	9	1	0	0	2	0	3	1	0	16
	56,2%	6,2%	0,0%	0,0%	12,5%	0,0%	18,7%	6,2%	0,0%	
Leeuhof	9	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	12
	75,0%	8,1%	0,0%	0,0%	8,3%	0,0%	8,3%	0,0%	0,0%	
Peacehaven	4	0	1	0	3	0	1	1	1	11
	36,4%	0,0%	9,0%	0,0%	27,2%	0,0%	9,0%	9,0%	9,0%	
Rissiville	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Sonland Park	9	0	2	0	3	0	1	0	1	16
	56,2%	0,0%	12,5%	0,0%	18,7%	0,0%	6,2%	0,0%	6,2%	
Springcol	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	7
	71,4%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	28,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Steelpark	33	0	10	1	10	0	4	0	2	60
	55,0%	0,0%	16,7%	1,6%	16,7%	0,0%	6,7%	0,0%	3,3%	
Three Rivers	8	0	3	1	1	0	2	0	0	15
	53,3%	0,0%	20,0%	6,7%	6,7%	0,0%	13,3%	0,0%	0,0%	
Unitas Park	14	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	20
	70,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	20,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Vereeniging	30	0	3	1	9	0	3	1	0	47
	63,8%	0,0%	6,3%	2,1%	19,1%	0,0%	6,3%	2,1%		
Waldrift	17	0,	1	0	7	0	2	0	2	29
	58,6%	0,0%	3,4%	0,0%	24,1%	0,0%	6,8%	0,0%	6,8%	
Total	204	2	28	3	56	1	19	4	9	326
	62,5%	0,6%	8,5%	0,9%	17,1%	0,3%	5,8%	1,2%	2,7%	99,6%

Table 6.6. Marital status of Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Marital Status						Total
	Married	Widower	Never Married	Living Together	Widow	Divorced/ Separated	
Arcon Park	9 75,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 8,3%	2 16,7%	12
Bedworth Park	48 77,4%	0 0,0%	3 4,8%	2 3,2%	2 3,2%	7 11,2%	62
Dickensonville	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	6 75,0%	0 0,0%	1 12,5%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 12,5%	8
Falcon Ridge	8 89,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 11,1%	0 0,0%	9
Homer	13 81,2%	0 0,0%	2 12,5%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 6,2%	16
Leeuhof	9 75,0%	0 0,0%	1 8,3%	1 8,3%	0 0,0%	1 8,3%	12
Peacehaven	9 82,0%	0 0,0%	1 9,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 9,0%	11
Rissiville	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sonland Park	10 67,0%	0 0,0%	2 13,3%	1 6,6%	0 0,0%	2 13,3%	15
Springcol	6 86,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 14,2%	7
Steelpark	55 92,0%	0 0,0%	3 5,0%	0 0,0%	1 1,6%	1 1,6%	60
Three Rivers	11 73,3%	0 0,0%	1 6,6%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	3 20,0%	15
Unitas Park	17 85,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 5,0%	2 10,0%	20
Vereeniging	31 67,3%	5 11%	3 6,5%	1 2,1%	2 4,3%	4 9,0%	46
Waldrift	23 79,3%	0 0,0%	3 10,3%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	3 10,3%	29
Total	257 79,3%	5 1,5%	20 6,1%	5 1,5%	8 2,4%	29 8,9%	324(a) 99,7%

Note

(a) Two cases did not provide valid answers.

Table 6.7. Highest qualifications of Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Highest Qualifications						Total
	Below Std x	Std x	Technical Training	College Training	University Training	Other	
Arcon Park	1 8,3%	1 8,3%	8 66,7%	0 0,0%	2 16,6%	0 0,0%	12
Bedworth Park	8 12,9%	3 4,8%	26 41,9%	5 8,0%	17 27,4%	3 4,8%	62
Dickensonville	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0,%	1
Duncanville	4 50,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2 25,0%	2 25,0%	0 0,0,%	8
Falcon Ridge	0 0,0%	1 11,1%	6 66,7%	1 11,1%	1 11,1%	0 0,0,%	9
Homer	1 6,2%	0 0,0%	4 25,0%	7 43,7%	4 25,0%	0 0,0%	16
Leeuhof	7 63,6%	0 0,0%	1 9,0%	3 27,2%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	11
Peacehaven	4 36,3%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4 36,3%	3 27,2%	0 0,0%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sonland Park	4 25,0%	2 12,5%	3 18,8%	4 25,0%	3 18,7%	0 0,0%	16
Springcol	2 28,6%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4 57,1%	1 14,2%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	4 6,7%	2 3,3%	22 36,7%	8 13,3%	22 36,7%	2 3,3%	60
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	1 6,7%	2 13,3%	5 33,3%	7 46,7%	0 0,0%	15
Unitas Park	0 0,0%	1 5,0%	12 60,0%	3 15,0%	4 20,0%	0 0,0%	20
Vereeniging	13 27,6%	4 8,5%	5 10,6%	15 31,9%	9 19,1%	1 2,1%	47
Waldrift	0 0,0%	1 3,6%	11 39,2%	6 21,4%	9 32,1%	1 3,6%	28
Total	48 14,7%	16 4,9%	100 30,7%	69 21,2%	84 25,8%	7 2,1%	324 99,4%

Note
(a) Two cases did not provide valid answers.

Table 6.8. Employment status of Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Employment		Total
	Yes	No	
Arcon Park	12 100,0%	0 0,0%	12
Bedworth Park	53 91,3%	5 8,6%	58
Dickensonville	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	8 100,0%	0 0,0%	8
Falcon Ridge	8 88,9%	1 11,1%	9
Homer	15 93,8%	1 6,2%	16
Leeuhof	9 75,0%	3 25,0%	12
Peacehaven	10 91,0%	1 9,0%	11
Rissiville	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sonland Park	15 93,8%	1 6,2%	16
Springcol	6 85,8%	1 14,2%	7
Steelpark	58 98,3%	1 1,6%	59
Three Rivers	14 93,3%	1 6,6%	15
Unitas Park	18 90,0%	2 10,0%	20
Vereeniging	39 77,8%	6 13,3%	45
Waldrift	28 100,0%	0 0,0%	28
Total	295 90,5%	22 6,7%	318 (a) 97,2%

Notes

(a) Eight cases did not provide valid answers

Table 6.9. Gross income of Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Gross income of Black migrants (per month)						
	<R1500	R1501-R3000	R3001-R4500	R4501-R6000	R6001-R8000	>R8001	Total
Arcon Park	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4 33,3%	3 25,0%	5 11,7%	12
Bedworth Park	5 8,3%	9 15,0%	8 13,3%	6 10,0%	18 30,0%	14 23,3%	60
Dickensonville	0 0,05	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	0 0,0%	2 25,0%	4 50,0%	1 12,5%	1 12,5%	0 0,0%	8
Falcon Ridge	0 0,0%	1 12,5%	1 12,5%	1 12,5%	1 12,5%	4 50,0%	8
Homer	2 13,3%	1 6,7%	1 6,7%	5 33,3%	4 26,7%	2 13,3%	15
Leeuhof	3 30,0%	4 40,0%	3 30,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	10
Peacehaven	2 22,2%	2 22,2%	5 55,6%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	9
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Sonland Park	2 12,5%	3 18,8%	3 18,8%	6 37,5%	1 6,2%	1 6,2%	16
Springcol	4 57,1%	0 0,0%	3 42,9%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	4 7,0%	1 1,8%	9 15,8%	15 26,3%	14 24,6%	14 24,6%	57
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	1 6,7%	2 13,3%	2 13,3%	3 20,0%	7 46,7%	15
Unitas Park	1 5,0%	3 15,0%	2 10,0%	4 20,0%	6 30,0%	4 20,0%	20
Vereeniging	3 7,0%	15 34,9%	9 20,9%	8 18,6%	7 16,2%	1 2,3%	43
Waldrift	1 3,4%	0 0,0%	10 34,4%	12 41,3%	4 13,7%	2 6,9%	29
	27 8,2%	42 12,8%	60 18,4%	65 19,9%	62 19,0%	55 16,8%	311 (a) 95,1%

Note

(a) Fifteen cases did not provide valid answers

Table 6.10. Present type of dwelling occupied by Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Present type of dwelling						Total
	Farmstead Small Holding	Duplex Townhouse	Shack	Single Dwelling	Flat	Other	
Arcon Park	0	2	0	10	0	0	12
	0,0%	16,7%	0,0%	83,3%	0,0%	0,0%	
Bedworth Park	1	11	2	47	1	0	62
	1,6%	17,1%	3,2%	75,8%	1,6%	0,0%	
Dickensonville	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Duncanville	0	3	0	5	0	0	8
	0,0%	37,5%	0,0%	62,5%	0,0%	0,0%	
Falcon Ridge	0	2	0	7	0	0	9
	0,0%	22,2%	0,0%	77,8%	0,0%	0,0%	
Homer	0	2	0	13	0	1	16
	0,0%	12,5%	0,0%	81,2%	0,0%	6,2%	
Leeuhof	0	7	0	5	0	0	12
	0,0%	58,3%	0,0%	41,7%	0,0%	0,0%	
Peacehaven	0	1	0	9	0	0	10
	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	90,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Rissiville	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Sonland Park	0	1	1	14	0	0	16
	0,0%	6,2%	6,2%	87,5%	0,0%	0,0%	
Springcol	0	2	0	5	0	0	7
	0,0%	28,5%	0,0%	71,4%	0,0%	0,0%	
Steelpark	0	9	0	49	0	0	58
	0,0%	15,6%	0,0%	84,4%	0,0%	0,0%	
Three Rivers	0	7	0	8	0	0	15
	0,0%	46,7%	0,0%	53,3%	0,0%	0,0%	
Unitas Park	0	6	0	13	0	0	19
	0,0%	31,6%	0,0%	68,4%	0,0%	0,0%	
Vereeniging	0	14	0	31	1	1	47
	0,0%	29,8%	0,0%	66,0%	2,1%	2,1%	
Waldrift	0	2	0	26	1	1	29
	0,0%	6,9%	0,0%	89,7%	3,4%	3,4%	
	1	71	3	242	2	3	322 (a)
	0,3%	22,0%	0,9%	74,1%	0,6%	0,9%	98,9%

Note

(a) Four cases did not provide valid answers

Table 6.11. Previous type of dwelling occupied by Blacks prior to migration

Areas	Previous type of dwelling						Total
	Farmstead Small Holding	Duplex Townhouse	Shack	Single Dwelling	Flat	Other	
Boipatong	1 10,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	9 90,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	10
Evaton	4 15,3%	2 7,7%	2 7,7%	17 65,3%	0 0,0%	1 3,8%	26
Outside the Vaal	0 0,0%	2 11,1%	1 5,6%	14 77,8%	1 5,5%	0 0,0%	18
Orange Farm	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sasolburg	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sebokeng	3 1,5%	28 14,0%	1 0,5%	162 81,4%	2 1,0%	3 1,5%	199
Sharpeville	3 7,7%	3 7,7%	2 5,1%	31 79,4%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	39
Small Farms	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Vanderbijlpark	0 0,0%	1 20,0%	0 0,0%	3 60,0%	1 20,0%	0 0,0%	5
Vereeniging	0 0,0%	1 10,0%	1 10,0%	6 60,0%	2 20,0%	0 0,0%	10
Zamdela	0 0,0%	0 ,00%	1 20,0%	4 80,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	5
Debonairpark	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Palm Springs	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2
Ironsyde	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Total	12 3,6%	37 11,3%	10 3,0%	250 78,5%	6 1,8%	4 1,2%	319 (a) 99,4%

Note.

(a) Seven cases did not provide valid answers

Table 6.12. Present type of property ownership by Black migrants in Vereeninging

Areas	Present type of ownership					Total
	Owner	Tenant	Sectional title holder	Free occupancy	Other	
Arcon Park	12 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	12
Bedworth Park	61 98,3%	1 1,6%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0	62
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	1
Duncanville	7 87,5%	0 0,0%	1 12,5%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	8
Falcon Ridge	7 77,8%	1 11,1%	1 11,1%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	9
Homer	14 87,5%	2 12,5%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	16
Leeuhof	9 75,0%	3 25,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	12
Peacehaven	11 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	11
Rissiville	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	1
Sonland Park	15 93,8%	0 0,0%	1 6,2%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	16
Springcol	7 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	7
Steelpark	56 93,3%	1 1,16%	3 5,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	60
Three Rivers	14 93,3%	0 0,0%	1 6,7%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	15
Unitas Park	20 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	20
Vereeniging	44 95,7%	1 2,21%	1 2,1%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	46
Waldrift	26 89,7%	1 3,4%	1 3,4%	1 3,4%	0,0% 0 0,0%	29
Total	304 93,2%	11 3,3%	95 2,8%	1 0,3%	0 0,0%	325 (a) 99,6%

Note

(a) One case did not provide valid answers

Table 6.13. Previous type of property ownership by Blacks Prior to migration

Areas	Previous type of ownership					total
	Owner	Tenant	Sectional title holder	Free occupancy	Other	
Boipatong	5 50,0%	2 20,0%	1 10,0%	1 10,0%	1 10,0%	10
Evaton	12 46,1%	8 30,7%	1 3,8%	4 15,3%	1 3,8%	26
Outside the Vaal	10 58,8%	4 23,5%	1 5,8%	2 11,7%	0 0,0%	17
Orange Farm	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	-
Sasolburg	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sebokeng	155 76,7%	20 9,9%	5 2,4%	10 5,0%	12 5,9%	202
Sharpeville	22 57,9%	5 13,1%	2 5,2%	5 13,1%	4 10,5%	38
Small Farm	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Vanderbijlpark	4 80,0%	0 0,0%	1 20,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	5
Vereeniging	2 20,0%	5 50,0%	1 10,0%	1 10,0%	1 10,0%	10
Zamdela	4 80,0%	1 20,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	5
Debonairpark	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Palm Springs	1 50,0%	1 50,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2
Ironsyde	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Total	216 66,2%	47 14,4%	12 3,7%	24 7,3%	19 5,8%	319 (a) 97,5%

Note

(a) Seven cases did not provide valid answers

Table 6.14: Present travelling distance to and from work by Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Present travelling distances(km)								Total
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	>70	
Arcon Park	2	2	7	1	0	0	0	0	12
	16,7%	16,7%	58,3%	8,3%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Bedworth Park	12	16	11	10	4	2	0	2	57
	21,0%	28,0%	19,2%	17,5%	7,0%	3,5%	0,0%	3,5%	
Dickensonville	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Duncanville	2	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	8
	25,0%	50,0%	0,0%	12,5%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	12,5%	
Falcon Ridge	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Homer	2	6	3	0	1	1	0	1	14
	14,2%	42,8%	21,4%	0,0%	7,1%	7,1%	0,0%	7,1%	
Leeuhof	4	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	10
	40,0%	10,0%	0,0%	10,0%	10,0%	10,0%	0,0%	20,0%	
Peacehaven	5	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	10
	50,0%	20,0%	20,0%	0,0%	0,0%	10,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Rissiville	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Sonland Park	1	4	5	2	0	0	2	1	15
	6,7%	26,7%	33,3%	13,3%	0,0%	0,0%	13,3%	6,6%	
Springcol	2	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	7
	28,5%	26,7%	0,0%	0,0%	14,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Steelpark	12	28	7	3	2	1	1	2	56
	21,4%	50,0%	12,5%	5,3%	3,6%	1,7%	1,7%	3,6%	
Three Rivers	0	2	3	9	0	0	0	0	14
	0,0%	14,2%	21,4%	64,2%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	
Unitas Park	3	8	3	2	0	0	0	1	17
	17,6%	47,0%	17,6%	11,8%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	5,9%	
Vereeniging	10	13	5	7	1	3	1	0	40
	25,0%	32,5%	12,5%	17,5%	2,5%	7,5%	2,5%	0,0%	
Waldrift	2	12	6	2	3	1	0	0	26
	7,7%	46,0%	23,0%	7,7%	11,5%	3,8%	0,0%	0,0%	
Total	57	110	53	39	13	10	4	10	296 (a)
	17,4%	33,7%	16,2%	11,9%	3,9%	3,0%	1,2%	3,0%	90,3%

Note

(a) Thirty cases did not provide valid answers.

Table 6.15: Previous travelling distance to and from work by Blacks prior to migration

	Previous travelling distances (km)								
	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	>70	Total
Boipatong	4 44,4%	1 11,1%	1 11,1%	2 22,2%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 11,1%	9
Evaton	15 62,5%	4 16,7%	2 8,3%	2 8,3%	1 4,1%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	24
Outside the Vaal	7 38,9%	3 16,6%	4 22,2%	0 0,0%	1 5,6%	1 5,6%	1 5,6%	1 5,6%	18
Orange Farms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sasolburg	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sebokeng	84 45,0%	47 25,1%	24 13,0%	9 5,0%	9 5,0%	4 2,1%	3 2,0%	7 4,0%	187
Sharpeville	11 35,4%	10 32,2%	4 12,9%	2 6,4%	0 0,0%	1 3,2%	0 0,0%	3 10,0%	31
Small Farms	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Vanderbijlpark	1 25,0%	0 0,0%	1 25,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2 50,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4
Vereeniging	2 25,0%	5 63,0%	0 0,0%	1 13,0 %	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	8
Zamdela	3 60,0%	0 0,0%	1 20,0%	0 0,0%	1 20,0	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	5
Debonairpark	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	% 0	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Palm Springs	1 50,0%	1 50,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2
Ironsyde	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0,0% 0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Total	129 39,6%	71 21,7%	37 11,3%	16 4,9%	12 3,6%	8 2,4%	4 1,2%	14 4,2%	291 (a) 88,9%

Note

(a) Thirty five cases did not provide valid answers.

Table 6.16: Type of transport to and from work used by Black migrants in Vereeniging

Areas	Type of transport used by Blacks								Total
	Motorcar	Minibus	Walking	Train	Motocycle	Bus	Bicycle	Other	
Arcon Park	10 83,3%	1 8,3%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 8,3%	12
Bedworth Park	41 69,4%	11 19,0%	1 2,0%	1 1,6%	0 0,0%	1 2,0%	0 0,0%	4 7,0%	59
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	5 62,5%	1 12,5%	0 0,0%	1 12,5%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 13,0%	8
Falcon Ridge	8 88,8%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 11,1%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	9
Homer	6 37,5%	5 31,2%	1 6,2%	1 6,2%	0 0,0%	1 6,2%	0 0,0%	2 13,0%	16
Leeuhof	4 40,0%	1 10,0%	1 10,0%	2 20,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2 20,0%	10
Peacehaven	3 30,0%	5 50,0%	0 0,0%	1 10,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 10,0%	0 0,0%	10
Rissiville	1 10,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sonland Park	5 31,2%	6 38,0%	1 6,2%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 6,2%	0 0,0%	3 19,0%	16
Springcol	2 29,0%	1 14,2%	1 14,2%	1 14,2%	1 14,2%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 14,2%	7
Steelpark	35 60,3%	19 33,0%	1 1,%7	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	3 5,1%	58
Three Rivers	5 33,3%	4 27,0%	1 7,0%	4 27,0	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 7,0	0 0,0%	15
Unitas Park	13 68,4%	2 11,0%	1 5,2%	1 5,2%	0 0,0%	1 5,2%	0 0,0%	1 5,2%	19
Vereeniging	14 33,3%	10 23,8%	4 9,5%	6 14,2%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 2,3%	7 17,0%	42
Waldrift	16 57,1%	10 36,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	2 7,1%	28
Total	169 51,8%	76 23,3%	12% 3,6%	18 5,5%	1 0,3%	5 1,5%	3 0,9%	27 8,2%	311 (a) 95,1%

Note

(a) Fifteen cases did not provide valid answers

	6,7%	0,0%	26,7%	66,7%	
Unitas Park	0 0,0%	1 5,0%	13 65,0%	6 30,0%	20
Vereeniging	0 0,0%	6 12,8%	30 63,9%	11 23,4%	47
Waldrift	2 6,9%	3 10,3%	10 34,45%	14 48,2%	29
Total	6 1,8%	26 7,9%	183 56,1%	111 34,0%	326 100%

Table 6.18: Black migrants' responses regarding the attitude of their neighbours in Vereeniging

Areas	Attitude of neighbours				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	1 8,3%	1 8,3%	9 75,0%	1 8,3%	12
Bedworth Park	1 1,7%	3 4,9%	43 69,3%	15 24,1%	62
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	1 12,5%	1 12,5%	4 50,0%	2 25,0%	8
Falcon Ridge	1 11,1%	2 22,2%	6 66,7%	0 0,0%	9
Homer	0 0,0%	1 6,2%	13 81,2%	2 12,5%	16
Leeuhof	1 8,3%	0 0,0%	7 58,3%	4 33,3%	12
Peacehaven	1 9,0%	0 0,0%	4 36,3%	6 54,5%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sonland Park	0 0,0%	6 37,5%	9 56,2%	1 6,2%	16
Springcol	2 28,5%	2 25,5%	1 14,2%	2 28,5%	7
Steelpark	0 0,0%	8 13,3%	37 61,7%	15 25,0%	60
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	1 6,7%	9 60,0%	5 33,3%	15
Unitas Park	1 5,0%	6 30,0%	8 40,0%	5 25,0%	20
Vereeniging	1 2,1%	4 8,5%	31 66,0%	11 23,4%	47
Waldrift	4 13,8%	4 13,8%	18 62,0%	3 10,3%	29
Total	14 4,2%	39 11,9%	20 61,3%	72 22,0%	326 99,4%

Table 6.19: Black migrants' perception regarding quality of law and order in Vereeniging

Areas	Quality of Law and Order				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	0 0,0%	1 8,3%	7 58,3%	4 33,3%	12
Bedworth Park	8 13,0%	8 13,0%	36 58,0%	10 16,1%	62
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	0 0,0%	1 12,5%	2 25,0%	5 62,5%	8
Falcon Ridge	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	6 66,7%	3 33,3%	9
Homer	2 12,5%	4 25,0%	8 50,0%	2 12,5%	16
Leeuhof	0 0,0%	2 17,0%	4 33,3%	6 50,0%	12
Peacehaven	4 36,3%	3 27,2%	2 18,1%	2 18,1%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Sonland Park	3 19,0%	4 25,0%	6 37,5%	3 18,7%	16
Springcol	3 42,8%	1 14,2%	3 42,8%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	7 12,0%	11 18,3%	29 48,3%	13 21,6%	60
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	1 6,7%	4 27,0%	10 66,7%	15
Unitas Park	2 10,0%	3 15,0%	7 35,0%	8 40,0%	20
Vereeniging	5 11,0%	8 17,0%	23 48,9%	11 23,4%	47
Waldrift	3 10,3%	2 6,8%	15 52,0%	9 31,0%	29
Total	37 11,3%	49 15,0%	153 46,9%	87 26,6%	326 100%

Table 6.20. Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of educational services in Vereeniging

Areas	Availability of education				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	0 0,0	3 25,0%	5 42,0%	4 33,3%	12.
Bedworth Park	14 22,5	11 17,8%	18 29,0%	19 30,6%	62
Dickensonville	0 0,0	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Duncanville	2 25,0	2 25,0%	1 12,5%	3 37,5%	8
Falcon Ridge	0 0,0	3 33,3%	4 44,4%	2 22,2%	9
Homer	7 43,7	3 18,7%	5 31,2%	1 6,2%	16
Leeuhof	1 8,3	3 25,0%	5 42,0%	3 25,0%	12
Peacehaven	6 54,5	2 18,1%	1 9,0%	2 18,1%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Sonland Park	7 43,7	4 25,0%	2 12,5%	3 18,7%	16
Springcol	4 57,1	3 42,8%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	24 40,0	22 36,6%	10 16,6%	4 6,6%	60
Three Rivers	0 0,0	0 0,0%	5 33,3%	10 66,6%	15
Unitas Park	8 40,0	6 30,0%	2 10,0%	4 20,0%	20
Vereeniging	2 4,2	2 4,2%	30 63,8%	13 27,6%	47
Waldrift	7 24,1	8 27,5%	8 27,5%	6 20,6%	29
	82 25,1%	72 22,0%	96 29,4%	76 23,3%	326 100%

Table 6.21: Black migrants' perception regarding the standard of health services in Vereeniging

Areas	Health Services				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strong Satisfied	
Arcon Park	0	1	6	5	12
	0,0%	8,3%	50,0%	41,7%	
Bedworth Park	17	10	23	12	62
	27,4%	16,1%	37,0%	19,3%	
Dickensonville	0	0	0	1	1
	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	
Duncanville	0	1	4	3	8
	0,0%	12,5%	50,0%	37,5%	
Falcon Ridge	0	1	7	1	9
	0,0%	11,1%	77,7%	11,1%	
Homer	2	6	7	1	16
	12,5%	37,5%	43,8%	6,2%	
Leeuhof	4	2	4	2	12
	33,3%	16,7%	33,3%	16,6%	
Peacehaven	6	0	3	2	11
	54,5%	0,0%	27,2%	18,1%	
Rissiville	0	0	0	1	1
	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%	
Sonland Park	7	1	4	4	16
	43,7%	6,2%	25,0%	25,0%	
Springcol	5	0	2	0	7
	71,4%	0,0%	28,5%	0,0%	
Steelpark	15	11	24	10	60
	25,0%	18,3%	40,0%	16,7%	
Three Rivers	0	0	3	12	15
	0,0%	0,0%	20,0%	80,0%	
Unitas Park	4	4	7	5	20
	20,0%	20,0%	35,0%	25,0%	
Vereeniging	3	6	27	11	47
	6,3%	12,8%	57,4%	23,4%	
Waldrift	6	3	16	4	
	20,6%	10,3%	55,1%	13,7%	
Total	69	46	137	74	326
	21,1%	14,1%	42,0%	22,6%	100%

Table 6.22: Black migrants' perception concerning the recreational facilities in Vereeniging

Areas	Recreational Services				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	2 18,1%	4 36,3%	4 36,4%	1 9,0%	11
Bedworth Park	30 48,3%	20 32,2%	8 12,9%	4 6,4%	62
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	6 75,0%	1 12,5%	0 0,0%	1 12,5%	8
Falcon Ridge	1 11,1%	3 33,3%	3 33,3%	2 22,2%	9
Homer	5 31,2%	5 31,2%	6 37,5%	0 0,0%	16
Leeuhof	3 27,2%	3 27,2%	3 27,2%	2 18,1%	11
Peacehaven	7 63,6%	2 18,1%	1 9,0%	1 9,0%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sonland Park	5 31,2%	7 43,5%	2 12,5%	2 12,5%	16
Springcol	6 85,7%	1 14,2%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	7 11,7%	22 36,7%	29 48,3%	2 3,3%	60
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	4 26,6%	8 53,3%	3 20,0%	15
Unitas Park	13 65,0%	4 20,0%	3 15,0%	0 0,0%	20
Vereeniging	3 6,5%	18 39,1%	18 39,1%	7 15,2%	46
Waldrift	19 65,5%	4 13,7%	5 17,2%	1 3,4%	29
Total	107 32,8%	98 30,0%	92 28,2%	26 8,0%	323 (a) 99%

Note

(a) Three cases did not provide valid answers.

Table 6.23: Black migrants' responses regarding shopping services in Vereeniging

Areas	Shopping Services				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4 33,4%	8 66,7%	12
Bedworth Park	0 0,0%	5 8,1%	21 34,4%	35 57,3%	61
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Duncanville	0 0,0%	2 25,0%	2 25,0%	4 50,0%	8
Falcon Ridge	2 22,2%	2 22,2%	3 33,3%	2 22,2%	9
Homer	7 43,8%	6 37,5%	1 6,2%	2 12,5%	16
Leeuhof	4 33,3%	1 8,3%	5 41,6%	2 16,6%	12
Peacehaven	4 36,3%	2 18,1%	4 36,3%	1 9,0%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Sonland Park	4 25,0%	3 18,8%	5 31,2%	4 25,0%	16
Springcol	1 14,2%	3 42,9%	3 42,9%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	20 33,9%	21 35,6%	16 27,1%	2 3,3%	59
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	5 33,3%	10 66,7%	15
Unitas Park	5 25,0%	6 30,0%	8 40,0%	1 5,0%	20
Vereeniging	2 4,2%	9 19,1%	20 42,1%	16 34,0%	47
Waldrift	3 10,3%	4 13,8%	9 31,0%	13 44,8%	29
	52 16,0%	64 19,6%	106 32,5%	102 31,3%	324 (a) 99,4%

Note

(a) Two cases did not provide valid answers

Table 6.24 : Black migrants' responses regarding the availability of housing in Vereeniging

Areas	Availability of housing				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	9 75,0%	3 25,0%	12
Bedworth Park	3 4,8%	8 12,9%	36 58,0%	15 24,1%	62
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	3 37,5%	0 0,0%	4 50,0%	1 12,5%	8
Falcon Ridge	0 0,0%	2 22,2%	6 66,6%	1 11,1%	9
Homer	3 18,7%	4 25,0%	9 56,2%	0 0,0%	16
Leeuhof	2 16,6%	3 25,0%	6 50,0%	1 6,3%	12
Peacehaven	0 0,0%	3 27,2%	7 63,6%	1 9,0%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Sonland Park	3 18,7%	3 18,7%	7 43,7%	3 18,7%	16
Springcol	2 28,5%	1 14,2%	4 57,1%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	3 5,0%	11 18,6%	35 59,3%	10 16,9%	59
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	4 26,6%	11 73,3%	15
Unitas Park	1 5,2%	1 5,2%	13 68,4%	4 21,0%	19
Vereeniging	2 4,2%	10 21,2%	27 57,4%	8 17,0%	47
Waldrift	2 6,8%	1 3,4%	12 41,3%	14 48,2%	29
Total	24 7,4%	47 14,4%	180 55,2%	73 22,4%	324 (a) 99,5%

Note

(a) Two cases did not provide valid answers

Table 6.25 : Black migrants' responses concerning the effectiveness of the local authority

Areas	Effectiveness of local authority				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	1 8,3%	4 33,3%	4 33,3%	3 25,0%	12
Bedworth Park	17 27,9%	15 24,6%	21 34,4%	8 13,1%	61
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	5 62,5%	1 12,5%	1 12,5%	1 12,5%	8
Falcon Ridge	1 11,1%	2 22,2%	5 55,6%	1 11,1%	9
Homer	7 43,8%	3 18,7%	6 37,5%	0 0,0%	16
Leeuhof	4 33,3%	2 16,7%	4 33,3%	2 16,7%	12
Peacehaven	4 36,3%	3 27,2%	4 36,3%	0 0,0%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	1
Sonland Park	4 26,6%	3 20,0%	4 26,7%	4 26,7%	15
Springcol	4 57,1%	3 42,9%	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	7
Steelpark	17 28,3%	25 41,6%	15 25,0%	3 20,0%	60
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	1 6,6%	11 73,3%	3 20,0%	15
Unitas Park	5 26,3%	6 31,5%	6 31,6%	2 10,5%	19
Vereeniging	10 21,7%	10 21,7%	22 47,8%	4 8,6%	46
Waldrift	8 27,6%	9 31,0%	9 31,0%	3 10,3%	29
Total	87 26,6%	87 26,6%	114 34,9%	34 10,4%	322 98,5%

Note

(a) Four cases did not provide valid answers.

Table 6.26 : Black migrants' response regarding the availability of transport in Vereeniging

Areas	Available Transport				Total
	Strongly Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Satisfied	Strongly Satisfied	
Arcon Park	1 8,3%	3 25,0%	5 41,6%	3 25,0%	12
Bedworth Park	15 24,5%	26 42,6%	18 29,5%	2 3,2%	61
Dickensonville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Duncanville	3 37,5%	0 0,0%	3 37,5%	2 25,0%	8
Falcon Ridge	5 55,5%	1 11,1%	1 11,1%	2 22,2%	9
Homer	3 18,7%	9 56,2%	3 18,7%	1 6,1%	16
Leeuhof	4 33,3%	1 8,3%	3 25,0%	4 33,3%	12
Peacehaven	4 36,3%	1 9,0%	5 45,4%	1 9,0%	11
Rissiville	0 0,0%	0 0,0%	1 100,0%	0 0,0%	1
Sonland Park	6 40,0%	5 33,3%	3 20,0%	1 6,6%	15
Springcol	2 33,3%	1 16,6%	3 50,0%	0 0,0%	6
Steelpark	11 18,3%	12 20,0%	28 46,6%	9 15,0%	60
Three Rivers	0 0,0%	2 13,3%	4 26,6%	9 60,0%	15
Unitas Park	4 20,0%	5 25,0%	9 45,0%	2 10,0%	20
Vereeniging	6 12,7%	9 19,1%	18 38,2%	14 29,7%	47
Waldrift	2 6,8%	7 24,1%	14 48,2%	6 20,6%	29
Total	66 20,2%	82 25,1%	119 36,5%	56 17,1%	323 (a) 98,9%

Note

(a) Three cases did not provide valid answers.

APPENDIX C

FIGURE 3.1: THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF VEREENIGING

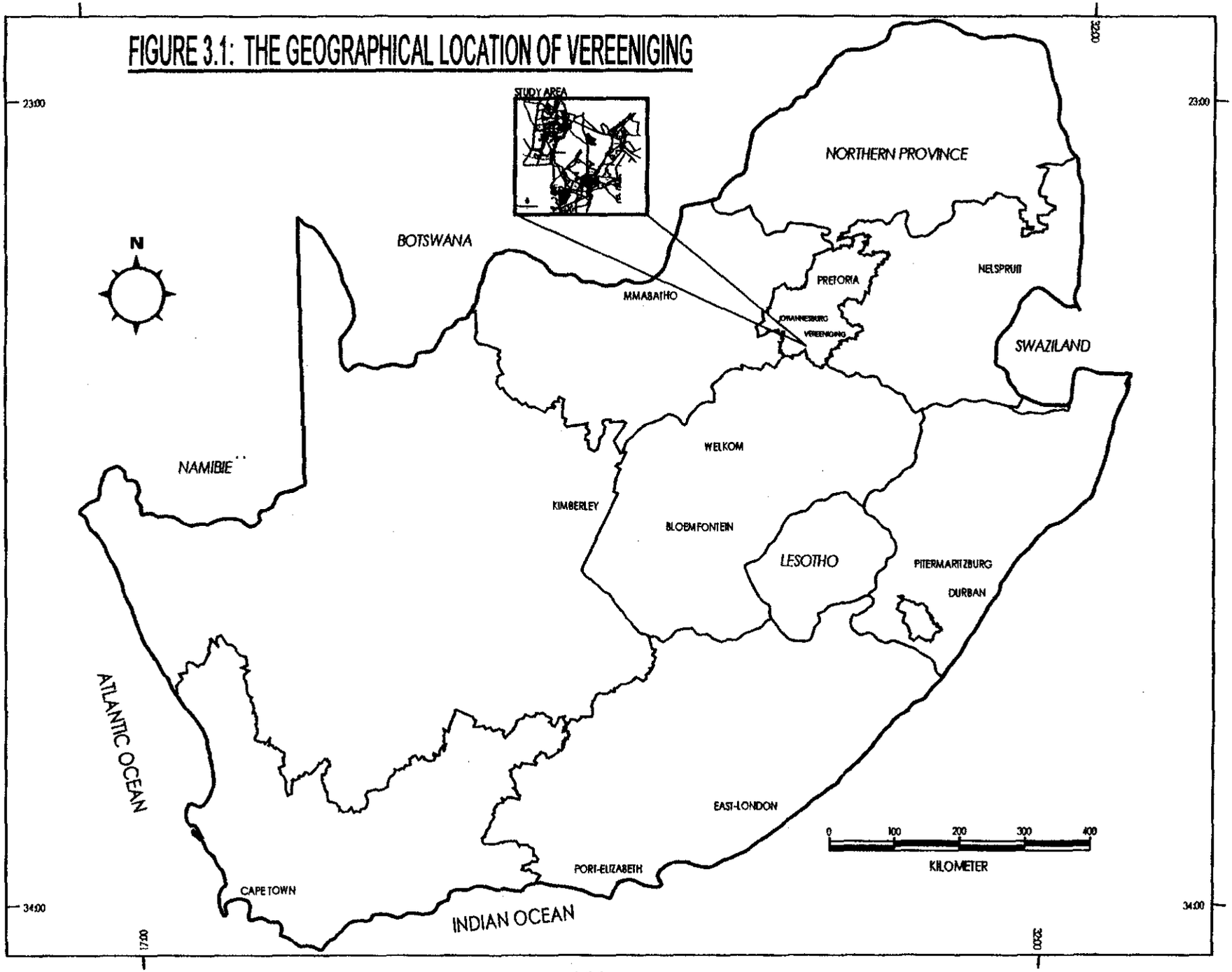
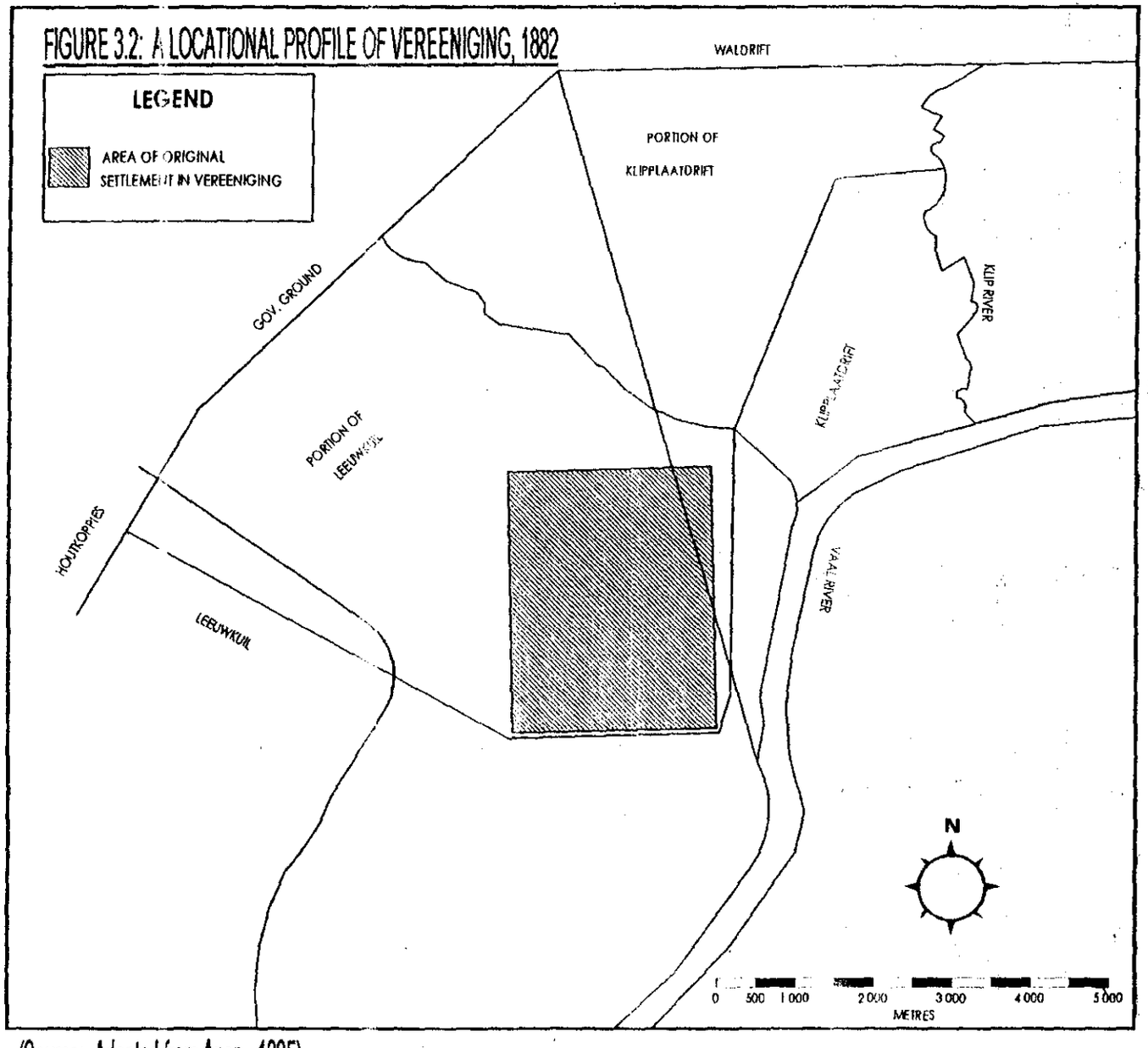
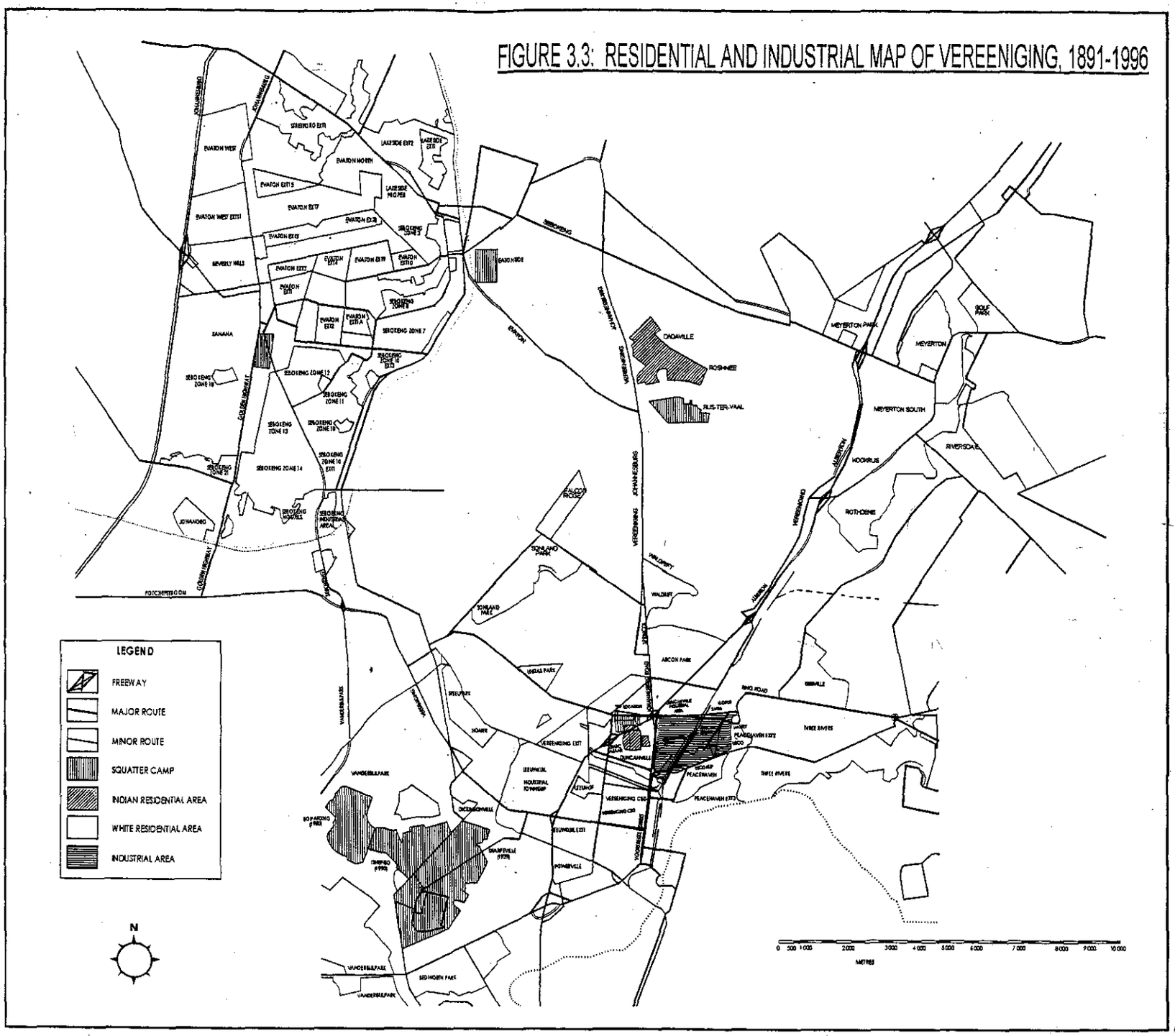


FIGURE 3.2: A LOCATIONAL PROFILE OF VEREENIGING, 1882



(Source: Adapted from Anon. 1925)

FIGURE 3.3: RESIDENTIAL AND INDUSTRIAL MAP OF VEREENIGING, 1891-1996



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